

Country: Philippines

Years: 1946-1947

Leader: Roxas

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Liberal Party (PL/LP). DPI does not identify PL's ideology until 2001, whereupon it identifies the party as centrist. The Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, the Liberal Party was "organized by slightly left-of-center elements that split from the *Nacionalistas* in 1946", and "was organized in 1946 by a group of centrist *Nacionalista* dissidents." Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Roxas also as PL and ideology of PL as center: "Manuel Roxas y Acuña | 1946 (28 mai) | 1948 (15 avril) | Parti libéral | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre]." World Statesmen (2019) concurs, writing "PL = Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party of the Philippines, centrist, split from PN, est.1946)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 6.9. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.907) in 1987 with "A high level of visible disagreement". Britannica (2021b) writes "Roxas was elected president of the Commonwealth in 1946 as the nominee of the liberal wing of the Nacionalista Party (which became the Liberal Party)".

Years: 1948-1952

Leader: Quirino

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Liberal Party (PL). DPI does not identify PL's ideology until 2001, whereupon it identifies the party as centrist. The Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, the Liberal Party was "organized by slightly left-of-center elements that split from the *Nacionalistas* in 1946", and "was organized in 1946 by a group of centrist *Nacionalista* dissidents." Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Quirino as PL and ideology of PL as center: "Elpidio Quirino y Rivera | 1948 (16 avril) | 1949 | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre]" and "Elpidio Quirino y Rivera | 1949 () | 1953 (30 décembre) | Parti libéral | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre]." World Statesmen (2019) concurs, writing "PL = Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party of the Philippines, centrist, split from PN, est.1946)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 6.9. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader

party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.907) in 1987 with "A high level of visible disagreement".

Years: 1953-1956

Leader: Magsaysay

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as National Party/*Nacionalista* Party (PN). DPI does not identify PN's ideology. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PN's ideology as right, writing "Nacionalista Party (NP). Essentially the right wing of the Philippines' oldest party (formed in 1907), the Nacionalistas had been reduced by 1988 to a relatively minor formation within the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD), which had been organized by former defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, prior to the 1987 congressional election as an anti-Aquino and anticommunist formation".

Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Magsaysay as PN and ideology of PN as right: "Ramon Magsaysay y del Fierro | 1953 (30 décembre) | 1957 (17 mars) | Parti nationaliste | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Nacionalista Party (NP) as 6.4. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Right" (2.176) in 1987.

Years: 1957-1960

Leader: Garcia

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as National Party/*Nacionalista* Party (PN). DPI does not identify PN's ideology. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PN's ideology as right, writing "Nacionalista Party (NP). Essentially the right wing of the Philippines' oldest party (formed in 1907), the Nacionalistas had been reduced by 1988 to a relatively minor formation within the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD), which had been organized by former defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, prior to the 1987 congressional election as an anti-Aquino and anticommunist formation".

Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Garcia as PN and ideology of PN as right: "Carlos Polestico García | 1957 () | 1961 (31 décembre) | Parti nationaliste | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]" and "Carlos Polestico García | 1957 (17 mars) | 1957 | Parti nationaliste | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Nacionalista Party (NP) as 6.4. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Right" (2.176) in 1987.

Years: 1961-1964

Leader: Macapagal

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Liberal Party (PL). DPI does not identify PL's ideology until 2001, whereupon it identifies the party as centrist. The Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, the Liberal Party was "organized by slightly left-of-center elements that split from the *Nacionalistas* in 1946", and "was organized in 1946 by a group of centrist *Nacionalista* dissidents." Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Macapagal as PL and ideology of PL as center: "Diosdado Pañgan Macapagal | 1961 (31 décembre) | 1965 (30 décembre) | Parti libéral | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre]." World Statesmen (2019) concurs, writing "PL = Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party of the Philippines, centrist, split from PN, est.1946)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 6.9. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.907) in 1987 with "A high level of visible disagreement".

Years: 1965-1985

Leader: Marcos

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as National Party/*Nacionalista* Party (PN) until 1977, and as Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (New Society Movement Party, KBL) afterwards. DPI does not identify PN's or KBL's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies Ferdinand Marcos as right. Perspective monde identifies affiliation of Marcos as PN and KBL and ideology of PN and KBL as right: "Ferdinand Edralin Marcos | 1965 (30 décembre) | 1969 (30 décembre) | Parti nationaliste | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]," "Ferdinand Edralin Marcos 1969 (30 décembre) 1972 (21 septembre) Parti nationaliste | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]," "Ferdinand Edralin Marcos | 1972 (21 septembre) | 1981 (30 juin) | Parti nationaliste, Mouvement nouvelle société | [Accession autoritaire ou militaire]," "Ferdinand Edralin Marcos | 1981 (30 juin) | 1986 (25 février) | Mouvement nouvelle société | [Nul] | [Accession autoritaire ou militaire] | [Droite modérée]" and "Ferdinand Edralin Marcos | 1986 (25 février) 1986 (25 février) | Mouvement nouvelle société | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Droite modérée]." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Nacionalista Party (NP) as 6.4. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right"

(0.907) in 1987 with “Some visible disagreement”, as “Center” (-0.125) in 1978 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, and as “Center-right” (1.109) in 1984 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”.

Years: 1986-1991

Leader: Aquino

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Democratic Organization (UNIDO). DPI does not identify UNIDO's ideology. Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Cojuangco-Aquino as UNIDO and identifies ideology of UNIDO as center: “Maria Corazon Cojuangco Aquino | 1986 (25 février) | 1992 (30 juin) | Organisation nationaliste démocratique unie | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre].” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Aquino's party as PDP-LP+UNIDO, and PDP-LP's ideology as centre, writing “**PDP-LP** = Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (Philippine Democratic Party-People's Power, centrist, social conservative, est.1982)”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify UNIDO's ideology as “Center-right” (1.261) in 1984 with “Some visible disagreement” and as “Center-right” (1.238) in 1987 with “A high level of visible disagreement”, and PDP-LP as “Center” (0.429) in 1987 with “A high level of visible disagreement”. Dolan (1991) writes “Aquino had to perform a delicate balancing act between left and right, within society at large and later within her own cabinet... Aquino entered the presidency with a mandate to undertake a new direction in economic policy. Her initial cabinet contained individuals from across the political spectrum. Over time, however, the cabinet became increasingly homogeneous, particularly with respect to economic perspective, reflecting the strong influence of the powerful business community and international creditors. The businesspeople and technocrats who directed the Central Bank and headed the departments of finance and trade and industry became the decisive voices in economic decision making... It soon became clear that the plight of the people had been subordinated largely to the requirements of private enterprise and the world economy... Criticism of the Aquino administration came from all parts of the political spectrum. Filipino communists refused to participate in a government they saw as a thin cover for oligarchy. The democratic left criticized Aquino for abandoning sweeping reform and for her probusiness and pro-American policies... The far right (sugar barons, military malcontents, and ex-Marcos cronies) characterized her as naive and ineffective and ridiculed her for being what she always said she was, a "simple housewife... The National Economic and Development Authority Medium-Term Development Plan, 1987-92 reflected Aquino's campaign themes... The private sector was described as both the "initiator" and "prime mover" of the country's

development; hence, the government was "to encourage and support private initiative," and state participation in the economy was to be minimized and decentralized... as with previous plans, the goals and objectives were to be realized, trickle-down fashion... The plan also involved implementing more appropriate, market-oriented fiscal and monetary policies, achieving a more liberal trade policy based on comparative advantage”.

Years: 1992-1997

Leader: Ramos

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People’s Power - National Union of Christian Democrats (LEN-NUCD/Lakas-N). DPI identifies LEN-NUCD’s ideology as center. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on LEN-NUCD’s ideology. While Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Ramos as LEN-NUCD and ideology of LEN-NUCD as right: “Fidel Valdez Ramos | 1992 (30 juin) | 1998 (30 juin) | Pouvoir populaire - Union nationale des chrétiens démocrates | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre droit].”, World Statesmen (2019) identifies affiliation of Ramos as Lakas-CMD and identifies ideology of Lakas-CMD as center, corroborating DPI’s assessment: “30 Jun 1992 - 30 Jun 1998 Fidel Valdez Ramos (b. 1928) Lakas-CMD: “Lakas-CMD = Lakas-Demokratikong Kristiyano at Muslim (People's Power - Christian Muslim Democrats, centrist, christian/islamic democracy, 2008-2012 named Lakas-Kampi-CMD, est.1991).” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.651) in 1992 with “Negligible visible disagreement” and as “Center-right” (1.662) in 1995 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. Guillermo and Win (1997) write “In the presidential elections of 1992... Ramos demonstrated his centrist positions in the middle of the political spectrum”. Britannica (2021a) writes “Ramos was elected to succeed Aquino in May 1992. As president he purged the national police force of corrupt officers; encouraged family-planning practices to curb the growth of the country’s population; and liberalized the Philippines’ heavily protected economy in order to spur economic growth.”

Years: 1998-2000

Leader: Estrada

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Struggle of the Philippines Masses/ *Partido ng Masang Pilipino* (LMP/PMP). Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Estrada as LMP and ideology of

LMP as right: “Joseph Marcelo Ejercito Estrada | 1998 (30 juin) | 2001 (20 janvier) | Lutte des masses philippines | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre droit].” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.01) in 1998.

Years: 2001-2009

Leader: Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People’s Power - National Union of Christian Democrats - United Muslim Democrats of the Philippines (LEN-UCD-UMDP/Lakas-CMD) until 2008 and does not identify party affiliation in 2009. Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Macapagal-Arroyo as LEN-UCD-UMDP until 2004 and Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan sa Kinabukasan (K4 or Coalition of Truth and Experience for Tomorrow) from 2004 to 2010: “Maria Gloria Macapagal Arroyo | 2001 (20 janvier) | 2004 (30 juin) | Pouvoir populaire - Union nationale des chrétiens démocrates - Démocrates musulmans unis des Philippines | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre droit]” and “Maria Gloria Macapagal Arroyo | 2004 (30 juin) | 2010 (30 juin) | Coalition de la vérité et de l'expérience pour demain | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle]” World Statesmen (2019) identifies affiliation of Macapagal-Arroyo as KAMPI until 2009 and Lakas-CMD afterwards: “20 Jan 2001 - 30 Jun 2010 Maria Gloria Macaraeg Macapagal- (b. 1947) KAMPI;2009 Arroyo (f) Lakas-CMD.” DPI identifies LEN-UCD-UMDP’s ideology as center, yet its source, the Political Handbook of the World, does not provide any evidence to justify the coding. Perspective monde (2019) identifies ideology of LEN-UCD-UMDP and K4 as right: “Maria Gloria Macapagal Arroyo | 2001 (20 janvier) | 2004 (30 juin) | Pouvoir populaire - Union nationale des chrétiens démocrates - Démocrates musulmans unis des Philippines | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre droit]” and “Maria Gloria Macapagal Arroyo | 2004 (30 juin) | 2010 (30 juin) | Coalition de la vérité et de l'expérience pour demain | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre droit]” World Statesmen (2019) identifies ideology of KAMPI as right (“KAMPI = Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (Partner of the Free Filipino, populist, center-right, 1997-2009, merged into Lakas-CMD).”) and ideology of Lakas-CMD as center: “Lakas-CMD = Lakas-Demokratikong Kristiyano at Muslim (People's Power - Christian Muslim Democrats, centrist, christian/islamic democracy, 2008-2012 named Lakas-Kampi-CMD, est.1991).” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.662) in 2001, 2004, and 2007. Ortiz de Zárate (2001) writes

“Arroyo outlined a return to the liberal-minded management and efficient image of the Ramos era, characterized by market deregulation, budget austerity and privatizations.”

Years: 2010-2015

Leader: Benigno Aquino III

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 1156) writes:

“President: Benigno S. AQUINO III (Liberal Party (*Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas*, LP/ PLP/PL)); [was] popularly elected on May 10, 2010.” DPI identifies PL’s ideology as center. The *Political Handbook of the World* (2015) elaborates, the Liberal Party was “organized by slightly left-of-center elements that split from the *Nacionalistas* in 1946”, and “was organized in 1946 by a group of centrist *Nacionalista* dissidents.” *Perspective monde* (2019) identifies affiliation of Aquino as LP and ideology of LP as center: “Benigno Aquino III | 2010 (30 juin) | 2016 (30 juin) | Parti libéral | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Centre].” *World Statesmen* (2019) concurs, writing “PL = Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party of the Philippines, centrist, split from PN, est.1946).” In the *Global Party Survey 2019*, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 6.9. In *V-Party* (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.984) in 2010 and 2013 with “Negligible visible disagreement”.

Years: 2016-2020

Leader: Rodrigo Duterte

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Perspective monde* (2019) identifies party of Duterte as Partido Demokratiko Pilipino–Lakas ng Bayan/ Philippine Democratic Party – People's Power (PDP-Laban), and PDP-Laban’s ideology as left: “Rodrigo Duterte | 2016 (30 juin) | Parti démocratique philippin/Pouvoir populaire | [Intermédiaire] | [En fonction d'une décision du élection présidentielle] | [Gauche modérée].” DPI identifies ideology of PDP-Laban as left. *Political Handbook of the World* does not provide any information on PDP-Laban’s ideology. *World Statesmen* (2019) identifies party of Duterte as PDP-Laban and ideology of PDP-Laban as center: “30 Jun 2016 - Rodrigo Roa Duterte (b. 1945) PDP-LP ... PDP-LP = Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (Philippine Democratic Party-People's Power, centrist, social conservative, est.1982).” In the *Global Party Survey 2019*, 22 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Philippine Democratic

Party-People's Power (PDB LA) as 7.0. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.429) in 1987 with "A high level of visible disagreement" and as "Center-right" (0.934) in 2019 with "Negligible visible disagreement". Funke et al. (2020) identify Duterte as a "right-wing populist". Curato (2017) writes "While Duterte has made campaign promises consistent with what might be considered a socialist agenda, such as putting an end to unfair labour practices, breaking up oligarchies and speeding up land reform, his broader economic agenda of attracting foreign investments and investing in public-private partnerships continues to take a neo-liberal character". Capuno (2020) writes "the economy grew robustly under President Benigno Aquino III... whose policies were reformist and not populist. While Aquino expanded the coverage of the pro-poor conditional cash transfer program initiated by his predecessor (Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo), this program, like those in Latin America and South Asia, is not populist. In fact, it is reformist and, like most of President Aquino's economic policies, has a liberal economic orientation. For his own economic agenda, Duterte said he would simply copy his predecessor's agenda... This paper first distinguishes and then relates Duterte's authoritarian-populist political style ("Dutertismo") and his economic agenda ("Dutertenomics"). The distinction follows from Duterte's lack of interest in economic affairs, a task he has delegated to his team of economic managers... this team ably pushes, though not always successfully, liberal economic reforms (the core of Dutertenomics)... Dutertismo does not neatly fit the left-wing populism in Latin America or the right-wing populism in Europe. Not a left-wing populist, Duterte did not promise the poor anything more than his rivals." Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Philippine Democratic Party-Power of the Nation.

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