

‘We Will Shoot You in The Vagina’: Phallocentric Populism and Women in Time of Rodrigo Duterte*

Venes Carmelo Tiñana Banquiles
*Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín, Colombia***

Abstract

This article analyzes former Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte’s phallocentric leadership by exploring the connection between his populism, misogyny, and sexism. Duterte, known for his regional background and street-style rhetoric, positioned himself as an outsider to the political elite, which resonated with the Filipino masses. His presidency both worsened existing systems and challenged traditional Filipino values and beliefs. A self-professed womanizer, Duterte often flaunted his sexist and misogynistic views, with his own phallus as a symbol of his dominance. This tactic silenced critics, both male and female, and reinforced gender inequality. His hypermasculinity became his political tool. This study uses critical discourse analysis to examine Duterte’s misogynistic statements and discusses the phallus from feminist perspectives. Just as Duterte is vocal about his penis, it is essential for us to engage in a theoretical discourse about what it really embodies.

Keywords: Philippines, Duterte, Phallocentric, Populism, Feminism

Resumen

Este artículo analiza el liderazgo falocéntrico del expresidente filipino Rodrigo Duterte, explorando la conexión entre su populismo, misoginia y sexismo. Duterte, conocido por su origen regional y su retórica callejera, se presentó como una persona ajena frente a la élite política, lo que resonó con las masas filipinas. Su presidencia agravó los sistemas existentes y desafió los valores tradicionales filipinos.

* This article is a product of an independent research by the author. At the time of writing, the author was at the Centro de Lenguas of Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana. Although not formally affiliated neither through a program enrollment nor through employment, the author nonetheless prefers that the article be representative of the institution to which he was linked while writing this work.

** Anthropologist (MA) from the University of Miskolc, Hungary. Year 2023. Student at Centro de Lenguas of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana. venes.new@gmail.com.

Autoproclamado mujeriego, Duterte a menudo exhibía sus puntos de vista sexistas y misóginos, utilizando su propio falo como símbolo de dominación. Esta táctica silenció a sus críticos y reforzó la desigualdad de género. Su hipermasculinidad se convirtió en una herramienta política. Este estudio utiliza el análisis crítico del discurso para examinar las declaraciones misóginas de Duterte y aborda el falo desde perspectivas feministas. Así como Duterte es vocal sobre su pene, es crucial entablar un discurso teórico sobre lo que realmente simboliza.

Palabras clave: Filipinas, Duterte, Falocéntrico, Populismo, Feminismo

Introduction

In 2016, in a country whose political system is largely identified as oligarchic or patrimonial, the Filipino people brought to the highest power a former mayor from Davao, a city in the southern tip of the Philippine archipelago. While largely identified in the Asian region as a state with a strong tradition of liberal democracy, since the Second World War, the presidential office has been assumed by leaders of either liberal or illiberal inclinations.¹ But across the parties, regional and down to the municipal level, official positions are attained through elite political families and ‘strongman leadership’ and is never a matter of ‘right’ or ‘left’ ideological persuasion (Talamayan and Pertierra, 2023). Outside this traditional sphere of elite political families, leftist movements were established, and the people consistently elected to the House of Representatives politicians who openly campaigned on their leftist agenda. As for Duterte, his background is a mix of these realities.

While Duterte may have not been long seen on the stage of national politics except in his short stint in the Congress, he still comes from a political family, with his father having been a governor of the province of Davao and a cabinet member of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. Despite this, his mother, Soledad, was a fierce opponent

¹ There surely have been Filipino populist presidents before Duterte, particularly during the inter and post World War II years (Talamayan and Pertierra, 2023). Some presidents, however, also rose to the presidency by somehow benefiting from people’s fondness of electing candidates not necessarily based on ‘competencies’ but on how much they ‘resonate’ with them. See Banquiles, 2024.

of the Marcos regime. She frequently organized protests in their home city of Davao and after the fall of the dictatorship, was even offered to become the city mayor by no other than President Corazon Aquino, the woman who the Filipino people elected to lead the country when the EDSA² People Power Revolution toppled the dictatorship and the Marcos family fled to their US-backed exile in Hawaii. Soledad declined the offer, and the mayorship was eventually assumed through an election by her own son, Rodrigo (Rafael, 2022).

That was the start of the uninterrupted reign of the Dutertes in Davao, with Rodrigo's children to this day holding key government positions, and with his daughter Sara now the republic's vice president. Needless to say, Duterte's presidential victory was the climax of the clan's political play. His election and his ideology are one of a kind: he does not come from the 'mainstream' elite of national politics, and his ideological positions shifted from left—often badmouthing the United States and appointing Communists to office—to right³, glaringly apparent in his contempt of the Communist movement (Talamayan and Pertierra, 2023).

But Rody, a shortened version of Rodrigo by which he is casually called, is not only exceptional in his political background and ideological leaning. He is also a president who defies traditional Filipino values; the internet is brimming with videos of him saying the Filipino curse word

² This stands for Epifanio De los Santos Avenue. It is a major thoroughfare in Metro Manila and is the historic place where the People Power Revolution took place.

³ In the Philippines, the commonly apparent Left-Right politics of Europe or South America is ideologically non-existent. The Left does exist through the Communist Party of the Philippines, with all its factions, and other progressive groups. Leftists are nonetheless underrepresented in the House of the Representatives and the Senate. The Right, on the other hand, is assumed by no party. There is no talk of ideology, let alone a Party's ideology, since most politicians just run on the basis of financial and political capital, personality, and how they appeal to the masses, apparent in the number of Filipino actors-turned-politicians. The past governments have just always been anti-Left, have never identified as Right. It is safe to argue then that in the Philippines, to be Right is simply to be anti-left. Thus, Duterte is contextually Right because he has become contemptuous of the Left.

“*Putang ina!*” (motherfucker or son of a bitch) often accompanied with a middle finger directed to his critics, making rape jokes, talking about his phallus, and ultimately, slandering women. To get a glimpse of the ‘Duterteuniverse’, a litany of his male bravado-empowering stories will help. Duterte openly confesses of having two wives and two girlfriends and will even open the doors of the presidential palace to entertain women (Ranada, 2015); he admits of sexually assaulting a maid (Law, 2018), calls women ‘*puta*’⁴ and crazy (Ellis-Petersen, 2019), jokes about holding on a woman mayor’s panty (Merez, 2019b), admits on ogling at his own vice president’s legs (Ramos, 2016), and lastly, that unforgettable day when in his state visit in South Korea, he kissed a Filipina migrant worker on her lips (McKirdy & Quiano, 2018).

With Duterte, no one will ever run out of such stories. These actions and pronouncements drew much condemnation from his critics and the international community. But in a patriarchal and highly stratified society, expressing himself like any ordinary person is how Duterte established his base among the masses. The Filipinos seemed to have been fed up with the elitism of the previous presidents. Duterte presented himself as the voice of the margins, the leader of a “revolt of the periphery” against an uncaring center (Heydarian, 2018: 36). He offered an alternative, and the people bought it.

Scholars on Filipino gender and sexuality values generally agree that the persistence of stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes among Filipinos, even among women, has to do with the impact and legacy of Western colonialism beginning with the Hispanization and Christianization of the Philippines (Sobritchea, 1996; Bautista, 1977; Leyson, 2004; Mananzan, 1987; Aguja, 2013). In the pre-colonial era, some scholars agree that women were regarded as equals with men, with the *babaylan*— women ritual specialists and what today could be considered as priestesses— as perfect examples (Abinales and

⁴ Just like in Spanish, the word ‘puta’ also means a whore or a bitch, and is also used as a curse word in the Philippines.

Amoroso, 2005; Limos, 2019). But the Spanish colonizers destroyed this pre-contact equal structure, and thus the birth of patriarchy.

An average Filipino will still see women as weaker and inferior. As a matter of fact, a United Nations 2023 Gender Social Norms Index data show that 99.5 percent of Filipinos have biases against women (United Nations Development Programme, 2023). If this situation is inverted, it will be men's disgrace. When there is a political figure as important as the president who objectifies and belittles women, then, the public is taken by appeal as their historically deep-seated sexism and misogyny are tapped. Given his position as the highest authority in the country's political hierarchy, he possesses the capability to utilize and set in motion these patriarchal convictions and systems, thereby advancing and potentially validating the oppression of women, extending beyond his consciously intended actions (Pano & Gocoscosim, 2018; Go, 2019).

IMAGE 1

Former President Rodrigo Duterte gestures with his middle finger, a common sight during his administration that often goes along with curses and crude words directed to his critics



Source: S. Persio, Duterte Rejects Trump's Invitation to White House: 'I've Seen America and It's Lousy'. Newsweek.

Sexism and misogyny are often unknown to those who hold such attitudes and orientation (Manne, 2017). When activists, feminists, and human rights advocates try to educate and correct Duterte's followers on the detriments of these perspectives for women, they are then seen as 'elitists' who boast of their socio-economic elite status to them, precisely the same structure that Duterte opposes in the political level. In the long history of the Philippine republic, there has never been a President that has created a strong opposition from women except for Duterte (Heydarian, 2018; Pano & Gocoscosim, 2018). And the opposition is right in place, for this man has attacked women perhaps more than any other elected official.⁵

Methodology

To study the phallogentric populism of Duterte, of how his regime makes use of sexist and misogynist discourses to appeal to the people, this paper will employ critical discourses analysis of the news and commentaries found in relevant sources. To make the analysis doable, the materials used, including news articles and essays, cover the years from the pre campaign period towards the end of his term as the President, spanning from 2015 to 2019. These are crucial years for it is during that time that Duterte's rabid sexist attack against his critics, and his flaunting of his macho identity, were at their peak. The sources were gathered through Google searches on the internet. Then the themes based on the set time frame were initially selected. When possible, some of these sources were also cross-checked by locating the exact moments

⁵ While highlights are made on Duterte's use of misogyny and sexism in his populist discourse, it should be noted that it is not the intention of the author to write on 'phallogentrism,' as the article's title might suggest. While the phallus will be discussed, what will follow is the branding of Duterte's regime as phallogentric for reasons that will gradually be made clear in the subsequent parts of the paper. Phallogentric, in the context of this paper, is an adjective, not a separate ideology as 'phallogentrism' purports. Phallogentrism is a loaded word whose exploration is not within the scope of this paper. As it will be clear, the key link that is being shown in the paper is not between *populism* and *phallogentrism*. It is between populism and misogyny and sexism. The concept of the phallus helped in shedding light on this.

when Duterte, caught in videos available in other platforms (Youtube, etc.), gave his infamous statements that made the news. These statements are often cited *en toto* in the subsequent parts of the paper. This is done to ensure that the statements given by Duterte are situated in a specific social practice or “discursive event.” To aid in the analysis, concepts from social science disciplines such as political science, gender studies and anthropology were also used.

Discourse analysis examines how people utilize their understanding of language to perform actions in the world (Johnstone, 2008 p. 3). It explores the relationship between individuals’ linguistic knowledge and their use of this knowledge to define and interpret situations. But this standard definition of discourse analysis needs the incorporation of a “critical perspective.” This critical approach aims to reveal the political and power dynamics that shape and sustain the circulation of discourses and how individuals use them to negotiate their status and position (van Dijk, 2008). The paper will highlight the fundamental concepts of critical discourse analysis that underpin many studies in this field: social and political issues are shaped and mirrored in discourse; power dynamics are negotiated and manifested through discourse; discourse both mirrors and perpetuates social relations; and ideologies are created and reflected through discourse within specific social contexts (Lanuza, 2022).

In the light of these principles, the paper can thus be divided into three different parts. First, the author gives an overview of the *phallus* in the discipline of psychoanalysis, and links it to Duterte’s populism. Under this are explored the many instances of Duterte’s use of the phallus to depict his identity as the country’s Alpha Male. Following this is the exploration of the consequences of challenging the Presidential Phallus by going through the stories of the people, mostly women, who defied Duterte. Lastly, the paper concludes that by employing a partly phallogocentric approach, knowingly or unknowingly, Duterte harnessed people’s affinity for populist figures, leveraging and fueling the deeply ingrained misogyny and sexism prevalent among Filipinos.

Although this paper incorporates various social science concepts, it contributes to the field of political science in at least two distinct

ways. Firstly, it aims to deepen the understanding of the relationship between the politicians' identities and their politics, emphasizing how political figures' positionalities significantly influence their actions. What sets Duterte apart is his use of his phallus as a political tool, which is rarely done by populist themselves. Secondly, the paper underscores the importance of culture in shaping political practices within specific contexts. Drawing on the author's background as an anthropologist, it argues for the decolonization of concepts used to analyze political realities. To give an example, scholars and media in the Global North often treat Left-Right politics as monolithic structures, which is inaccurate. The Left in Hungary is not the same as in Brazil, nor is the Right in France identical to that in Colombia. Cultural and historical differences mean that political realities in countries of both hemispheres, be they ruled by Left or Right politics, cannot be understood through the same theoretical lenses. Therefore, decolonizing these conceptual frameworks, in this case by giving much importance to the Filipino context, is essential. Such responsibility falls heavily on scholars from and in the Global South.

Duterte In Philippine Populist History

To understand Duterte's populism, it will be of great help to put his regime in the context of populist trends in the Philippines. Talamayan and Pertierra (2023) historicize Duterte's popularity by looking at the history of Philippine presidency from 1935 to 2016, the inter and post-war years when this country in the Far East was a young republic that just broke the chains of Spanish colonial rule, but immediately fell to the hands of its new colonial master: the United States. Manuel Quezon, the country's president from 1935-1944, operated under the banners of '*of the people and for the people*', siding with them and fighting their enemies (the landlords).

Further, the authors also placed former president Ramon Magsaysay, who occupied the seat from 1953-1957, in the populist trail that Duterte treks. Coming from a humble beginning —a former bus

mechanic from a provincial lower-class family— Magsaysay captured the masses' imagination, and he was received as one of theirs. His political actions were then largely identified as pro-poor, '*makamasa*', toppling the age-old landowning families by use of the state's legal and military apparatuses (Talamayan and Pertierra, 2023). However, perhaps the most renowned populist in Philippine history was the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Sr., whose regime was characterized by corruption, authoritarianism, and exploitation, stories that went down to the annals of Philippine and world history. Marcos, Sr. served as the 10th president of the Philippine republic from 1965 to 1986. Just like his predecessors, he was a full-fledged populist, promising the people to end '*the monopoly of privileges and power by [sic] the old oligarchy*', describing graft and corruption as the '*nemesis of every development program*' (Marcos, 1973).

As it is clearly seen, all Duterte's populist predecessors had one aim: dismantling the centuries-old oligarchy of elite land-owning families, and in so doing identifying with the working masses. But how is Duterte different from them? He does not only promise to do the same; he also acts completely different from previous presidents, showing zero of the political and moral propriety expected of a person in the country's highest position, unsubscribing to values deemed important to be possessed by people like him. The strong connection of patriarchy and Duterte's populism lies in his efficient use of patriarchal and sexist discourse to appeal to the people, shown in the preceding part of the paper. Thus, if a slogan were to be made to summarize Duterte's populism, it would be '*of the people, for the people, and just like the people.*'

Phallocentric Populism

Scouring the existing literature on populism hardly yielded anything that uses the word 'phallocentric' to outrightly refer to it, notwithstanding discussions on how the phallus is part of the populist aesthetic (Mbembe, 2019). It is not a new term, however, as it is widely used in discourses in psychoanalysis and feminist theory. In

psychoanalytic tradition, the phallus serves as the supreme symbol of masculine power and, concurrently, of feminine lack. “Phallocentrism” is a term used primarily by feminist theorists to denote the pervasive privileging of the masculine within the current system of signification (Rine, 2010). It is with this in mind that the author, consistent with the previous arguments on Duterte as a misogynistic and sexist populist, decided to brand his populism as ‘phallocentric.’ The term is used not so much to refer to Duterte’s biological member, but more about how it is a symbol of Duterte’s masculine power and his ‘underprivileging’ of women. With the phallus seen as such, the underlying argument that populism can be phallocentric is supported. If a populist is someone who does things to appeal to the masses, then a phallocentric populism is its own kind: it does the job by centering the discourses on the politician’s masculinity, and how others are short of it, if not completely deprived. It should be noted that in using this term, the author does not limit Duterte’s populist rhetoric to remarks that relate to his phallus, as he acts out in many ways the populist in him. As a key word in this research, the theoretical underpinning of the phallus then needs to be briefly discussed.

Ernest Jones, a British psychoanalyst, introduced the term “phallocentrism” to describe the central importance of the phallus in Sigmund Freud’s theories. According to Freud (1965; [1933]), there exists a phallic stage during childhood development, during which children first encounter the concept of sexual differences. In this phase, the differentiation between genders primarily revolves around male genitalia, which Freud equated with the phallus as a symbol of power. Freud portrayed the clitoris in women as an equivalent to the penis, conceiving female sexuality in terms of the masculine phallus. It is during the phallic stage that a child realizes that their mother does not possess a penis and seems to be “castrated.” In boys, this realization triggers the Oedipal crisis⁶, while in girls, it generates

⁶ In psychoanalytic theory, the Oedipus complex refers to a child’s sexual attraction to the parent of the opposite sex, along with feelings of rivalry toward the parent of the same sex; it is considered a key phase in normal developmental progress.

castration anxiety, leading to a distancing from the mother and a shift of focus toward the father as the source of phallic power. As part of this process, girls, according to Freud, renounce their clitoral “phallus” as inferior, and this gives rise to Freud’s contentious concept of “penis envy,” where girls acknowledge their lack and seek to obtain access to the phallus through childbirth or a substitute penis (Rine, 2010) for the seem less as their counterpart.

Rereading Freud, Jacques Lacan abandoned this framework and upheld that the phallus is irreducible to the penis. He argues, however, that the male phallus is indeed *a sign of power* and the primary signifier of difference that distinguishes between the sexes in terms of lack (Rine, 2010). Lacan’s concept of the father is a symbolic one; it is the father who is endowed with the full authority of the phallus (Lacan, (2006[1966])). For Judith Butler, Lacan’s theory, while dissociating the phallus from the penis, remained male-centered. Butler believes that the phallus, as a signifier, can be displaced and form symbolic relationships with other body parts, male and female (Butler, 1993). Plainly, power cannot be exclusively represented by the penis for if so, then power becomes solely masculine. Men then become the only ones who possess it. While Butler’s theory speaks tons of sense, the fact that simply cannot be denied is that the phallus— now understood as a symbolic tool for asserting authoritarian power and patriarchal control over both women and men (Rafael, 2022) — remains the prime symbol of masculine power.

In his presidency, Duterte who is also called ‘*tatay*’ (father) by his supporters, frequently demonstrated his full authority of the phallus, just like Lacan’s father does. In so doing, Duterte showed to the Filipino people that he alone has the grip of masculine reins in the country and that he can steer them however he wants. He and his loyal followers glorify traditional male virtues while feminizing the norms for women, encouraging them to conform to established societal customs (Lanuza, 2022). Much like objects such as guns, cars, or wealth, the phallus has the potential to evoke both admiration and fear, to foster unity and discord, to provide enjoyment, but also to impose submission. (Rine,

2011). A populist is someone who claims to represent the common people (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.). Following on the discussion of the phallus in psychoanalysis, Duterte's populism is unique for unlike his populist counterparts in other countries, he does not speak of things such as 'the purity of the White Race', or of 'the Christian nation,' or 'the God-designed family.' He instead presents himself as a quintessential Filipino masculine man that gives the command in a patriarchal society. And since he is in a position of power, this is normalized by the majority of the masses for that is precisely what makes him 'representative of the people'; people who never confront the reality of gender inequality. Thus, this populist style can indeed be branded as 'phallogentric.'⁷

The Presidential Phallus: Real Stories from The Philippines

In terms of propriety and sensitivity, Duterte is in no way like his predecessors. To argue that his predecessors are unlike him because they were educated is lame, as Duterte himself is a lawyer who received his degree from a prestigious law school in the country (Inquirer Research, 2016). Duterte is simply fond of appealing to what he calls 'street culture', or the culture of ordinary people in the streets. What can be a

⁷ As previously mentioned, Duterte's populism is not limited to being 'phallogentric' since he acts out the populist in him in many ways. What is highlighted here is the fact that if, for example, European populists appeal to the people by demonizing migrants, making LGBTQ people scapegoats, etc., Duterte does none of those. He aims for the support of the masses by exhibiting himself as the bully Alpha Male who no one can defy. Surely other populist leaders such as Orban of Hungary, Le Pen of France and Erdogan of Turkey, even Colombia's Petro as thus he is labeled, have their own ways of 'appealing to the people.' Yet these political figures do not engage in the same kind of discourses as Duterte. What is evident is that being a populist is neither a question of being of Left or Right ideology or political inclination; countries have their own contexts that shape and define what populism is. And this is precisely what this paper argues instead: a populist regime *can* be phallogentric as Duterte perfectly exemplifies: he harnessed people's affinity for populist figures, leveraging and fueling the deeply ingrained misogyny and sexism prevalent among Filipinos. Thus, the paper posits that in the long history of populism, a phallogentric turn is emerging.

better way of garnering popular support than identifying oneself as one with those in the streets? While still on his way to the presidential palace, the first instance when Duterte flaunted his masculinity was when, in a campaign rally, he joked about an incident of rape:

They (the prisoners) raped all the women so in the first assault, because they retreated, they made use of the hostages as body shields, and one of them was the Australian lay minister. Tsk, this is a problem. When they were brought out (dead), they were already wrapped. I looked at her face, motherfucker, she looks like an American actress. Son of a bitch, what a waste. What came to my mind was they raped her; they took turns on her. I was mad because she was raped, that's one. But she was so beautiful, the mayor (Duterte himself) should have had her first. What a waste. (Ranada, 2016b). [*author's translation from the original Filipino*]

Duterte was referring to the 1989 hostage situation involving Felipe Pugoy, an inmate at the Davao City Police Office (Ranada, 2016a), in the city where he was at the time of the incident the mayor. Pugoy had taken hostage the missionaries who were visiting the jail to preach to the inmates. Among the hostages was Jacqueline Hamill, an Australian lay woman. Hamill, along with four other hostages, tragically lost her life during the hostage crisis in Davao City. Hamill had been raped and had her throat slashed by a gang within the prison while the hostage situation unfolded (Ranada, 2016a). In his statement, what is noteworthy is Duterte's frustration for not having been able to exercise his phallic power. On seeing the poor dead victim's face, he was filled not with anger against the assailants, but with unfulfilled lust; lust over which Duterte sulked. 'Sayang!' (what a waste!) he exclaimed, as he said in the end. Let it be forgotten, Duterte gave such remarks in front of a laughing audience. Did he appeal to the masses? The laughter that follows his 'joke' says it all.

Duterte's rape jokes drew ire from the Australian Ambassador to the Philippines. The then leading presidential bet responded as a macho

patriot: ‘Stay out, Australian government, stay out’ (Esmaguél, 2016). In defense of her father, Duterte’s daughter and now Vice President Sara Duterte commented:” Not a joke. I am a rape victim. But I will still vote for President Rodrigo Duterte” to which the father responded, “did she say it’s true that she was raped? Inday is a drama queen” (Andolong, 2016). When women knew that his remark was utterly egregious, Duterte simply talked them down as a full-fledged misogynist does, as if what he said was no woman’s business. A couple of days later, Duterte issued a public apology for his previous inappropriate comment, but only to his defense against criticism by attributing his comments to what he called the rough language of “street culture.”

I was belittling their manhood [...] ‘You did it ahead of the mayor’ was not a slur but a slang. Street slang; it was a Tagalog slang for everybody. I belittled them, like saying, who are you to rape? You sons of bitches [...] As a matter of fact, because of the rape, I killed the 16 rapists. I was first. Look. When I said I give the orders to shoot to kill, what else would you make? (Ranada, 2016). [*author’s translation from original Filipino*]

In this specific discourse, Duterte is bothered not by the sexist remarks that he uttered, but rather about his authority as a mayor and his surpassed masculine status. He asserts that he should be considered the foremost figure among the “macho” males, and that the act of rape should not be a privilege for common criminals; it should be reserved only for the powerful and the “Primal Father” (Lanuza, 2022). His statement highlights the connection between masculinity and the concepts of power and entitlement. It effectively reinforces the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell, 2000), which represents the prevailing definition of what it means to be male and, in doing so, downplays the severity of sexual assault against women. Further, in rationalizing his action by appealing to ‘street slang’, Duterte frames his remarks in street language, which is also the site of male dominance (Lanuza, 2022). Despite this, the people were unfazed by Duterte’s sexist remark. They were even entertained by how casual he was. What no one knew is that that incident

was just the start of the string of Duterte's phallogentric antics. At times, he will go farther to talk about his own penis.

Rody: The Ever-Faithful Viagra Fan

When the author claims that Duterte likes to talk about his phallus, he means it in the literal way, supported by facts that came straight from Duterte's mouth. In April 2016, while in his campaign for the presidential seat, Duterte addressed the Makati Business Club, made up of wealthiest businessmen in the country. These are the very elite who runs the economy, and who Duterte claims to loathe. Talking before key economic actors, Duterte did not discuss his economic platforms to them but instead indulged the predominantly male audience with his Viagra testimonials:

“Well, I'm separated from my wife, annulled. So, I'm not useless. I'm not paralyzed. What am I supposed to do with my goddam thing down there? Let it hang forever? Well, there's no drama going on. I drank Viagra and then it stood up. Oh, let's not kid ourselves. I am giving it to you raw. I thought we were all the same age here”. [*author's translation from original Taglish*] (Coconuts Manila, 2016)

With his ingenious populist style, Duterte does not only try to appeal to the common masses, but also to the wealthy. His obscenity consists of making what should be private, public. Reaching below to connect to above (Rafael, 2022:43). Duterte proves that the power of the phallus can be regained. Age is not a hindrance; thanks to the pill he can be back to the same young robustness. It is sexual politics that binds Duterte to them. The same vision that masculine power is never lost, it just needs to be reclaimed. In real life national politics, Duterte has a deep and diversified base. He rose to power with a peace and security agenda, and an anti-elite and anti-liberal discourse but quite paradoxically rules with the avid support of most of the elite

themselves⁸ (Heydarian, 2018). Rody is fond of flaunting his Viagra stories long before his campaign trail. In 2015, back as a city mayor, Duterte gave the following statements in a convention attended by 2500 people from the Philippine Councilors League:

I will give Pfizer an award [...] before, when our fathers and brothers reached their 50s, you're only up to there. But now, even when we reach 60s and 70s, thanks to the brilliance of Pfizer, life has been extended. I can't imagine life without Viagra (Philippine Daily Inquirer, 2015)

It should not be beyond curiosity now why Rody openly talks about this: it is one of his ways of connecting to men, while at the same time claiming his identity as a 'living man', whose life is determined by his sexual capacities, '*life has been extended*', as he said. The phallus now does not only represent power, but also 'maleness' for without which, what is life? As far as his pronouncements are concerned, Duterte is consistent with how he perceives the phallus: it is what makes a man. In his previous remarks above, he said '*so, I'm not useless. I'm not paralyzed*', and on a separate occasion also said, '*I can't imagine life without Viagra.*' For Duterte, it is as if life stops when the penis fails. Represented by the penis, Duterte consolidates masculine power: the phallus. For him, it is what keeps him alive. Rightly so, as when his male critics attack him, he always disarms them by having them by the balls, figuratively.

Rody's Phallus: To Distinguish and To Attack

Rody uses his phallus to set himself apart and to attack. To men, he prides and thus distinguishes himself with it; to women, to 'attack' them with its sheer grandness. He claims that while character is essential,

⁸ While Duterte largely appeals to the common people, he also taps on the elite through the same discourse that he uses for the masses. What is common in both efforts is his use of sexist and misogynist jokes symbolized by the phallus.

the penis size, too, is crucial. He then recounted how, as a young man, he amazed his dormmates with his penis size.

“[They’d tell me] ‘Son of a bitch, Duterte, you’re so hard!’ [...] When I was young, [my penis] almost looked up to the sky,” (moving the microphone upward to make the point.) “Its head would almost reach my belly button [...] I’m very thankful to my father. At least he let me out into the world highly equipped.” *He finishes by recalling how women at a local brothel were shocked at the sight of his member.* “They ran away. [They said, referring to me] ‘We don’t like him. That skinny guy. He won’t stop [having sex]’”. (Coconut Manila, 2019)

In regaling his audience with this story, Duterte pitches himself as the best of all, manifested by the sheer amazement of fellow men who happened to have put their sight on his penis. It is a story that is again phallogocentric aimed at appealing to the audience. It is also a story of how the phallus should put women under man’s control, as he tells of how prostituted women ran away for fear of it. To men, Duterte uses his phallus to cast himself as unique. To women, it is a tool of subjugation to scare them off; to tell them who should be feared: men. Blending masculinity and misogyny, Duterte’s politics plays a central role in his authoritarian vision, employing the symbolism of his own masculinity to enforce traditional gender roles upon both men and women (Rafael, 2022). This evokes the perspective of Hélène Cixous, who stated, “Within the ‘phallogocentric’ system, women are relegated and defined by their perceived deficiencies, while men are burdened with the unenviable fate of being reduced to a mere symbol with fragile foundations” (1976: 884). Cixou’s words, though figuratively put, can also be construed literally as when a male criticizes Duterte, he strips him off of his person and reduces him to his penis, focusing on its dysfunction or size.

In a speculative newspaper column, former Marcos, Sr. cabinet member Kit Tatad threw shades on Duterte’s health, arguing that the president had clandestinely undertaken a kidney transplant and was dying from colon cancer. It should be noted that such speculations

frequently arose in Duterte's time as when in office, Duterte often went absent from public sight for streaks of days, then just suddenly reappears. But Tatad's speculation did not sit well with Rody:

This Tatad, he said my day is coming. That I was confined, serious, in and out of the hospital, with colon cancer. Nearly every day he was going on and on [...] You read the newspaper. I mean, how unfair can you get? Everyday... even I started to believe him [laughter]. So one day, as I undressed to take a shower, I held my, without my under wear, I held my anus, I smelled it [laughter]. Smelled like shit, and not some other... [laughter]. He said I was already dead. So I hit back. I said, this Tatad, you Tatad, son of a bitch. I would admit it if I were sick. You, son of a bitch, you have a serious case for 30 years of diabetes. I know it because I know your doctor. You, your dick can no longer [raises microphone to laughter and applause]. When you have diabetes, 30 years [drops microphone. Laughter]. No more. So I said — let me borrow your wife for one night, I'll let her hold my it [his penis], go on. Eh, your insult hurt a lot. Eh, you son of a bitch, you're asking for it. You said I was rude, well son of a bitch, that's true. You said I was no statesman, well that's true. [*author's translation from original Taglish*] (Presidential Communications Operations, 2019)

Duterte disarms his critique by reducing his person to his penis which, as Duterte claims, is now dysfunctional due to diabetes. With his creative use of the microphone to demonstrate erectile movements, Duterte entertained the public's imagination manifested in their laughter. True to his belief that he cannot imagine a life without Viagra, a life when the penis no longer brings pleasure, Duterte deems Tatad useless and figuratively kills him. He further remarks: 'You're already inutile. You're perhaps just mad because that's how diabetes works [...] we can no longer do anything with you [...] if you cannot make yourself happy, how can you make your wife happy?' (Presidential Communications Operations, 2019). For Duterte, his critic (Tatad) is useless for no longer having erectile functions, which he equates with phallic power that brings no happiness to his wife.

What is more bothersome with his remarks is how Rody made use of his critic's wife, daring Tatad to lend her to him to prove that the latter is better than the former. The woman then is seen as the ultimate tester of masculinity; a role deserving of a critic's wife. He sees the woman as an object at a man's disposal, *'let me borrow'* he said, implying that the woman has no volition of her own and is therefore dependent on her husband who Duterte asked to *'let'* him borrow her. Interpreting his words which were given in Tagalog will even make more sense. Duterte used the Tagalog word *'ipahiram.'*, which in English literally translates as *'let me borrow.'* The single letter prefix *'i'*, in Filipino denotes the involvement of a person, an owner, who will lend an object to someone, like a pair of shoes or clothes. The Filipino word *'ipahiram'* is never used to refer to a person. But that's how Duterte construed his critic's wife. His remark is both discriminatory and objectifying. Duterte's shaming of Tatad is not the first time that he figuratively had someone by the balls.

IMAGE 2

During a state visit in South Korea, Duterte kissed an Overseas Filipino Worker from the audience, much to the delight of those present. Duterte's spokesman said there was nothing wrong with it, the lady was in fact 'honored' for having received the presidential kiss.



Source: Screen grab from a video from Rappler. In R. Goldman, Critics Slam Rodrigo Duterte for Asking a Woman to Kiss Him Onstage. The New York Times

When a sex video of Jim Paredes —a local artist who is a vocal critic of Duterte— circulated on social media, Duterte said of the artist: ‘Jim Paredes is saying that I am immoral, but he showed his penis [...] It’s small to be honest. I said “it’s small.” *Those are the kind of people who bash me. Look at their quality* (Merez, 2019a). Yet again, Duterte disarms his rabid critic by reducing the person’s value to the size of his penis. Paredes has no power to criticize Duterte then for that fact. Paradoxically, Duterte’s measure of a person’s quality is propriety, as he himself said that while he may be foulmouthed, he never engaged in acts as Paredes did (Corrales, 2019). ‘*Look at their quality*’, he said, suggesting that criticism only belongs to people of appropriate standing. Rody demands from Paredes what he himself does not have. As evident, the phallus is the measure of things for Duterte: of strength, of masculine difference, of fear, of quality, perhaps of life in general. How can’t his populism not be called phallogocentric with this? He brands himself as the representative of the people, commoners and elites alike, by giving such kinds of discourses that center on masculinity, which in his unique case is incarnated in his stories by his phallus. The link between misogyny and populism are glaringly apparent and cannot be unseen; here is a president who unapologetically glorifies the masculine before a nation that has for centuries been doing the same. A president that proves that what a commoner believes is the same with his leader, regardless of the consequences that this belief has and at whose expense are they taken true. The subsequent discussion will show who were brave enough to stand up against the presidential phallus.

Daring The Phallus

The problem with a phallogocentric regime is not just its focus on a self-centered, narcissistic man in the person of Duterte, but also its innate contempt and degrading of women. When the phallus is elevated to the level of national politics, then women are put in a more dangerous and vulnerable position. “Overt machismo and its brother in-arms, misogyny, are among the recurrent themes of Duterte’s governance, with special animosity toward educated women in positions of power” (Rosca, 2018: 71). Misogyny expands to become a power in law

enforcement. Duterte attacked multiple women figures from various sectors of the Filipino society. If he does not attack them, he objectifies them. And just like how he disarms his male critics, Duterte is also fond of reducing women's worth to their genitals.

One of the most disturbing stories on this involves Duterte encouraging soldiers, when confronted with communist female fighters⁹, to spare their lives but to shoot them in the vagina: "There's a new order coming from the mayor. We won't kill you. We will just shoot your vagina. So that [...] if she has no vagina she would be useless" (Ellis-Petersen, 2018). Consistent with his belief in the phallus as what makes man, so is the vagina is what makes a woman, without which, as Duterte argues, the woman is useless. Shooting women in the vagina is disempowering them, much like subduing female power. Duterte's misogyny relates to his rhetorical style that seeks to win public approval and popularity while demeaning women publicly for retaliating against his misogynistic outbursts (David, 2018). For Duterte, his response to women fighters taking up arms and challenging the state is shooting them in the genital area as a form of punishment. This act was seen to "emasculate" those who dared to challenge the patriarchal norms inherent in the exercise of state authority. Hence, we see how Duterte's misogyny can be especially directed at particular women who attempt to seize the phallus, going against his political and sexual authority (Rafael, 2022). For Duterte, even the minutest sight of a woman challenging his regime can lead him to use state apparatuses to silence her, as was the case of the 71-year-old Australian nun Sister Patricia Fox.

In April 2018, Fox, with members of human rights groups, went to Southern Mindanao to investigate human rights abuses against indigenous people and farmers, perpetrated by the government.

⁹ There exists the Communist Party of the Philippines, which is legal. But during the regime of the late dictator Marcos, Sr., members of the Communist Party went underground and took arms to fight the state. Thus, the New People's Army was born, which is considered the armed wing of the CCP. Duterte declared members of the New People's Army as terrorists.

Fox also visited jails to interview political prisoners and attended a demonstration by locked-out workers of Coca-cola in Duterte's bulwark, Davao City (Simons, 2018). None of these, under Philippine state regulations for foreigners, is illegal. But Duterte accused Fox of participating in 'illegal political activities,' despite the fact that she is a missionary who has been deeply involved in working with the marginalized for 28 years (Simons, 2018) and did nothing illegal. But since she angered the Alpha Male, in the end, Fox was deported back to Australia through a direct order from the president. When the phallus is challenged, even a harmless, old stick-thin nun can experience its wrath. That's what women who directly go against Duterte get. He pulls the state's strings to go after them.

Rody's Phallus: Silencing Voices

In Duterte's time, the phallus was the state, and the state was the phallus. In other words, his masculine power extends its grip to government agencies, turning them as his apparatuses in imposing masculine power against women. Duterte has completely transformed the administration's structure by appointing predominantly males as his cabinet members. When the Duterte administration assumed office in 2016, 32 out of 38 key government offices were headed by men, with only six offices led by women (ABS-CBN News, 2016). That cabinet is a glaring example of disparity, inequality, and female underrepresentation. It is no wonder that when there are women who dare the presidential phallus in a way grander than Sister Patricia Fox, Duterte can easily use government agencies against them. It's worth naming who these strong women are.

Senator Leila De Lima was a longtime public servant and staunch fighter of injustice who once headed the Department of Justice under the Aquino administration, and later became the country's senator. In 2009 as the head of Commission on Human Rights, she held a series of hearings in Duterte's Davao City on the infamous Davao Death Squad that killed more than 1,000 people over the past

decades, many of them children (Head, 2016). The effort was however in vain. Her thirst for justice in Duterte's territory is what started the animosity between her and Rody (BBC News, 2017). But De Lima was unfazed, and as a senator in Duterte's regime led senate inquiries on the extra-judicial killings of drug suspects under Duterte's bloody War on Drugs. Her hopeful efforts were the start of her downfall. Duterte accused her of receiving drug money to fund her senatorial campaign. He brought high-profile inmates and De Lima's personal driver to testify against her. In February 2017 De Lima was arrested on drug-related charges (Ferrerias, 2021). As of writing, she remains incarcerated and is now in her sixth year as a prisoner of conscience (Amnesty International, 2023). Although several witnesses have already recanted their testimonies that led to De Lima's arrest, with the latest recantation this October (Cabanban, 2023), De Lima's fate remains unclear. The withdrawal of testimonies against her proof that she did nothing of what she is accused of. In the Duterte-De Lima saga, the antagonization of the woman is much less about her 'alleged' drug-related activities, but more on her resistance against the presidential phallus.

De Lima's punishment went beyond the 'legal' and included her public humiliation. The president and his gang of misogynist cabinet members circulated scandalous stories about her affair with her driver and even claimed to show its alleged sex tapes to Pope Francis, who sent De Lima rosary in support of her (Ranada, 2017). De Lima's guilt is thus less about drug dealing—which the administration is hard pressed to prove—than it is about acting upon her desire. She not only defied the authority of the president, she also dared to transgress sexual and class lines in taking up with a member of the lower class. In other words, she disrupted the patriarchal and elite order of things, poaching upon traditional male entitlements. And for that she had to be punished severely (Rafael, 2022: 46). De Lima's story shows how being a strong woman in the Philippines is like in the time of Duterte.

With state apparatuses, Duterte in the same way weaponized the law to stifle yet another powerful voice that speaks out against the

status quo of human rights under his regime: Maria Ressa. The first Filipino Nobel Laureate, Ressa has established the online news agency *Rappler*. When Duterte rose to power, Rappler was at the forefront of investigating drug-related killings, often witnessing dead bodies of drug-suspects on the streets. Ressa and Rappler have fought for the reality of Duterte’s “war on drugs” and its consequences to be kept in the spotlight (Obordo, 2021). For this, Duterte accused Rappler as a ‘fake news outlet’. The Philippine state charged Ressa of violating the Constitution (Lanuza, 2022), tax fraud, and convicted her of cyber libel (Gutierrez and Stevenson, 2020). Much like De Lima’s cases, Ressa was acquitted by Philippine courts from 5 of tax evasion cases lodged against her (Guinto, 2023), a proof that those cases were trumped-up by a president whose ego was hit. De Lima and Ressa’s cases are just among a few of the many stories of how Duterte tried to castigate women, but in the end proved to be unable to do so. Nonetheless, his misogyny and sexism have already crept to and polarized the Filipino society, with De Lima, Ressa and other women defiant of Duterte being slandered by his followers on social media. Many radical women’s groups observed that Duterte’s misogyny emboldened people to become more misogynist (Go, 2019). That’s what a phallogocentric regime does: it creates an entire universe where women are assaulted with impunity under the whims of a self-centered sexist and misogynist; a universe so grand as to be impenetrable and incomprehensible. The increasing attack against women and of people becoming more misogynist are perhaps the most horrendous consequence of Duterte’s phallogocentric populism. These people would have not been that way if Duterte did not normalize these attitudes before the public; a public that seems to have been so entertained by his antics.

Conclusion

The Cameroonian historian Achille Mbembe puts it: “The penis [is] a historical phenomenon in its own right [...] The [autocrat] thinks and expresses himself through his phallus [...] Without a phallus, the

[autocrat] is nothing, has no fixed identity. Thanks to his phallus, the [autocrat's] cruelty can stand quite naked: erect" (Mbembe, 2019; 115; 175). Rodrigo Roa Duterte may have already departed from the presidential palace, but his notorious legacy endures. Employing a partly phallogocentric populist approach, he harnessed people's affinity for populist figures, leveraging and fueling the deeply ingrained misogyny and sexism prevalent among Filipinos. This resulted in a Philippines that continues to grapple with issues of gender equality rather than becoming a safer place for women.

Duterte's leadership prominently featured his masculine authority, marked by brazen attacks and degradation of critics, regardless of their gender. This approach resonated with a broad spectrum of the populace, from the impoverished to the affluent. In the process, he thus created a new populist playbook where the phallus took the center stage. The Duterte era saw a decline in the collective belief in moral values by publicly tapping on the historically deep-seated misogyny and sexism of the people. The nation must address its longstanding issues while simultaneously facing the challenges posed by another administration led by the Marcos family, who, historically, also brought upheaval to the country. Phallogocentric populism is an emerging global phenomenon, and it is incumbent upon all of us to ensure that not only do more populists regain power but also that the world becomes a safer place for all those who courageously resist the phallus.

Bibliographic References

- Abinales, P. & Amoroso, D. (2005). *State and Society in the Philippines*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- ABS-CBN News. (2016, May 22). The Duterte Cabinet: All the President's men. <https://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/05/22/16/the-duterte-cabinet-all-the-presidents-men>.
- Aguja, H. (2013). The Filipino woman: A gendered history. *Mindanao Forum*, 26(1), 37-62.
- Amnesty International, (2023, February 23). Philippines: Six years on, arbitrary detention of former Senator Leila de Lima continues. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/02/philippines-leila-de-lima-detention/>.
- Andolong, I. (2016, April 19). Duterte's daughter: I am a rape victim. CNN News. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2016/04/19/Inday-Sara-on-Rodrigo-Dutertes-rape-joke.html>.
- Bautista, C. (1977). *Women in marriage: Stereotype, status and satisfactions: The Filipina among Filipinos*. UP Department of Sociology.
- Banquiles, V. (2024). Distantly Tapped: Populism, Disinformation Operation and Overseas Filipino Workers' (OFWs) Transnational Support to Radical Right Politics in the Philippines. *Szellem és Tudomány*. 2024/1. szám.
- BBC News. (2017, February 24). Leila de Lima: Top Duterte critic arrested on drug charge. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39073468>.
- Butler, J. (1993). The lesbian phallus and the morphological imaginary. In *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* Routledge New York, pp. 57-91.
- Cabanban, S. (2023, October 16). Two more witnesses vs. De Lima in last drug case recant. CNN Philippines. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2023/10/16/two-more-witnesses-recant-de-lima-last-case.html>.
- Cixous, H. (1976). "The Laugh of the Medusa." Translated by K. Cohen and P. Cohen. *Signs* 1, no. 4: 875 – 93.
- Coconuts Manila (2016, April 28). Duterte Jokes about Viagra Use in Makati Business Club Speech. Coconuts Manila. <https://coconuts.co/manila/news/duterte-jokes-about-viagra-use-speech-makati-business-club-members/>.

- Coconut Manila, (2019, April 8). DICK MOVE: Duterte brags about penis in public speech. Coconuts Manila. <https://coconuts.co/manila/news/dick-move-duterte-brags-penis-public-speech/>.
- Connel, R. W. (2000). Men and boys. Polity.
- Corrales, N. (2019, April 12). Duterte mocks Jim Paredes over video scandal. Philippine Daily Inquirer. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1106051/duterte-mocks-jim-paredes-over-video-scandal>. Accessed 23 October 2023.
- David, R. (2018, May 8). Talking misogyny. Philippine Daily Inquirer. <https://opinion.inquirer.net/113022/talking-misogyny>.
- Ellis-Petersen, H. (2018, February 13). Philippines: Rodrigo Duterte orders soldiers to shoot female rebels 'in the vagina'. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/13/philippines-rodrigo-duterte-orders-soldiers-to-shoot-female-rebels-in-the-vagina>.
- Ellis-Petersen, H. (2019, March 12). Rodrigo Duterte calls women at gender-equality event 'bitches'. The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/12/rodrigo-duterte-calls-women-at-gender-equality-event-bitches-philippines>.
- Esmaquel, P. (2016, April 18). Australia amid Duterte quip: Rape is not a joke. Rappler. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/australia-rodrigo-duterte-rape-joke>.
- Ferrerias, V. (2021, March 16). TIMELINE: De Lima's six-year struggle in prison. CNN Philippines, <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2021/3/16/TIMELINE-Leila-De-Lima-arrest-prison-.html>.
- Freud, S. (1965). Femininity. In *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (ed. Strachey, J). Norton New York, pp. 139-167. (Original work published 1933.).
- Go, M. G. (2019). Sexism is president's power tool: Duterte is using violent language and threats against journalists, Rappler's news editor explains. *Index on censorship*, 48(4), 33-35.
- Goldman, R. (2018, June 4). Critics Slam Rodrigo Duterte for Asking a Woman to Kiss Him Onstage. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/04/world/asia/duterte-kiss-philippines.html>.
- Guinto, J. (2023, September 12). Maria Ressa: Philippines Nobel laureate acquitted in court. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/66782826>.

- Gutierrez, J. & Stevenson, A. (2020, June 14). Maria Ressa, Crusading Journalist, Is Convicted in Philippines Libel Case. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/14/business/maria-ressa-verdict-philippines-rappler.html>.
- Head, J. (2016, December 28). Leila de Lima: The woman who dares to defy Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38362274>.
- Heydarian, R. (2018). *The rise of Duterte*. Palgrave.
- Inquirer Research, (2016, June 29). PROFILE: Who is President Rodrigo Duterte? *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/793138/profile-rodrigo-duterte>.
- Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse analysis* (2nd ed). Blackwell.
- Lacan, J. (2006). *Écrits* (trans. Fink, B.). Norton New York. (Original work published 1966).
- Lanuza, G. (2022). Duterte as misogynist fascist: A discourse analysis of Duterte’s misogynist criticisms against women. *Plaridel*, 19(1), 143-179. <https://doi.org/10.52518/2022.19.1-03glnza>.
- Law, T. (2018, December 31). Philippines President Duterte Says He Sexually Assaulted a Maid. *Time*. <https://time.com/5490929/duterte-philippines-sexual-assault/>.
- Leyson, J. (2004). Philippines (Republika ng Pilipinas). In Robert T. Francoeur & J. Raymond (Eds.), *The Continuum complete encyclopedia of sexuality* (pp. 824-845). Continuum.
- Limos, M. (2019, March 18). The Fall of the Babaylan” How one of the most powerful class of Filipinos came to an end. *Esquire*. <https://www.esquiremag.ph/long-reads/features/the-fall-of-the-babaylan-a2017-20190318>.
- Mananzan, M. (1987). The Filipino women: Before and after the Spanish conquest of the Philippines. In M. J. Mananzan (Ed.), *Essays on women* (pp. 147-174). Institute of Women’s Studies.
- Manne, K. (2017). *The logic of misogyny*. Oxford University Press.
- Marcos, F.E. (1973) Eight state of the nation address, 21 September 1973 [Speech transcript]. Available from: <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1973/09/21/ferdinand-e-marcos-eighth-state-of-the-nation-address-september-21-1973/>. Accessed 5 June May 2023.

- Mbembe, A. (2019). *Necropolitics*. Translated by Steve Corcoran. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- McKirdy, E & Quiano, K. (2018, June 4). Philippines President Duterte sparks outrage with 'misogynist' kiss. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/06/04/asia/rodrigo-duterte-ofw-kiss-trnd/index.html>.
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Populist. In Merriam-Webster.com dictionary. Retrieved August 14, 2024, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/populist>.
- Merez, A. (2019, April 11). 'Hala kaliit': Duterte twits Jim Paredes over video scandal. ABSCBN. <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/04/11/19/hala-kaliit-duterte-twits-jim-paredes-over-video-scandal>.
- Merez, A. (2019, May 10). 'I will hold on to your panty': Duterte jests as he flirts with Bohol mayor. ABSCBN. <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/05/10/19/i-will-hold-on-to-your-panty-duterte-jests-as-he-flirts-with-bohol-mayor>.
- Obordo, R. (2021, October 9). In Rodrigo Duterte's war on press freedom, Maria Ressa stands up for the truth. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/oct/09/rodrigo-dutertes-war-press-freedom-maria-ressa-truth>.
- Pano, L, & Gacoscosim, J. (2018). Misogyny, impunity, and inciting to war crimes. In J. del Rosario-Malonzo (Ed.), *State terror and tyranny in the Philippines: US-backed Oplan Kapayapaan and Duterte's attacks* (pp. 79-89). IBON Foundation.
- Persio, S. (2017, July 21). Duterte Rejects Trump's Invitation to White House: 'I've Seen America and It's Lousy'. Newsweek. <https://www.newsweek.com/duterte-rejects-trumps-invitation-white-house-ive-seen-america-and-its-lousy-640334>.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer (2015, June 13). Duterte says he can't imagine living without Viagra. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/698102/duterte-says-he-cant-imagine-living-without-viagra>.
- Presidential Communications Operations Office, Presidential News Desk. (2019). "Speech of President Rodrigo Roa Duterte during the Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (pdp- Laban) Campaign Rally in Cagayan de Oro." Speech delivered at the University of Science and Technology of Southern Philippines, Cagayan de Oro. Accessed 21 October 2023.

- Rafael, V. (2022). *The Sovereign Trickster: Death and Laughter in the Age of Duterte*. USA: Duke University Press.
- Ramos, M. (2016, November 8). Duterte admits ogling at Robredo's legs during Cabinet meeting. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/842295/duterte-admits-ogling-at-robredos-legs-during-cabinet-meeting>.
- Ranada, P. (2015, November 30). Rodrigo Duterte: Yes, I'm a womanizer. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/114416-rodrigo-duterte-womanizer/>.
- Ranada, P. (2016a, April 17). Viral: Video of Duterte joking about raped Australian woman. *Rappler online news*. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/viral-video-duterte-joke-australian-woman-rape>
- Ranada, P. (2016b, April 17). Duterte: Not sorry for rape remark, that's how I speak. *Rappler online news*. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/duterte-reaction-rape-joke-australian-woman>
- Ranada, P. (2017, November 28). Duterte jokes he'll show De Lima 'sex video' to Pope Francis. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/189799-duterte-jokes-pope-francis-leila-de-lima-rosary/>.
- Rine, A. (2011). "Phallus/Phallogentrism" Faculty Publications - Department of English. 76. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/eng_fac/.
- Rosca, N. (2018). Duterte: Nada in the heart of bluster. In V. Prashad (Ed.), *Strong men* (pp. 64-79). OR Books.
- Simons, M. (2018, June 16). The unassuming Australian nun taking on Rodrigo Duterte. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/16/the-unassuming-australian-nun-taking-on-rodrigo-duterte>.
- Sobritchea, C. I. (Ed.). (1996). *American colonial education and its impact on the status of Filipino women. The role of women in the university: Selected essays* (pp. 70-91). Center for Women's Studies.
- Talamayan, F. & Pertierra, A. (2023). Populism and Media in Duterte's Philippines. In Pinheiro Machado, R. & Maia-Vargas, T. (eds), *The Rise of the Radical Right in the Philippines* (125-140). Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. (2008). *Discourse and power*. Palgrave Macmillan.