



## Universitas Kristen Indonesia Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

### SURAT TUGAS

Nomor : 347A/UKI.F7.D/PP.1.6.4/2020

Dekan Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Kristen Indonesia menugaskan yang tersebut di bawah ini :

No.	NAMA	Jabatan
1.	Imelda Masni Juniaty Sianipar, S.IP., MA	Dosen Prodi Hubungan Internasional

Sebagai pemakalah dengan judul "*Populism in the Philippines and Human Rights*" pada *The 7<sup>th</sup> International Asian Congress in Toruń*, yang dilaksanakan pada tanggal 21 - 23 Oktober 2020 di Polandia.

Demikian Surat Tugas ini dibuat, agar digunakan sebagaimana maksud dan tujuannya.

Jakarta, 19 Oktober 2020

Dekan,



Angel Damayanti, M.Si., M.Sc., Ph.D✱

#### **Tembusan:**

1. Wakil Dekan Fisipol UKI
2. Kaprodi HI Fisipol UKI

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Wydział Nauk Politycznych  
i Studiów Międzynarodowych



# 7<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL ASIAN CONGRESS OCTOBER 21-23 2020, Toruń

## CERTIFICATE

This document hereby certifies that

**mgr Imelda Masni Juniaty Sianipar**

took part in the 7th International Asian Congress in Toruń

and presented a paper entitled:

**POPULISM IN THE PHILIPPINES AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Head of the Scientific Council

Prof. Joanna Marszałek-Kawa



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i Szkolnictwa Wzwyższego

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# Populism and Human Rights in The Philippines

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Delivered in Panel of Human Rights in Asia, 21 – 23 October  
2020

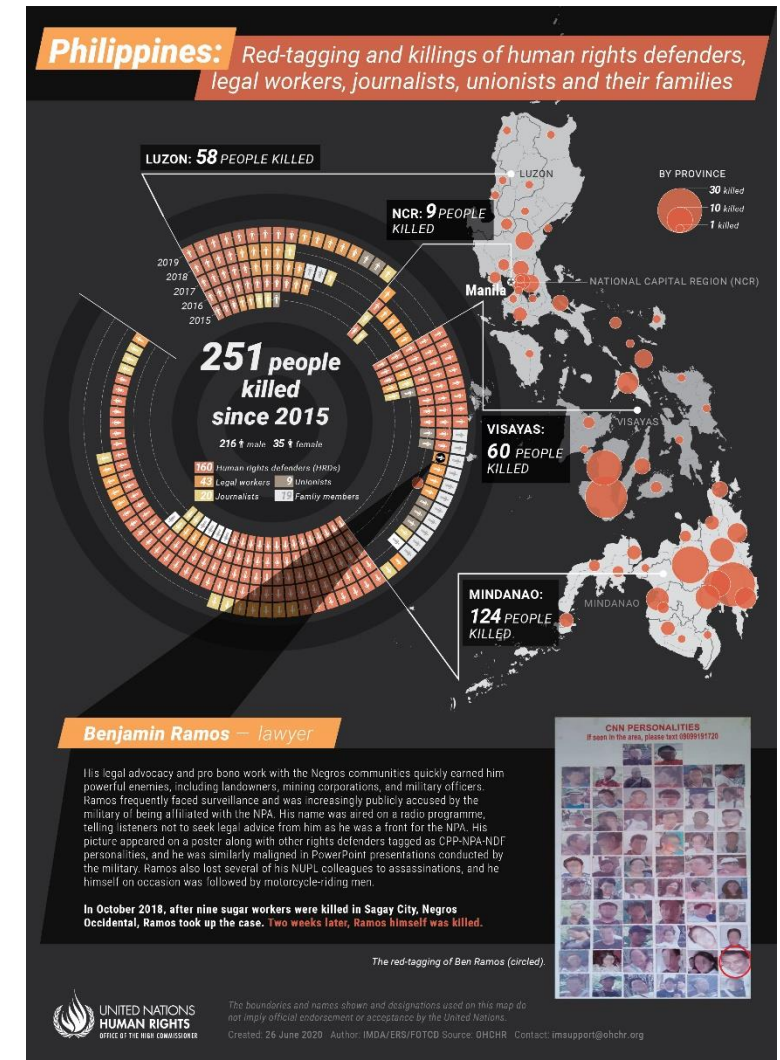
# Outline

- Why populism and human rights ?
- Understanding populism and human rights
- Human rights violation in the Philippines
- Conclusion



# Why populism and human rights ?

- ❖ Less research about populism and human rights (Ronald A Pernia; Joseph P. Braun)
- ❖ It is crucial to rethink about the populist challenge to human rights (Philip Alston, Veronika Bilkova)
- ❖ Duterte's focus on national security threats has led to serious human rights violations (OHCHR, HRW, Amnesty Int'l) .





# Understanding populism and human rights

- Populism is “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde, 2017)
- Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination (<https://www.un.org/>).

# Populism and Human Rights : How is the relationship ?

- Populism is **a threat** to human rights (Ronald A Pernia, Philip Alston, Veronika Bilkova, Joseph Braun)

## How Populist leaders encourage a drastic rights abuses ?

Bilkova :

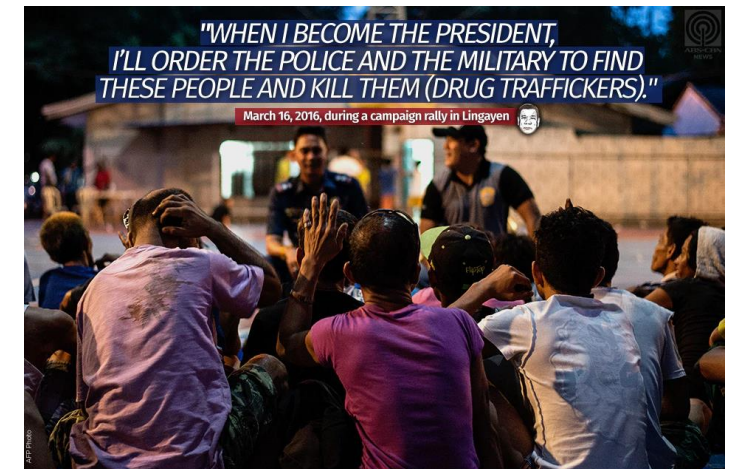
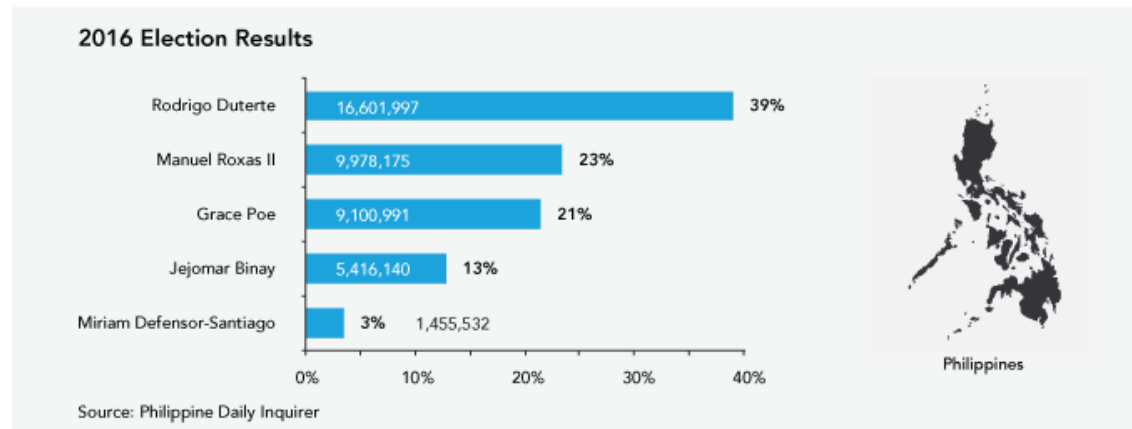
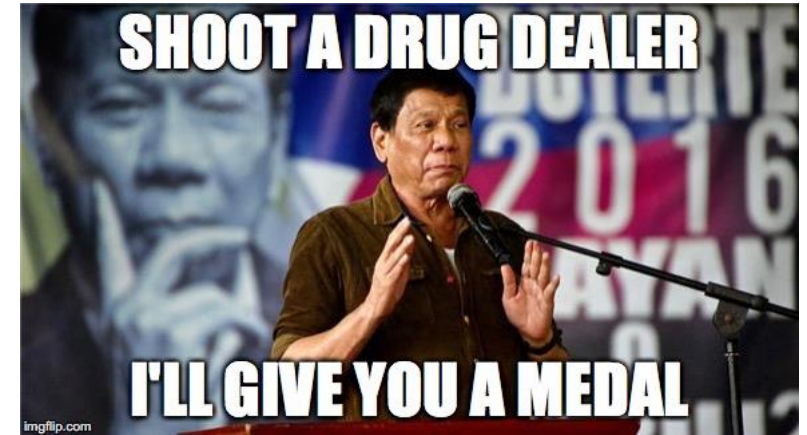
- Security Argument
- Legitimacy Argument
- Democracy Argument

Braun :

- Level of threat
- Economy growth

# How Duterte achieved power ?

- Duterte came to power in 2016. He is the 16th President of the Philippines.
- To gain support, Duterte used his populist appeal among Filipinos.
- Cas Mudde defined populism as “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people”.
- In Duterte’s case the populist dichotomy is one between **virtuous citizens** versus **hardened criminals** - (Curato).
- Duterte gain support not only from the poor but also from the middle class – uber driver, call centre workers, Uber drivers, overseas Filipino workers and the new middle class -nannies, nurses, seamen, overseas construction workers , call centres worker (Charmaine G. Ramos)





# Human rights violation in the Philippines

## **OHCHR, 2019**

- Extrajudicial Killing and Impunity
- Death penalty
- Attack the freedom of expression
- Internal armed conflict, counter-terror and security
- Attack the children rights

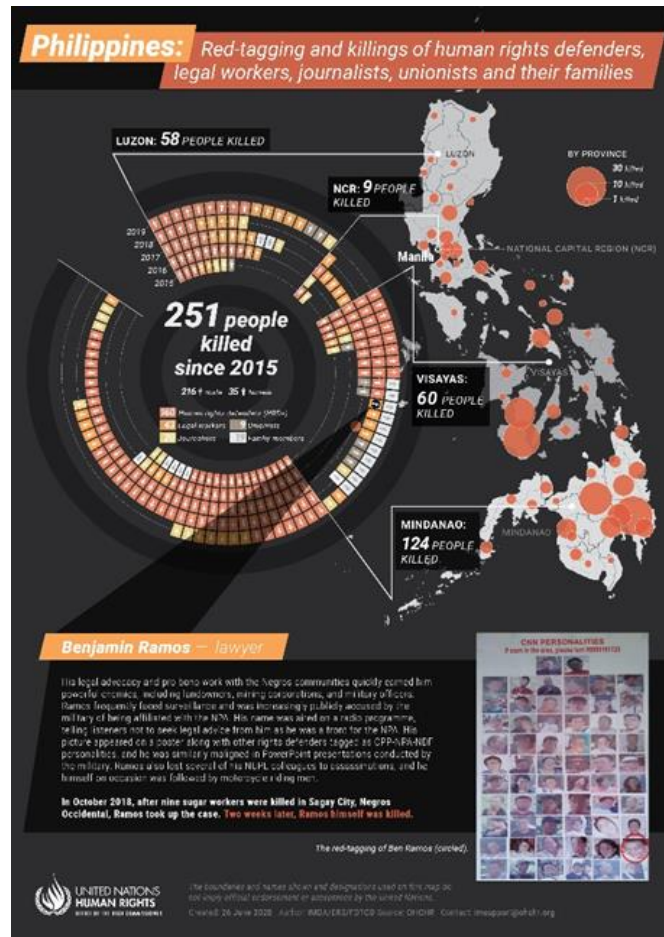
## **Human Rights Watch, 2019**

- Extrajudicial Killings
- Attack to Human Rights Defenders
- Attack to Children's Rights
- Attack on Journalists

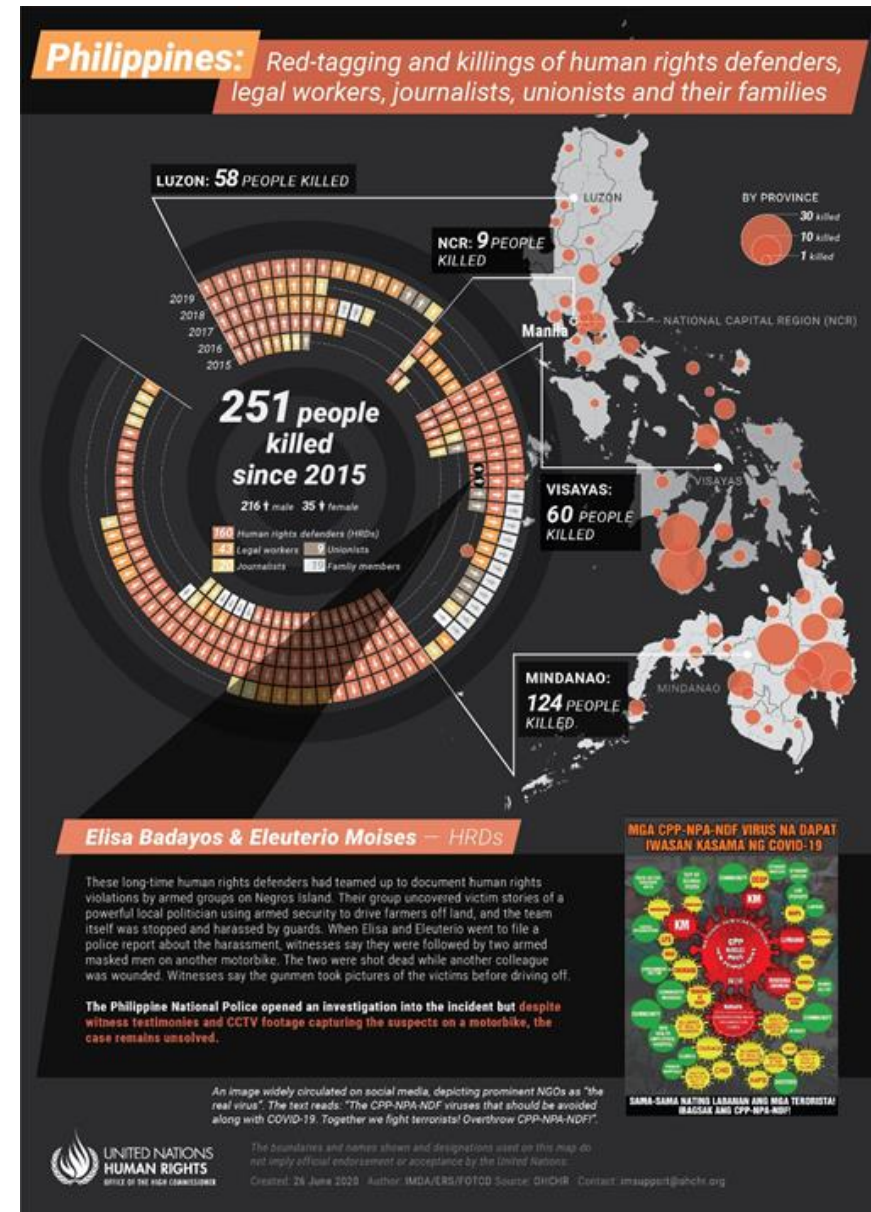
## **Amnesty International, 2019**

- Extrajudicial Killing and Impunity
- Attack to Human Rights Defenders
- Attacks on Media
- Attacks to Children Rights

# Extrajudicial Killings



OHCHR, 2019



# Extrajudicial Killings

Image 1

Left: A poster that claims to be bearing pictures of suspected CPP-NPA-NDF ("CNN" personalities). The phone number listed is a local police number. Circled in the poster, Bernardino Patigas (6th row) and Anthony Trinidad (second row from the bottom), have been killed.

Right: A "hit list leaflet" declaring 15 people as NPA who "will be judged". Circled are activist Haide Flores (spelled Heidi below) and lawyer Anthony Trinidad, who have since been killed.

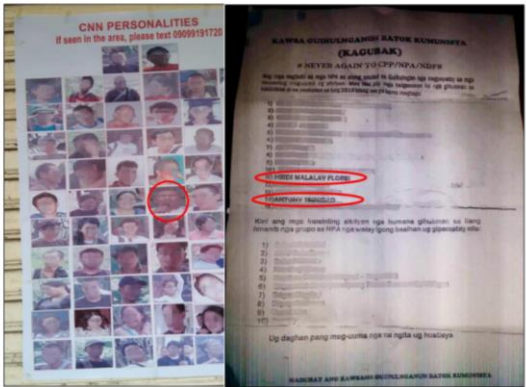


Image 3

Image posted on the Facebook page of the AFPs 303rd Infantry Brigade on 30 April 2020, depicting prominent NGOs as "the real virus" (the text reads: "The CPP-NPA-NDF viruses that should be avoided along with COVID-19. Together we fight terrorists! Overthrow CPP-NPA-NDF!")

www.facebook.com/303rdbrigade.philarmy/posts/903439520101515

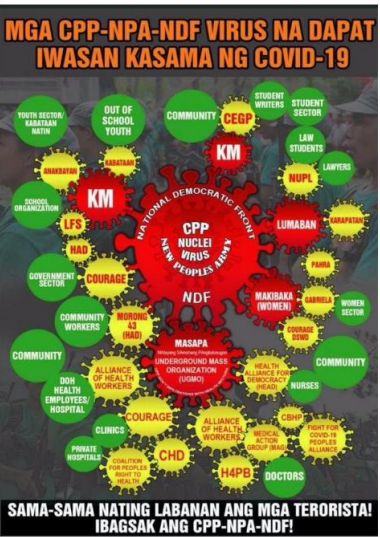


Image 4

Death threats received on 24 November 2018 by two colleagues of slain human rights lawyer Benjamin Ramos Jr, some 18 days after his unsolved murder. The text reads "Now we are looking at you, you will be next." Black bars added by OHCHR.

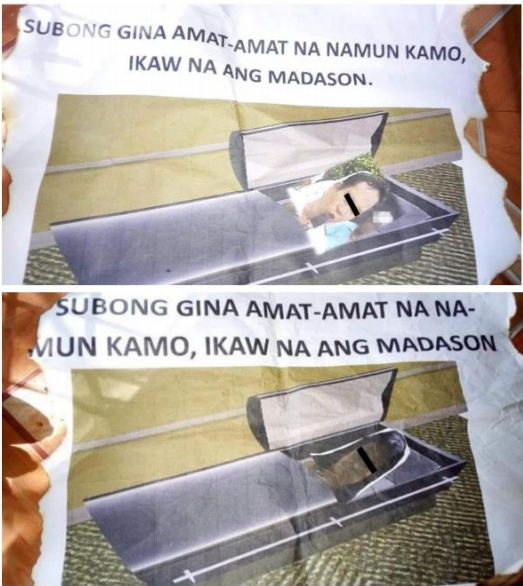
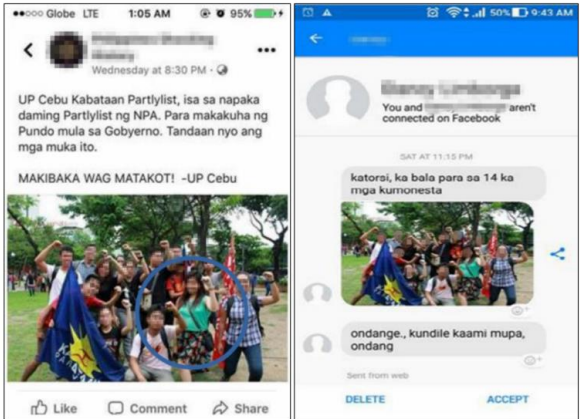


Image 2

Left: Facebook post red-tagging an activist with caption: "UP Cebu Kabataan Partylist, one of the many NPA partylists. So they can get money from the Government. REMEMBER THEIR FACES!"

Right: Private Facebook message to the activist reading: "Fourteen bullets for 14 communists ... Stop it, or else we will make you stop."



OHCHR, 2019



# Attack to Children's Rights



The Philippine Drug Enforcement Administration (PDEA)  
proposed to test all students age 10

# Attack on Journalists



**The House of Representatives killed the franchise of broadcast giant ABS-CBN, which forced the company to shut down**



# How Duterte legitimizes his human rights abuses ?

## Security

☐ 86,6 %

Filipinos view drug problem is a national threat and serious crisis.

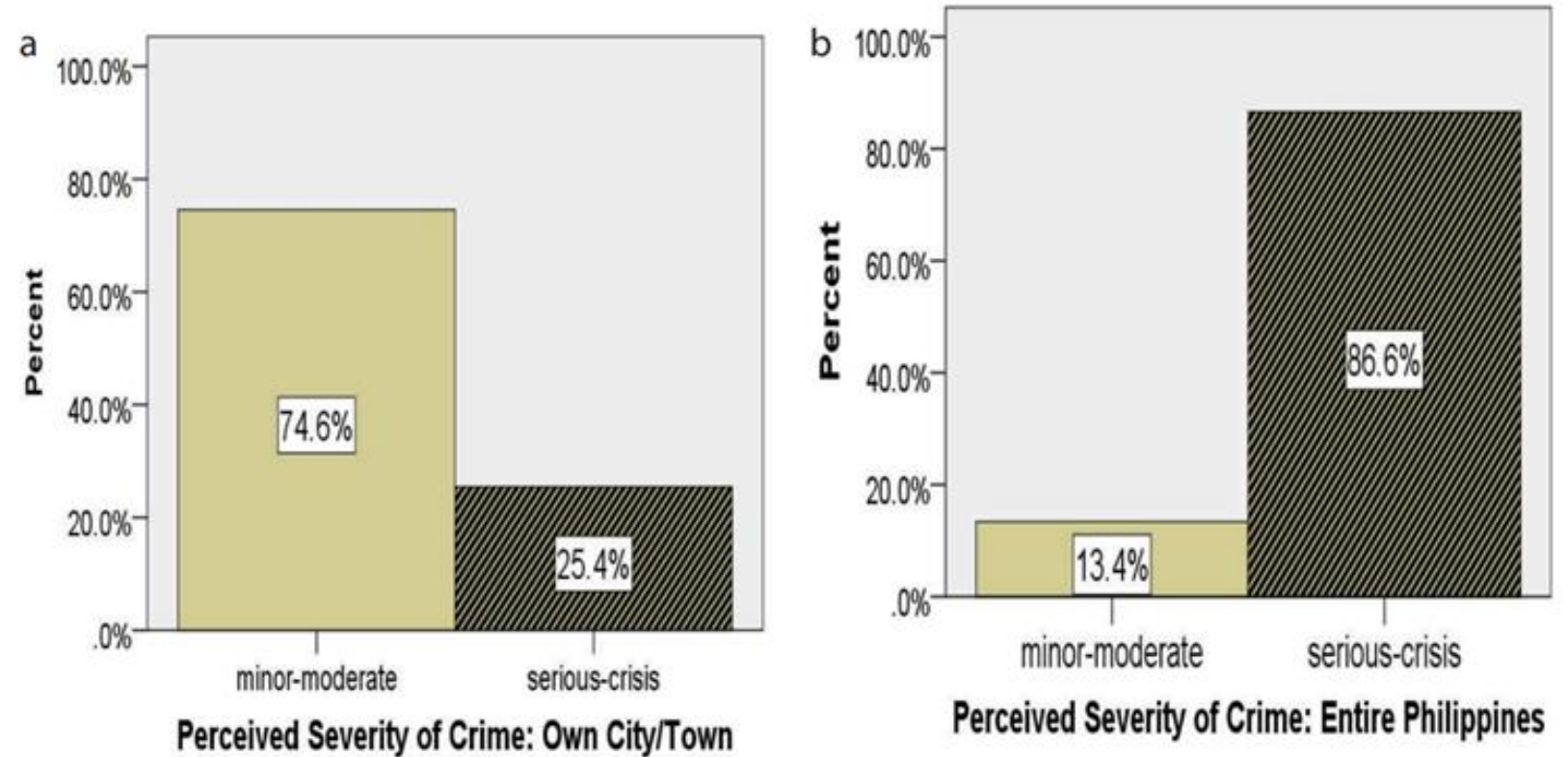


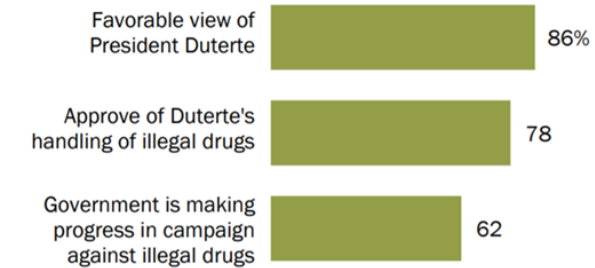
Figure 1. Perceived severity of the crime problem: own town and entire Philippines.

# How Duterte rationalizes his human rights abuses ?

## Legitimacy & Democracy

- ❑ 78% support Duterte's handling of the illegal-drugs issue
- ❑ 62% say that the Philippine government is making progress in its anti-drug campaign.

### Rodrigo Duterte and his war on drugs receive positive reviews from Filipinos



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q121, Q122g & Q124.

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### Majority believe Philippine government is making progress in its war on drugs

*Do you think that the Philippine government is making progress in its campaign against illegal drugs, losing ground, or are things about the same as they have been in the past?*

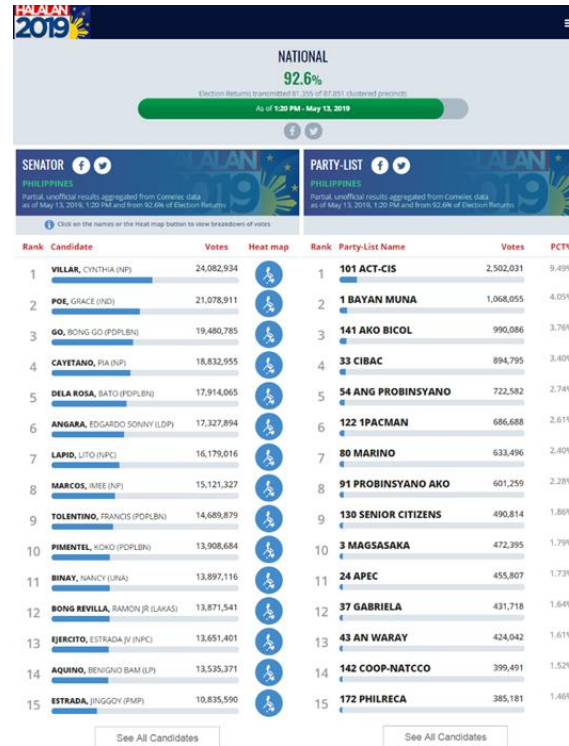


Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q124.

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# Minimum Level of threat

- ☐ Duterte ousted opposition and enemy
- ☐ Senator backed Duterte
- ☐ 9 out 12 elected senatorial are Duterte allies (2019 senatorial elections)



# High Growth Economic Performance

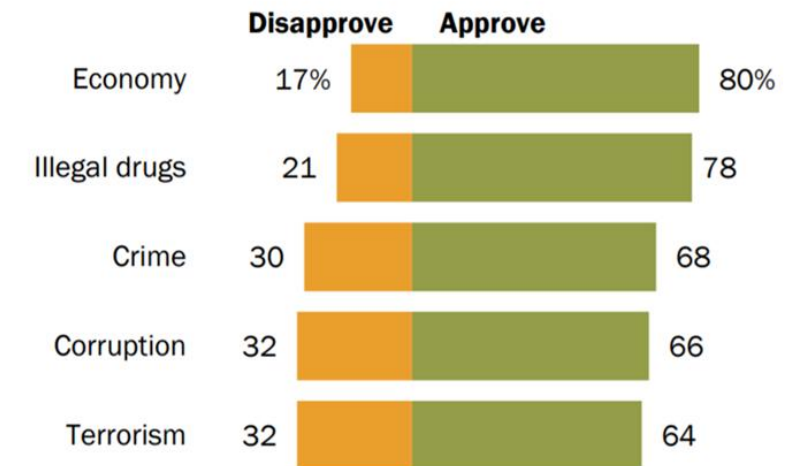


**Figure 3** Quarterly growth rate of real gross domestic product and gross national income, 2015 Q1–2019 Q3.

Source of raw data: Philippine Statistics Authority (2019b).

## Widespread approval for Duterte's handling of domestic issues

\_\_\_ of the way President Rodrigo Duterte is handling ...



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q122b, d-g.

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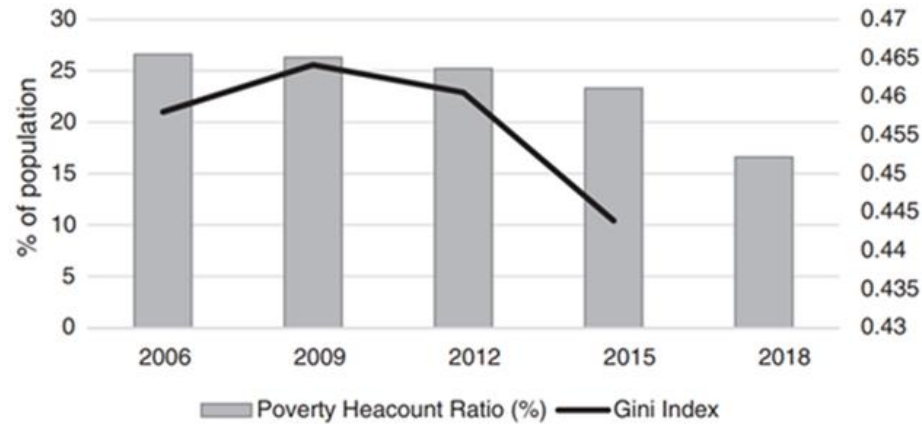
80% satisfied with Duterte's handling of the economy



# Poverty Decline

Dutertenomics

Joseph J. Capuno

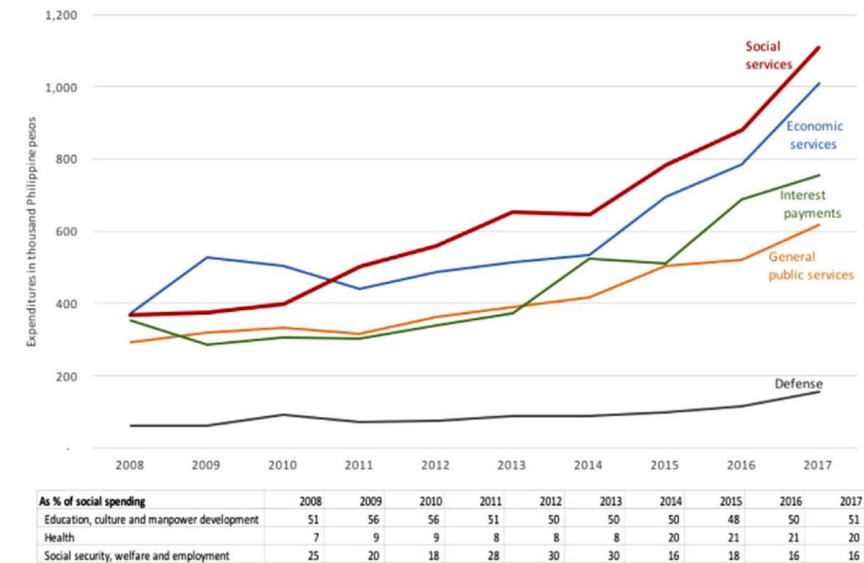


**Figure 1** Poverty headcount ratio and Gini index, 2006–2018.

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority (2019a).

# Social Spending Increase

*Figure 1. Sectoral Distribution of Public Spending in the Philippines, 2008–2017*



Source of basic data: DBM (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2019b)



# Populist Program

“

The beneficiaries of 4Ps shall be made to become independent and self-reliant after they have graduated from the program. We aim to **present them with other forms of assistance** so that they can stand on their own two feet.

”

President Rodrigo Duterte  
State of the Nation 2016



## PANTAWID PAMILYA HOUSEHOLD COVERAGE AND BUDGET (2016–2017)

Year	Household Coverage	Annual Budget (Php)
2016	4,411,162	62,665,628,000
2017	4,402,253	78,186,551,000

**ELIGIBLE BENEFICIARIES**

- Farmers
- Fisher Folks
- Homeless Families
- Indigenous Peoples
- Those in the informal settler sector and those in geographically isolated
- Disadvantaged areas including those in areas without electricity

The infographic features a pink background with a list of eligible beneficiaries. Below the list are two framed illustrations of families and a small potted plant. At the bottom, there are social media links for the Philippine Information Agency (PIA).

Philippine Information Agency

fb.com/pia.gov.ph @piadesk @philippineinformationagency www.pia.gov.ph

## Four Key Programs of Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education Act

- Free Higher Education (FHE)
- Free Technical-Vocational Education and Training (TVET)
- Tertiary Education Subsidy (TES)
- Student Loan Program

Republic  
Commission on Higher Education  
& Unified Students' Financial Assistance  
System for Tertiary Education



# Police officers receive pay hike

H. Jt. Res. No. 18  
S. Jt. Res. No. 11

Republic of the Philippines  
Congress of the Philippines  
Metro Manila  
Seventeenth Congress  
Second Regular Session

Begun and held in Metro Manila, on Monday, the twenty-fourth day of July, two thousand seventeen.

[ JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 01 ]



JOINT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE INCREASE IN BASE PAY OF MILITARY AND UNIFORMED PERSONNEL IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

WHEREAS, Item 1 of Congress Joint Resolution (JR) No. 4 (s. 2009) stipulates that the Base Pay Schedule of Military and Uniformed Personnel (MUP) shall take into account prevailing economic realities and create professionalism, exemplary performance and commitment to service;

WHEREAS, Item 17(iv) of JR No. 4 mandates the updating of the Compensation and Position Classification System (CPCS) of civilian personnel and Base Pay Schedule for MUP, as well as the policies on, and levels of allowances, benefits and incentives applicable to all government personnel;



## PAY INCREASE IN THE MILITARY

	Monthly Base Pay Beginning Jan. 1, 2018	Monthly Base Pay Beginning Jan. 1, 2019		Monthly Base Pay Beginning Jan. 1, 2018	Monthly Base Pay Beginning Jan. 1, 2019
Candidate Soldier	18,587	18,587	Probationary Second Lieutenant	35,456	38,366 ▲
Private	29,668	29,668	Second Lieutenant	39,356	48,829 ▲
Private First Class	30,261	30,261	First Lieutenant	43,685	49,528 ▲
Corporal	30,867	30,867	Captain	49,801	56,582 ▲
Sergeant	31,484	31,484	Major	54,799	62,555 ▲
Staff Sergeant	32,114	32,114	Lieutenant Colonel	61,375	71,313 ▲
Technical Sergeant	32,756	32,756	Colonel	68,740	80,583 ▲
Master Sergeant	33,411	33,411	Brigadier General	76,988	91,058 ▲
Senior Master Sergeant	34,079	34,079	Major General	86,227	102,896 ▲
Chief Master Sergeant	34,761	34,761	Lieutenant General	108,163	125,574 ▲
First Chief Master Sergeant	35,456	38,366 ▲	General	121,143	149,785 ▲
Cadet	35,456	38,366 ▲			

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# Conclusion

1. The understanding of populism and human rights in the Philippines strengthens the hypothesis that populism is a threat to human rights.
2. There are 5 factors contribute to strengthening human rights violations in the Philippines : security, legitimacy, democracy, economy and level of threats.
3. The Philippines case shows that populist leader (Duterte) have the opportunity to commit serious human rights violations because he get the Filipinos support. 86,6% Filipinos believe that drug problem is a national threat and 86% Filipinos support his war on drug policy.
4. The masses also support Duterte because He is able to maintain economic stability and has budget to finance his social programs and especially to hike the PNP/Police officer salary.
5. The lack of internal and external threats against Duterte finally contributed to nurture the human rights violations in the Philippines.





# Thank You

**Imelda MJ Sianipar**

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