

Framing Sara Duterte-Carpio's Candidacy in the 2022 Election

Venice Micah D. Nieva
Ayra Dorine F. Gallema
Orville B. Tatcho
University of the Philippines Baguio

ABSTRACT

This study examined how Sara Duterte-Carpio's candidacy in the 2022 national election was framed in the posts of four (4) Facebook groups, namely: *SARA DUTERTE for President Movement*, *Inday Sara for President Movement*, *RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT*, and *SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS*. Through frame analysis as a method anchored in the interpretivist paradigm, this qualitative research used Erving Goffman's categories of *make-believe*, *contest*, and *ceremonial* frames. In addition to the frame analysis, the researchers conducted interviews with six (6) respondents who were chosen based on their contribution to the formation of the Facebook groups as an administrator, moderator, or member. The researchers uncovered different frames in the Facebook posts: family and gender frames, cultural frames, continuity frames, and frames on a supposed public clamor for a Duterte-Carpio candidacy. This study thus concludes that (1) there is no singular frame for Duterte-Carpio's candidacy; (2) the campaign for Sara Duterte-Carpio carries over existing campaign strategies to the 2022 elections, specifically a more active involvement of voters in the campaign communication of politicians; and (3) campaigns energized by groups of individuals may be perceived as more genuine and representative of the people's sentiments regardless of whether the campaigns are organic.

Keywords: *elections; Facebook; framing; Sara Duterte-Carpio*

Introduction

In an *Ulat ng Bayan* Pulse Asia survey conducted from June 7 to 16, 2021, then Davao City Mayor and presidential daughter Sara Duterte-Carpio emerged as the most preferred candidate for the presidency. Duterte-Carpio garnered 28% of the 2,400 survey respondents, followed by then Manila City Mayor Francisco “Isko Moreno” Domagoso and former Senator Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr. with 14% and 13% respectively (Marquez, 2021; Ranada, 2021). These results were consistent with earlier *Ulat ng Bayan* surveys conducted from February to March 2021 and November to December 2020. In these two surveys, Duterte-Carpio also emerged at the top spot with 26% and 27% of the 2,400 Filipino respondents choosing her to be the next president (CNN Philippines, 2021; Pulseasia.ph, 2020; Pulseasia.ph, 2021a).

The September 2021 *Ulat ng Bayan* is the last survey conducted by Pulse Asia before the deadline of filing the certificate for candidacy (COC) on October 8, 2021. While the percentage of respondents supporting a Duterte-Carpio presidency went down by 8% since the June 2021 survey, she remained the frontrunner among 13 probable presidential candidates (Pulseasia.ph, 2021b) (Refer to Figure 1).

On October 2, 2021, Duterte-Carpio filed her COC for reelection as Davao City Mayor (Gregorio, 2021). She later withdrew the said COC to run for the vice-presidency as a last-minute substitute of Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats (CMD) candidate Lyle Uy (s, 2021). As an official candidate for vice president, Duterte-Carpio became Partido Federal ng Pilipinas (PFP) standard-bearer Ferdinand Marcos Jr.’s running mate in the 2022 elections.

The Persona: Sara Duterte-Carpio

In May 2022, Duterte-Carpio won the vice-presidential race with an overwhelming 31.5 million votes cast in her favor (Mercado, 2022). Prior to her election or foray into national politics, however, Duterte-Carpio was a former mayor of Davao City and has a career in law. She became Davao’s youngest and first female mayor when she was elected in 2010 (SunStar Davao, 2010). As a politician, Duterte-Carpio has a reputation for being feisty, headstrong, and unafraid to disagree with anyone. Often seen in crew cuts, military uniforms, and motorbikes, Duterte-Carpio projects a tough-looking image (Lema, 2021). While she is more commonly referred to as “Inday” Sara, she also gained the nickname “The Slugger” or a person who can strike with hard punches. In 2011, she gained notoriety after

Figure 1

Pulse Asia 2022 Elections: Presidential Preference

Table 1
2022 ELECTIONS: FIRST CHOICE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE
September 6 -11, 2021 / Philippines / PR1&2
(In Percent)

Base: Total Interviews, 100%								
Of the people on this list, whom would you vote for as PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES if the May 2022 elections were held today and they were candidates? You may mention others not included in this list.								
RP	LOCATION				CLASS			
	NCR	BL	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E	
DUTERTE, SARA "INDAY"	20	12	8	23	47	16	20	25
MARCOS, FERDINAND "BONGBONG"	15	28	20	5	8	18	16	12
DOMAGOSO, FRANCISCO "ISKO MORENO"	13	19	16	15	3	20	14	7
PACQUIAO, EMMANUEL "MANNY"	12	6	9	21	15	7	11	20
POE, GRACE	9	8	11	10	6	12	9	10
ROBREDO, MARIA LEONOR "LENI"	8	10	8	12	4	8	8	11
LACSON, PANFILO "PING"	6	7	7	7	3	8	6	4
CAYETANO, ALAN PETER	4	3	5	3	6	2	5	4
GO, CHRISTOPHER "BONG GO"	3	2	1	2	7	1	3	3
TRILLANES, ANTONIO "SONNY"	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
BELLO, WALDEN	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TEODORO, GILBERT "GIBO"	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0.3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
UNAIDED								
Don't Know/Refused/None	7	4	13	1	2	9	8	2
Don't know	3	1	5	0	1	0	4	1
Refused	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1
None	4	1	7	0	0	7	3	1

Note. Sara "Inday" Duterte leading Pulse Asia's presidential survey last September 6-11, 2021.

punching a local official in Davao during their heated exchange (Barker, 2021). A resemblance between then President Rodrigo Duterte and Duterte-Carpio is often observed: they both served as the chief executive of Davao City and are also both perceived as decisive and strong-willed, unafraid to strike attacks on anyone (Lema, 2021).

Duterte-Carpio is also reportedly Rodrigo Duterte's favorite child and heiress apparent in political affairs (Merez, 2020). Despite this, Duterte-Carpio has not held back from caustic remarks directed at her father on several occasions. According to Rappler's in-depth profile of the Duterte family, she would often show her disapproval of her father's actions (Ranada, 2018). However, Duterte-Carpio has yet to comment

on various controversies surrounding her father's national agenda and policies such as his controversial "war on drugs," the close ties between the Duterte administration and China, and the international dispute between the Philippines and China (Lema, 2021).

Despite familial linkages, Duterte-Carpio proves to be a strong political force in her own right. Davao Del Norte Governor, Anthony Del Rosario pointed out that some of Rodrigo Duterte's policies and programs were changed during Duterte-Carpio's term as mayor (Escosio, 2021). She initiated her program, *Byaheng DO30*, that highlights her priorities, namely: peace and order, infrastructure development, transportation planning and traffic management, disaster risk reduction and mitigation, poverty alleviation, solid waste management, agriculture, health, education, and tourism (*Byaheng DO30* 2018). Her political credentials, status as the wife of lawyer Manasese Carpio, and background as the daughter of former President Rodrigo Duterte attracted many Filipinos to support Duterte-Carpio's bid (Romero, 2021).

Facebook Electoral Campaigns

In 2021, there is an estimated 74.6 million Filipinos on Facebook (Statista Research Department, 2021). The rising number of Filipinos on Facebook was also crucial in the 2016 Philippine national elections. Then presidential candidate, Rodrigo Duterte's team strategized a social media apparatus that circulated information about his campaign through real and fake Facebook accounts (Etter, 2017). After utilizing an army of Facebook personalities and bloggers worldwide, Duterte became the subject of 64% of all Philippine election-related conversations on Facebook (Etter, 2017). Following Duterte's landslide win, the 2016 election is dubbed as the first social media election in the Philippines (Sinpeng et al., 2020, p. 354).

In the run up to the 2022 elections, Facebook continues to be an avenue for political communication and widespread information dissemination for politicians like Duterte-Carpio. Supporters quickly gathered both on-ground and on social media platforms to campaign for Duterte-Carpio's candidacy (Palicte, 2021; Reuters, 2018). In 2016, fundraisers, rallies, and petitions were also conducted to clamor for a Duterte presidency (Curato, 2016a, p. 146-147). In Duterte-Carpio's case, various Facebook posts and groups sprung out to support her potential presidential bid nationwide through the slogan *Run, Sara, Run!*

Initiated by various organizers and volunteer groups, many like-minded individuals and supporters joined Facebook groups supporting Duterte-Carpio. As of March 2022, the *SARA DUTERTE for President Movement* continues to grow with an estimated 71,500 members; the *Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement* with 89,200 members; the *RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT* group with 91,200 members; and the *SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS* group with 164,200 members. With the increasing number of members within the Facebook groups, the information echoed and strategies remain vital in influencing individuals in Philippine national elections. The researchers, therefore, seek to examine the main question: How is Sara Duterte-Carpio's candidacy in the 2022 national election framed in the posts of pro-Duterte Facebook groups? Specifically, this study aims to examine the various frames constructed for Duterte-Carpio based on Erving Goffman's *make-believe*, *contest*, and *ceremonial* frames, and identify popular issues that are linked to Sara Duterte-Carpio and her campaign.

Literature and Theory

To contextualize the discussion on framing and social media, this section looks into themes related to (1) Philippine politics, (2) Facebook and candidates' self-presentation on social media, and (3) the conceptual framework of the study.

Philippine Politics: Plurality and Dynasty

Since 1949, the Philippine presidential election has used a single nationwide ballot where the winners are determined by a simple plurality (Choi, 2001, p. 503). This system awards the presidency to the candidate with the highest number of votes, even if that candidate does not get the majority of the votes from the electorate. As the Philippines has a multi-party system where there is virtually no limit on the number of qualified candidates who can run for a position, a candidate must garner the most of number of votes to win in an election. Political families or dynasties may have an advantage due to their staying power, machinery, and the recognition by their constituents.

Prior to settling for the vice-presidency, Sara Duterte-Carpio was rumored to succeed Rodrigo Duterte. Due to their dynastic status, linking Rodrigo Duterte to Sara Duterte-Carpio has its benefits toward the latter's possible presidential bid. Candidates who are closely tied to family members long involved in politics will yield particularistic

appeals to their campaign (Muraoka, 2018, p. 454). Dynastic status is also beneficial amidst gender gaps in politics. Leaders, specifically women politicians, tend to attain more recognition and support for executive office positions due to political dynasties and familial ties (Baturo & Gray, 2018, p. 695).

In the history of the Philippines, Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo are two female leaders that rose to power because they come from political families. Arroyo, as the daughter of the late President Diosdado Macapagal, and Aquino, as the wife of the late Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr. (Thompson, 2007, p. 3-4). Furthermore, linking an incumbent official to a vying candidate allows for the transfer of support systems. Since voters sometimes rely on family connections as informational cues for one's quality (Thompson, 2007, p. 3-4), the dynastic status may be an important indicator and predictor of campaign strategies on an individual level. Candidates with dynastic status inherit the personal support bases and patronage linkages of their families (Muraoka, 2018, p. 454).

Facebook: Uses for Information, Image, and Issues

As technologies continue to evolve, campaign strategists and candidates utilize social media for political communication. In the 2008 Presidential elections in the United States, Barack Obama's win was largely attributed to the strategic use of social media platforms such as Facebook (Carlisle & Patton, 2013, p. 883-884). Similarly, in the 2013 general elections of Malaysia and the 2014 elections in India, the extensive use of social media played an important role in amplifying the platforms of candidates (Khairuddin, 2017, p. 345).

In the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte's campaign successfully utilized both mainstream and social media platforms to mobilize paid trolls, influencers, and supporters to increase his digital presence in the 2016 elections (Sinpeng et al., 2020, p. 369-370). The cases in the United States, Malaysia, India, and the Philippines show that the inclusion of social media platforms in campaigns, especially Facebook, cannot be underestimated. In 127 countries, Facebook is the most used social networking site (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015, p. 37).

From its basic features to algorithm settings, strategists prefer using Facebook to interact with their target groups. Barack Obama's campaign team utilized Facebook to mobilize political engagement and stir discussion (Carlisle & Patton, 2013, p. 883-884). Two years after "Free Facebook" was implemented in the Philippines, posts about Duterte—

propaganda, memes, and materials—went viral and amplified his 2016 presidential campaign (Swearingen, 2018).

Membership to various online communities such as Facebook groups is also seen to be significant in the transmission of information. Through shared links and articles, online communities become extensions of physical discussions to shape opinions and political views (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015, p. 34). Within these groups, individuals share pieces of information others may deem as credible and trustworthy. These networks become avenues for opinion formation because individuals may easily believe information that has been shared by their peers (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015, p. 34). Aside from consolidating like-minded individuals on these platforms, Facebook also levels the discussion within these peer groups. Despite the differences in resources, economic status, race, and sex, these factors do not become significant among online discussions (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015, p. 37).

Meanwhile, campaign communication strategies utilize social media to control and sustain political marketing and image (Steffan, 2020, p. 3097). Social media rebuilds one's image into a more positive persona and uses user engagement and interaction for political advantage (Rodrigues & Niemann, 2017, p. 3432). Repetitive messages in media and interpersonal communication also become important in political matters such as voting decisions (Klousis et al., 2015, p. 3348). Finally, candidates also attempt to win votes by emphasizing issues they perceive to own. Issue ownership and presentation focus on associating salient issues with certain parties and individuals' competence in handling issues (Klousis et al., 2015, p. 3348).

Conceptual Framework

While the literature on framing focuses on effects by the media, framing research has also dealt with the ability of people to convey, interpret, and describe what they talk or think about (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). Framing extends to the individual's capacity to make sense of reality by building schemas. In this light, framing theory has been widely used in the field of political communication. In the analysis of online campaign strategies, framing theory looks into the various self-presentations of political candidates and social media campaigns (Fridkin et al., 2017, p. 3396; Steffan, 2020, p. 3096).

In line with a conception of framing as a process of interpreting and building strategies for self-presentation, Erving Goffman's frame

analysis is applied to this study. In his work, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974), Goffman (1974) argued that meanings may arise from social experiences. Through this, Goffman developed frame analysis as a method of understanding everyday reality and a way to organize one's experience into frames (Hallahan, 1999, p. 211; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2018). Frame analysis is therefore a tool in studying the social construction of reality. It looks into a specific phenomenon by attempting to define what is happening and how it is being understood (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2018). It also helps in analyzing imbalances, underlying power structures, and the author's bias in the text (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009, p. 408).

Framing has been adopted as a textual, psychological, and sociopolitical paradigm (Hallahan, 1999, p. 209). Various framing devices can be applied across a broad spectrum of scenarios: framing of situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility, and news (Hallahan, 1999). While there are various framing paradigms, Goffman's frame analysis can be used to analyze computer-mediated social interactions (Brooks, 2007, p. 11), public opinion and voting behavior (Entman, 1993, p. 56), and across a flexible array of topics (Hill, 2014, p. 2). As Goffman's framing theory focuses on a situational perspective, it describes how scenarios are constructed through the use of language and the structure of interactions (Hallahan, 1999, p. 224). To identify frames, Goffman also mentions general frames such as:

1. Make-believe frames or activities acknowledged as 'imitation of the real';
2. Contest frames or events that display fighting and dominance; and
3. Ceremonial frames or social events that are commemorative or celebratory (Chi, 2019, p. 7; Goffman, 1974, p. 48-58; Hill, 2014, p. 18-21).

First, make-believe frames have an intrusive value of playfulness where it does not produce practical consequences (Chi, 2019, p. 7). Goffman cites unserious mimicry and dramatic scripts as examples of make-believe frames. Next, examples of contest frames today are sports and other activities with a clear 'winner' and 'loser' (Hill, 2014, p. 20); often constrained by rules to minimize aggression (Goffman, 1974, p. 57). Finally, ceremonial frames are social rituals such as marriages, ceremonies, and investitures (Goffman, 1974, p. 56-58). In this study, make-believe frames include the creative production of texts that associate Duterte-Carpio with fictitious characters and ideal qualities. Contest frames take

the form of competitions, polls, surveys, and other modes of engagement on Facebook while ceremonial frames are events and activities used by Facebook group members to encourage the participation of the audience (e.g., motorcades, gatherings, and meet-and-greet).

Methodology

To reiterate, frames are definitions of reality that permit people to make sense of objects (Shaw, 2013). Following a qualitative research design, the methods used in this study are interviews and frame analysis. Interviews were conducted to obtain in-depth information and stories behind the respondents' experiences (McNamara, 1999, p. 1). Meanwhile, frame analysis allowed the researchers to synthesize the image and issue constructions for Duterte-Carpio.

To trim down and select posts to be included in this study, the researchers filtered the sample posts by date. Only those posted from January 2021 to November 2021 were considered as samples as these months do not constitute the official campaign period. There was also clamor for a Duterte-Carpio presidency in the Facebook groups prior to November 2021 or before Duterte-Carpio was "adopted and endorsed" by the Partido Federal ng Pilipinas (PFP) to be Ferdinand Marcos Jr.'s running mate (Gonzales, 2021). The researchers then chose Facebook posts based on (1) the length of text they contain and (2) the visual materials included such as photos and images. The researchers excluded from analysis one-liners or shorter posts that are not informative or rich enough to build frames.

Oftentimes, frame analysis in the qualitative paradigm relies on relatively small samples that must intensively depict the discourses echoed in the text (Matthes, 2009, p. 351).

To uncover the various frames for Duterte-Carpio in the Facebook groups, the researchers thus analyzed a total of 25 posts in the (1) *SARA DUTERTE for President Movement*, (2) *Inday Sara for President Movement*, (3) *RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT*, and (4) *SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS* Facebook groups. The researchers asked the administrators of these groups for permission to post screenshots of select Facebook posts. The researchers also made the Facebook posts anonymous by redacting the names of the group members who made the posts or participated in the interviews.

The researchers also interviewed a total of six (6) respondents. These respondents were chosen based on the length of their membership

in the Facebook groups, their activity, and their positions within the group. Of the six (6) respondents, two (2) are administrators, one (1) is a moderator, and three (3) are active members. In processing data from the interviews, this paper follows Kvale's stages of interview investigation: (1) transcribing or encoding of speech or audio into written form; (2) analyzing the data based on purpose, nature, and topic of the study where the chosen method of analysis is applicable; (3) verifying or determining if the results are generalizable, reliable (consistency), and valid (investigates what is needed); and (4) reporting or the presentation of the results of the study with consideration of ethics and scientific criteria (Kvale, 1996, p. 88). The next section shows the results of the interviews and the frame analysis, structured according to Goffman's (1) make-believe, (2) contest, and (3) ceremonial frames.

Results and Discussion

Make-Believe Frames

Across the Facebook groups analyzed, the members may create a wide variety of text that clamor for Duterte-Carpio's candidacy. Gamson and Lasch (1983) identified several symbolic devices to help characterize and break down texts such as Facebook posts including (1) metaphors or images associated with the subject, (2) examples or real events raised from the past or present, (3) catch-phrases or simple thematic statements, and (4) depictions or stories that portray the principal subject (p. 407-408). These symbolic devices are also incorporated in Goffman's general frames: make-believe, contests, and ceremonials. Make-believe frames transform an event using one's imagination, beliefs, and experiences to produce unserious outcomes. Through these frames, individuals may create imaginary symbolisms, metaphors, and scripting to support Duterte-Carpio's bid. In the Facebook groups, common frames for Duterte-Carpio became apparent such as the gendered frames; cultural, religious, and spiritual frames; and the continuity and issue ownership frames.

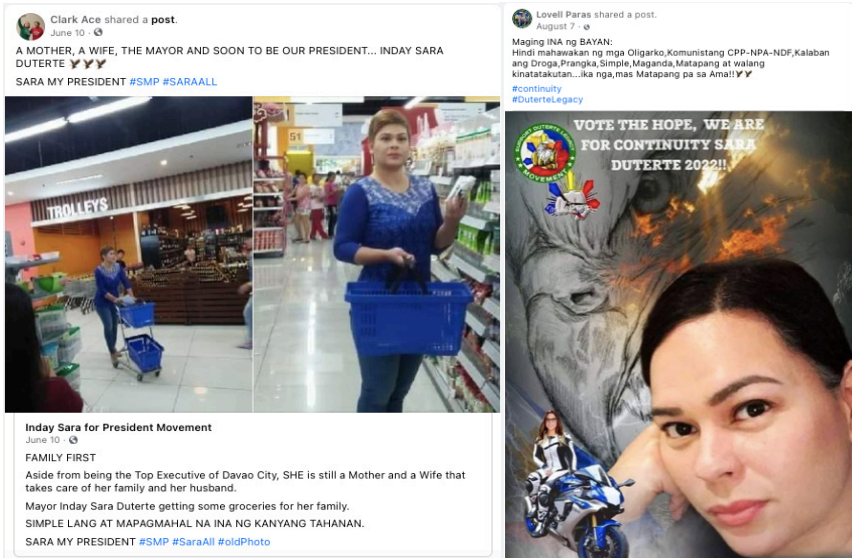
Gendered Frames of Duterte-Carpio

Across the Facebook posts, individuals often keyed Duterte-Carpio's bid using traditional gender frames (Refer to Figure 2).

Mark Thompson (2007) analyzed the various gendered narratives Cory Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo—both former female

Figure 2

Facebook Posts Framing Duterte-Carpio Using Gendered Frames



presidents of the Philippines—used for their successful campaigns. Aquino, who won against former dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, doted the *Inang Bayan* image, or the mother of the Philippine nation (Thompson, 2007, p. 9). On the other hand, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was referred to as both *Ate Glo* or an elder sister and *Inang Bayan* or mother of the nation during her first term in office in 2001 (Thompson, 2007, p. 21). Early in the election campaign, Duterte-Carpio has been tagged by her supporters as *Daughterte*, a conjunction of “daughter” and “Duterte” to emphasize her relationship to President Rodrigo Duterte. Other imageries projected on Duterte-Carpio include *ina ng kaniyang tahanan* or mother of her home and *ina ng bayan* or mother of the nation. Common to these three women leaders, the *Inang Bayan/ina ng bayan* as a metaphor has been popularized in Philippine politics over the years. This image represents the various personifications women leaders are expected to emulate: the loving care of a mother to her child and the female charm against male aggressiveness (Thompson, 2007, p. 9).

Meanwhile, in 2016, the world experienced a global trend of an authoritative kind of leadership amidst perceived national threats (Curato, 2016a, p. 147-151). This trend became advantageous to Rodrigo Duterte’s presidential campaign with his *change is coming* tagline. Duterte’s

reactionary approach to governance and promised agenda were consistent with the propaganda of fighting against a ‘dangerous other’—for his administration, these enemies were drug use, crime, and corruption among others (Bautista, 2020, p. 276; Curato, 2016a, p. 152). Duterte’s political branding that capitalizes on the masses’ desperation for willful and decisive leadership is seen to persist in succeeding administrations (Bautista, 2020, p. 276; Labastin, 2018, p. 32).

Continuing her father’s legacy, Duterte-Carpio is imaged as feisty and headstrong (Lema, 2021). The use of the keyword *tapang/matapang* or strong or bold is the most popular trait associated with Duterte-Carpio across the Facebook posts vouching for her presidential bid. Moreover, labels such as *iron lady of the south*, *next commander-in-chief*, *alpha of the family*, *lady chief executive*, and *queen of politics* are all consistent with the strong woman framing of Duterte-Carpio among her supporters (Refer to Figure 3).

Figure 3

Facebook Posts Framing Duterte-Carpio as a Strongwoman



One interviewee affirms a strongwoman frame for Duterte-Carpio, mentioning her unique appearance and track record: “*Itsurang babae siya, diba ang tapang? Kahit noong mayor siya nung Davao, maganda rin talaga yung pananakbo nila*” [Sara’s appearance, despite being a woman, looks tough right? Even her performance as the Davao City mayor was satisfactory] (Duterte-Carpio supporter 1, personal communication, November 11, 2021). Similarly, another supporter referred to Duterte-Carpio as a “lady in appearance, but [she] is a man of leadership” (Duterte-Carpio supporter 4, personal communication, December 1, 2021). Duterte-Carpio’s self-presentation appears to be advantageous to her bid as it steps away from the typical portrayal of women leaders as soft and gentle.

Cultural and Spiritual Frames of Duterte-Carpio

Prominently, Duterte-Carpio is portrayed as the Philippine eagle through the catchphrases *lipad, agila, lipad!* (fly, eagle, fly!), *agila ng silangan* (eagle of the east), and *agilang tagapagmana* (eagle heir) across hashtags and Facebook posts (Refer to Figure 4).

The Facebook post also associated Duterte-Carpio with make-believe stories around eagles. The members of the Facebook groups personified eagles with certain characteristics that reminded them of Duterte-Carpio: sharp nails, eyes, and sharp tongues to portray Duterte-Carpio as a cunning politician. Likening Duterte-Carpio to an eagle, which is a predator, also connotes strength and bravery. In Figure 4, one Facebook user composed a story about Duterte-Carpio through a creative depiction of an eagle’s fight against ‘a dangerous other.’ In the story, different antagonists were portrayed in the form of crocodiles and yellow snakes to symbolize supposedly corrupt politicians and the *dilawans* or the members of the Liberal Party, the political opponents of the Dutertes (Contreras, 2020). While fictitious, depictions and make-believe stories in these groups capitalize build a candidate’s image for a more positive persona (Rodrigues & Niemann, 2017, p. 3432).

Another way that Duterte-Carpio is framed is through invoking themes of spirituality and religion. In anticipation of her presidential bid, Facebook group members used the catchphrases such as *God-given blessing, destiny/woman of destiny, in the fullness of God’s time*, and *legacy* to frame Duterte-Carpio as a religious or spiritual entity. Using one’s personal beliefs, the group members attempt to associate Duterte-Carpio’s candidacy as an event foreordained to bring forth positive change to the country (Refer to the images in Figure 5).

Figure 4

Facebook Post of a Poem Likening Duterte-Carpio as an Eagle

Lovell Paras shared a post.
September 6 · 🌐

Proud Anak ni Tatay Digong! 🙌🏻
Pinalaki sa kanyang Ama na may pagmamahal at pagmamalasakit sa kapwa. Serbisyonang totoo lalo na sa mga mahihirap...
My Next President 2022!! 🇵🇭🇺🇲🇯🇵

#Continuity
#ItuloyAngPagbabago

Lovell Paras
September 5 · 🌐

The Strong Woman and Most Qualified to Lead in our Country. My Next President Sara Duterte-Carpio 🇵🇭🇺🇲🇯🇵
Though seems quiet yet always been the favorite queen of politics and public servant. No other Presidential daughter has exercised influence over highlights the way she has. A political figure that has her own style.

Raymond Satnamul shared a post.
May 14 · 🌐

#Daughter2022

Raquel Fortun
@Doc4Dead

Yung Inday Sara ipagpapatuloy ang sinimulan nung tatay. Shet bakit gugustuhin mo yun???

11:34 AM · May 12, 2021

Raymond Satnamul is with Chari Yu and 5 others.
May 14 · 🌐

THINK BEFORE YOU TWEET

Ayaw ko na sana patulan ito kasi babae at kapangalan pa nya ang asawa ko...pero I have no choice but to defend the Iron Lady of the South. 🇵🇭

In 2016, this lady doctor criticized Davao City Mayor Sara Duterte-Carpio in a tweet about the mayor's triplet pregnancy.

Yesterday, this doctor took a swipe at the local Chief Executive with a sarcastic tweet again on her possible bid at the presidency.

So, let me set the record straight. Doc, remember you are a forensic pathologist - not a 'psychic'. Your profession deals with dead bodies, performing autopsies on cadavers. You don't read people's minds.

Bakit? Inanunsyo na ba ni Inday Sara na tatakbo siya bilang Pangulo sa 2022?

Never mess with our City Mayor by calling her a s**t!! You have no idea what she's capable of. She's definitely more intelligent and more beautiful than you are.

Next time, take comfort solving crimes in the morgue. Don't meddle with politics and before you tweet...think twice.

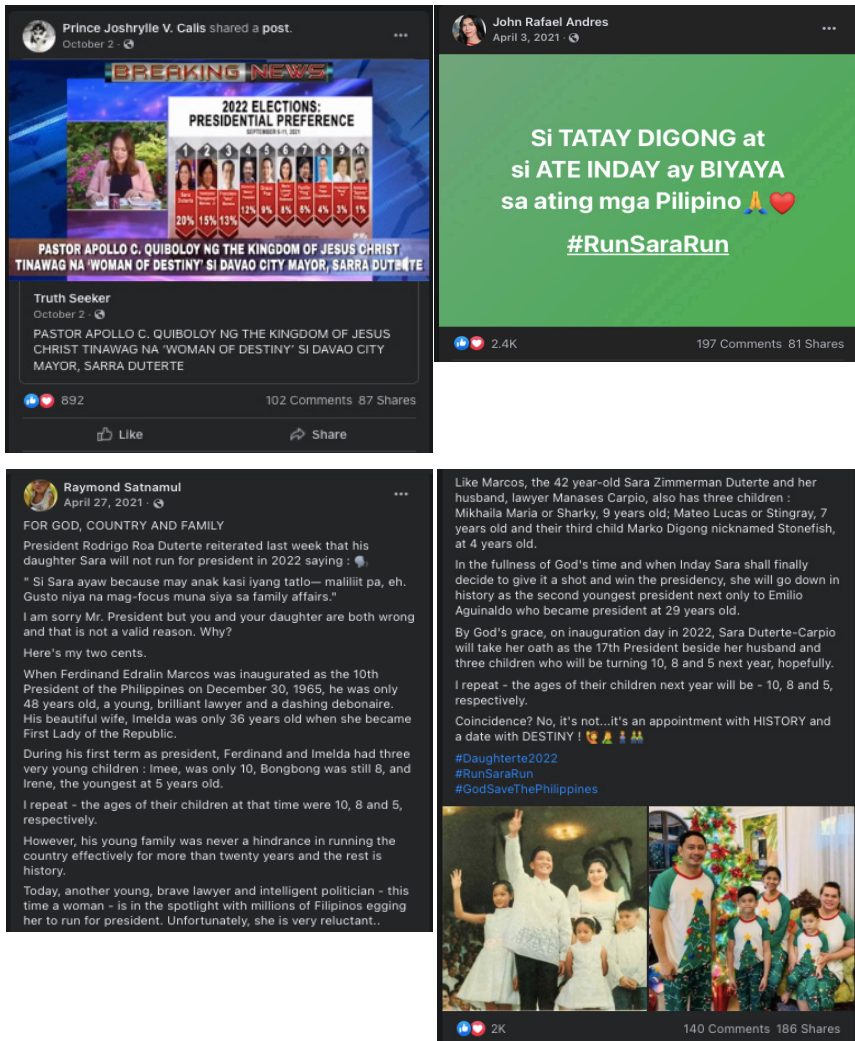
Otherwise...🙄

#JustShutUp
#RunSaraRun

While these are all make-believe frames, the themes reflect the prominence and application of religion and spirituality in Philippine politics. Linguistic evidence shows how religiosity pervaded political life since the pre-colonial Philippines (Castro, 2019, p. 102). Today, the separation of Church and State is stated in the provisions of the 1946 and 1987 Philippine constitutions. However, the Roman Catholic church continues to hold a strong influence in Philippine politics (Castro, 2019, p. 103). Across the Facebook groups, the prominence of spirituality is evident in the narratives created and spread by the members.

Figure 5

Facebook Posts Framing Duterte-Carpio Using Religion and Spirituality



Continuity Frames

The researchers also noticed themes of continuity from the Facebook posts and interviews. Members of the Facebook groups commonly attach the hashtags #Daughterte, #TatakDuterte, #continuity, and other similar catchphrases to their Facebook posts to highlight the relationship between Rodrigo Duterte and Duterte-Carpio. Furthermore, associating the two Dutertes through the phrases like *mag-ama/mag-amang agila*

(father and child/father and child eagles) and *anak ni tatay Digong* (child of father Digong) demonstrate the popularity of fronting familial relations and values in election-related posts.

As Rodrigo Duterte's presidential term came to an end, keywords such as *ituloy ang pagbabago* (sustain the change), *ipagpatuloy itong lahat ni Inday Sara Duterte* (Inday Sara Duterte will sustain the change), *patuloy ang mga programa na [ikakaayos] ng bansa* (sustain the programs that will fix the country), *ituloy ang magandang nasimulan ni tatay Digong* (sustain the good things father Digong has started), *Duterte pa rin* (we are still for Duterte), and *#DuterteLegacy* are the most prominent catch-phrases found across these posts and interviews. These statements push for the extension of the Duterte administration's programs to those running for the top executive positions in the 2022 elections (Refer to Figure 6).

Figure 6

Facebook Posts of Rodrigo Duterte and Duterte-Carpio's Father-Daughter Relationship



Politicians would benefit from family members long involved in politics through shared support systems and patronage linkages (Muraoka, 2018, p. 354). Early in the campaign, Duterte-Carpio already attracted strong support for her possible candidacy from the supporters Rodrigo Duterte. One interviewee and the founder of the *RODYDUTERTE SOLID GROUP* on Facebook shared their motivation for supporting the Dutertes:

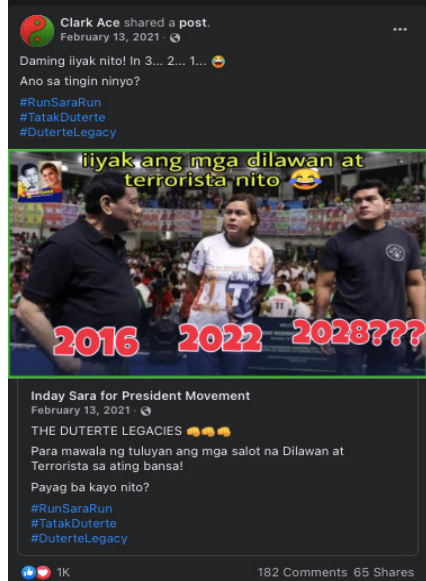
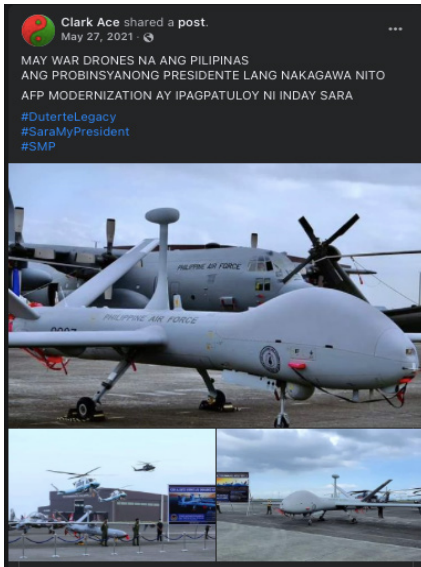
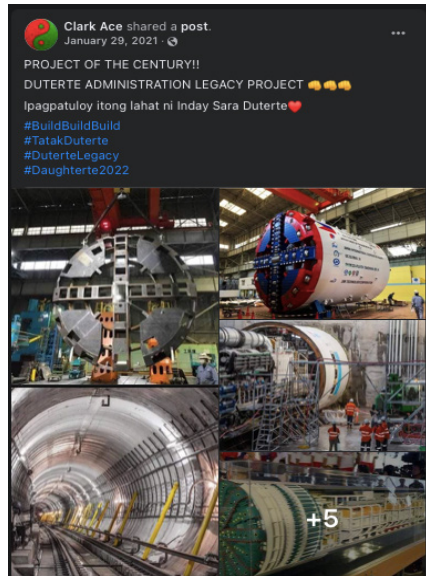
Duterte forever talaga ako... yung loyalty ko sa kanila [kasi] taga Davao din ako at sa city government of Davao din lahat [ng] family ko nagwork... 36 years na. Boss ko si [Davao] city Mayor Inday at kasi siya [lang yung] makapagpapatuloy sa nasimulan ni [President Rodrigo Duterte] (I'm a Duterte supporter forever... My loyalty has always been with them because I am from Davao and my family members have all worked in the Davao City government...for 36 years already. Davao City Mayor Inday is my boss, and she is the only person who could continue what [President Rodrigo Duterte] has started) (Duterte-Carpio supporter 5, personal communication, January 29, 2022).

Notably, candidates also tend to gain votes by highlighting salient issues associated with certain parties or individuals (Klousis et al., 2015, p. 3348). An example of this is Rodrigo Duterte's nationalist and populist rhetoric promising to address issues of peace and order (Tatcho, 2020, p. 43). Duterte has been associated the issue of illegal drugs, an issue that was never a focal point of political conversations until he centered an anti-drug agenda in his 2016 presidential campaign (Curato, 2016b, p. 100). Duterte promised to expedite solutions to drugs and crime as deeply rooted problems in the country (Tatcho, 2020, p. 45). Nearing the end of his term, Duterte supporters argue that only his daughter, Sara Duterte-Carpio, can carry out and enact the continuity of the current administration's promise for change (Refer to Figure 7).

Across the Facebook groups, the continuity frames are supported by examples of projects carried out by the Duterte administration and later projected on Duterte-Carpio. Based on the Facebook posts and interviews, the most common issues associated with Rodrigo Duterte and Sara Duterte-Carpio are infrastructure development and modernization, counterinsurgency, peace and order, and drugs. Issue ownership cues are often utilized by voters when the politician has not explicitly expressed

Figure 7

Salient Issues Associated with Duterte-Carpio



their position on a specific issue (Banda, 2019). However, Duterte-Carpio has been largely credited for her reforms in Davao, specifically her *Biyaheng DO30* 10 priority programs and increased funding for social service programs (Cupin, 2022). Furthermore, one supporter cites the issues of drugs, crime, and corruption as their reason to support Duterte-Carpio:

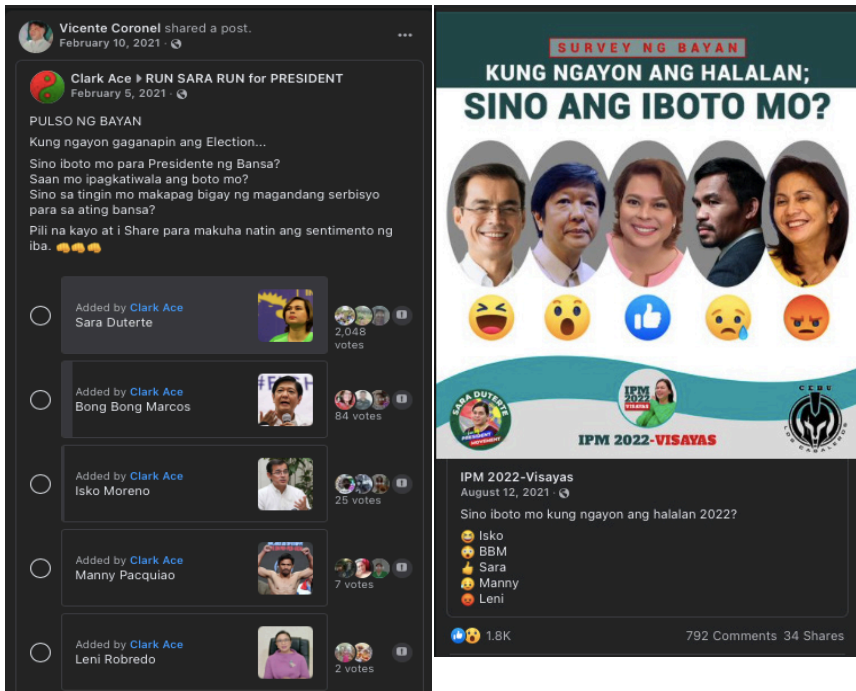
Supporter ako hindi lang dahil mag-ama [si Rodrigo Duterte at Sara Duterte-Carpio], pero dahil maganda ang layunin nila sa ating bansa. Lahat po [ng droga, krimen, korapsyon], gusto kong mawala yan lahat alang-alang sa lahat ng mga kabataan at sa magandang kinabukasan nila (I am a supporter not because [Sara Duterte-Carpio is related to Rodrigo Duterte], but because she has good plans for the country. I want [drugs, crime, and corruption] gone for the sake of the youth and their future) (Duterte-Carpio supporter 2, personal communication, December 9, 2021).

To sum, the make-believe frame for Duterte-Carpio is built on gender frames, cultural and symbolisms, and continuity frames. In the next section, Goffman's contest frame to project Duterte-Carpio as the most preferred candidate for the presidency is discussed.

Contest Frames

Contest frames are activities that display fighting and dominance with a clear 'winner' and 'loser' (Goffman, 1974, p. 57; Hill, 2014, p. 20). Contest frames transform strips of events by situating two or more individuals within a competitive setting through games, polls, and competitions. In the context of the Facebook groups, contest frames take the form of simulations, polls, and mock elections. Members and administrators of these groups key the upcoming elections by initiating their own polls and surveys. Their posts ask the members to choose their most preferred candidate from a roster of individuals if the elections were to happen at the time of posting. These trends not only attempt to pit different candidates against each other but to gauge the group members' preference for specific positions through the number of likes, reactions, and engagements. Additionally, these posts also attempt to encourage support for their chosen candidates, specifically for Duterte-Carpio (Refer to Figure 8).

Figure 8
Unofficial Surveys and Mock-election Posts



Across these unofficial polls and surveys, Duterte-Carpio emerged as the most preferred candidate through a majority vote. Utilizing Facebook’s basic reaction features and algorithm settings, this mechanism was also used by former US President Barack Obama’s campaign team to stir discussion and political engagement for his candidacy in the 2008 US presidential elections (Carlisle & Patton, 2013, p. 883-884). Simulating processes such as choosing and voting for candidates allow for these pro-Duterte Facebook groups to become extensions of in-person communities and physical discussions ahead of the 2022 elections (Refer to Figure 9).

Another way that members frame Duterte-Carpio’s bid is through sharing articles and results from independent pollsters like Pulse Asia. The members use these articles to highlight Duterte-Carpio as the leading contender in various pre-election surveys for the Philippine presidency. Membership to various online communities such as Facebook groups is seen to be significant in the transmission of information. By sharing articles that prove Duterte-Carpio’s popularity, the pro-Duterte Facebook groups as an online community become avenues to share



Figure 9
*Facebook Post Framing
Duterte-Carpio as the Most
Preferred Presidential Bet*

information that members deem credible, trustworthy, or aligned to their personal beliefs. Individuals also easily believe information that has been shared by their peers (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015, p. 34). Sharing the results of Pulse Asia pre-election surveys may then play an active role in shaping the political knowledge and opinion of the members, as they solidify support for their preferred candidate.

The researchers also noticed posts in the Facebook groups that juxtapose Duterte-Carpio with different candidates to form possible president and vice president tandems. Before Duterte-Carpio settled for the vice presidential race, various posts in these groups asked the members to choose a running mate for Duterte-Carpio if she runs for president. Combinations include Duterte-Carpio with Senator Manny Pacquiao (Sa-Pac), Senator Bato Dela Rosa (Sa-Ba), Senator Bong Go

(Sa-Go), President Rodrigo Duterte (Sa-Ro), Former Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) Secretary Mark Villar (Sa-Llar), Manila Mayor Isko Moreno (Sa-Ko), Senator Imee Marcos (Sara-Imee), and Former Senator Ferdinand Marcos Jr. (Sa-Bong) (Refer to Figure 10).

Figure 10

Facebook Posts Framing Duterte-Carpio with Different Candidates



While the reason for choosing the candidates or pairings is unclear, these posts frame Duterte-Carpio as an indispensable and favorable presidential candidate. One supporter mentions why they want Duterte-Carpio to run for president and not settle for the vice presidency:

Presidente ang gusto ko kay Inday and not bise. Halos nasunod niya ang mga katangian ni [President] Duterte bilang kasalukuyang presidente natin.. Mayroong unique na pamamahala from plataporma, leadership, strategies... ‘Yun bang every time na may speech talagang magiging attentive tayo (I really want Inday to run for president and not for vice president. She emulates almost all qualities of [President] Duterte from his unique governance, leadership, strategies... Like every time they give a speech, we would really pay attention)

(Duterte-Carpio supporter 6, personal communication, February 5, 2022)

Hence, creating possible tandems or combinations allow for the inclusion of new supporters open to the idea of their chosen candidate being twinned with Duterte-Carpio. In the 2010 Philippine elections, many have backed a *NoyBi* tandem, a combination² of former President Benigno Aquino III and former Vice President Jejomar Binay despite belonging to the Liberal Party and United Nationalist Alliance (UNA) Party respectively (Macaraig, 2015). The point of the contest frames is to create an image for Duterte-Carpio as indispensable, regardless of whomever is paired with her.

Ceremonial Frames

Orchestrating Public Clamor

Ceremonial frames include events through the creation and participation in gatherings, rallies, ceremonies, and other social activities. In framing Duterte-Carpio, ceremonial frames are often seen in the way the members and administrators orchestrate public clamor for her presidential bid. While some politicians file their candidacies under their own volition, others would need the persuasion and encouragement of others. Individuals entering politics may be “petitioned to run by their people...urged to join a political coalition or nominated by political leaders to run for public office” (Montiel, 2002, p. 8). According to political analyst Ramon Casiple, clamor to run for public office that is not initiated by the politician’s camp appears genuine and effective in persuading undecided voters (Merez, 2021). As a political strategy, orchestrating public clamor is a ceremonial frame as it organizes activities to strengthen a specific practice or belief—in this case, the members and administrators of the Facebook groups attempt to gather as many like-minded individuals as possible to demand a Duterte-Carpio presidency.

Throughout the pre-election period, Duterte-Carpio remained reluctant to file her candidacy for any of the national positions (Kabilig, 2021). This may have birthed the campaign where supporters of Duterte-Carpio continuously organized and partook in political motorcades and rallies, and created posts in anticipation for her bid. Caravans, motorcades, and rallies are activities that gather individuals, vehicles, and motorcycles at the same time and location to show wide support for a particular cause or candidate (Manila Bulletin, 2021). Across the Facebook groups, members encourage attendance to upcoming

motorcades, distribute photos of rallies conducted and anniversaries and events that feature Duterte-Carpio (Refer to Figure 11).

Figure 11

Facebook Posts on Duterte-Carpio’s Campaigns and Motorcade Invitations

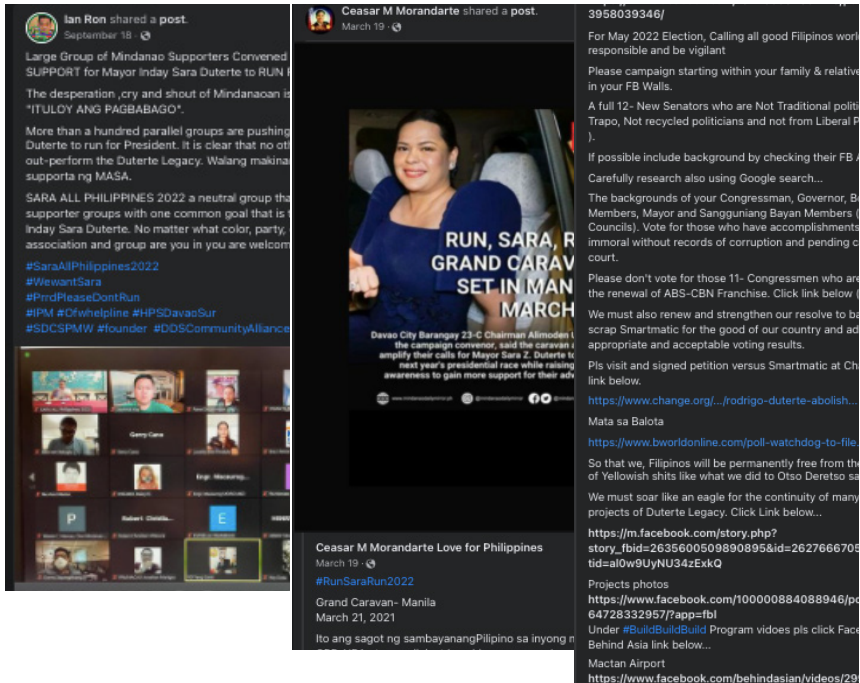


Members of the Facebook groups are also quick to create and share statements of support by senators, spiritual leaders, artists, and local government officials. This show of number accompanied by catchphrases like *iisa lang ang sigaw* (there is only one battle cry), *sigaw ng taong bayan at OFWs* (the battle cry of the people and Overseas Filipino Workers), *sama-sama* (together), *ito ang pwersa ng DDS* (this is the force of the Diehard Duterte Supporters (DDS)), *the whole province is [in] full force in supporting mayor Inday*, and *all-out support* is a strategy used to orchestrate the clamor of a large group of people for a candidate (Refer to Figure 12).

In the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte’s campaign successfully utilized both mainstream and social media platforms to mobilize netizens in the 2016 Presidential elections (Simpeng et al., 2020, p. 369-370). After weaponizing large groups of Facebook personalities and bloggers with large following on social media, Duterte became the subject of 64% of

Figure 12

Facebook Posts Orchestrating Public Clamor for a Duterte-Carpio Presidency



all Philippine election-related conversations on the platform (Etter, 2017). Because of this, Duterte’s landslide victory in the 2016 elections is considered the mark of the first social media election in the Philippines (Sinpeng et al., 2020, p. 354). In 2022, the role of social media in the Philippines—a country with a record high 67% social media usage (Kemp, 2021)—continues to become an avenue for political communication and widespread information dissemination for Duterte-Carpio.

According to the posts, administrators and other coordinators have encouraged all members to start campaigning for Duterte-Carpio through their personal Facebook profiles and share materials about the Duterte administration’s projects. Similarly, one of the interviewees and administrators of the Facebook groups shared that they used social media to ‘spread the good news of the Philippines and of the Duterte administration’ (Duterte-Carpio supporter 3, personal communication, December 1, 2021). Online communities therefore become extensions of physical discussions as these communities focus on shaping the political views and opinions of its members (Reuter & Szakonyi, 2015,

p. 34). These Facebook groups have also become an evident avenue to widely disseminate specific information and mobilize individuals to attend campaign-planning meetings and political motorcades. With the repetition of narratives, filtering, and use of these online communities to mobilize a large group of individuals, these Facebook groups can potentially orchestrate clamor for a candidacy.

Coalition-building

Coalition-building is a pre-election activity commonly practiced by candidates aiming to forge ties with potential allies (Montiel, 2002, p. 9). Coalition-building can be considered a ceremonial frame which Goffman (1974) defines as officiated activities plotted in advance to allow a certain deed or doing (p. 58). Coalition-building also consists of planned and repeated gatherings—led by organizations, core groups, politicians, or alliances—to further establish support networks for election campaigns. According to one of the administrators of the Facebook groups, various organizations that backed Rodrigo Duterte in 2016 have united to campaign for Duterte-Carpio in the upcoming 2022 elections. This post details the declaration of unity and support of volunteer organizations for Duterte-Carpio (Refer to Figure 13).

Figure 13

Facebook Post Describing the Coalition-Building of Sara All Philippines 2022

Jin Sinkara Xiu is with Jocelyn Tapic and 4 others.
August 4 · 🌐

SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022

Declaration of Unity and Support for Mayor Inday Sara Duterte for President in the 2022 Elections

We are various volunteer organizations, associations, alliances and coalitions that supported President Rodrigo Duterte in 2016 and in the midterm election in 2019, and new ones which sprouted all over the country and among OFWs calling for Mayor Inday Sara to run for president in 2022.

We have agreed to form the SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022 as the broad coalition for efficient coordination to attain our commonly-shared objectives.

All our organizations are herein declared as Co-Convenors of this new grand alliance. Each organization shall have proper representation in the National Coordinating Council and in the National Coordinating Secretariat, which temporarily shall be based in the City of Davao.

All our organizations, however, shall maintain its own independence and initiative, have their own officers, generate and use their own resources, and continue with their own activities. No organization shall be under another organization. No hierarchy. We shall all be co-equal but collaborative and coordinative. We have done it in the past, we shall do it again. Even if we are diverse and different, we can foster unity to attain our common goal of victory.

For our efficient coordination, the SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022 shall issue from time to time Guidelines and Plans of Joint Activities to be agreed upon by consensus. It is up to the various organizations to implement these within their organizations, their territories and their spheres of influence. The objective of these Guidelines and Plans for Joint Activities shall only have one and only purpose - to advance our goal of convincing and helping Mayor Inday Sara Duterte to run for president in 2022.

Our immediate tasks at hand are

- > to continue our full support to President Duterte and the programs of his administration;
- > to continue to express our support for Mayor Inday Sara Duterte,
- > to continue to expand our individual organizations,
- > to strengthen our collaboration and coordination mechanisms
- > to rally the broadest Filipino people here and abroad towards the common goal of supporting Mayor Inday Sara Duterte, and,
- > to be always ready to lend assistance to Mayor Inday Sara Duterte and her team as she goes around the country in her continuing consultations with various groups and individuals.

We remain steadfast in our firm belief that only Mayor Inday Sara Duterte can continue and intensify the reforms instituted by her father, President Duterte. We shall remain committed to this faith believing it is for the Common Good of our people and for a better Philippines.

Ituloy at Paigtingin ang Pagbabago! We call on other organizations to join our crusade. We call on the Filipino people to rally behind Mayor Inday Sara Duterte. We are All For Sara!

SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022.

Nearing the 2022 Philippine elections, SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022 planned to efficiently coordinate joint activities with like-minded groups to ‘advance the goal of convincing Mayor Inday Sara Duterte to run for President in 2022.’ Furthermore, the Facebook groups *Sara Duterte for President Movement*, *Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement*, and *Run Sara Run for President* have coalesced with the SARA ALL PHILIPPINES 2022 alliance. One administrator of these groups admitted to running an operational core group based in Cebu:

Kami talaga ang core member ng Duterte Diehard Supporters (DDS) dito sa Cebu, kasi Cebu-[based] kasi ako noong una naming i-kampanya si Mayor Digong para tumakbong Presidente. Kaya ngayon kami rin ang nagbuo ng Sara Run Movement ng mga kasama ko noon sa Cebu (We are the core members of the Duterte Diehard Supporters here in Cebu. We were also based in Cebu when we campaigned for Mayor Digong to run as President. That is why I initiated the Sara Run Movement in Cebu together with my previous colleagues (Duterte-Carpio supporter 3, personal communication, December 1, 2021)

Furthermore, to echo the similar image and campaign for Duterte-Carpio across the country, the administrator shared how the nationwide organizing team of Duterte-Carpio coordinates with different groups on what information to post and share within their chapters, organizations, and Facebook groups. When asked about the operations of his Cebu core group, the interviewee responds:

Oo mayroon [nagco-coordinate kung paano ika-kampanya si Sara sa Cebu]... ‘di lang siya sa Sara movement pati na rin kay Bongbong Marcos... Nationwide yan at kami ang nagdadala [ng kampanya] dito sa Cebu (Yes, there is someone from the nationwide chapter who coordinates with our group on how to campaign for Sara in Cebu... It is not only a campaign for Sara but for Bongbong Marcos as well... It is nationwide and we are the ones in charge of relaying the campaign here in Cebu) (Duterte-Carpio supporter 3, personal communication, December 1, 2021).

Based on the respondent’s statement, a unified coalition between Duterte-Carpio’s and Ferdinand Marcos’s camps can be said to exist in

late 2021 and even earlier. The role of Facebook as a central player in the coordinated campaign of both candidates is therefore undeniable.

Conclusion

Even as Duterte-Carpio chose not to run for the presidency, analyzing the frames built by the Facebook group members is important as social media is a dominant venue for political communication in contemporary elections. The make-believe frame shows the creativity of Facebook group members through the production of a wide variety of dramatic scripting, taglines, hashtags, and metaphors as image-building strategies. Members of the Facebook groups regard Duterte-Carpio as a fierce woman who also has motherly qualities. Duterte-Carpio is also framed using cultural symbolisms, likening her to the Philippine eagle, and using spirituality to campaign for her presidential bid.

Secondly, Duterte-Carpio's candidacy is framed as popular and indispensable using the contest frame. Contest frames are often encoded as different games, polls, competitions, and simulations. Facebook group members key Duterte-Carpio's popularity and indispensability through initiating mock elections, sharing favorable survey results, and facilitating discussions on possible tandems. Not only do these frames situate Duterte-Carpio as a strong and viable candidate. The frames also stir engagement and discourses on election-related matters. The transmission of information, especially in these online communities, may then further influence the political views of the Facebook group members.

Lastly, ceremonial frames emphasize a strategic campaign for Duterte-Carpio. Coalition-building and orchestrating public clamor through the Facebook groups involve organizing activities to demand a Duterte-Carpio presidency. Members use the Facebook groups to establish networks for election campaigns, intensify a positive image for Duterte-Carpio across the country, and encourage participation in both in-person and online activities. Through the Facebook groups, members are mobilized to forge a collective clamor for a Duterte-Carpio presidency.

For Duterte-Carpio's personality and issue presentations, she is often seen by the supporters of the current administration as a continuity candidate who will enact programs and policies of Rodrigo Duterte. This is evident in the use of taglines and imagery that highlight the blood relations and similarities of Rodrigo Duterte and Duterte-Carpio. Themes

of continuity are also accompanied by salient issues and projects—infrastructure development, drugs, peace and order, anti-insurgency—of the Duterte administration expected to be sustained by Duterte-Carpio.

The foregoing findings point to three conclusions: (1) there is no singular frame for Duterte-Carpio's candidacy but her different frames insinuate a strong public clamor for her bid; (2) the campaign carries over existing campaign strategies to the 2022 elections, specifically a more active involvement of voters in the campaign communication of politicians; and (3) campaigns energized by groups of individuals are seen to be more genuine and representative of the people's sentiments (Merez, 2021). Each of these points will be discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

First, there is no singular frame built and echoed by the Facebook groups as these frames mirror the various ways in which individuals perceive and make sense of Duterte-Carpio's possible bid. The disadvantage of having no singular frame for Duterte-Carpio is the lack of clear messaging about what she stands for as a candidate or what she represents. This clear message is needed especially if Duterte-Carpio's team wishes to go beyond the emphasis on the continuity of Rodrigo Duterte's perceived legacies. However, though the frames may be different, they nonetheless make it appear that there is clamor from the grassroots for a Duterte-Carpio presidency. Taken collectively, the Facebook groups frame Duterte-Carpio as a favored, popular, and indispensable candidate; and that her campaign is a strategic, widely supported, and highly endorsed candidacy. Framing Duterte-Carpio's candidacy that way insinuates a supposed organic and collective public behind her bid.

Having no experience holding an elective, national position (Lema, 2021), Duterte-Carpio remains to be a relatively new player in national politics. However, compared to her opponents, Duterte-Carpio's image is built as a rising, sought-after, and preferred neophyte presidential candidate. As a campaign communication strategy, grassroots level clamor is not new. Reluctance as a political strategy has been used by Rodrigo Duterte in heightening his 2016 last-minute campaign (Lema, 2021). In the 2022 elections, Duterte-Carpio used the same tactic to file her last-minute vice-presidential bid as a supposed response to public clamor (Ramos, 2022).

Second, the campaign carries over existing campaign strategies to the 2022 elections, specifically the more active involvement of voters in the campaign communication of politicians. This study uncovered the various sentiments and aspirations of the interviewees in choosing the next leaders. There is preference for leaders who are willful and tough-looking (Labastin, 2018, p. 32) and for candidates who present solutions to drugs and insurgency (Bello, 2017, p. 22-25), among others. Members of these groups argue and frame Duterte-Carpio as the only candidate who embodies these favored qualities. The Facebook groups, as an example of a virtual grassroots platform, thus provide voters with opportunities to communicate their own messages instead of merely relying on the messages communicated by politicians.

Finally, campaigns energized by groups of individuals are seen to be more genuine and representative of the people's sentiments (Merez, 2021). Online communities are widely used to heighten awareness and support for specific candidates. In the case of the Facebook groups, the online communities were used for coalition-building initiatives and to mobilize like-minded individuals, groups, and alliances to participate in campaign-planning meetings and political motorcades. As a campaign strategy, the Facebook groups capitalized on a supposed bottom-up communication or grassroots clamor to make a candidate popular and seem winnable. Public relations and advertising agencies may thus do well to engage netizens in upcoming elections through providing opportunities for them to participate in both online and offline political campaigns. A candidate that seems to be widely supported by the public, both in-person and in social media, may have an advantage over a candidate who is not perceived to have public backing at all. The researchers emphasize, however, the need for ethical forms of campaigning in the future to avoid disinformation and black propaganda.

For future research that aims to analyze female candidates and their campaign strategies, the researchers recommend inquiring into the use of gendered rhetoric and how it affects the perspectives of voters toward women leaders. Furthermore, studies may also be conducted to explore the role of culture and its effects on election-related strategies. Concentrating on these areas will help uncover underlying values important to the public. Finally, while this study was able to interview members and administrators of the Facebook groups, most respondents belonged to a relatively small demographic from the southern regions of the Philippines. Thus, the researchers recommend looking for

The PCS Review 2022

respondents who belong to other chapters or the nationwide organizing team of the SARA ALL 2022 PHILIPPINES coalition to uncover the different mechanisms used for campaigning and coalition-building for Duterte-Carpio.

References

- Banda, K. (2019). Issue ownership cues and candidate support. *Party Politics*, 27(3), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068819869901>
- Barker, A. (2021, June 27). *Meet Sara Duterte: She Gets into Fist Fights, rides motorbikes and might be the Philippines' next President*. ABC News. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-06-27/sara-duterte-from-fist-fights-to-presidential-frontrunner/100213174>
- Baturo, A. & Gray, J. (2018). When Do Family Ties Matter? The Duration of Female Suffrage and Women's Path to High Political Office. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(3), 695. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918759438>
- Bautista, L. (2020). THE ONES WHO DON'T WALK AWAY FROM THE PHILIPPINES. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 275-292. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881319-016>
- Bello, W. (2017). The Spider Spins His Web: Rodrigo Duterte's Ascent to Power. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 65, 19-47. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45014308>
- Biyaheng DO30. City Government of Davao. (2018, November 8). Retrieved September 6, 2021, from <https://www.davaocity.gov.ph/know-davao-city/biyaheng-do30/>
- Brooks, J. (2007). Understanding Virtuality: Contributions from Goffman's "Frame Analysis". *School of Information Studies – Faculty Scholarship*, 87, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-73025-7_15
- Carlisle, J. & Patton, R. (2013). Is Social Media Changing How We Understand Political Engagement? An Analysis of Facebook and the 2008 Presidential Election. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(4), 883-895. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912913482758>
- Castro, N. (2019). The Interface Between Religion and Politics In the Philippines Based Data From Recent Philippine Elections. *International Journal of Interreligious and Intercultural Studies*, 2(2), 102. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ijjis.vol2.iss2.2019.454>
- Chi, T. (2019). A Behavior Analytic Translation of Erving Goffman's Frame Analysis. *Graduate School of Professional Psychology: Doctoral Papers and Masters Projects*, 355, 1-40. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from https://digitalcommons.du.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1355&context=capstone_masters
- Choi, J. (2001). Philippine Democracies Old and New. Elections, Term Limits, and Party Systems. *Asian Survey*, 41(3), 503. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2001.41.3.488>

- CNN Philippines. (2021, April 23). *Sara Duterte again leads poll on preferred 2022 presidential bets*. <https://www.cnn.ph/news/2021/4/23/sara-duterte-pulse-asia-2022-presidential-election-survey.html>
- Contreras, A. (2020, February 1). Labels and political tagging. *The Manila Times*. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/02/01/opinion/columnists/topanalysis/labels-and-political-tagging/678791>
- Cupin, B. (2022, March 2). *Sara, the other Duterte*. Rappler.com. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/profile-rodrigo-daughter-sara-duterte/>
- Curato, N. (2016a). Flirting with authoritarian fantasies? Rodrigo Duterte and the new terms of Philippine populism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(1), 142-153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2016.1239751>
- Curato, N. (2016b). Politics of Anxiety, Politics of Hope: Penal Populism and Duterte's Rise to Power. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 35(3), 91-109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341603500305>
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Escosio, J. (2021, August 6). Sara Duterte has a mind of her own – Del Rosario. *Inquirer.net*. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1469991/sara-duterte-has-a-mind-of-her-own-del-rosario>
- Etter, L. (2017, December 7). *What Happens When the Government Uses Facebook as a Weapon?* Bloomberg Businessweek. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2017-12-07/how-rodrigo-duterte-turned-facebook-into-a-weapon-with-a-little-help-from-facebook>
- Fridkin, K., Courey, J., Thompson, J., & Wintersieck, A. (2017). Race and Police Brutality: The Importance of Media Framing. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 3394-3414. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/6950/2117>
- Gamson, W. & Lasch, K. (1983). The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy. *Evaluating the welfare state: Social and Political perspectives*, 407-408. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-657980-2.50032-2>
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harper and Row.
- Gonzales, C. (2021, November 13). PFP adopts Sara Duterte as Bongbong Marcos' running mate. *Inquirer.net*. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1514393/pfp-adopts-sara-duterte-as-bongbong-marcos-runningmate>

- Gregorio, X. (2021, October 2). Sara Duterte seeks reelection as Davao City mayor. *Philippine Star*. <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2021/10/02/2131323/sara-duterte-seeks-reelection-davao-city-mayor>
- Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven Models of Framing: Implicit for Public Relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 11(3), 205-242. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532754xjpr1103_02
- Hill, M. (2014). 'Bomb Talk' and Erving Goffman's Frame Analysis. *Sociology Department, Faculty Publications*, 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.4135/978144627305013517479>
- Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement. (2021, June 10). *A mother a wife the mayor and soon to be our president... Inday Sara Duterte*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/542590390083569](https://www.facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/542590390083569).
- Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement. (2021, March 4). *Daughterte 2022*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/483747979301144/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/483747979301144/).
- Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement. (2021, January 17). *Para sa Bayan, Para sa mga Pilipino, Tuloy ang Laban Inday!* [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/458070755202200/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/458070755202200/).
- Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement. (2021, January 29). *Project of the century*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/464876207854988/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/464876207854988/).
- Inday Sara Duterte for President Movement. (2021, September 6). *The Strong Woman and Most Qualified to Lead*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1024831938273198/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1024831938273198/).
- Kabiling, G. (2021, June 3). Sara Duterte still undecided on 2022 presidential run, says Roque. *F*. <https://mb.com.ph/2021/06/03/sara-duterte-still-undecided-on-2022-presidential-run-says-roque/>
- Kemp, S. (2021, February 11). *Digital 2021: The Philippines*. Data Reportal. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-philippines>
- Khairuddin, M. (2017). Power of Posts: A Quantitative analysis of Facebook Election Campaigning Interactions. *Bulletin of the Australian Mathematical Society*, 96(2), 345-347. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0004972717000521>
- Klousis, S., Strömback, J., & Mcdevitt, M. (2015). Influence of Issue Decision Salience on Vote Choice: Linking Agenda Setting, Priming, and Issue Ownership. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 3347-

3368. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/3008/1487>
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications.
- Labastin, B. (2018). Two Faces of Duterteismo: Two Visions of Democracy in the Philippines. *Social Ethics Society Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 31-54. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from http://ses-journal.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2_Labastin_Special-Issue_Dec2018.pdf
- Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (2018, October 28). *Who remembers Goffman?* Oxford University Press. <https://blog.oup.com/2018/10/remembering-erving-goffman/>
- Lema, K. (2021, April 15). 'Run, Sara, Run': Is Duterte's daughter playing her father's game? Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/run-sara-run-is-dutertes-daughter-playing-her-fathers-game-2021-04-15/>
- Littlejohn, S., & Foss, K. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. Sage Publications.
- Macaraig, A. (2015, June 10). *Binay hoping for 'secret' Aquino support*. Rappler.com. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/95883-binay-aquino-secret-support/>
- Manila Bulletin. (2021, December 14). *A call for caution on political motorcades and caravans*. <https://mb.com.ph/2021/12/14/a-call-for-caution-on-political-motorcades-and-caravans/>
- Marquez, C. (2021, July 23). *Pulse Asia: Sara leads presidential bets, Duterte leads VP polls for Eleksyon 2022*. GMA News Online. <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/795168/pulse-asia-sara-leads-presidential-bets-duterte-leads-vp-polls-for-eleksyon-2022/story/>
- Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(2), 349-367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900908600206>
- McNamara, C. (1999). General Guidelines for Conducting Interviews. *Field Guide to Consulting and Organizational Development*, 1-3. Retrieved April 30, 2022, from <https://napequity.org/wp-content/uploads/10j-General-Guidelines-for-Conducting-Interviews.pdf>
- Mercado, N. A. (2022, May 13). *Sara Duterte Tells Supporters: Be Humble, We Won*. Inquirer.net. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1597279/sara-duterte-tells-supporters-be-humble-we-won>

- Merez, A. (2020, October 19). *Sara Duterte is Her Father's 'Alpha,' How Far Can She Flex Her Power?* Reportr. <https://www.reportr.world/news/sara-duterte-is-a-kingmaker-who-could-be-eyeing-the-crown-a4671-20201020-lfrm>
- Merez, A. (2021, October 11). *#LetLeniLead, #RunSaraRun: Politics of Public Clamor Explained*. Reportr. <https://www.reportr.world/news/let-leni-lead-run-sara-run-what-happens-when-voters-court-politicians-for-elections-a4736-20211011>
- Montiel, C. (2002). *Philippine Political Culture: Views from the Inside the Halls of Power*. Philippine Governance Forum.
- Muraoka, T. (2018). Political Dynasties and Particularistic Campaigns. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(2), 453-466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917745163>
- Palicte, C. (2021, March 16). *Grand 'Run, Sara, Run' caravan set in Manila March 21*. Philippine News Agency. <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1133731>
- Pan, Z. & Kosicki, G. (1993). Framing Analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10, 55-76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>
- Patinio, F. (2021, November 13). *Sara Duterte to run as VP in May 2022 polls*. Philippine News Agency. <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1159670>
- Pulse Asia Research, Inc. (n.d.). ROPER Center For Public Opinion Research. Retrieved September 6, 2021, from <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/pulse-asia-research-inc>
- Pulse Asia Research Inc. (2020). *November 2020 Nationwide Survey on the May 2022 Elections*. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://www.pulseasia.ph/pulse-asia-researchs-november-2020-nationwide-survey-on-the-may-2022-national-elections/>
- Pulse Asia Research Inc. (2021a). *February 2021 Nationwide Survey on the May 2022 Elections*. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://www.pulseasia.ph/february-2021-nationwide-survey-on-the-may-2022-elections/>
- Pulse Asia Research Inc. (2021b). *September 2021 Nationwide Survey on the May 2022 Elections*. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://www.pulseasia.ph/september-2021-nationwide-survey-on-the-may-2022-elections/>
- Ramos, C. (2022, March 18). Sara Duterte bids farewell to Davao City for 'bigger challenge' ahead. *Inquirer.net*. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1570342/sara-duterte-bids-farewell-to-davao-city-for-bigger-challenge-ahead>

- Ranada, P. (2018, January 27). *The Dutertes: A family in the national spotlight*. Rappler.com. <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/in-depth/duterte-family-profile>
- Ranada, P. (2021, July 13). *Duterte-Duterte lead in Pulse Asia poll*. Rappler.com. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/rodrigo-sara-duterte-tandem-leads-pulse-asia-survey-june-2021>
- Reuter, O.J. & Szakonyi, D. (2015). Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes. *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(1), 29-51. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123413000203>
- Reuters. (2018, August 18). *Philippine president's daughter Sara Duterte seems have big ambitions of her own - and the Marcos family could be the key*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/2160352/philippine-presidents-daughter-sara-duterte-seems-have-big>
- Rodrigues, U. & Niemann, M. (2017). Social media as a platform for incessant communication: A case study of Modi's "Clean India" campaign. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 3431-3453. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319291638_Social_Media_as_a_Platform_for_Incessant_Political_Communication_A_Case_Study_of_Modi's_Clean_India_Campaign
- Romero, R. (2021, June 17). Questions for likely candidate Sara Duterte. *Manila Standard*. <https://www.manilastandard.net/opinion/columns/business-class-by-rudy-romero/357320/questions-for-likely-candidate-sara-duterte.html>
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, August 5). *Duterte Pa Rin*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1002774830478909/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1002774830478909/).
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, April 27). *For God, Country, and Family*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/936216390468087/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/936216390468087/).
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, August 7). *Maging Ina ng Bayan*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1004226793667046/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1004226793667046/).
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, September 18). *Mindanao Supporters Convened to give all out support for Mayor Inday Sara Duterte to Run for President*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1016387625038290/permalink/4807149949295353/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1016387625038290/permalink/4807149949295353/).

The PCS Review 2022

- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, April 3). *Tatay Digong and Ate Inday ay Biyaya*. [Status update]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/920461868710206/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/920461868710206/).
- RUN SARARUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, September 11). *The Great President of the Philippine History and the Legendary Mayor of Davao City*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1028694897886902/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1028694897886902/).
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, May 14). *Think Before You Tweet*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/946713486085044](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/946713486085044).
- RUN SARA RUN for PRESIDENT. (2021, August 17). *Tula sa Agilang Nasa Palasyo at Agilang Tagapagmana*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1010992942990431/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/1010992942990431/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, February 13). *Iiyak ang mga dilawan at terorista nito*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1900315043440821/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1900315043440821/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, October 20). *Inday Sara Youth Network*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2109002605905396/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2109002605905396/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, September 29). *Kahit wala pang decision si Mayor Inday Sara Duterte na tumakbo sa 2022, Cla pa rin ang sigaw ng Taongbayan*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2091401040998886/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2091401040998886/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, August 1). *LOOK | Lipad Agila Lipad Grand Launch Caravan ng Davao Region*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2044102225728768/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2044102225728768/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, May 27). *May war drones na ang Pilipinas*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1989660384506286/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1989660384506286/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, October 2). *Pastor Apollo Quiboloy Tinawag na Woman of Destiny si Sara Duterte*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2093573944114929](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2093573944114929).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, February 5). *Pulso ng Bayan*. [Status update]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1898089776996681/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1898089776996681/).

- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, March 19). *Run Sara, Run! Manila Grand Caravan*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1928441830628142/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1928441830628142/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, September 19). *Sara Duterte 2022*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2091499260989064](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/posts/2091499260989064).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, October 31). *Sara Green Caravan*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2118142728324717/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/2118142728324717/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, January 12). *Serbisyong Duterte, Tatak Duterte*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1874388862700106/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1496139613858368/permalink/1874388862700106/).
- SARA Duterte for President Movement. (2021, August 12). *Sino iboto mo kung ngayon ang Halalan 2022?* [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/582968656045742/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/452799272396015/permalink/582968656045742/).
- SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS. (2021, January 8). *Ano kaya ang magandang kombinasyon o ka tandem ni Mayor Sara sa darating na 2022?* [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/SaraDuterteForPresidentMovement/photos/a.11111467063934/243613430480403/?type=3](https://www.facebook.com/SaraDuterteForPresidentMovement/photos/a.11111467063934/243613430480403/?type=3).
- SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS. (2021, June 2). *Pulso Ng Bayan*. [Image attached]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/958469011576158/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/881744732581920/permalink/958469011576158/).
- SARA DUTERTE SOLID SUPPORTERS. (2021, August 4). *Sara All Philippines 2022*. [Status update]. Facebook. [facebook.com/groups/1016387625038290/permalink/4664904573519892/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/1016387625038290/permalink/4664904573519892/).
- Shaw, E. (2013, May 31). Frame Analysis. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/frame-analysis>
- Sinpeng, A., Gueorguiev, D., & Arugay, A. (2020). Strong Fans, Weak Campaigns: Social Media and Duterte in the 2016 Philippine Election. *Journal of East Asia Studies*, 20, 353-374. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2020.11>
- Statista Research Department. (2021, August 13). *Number of Facebook users Philippines 2017-2026*. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/490455/number-of-philippines-facebook-users/>
- Steffan, D. (2020). Visual Self-Presentation Strategies of Political Candidates on Social Media Platforms: A Comparative Study. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 3096-3118. Retrieved April 30, 2022 from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/13128/3111>

- SunStar Davao. (2010, June 28). *Mayor wants to be called 'Inday Sara'*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140416180623/http://www.sunstar.com.ph/davao/mayor-wants-be-called-inday-sara>
- Swearingen, J. (2018, September 4). *Facebook Used the Philippines to Test Free Internet. Then a Dictator Was Elected*. *Intelligencer*. <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/09/how-facebooks-free-internet-helped-elect-a-dictator.html>
- Tatcho, O. (2020). Beyond strategic maneuvering: Embodied storytelling as Duterte's form of argumentation. *Humanities Diliman: A Philippine Journal of Humanities*, 17(1), 34-62. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748925415-76>
- Thompson, M. (2007). *Presidentas and People Power in Comparative Asian Perspective*. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 28(51), 1-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01154451.2007.9723500>

About the Authors

VENICE MICAH DIN NIEVA is a BA Communication (major in Speech Communication) student at the University of the Philippines Baguio. Since 2020, she has worked with various digital communication teams such as Rappler (intern), Amnesty PH UP Baguio (media, communications, and publications officer), and Unpollute (social media manager).

AYRA DORINE FAMADOR GALLEMA is a BA Communication (major in Speech Communication) student at the University of the Philippines Baguio. Since 2010, she has served select communities as a member of her student and church councils. Her interests include performing arts, audio-visual production, socio-civic involvement, and political leadership.

ORVILLE B. TATCHO is an Assistant Professor and the Chair of the Department of Communication, University of the Philippines Baguio. In 2021, he earned his PhD in Communication from the University of Alabama as a Fulbright-CHED scholar in the USA. His research interests include presidential debates, political messaging in electoral campaigns, and rhetoric.

