

“The fight of our generation”: Metaphors, code switching, and ideological constructions in announcement speeches of presidential aspirants

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ABSTRACT

This study determines the rhetorical strategies of and analyzes the linguistic ideologies established by Ping Lacson, Bongbong Marcos, Isko Moreno, Manny Pacquiao, and Leni Robredo, presidential aspirants for the 2022 Philippine national elections, in speeches delivered during their respective official announcements of filing for candidacy. Conceptual metaphor theory, functions of code switching, and ideological discourse analysis were used to answer the following research questions: What are the discursive strategies commonly found in all of the candidates’ announcement speeches? How do these strategies construct the identities of the candidates in their

announcement speeches? What are the socio-political implications of these strategies against the background of the national elections? The candidates were found to self-represent via Lacson is ideal leader, Marcos is unity, Moreno is cure, Pacquiao is messiah, and Robredo is fighter. In terms of code switching, the candidates can be positioned in a spectrum on whose one end would be Robredo appealing most to nationalistic sentiments with the majority of her speech in Filipino, and on the other would be Marcos appealing least with a majority of English words. Ideological discourse analysis yields an Us vs. Them dichotomy in which the electorate is targeted to be allied with the candidate, and the previous Duterte administration and the pandemic as misaligned and therefore othered. Results from this analysis contribute to the scholarship of presidential rhetoric in the Philippines, an understudied field of study, and help evaluate the winning candidate's first year of the presidency summarized via the State of the Nation Address (SONA) last 24 July 2023.

Keywords: Codeswitching, conceptual metaphor theory, multimodal critical discourse analysis, Philippine elections, presidential candidates

Introduction

Political talk is a rich site of discursive analysis to uncover identity construction, ideologies, and power asymmetry normalized in language use. It explores the interplay of language and power that informs its participants' and target audience's cognition and behavior, consequently shaping society-at-large. The higher the position is of a political rhetor, the bigger their sphere of influence is in terms of enabling social acts via language use. As such, world leaders, specifically presidents, are the likeliest rhetors whose speeches are analyzed because of their utterances' implications to whole nation-states. Due to politicians' social standing, their speeches are ideal examples of how "language contributes to the domination of some people by others" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 1). By domination, we mean language use in political talk as a tool to reinforce power asymmetry between politicians and the general masses, maintaining the status quo.

"Kung ito ang laban ng ating henerasyon...Tumaya na tayo, ilaban na natin", declared vice presidential aspirant Kiko Pangilinan on radio show BISErbisyong LENI. He referred to the Philippine national elections on 9 May 2022 during which an unprecedented number of political dynasties vied for the highest positions in the government. On the one hand, Philippine politics is traditionally a cacique democracy (Anderson, 2010), characterized as feudal and a monopoly of political power among family members and allies. On the other hand, the elections see a "grand coalition" (Romualdez, in Gascon, 2021) of the Arroyos, Dutertes, Estradas, and the Marcoses, an alliance widely considered as "shameless and shows... obvious thirst for power" (Honorica, in Atienza, 2021). Presidential candidate Ferdinand "Bongbong" Romualdez Marcos Jr. is the son of late dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos Sr. His vice-presidential running mate was Sara Zimmerman Duterte-Carpio, daughter of former president Rodrigo R. Duterte. Their political party is UniTeam which included Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats, former president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's political party; and the Partido ng Masang Pilipino of former ousted president Joseph "Erap" Estrada. Each of these families has members who have had brushes with the law: Macapagal-Arroyo with electoral sabotage (Rappler.com, 2012) and plunder (Nonato, 2017); Rodrigo Duterte with crimes against humanity (Conde, 2017), Erap Estrada with plunder (People of the Philippines vs. Joseph Ejercito Estrada, JOSE

"JINGGOY" ESTRADA, CHARLIE "ATONG" TIU HAY SY ANG, et al., 2007) and perjury (People of the Philippines vs. JOSEPH EJERCITO ESTRADA and THE HONORABLE SPECIAL DIVISION OF THE SANDIGANBAYAN, 2009); and the dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos and his surviving immediate family with corruption and human rights violations (Bueza, 2019), among others. These four families' coalition converging as UniTeam, and the opposition led by former vice president Maria Leonor "Leni" Gerona Robredo, who notably lacked political machinery and relied primarily on volunteerism, marked the campaign season leading up to the 2022 elections as "one of the most emotional and intense electoral campaigns in the country's history since 1986" (Solis, 28 May 2022). One of the opposition's primary motivations for countering UniTeam was to thwart the Marcoses' return to Malacañang (Venzon & Regalado, 28 April 2022).

In October 2021, news in the Philippines were headlined by politicians announcing their intent to run for presidency. Their speeches were expectedly promissory self-representations of their views of perennial issues in the country and plans-of-action to address them should they win. They demonstrated their brand of leadership in the hopes of wooing votes: "Leadership is a social act which requires two parties: individuals who are gifted in the arts of self-representation and others who are ready to follow when they are convinced by rhetoric" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. xiv). Preliminary linguistic analysis surfaced the discursive strategies of metaphors and code switching towards an ideological construction of "Us vs. Them" in simultaneously establishing alliance with voters, and opposition to the previous Duterte administration due to its poor response to national issues. The timeliness and relevance of the last national elections warrant an ideological critical discourse analysis of the candidates' self-representations vis-a-vis the socio-political context during which the speeches were delivered.

Language Studies on Political Discourse

Language-based analyses of political speeches have their foundations in Aristotle's conception of *pisteis*, "the means whereby the state of mind is produced in the audience" (Wikramanayake, 1961, p. 193). *Pisteis* is more contemporarily known as the "artistic proofs" or "means of

persuasion”: *logos*, appeal to logic; *pathos*, appeal to emotions; and *ethos*, appeal to credibility (Navera, 2011, p. 20). These artistic proofs are persuasive strategies of the politician, as a rhetor, towards fulfilling the goal of influencing the target audience the way the rhetor aims to.

Within the context of political discourse, studies lean towards analyzing language use by politicians in their public speeches. This tendency aligns itself with Teun Van Dijk’s (1997) definition of political discourse as constitutive of three dimensions: the actors otherwise known as politicians, the nature of activities or practices as political, and context of communication (p.15). The definition is relevant to this study: social actors are politicians running for the presidency, their respective speeches for analysis are political by nature such that they announce their candidacy, and the context would be the national elections.

In his seminal work *Politicians and Rhetoric*, Jonathan Charteris-Black (2005/2011) states that a political speech is “used for ideological purposes because it activates unconscious emotional associations and thereby contributes to myth creation” (p. 28). Language plays a powerful role in creating narratives about politicians that may not always be true, as speeches are typically scripted and speakers coached. Political rhetors typically rely on myth-making, employing their entire linguistic repertoire to sway the audience into either retaining or voting them into power. Metaphors are surfaced as the foremost persuasive strategy used in political discourse, with Charteris-Black (2005/2011) calling conventional metaphors “the bread and butter of political language” (p. 28). Common topics of politics are generally hifalutin such as perennial social issues in a given geo-political unit. As these issues tend to be abstract by nature, they are packaged as metaphors in speeches for rhetors and their message to be accessible to laymen. In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors are the “main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning; [are] fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature” (p. 34). Metaphors are therefore not just rhetorical strategies deployed for maximum impact, rather, a way of thinking or manifestation of human cognition towards perceiving and engaging with reality.

Political speeches in the Philippines are also marked by code switching, a general pattern in a speech community of switching between two or more available languages or linguistic varieties with respect to certain extralinguistic factors (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Code switching is strategically employed by politicians to gain support, especially in the Philippines which has at least 186 languages (Borlongan, 11 June 2023). With the example of Taglish, Tupas (1999) argues that code switching is a reaction to homogenizing tendencies in the country. Considering that Tagalog is the basis of the national language, Filipino, politicians' use of code switching in speeches is an attempt at linguistic accommodation (Trudgill, 1974) targeting Filipinos who do not readily identify as Tagalog-speaking. The implication is that the more Philippine languages the politician uses, the higher the chances of garnering support from the electorate whose first language may not be Tagalog.

Studies on political discourse have notably been observed to be Western-centric. In his PhD dissertation analyzing schemas of presidential leadership in Philippine SONAs, Navera (2011) observes the lack of non-Western literature on presidential rhetoric studies: "most of the studies...are based on American-European experience and traditions; hence generalizations, insights, and theories derived from them do not fully apply to the complexities of Philippine political reality" (p. 40). A similar observation was found in a more recent systematic review of 164 journal articles on political discourse published since 1998. Randour et al (2020) "highlights discrepancies regarding the geographical scope and the policy domains covered by the empirical analyses, more specifically a bias toward the Western world". While scholarship on the rhetoric of Philippine presidents (Malaya & Malaya, 2004; Martinez, 1999; Navera, 2011; Serquiña, 2016) is not exactly lacking, it is not as vibrant as its counterparts in the West. This current study contributes to addressing this gap by offering an in-depth linguistic analysis, insights, and real-world implications of presidential nominees' announcement speeches for the May 2022 national elections.

Frameworks and Methodology

The following are my research questions: What are the discursive strategies commonly found in all of the candidates' announcement speeches? How do these strategies construct the identities of the candidates in their announcement speeches? What are the socio-political implications of these strategies against the background of the national elections?

To answer the first research question, preliminary analysis yielded metaphors, code switching, and ideological squaring as the foremost rhetorical strategies the candidates used in their speeches. Each strategy necessitates a framework of its own. First, words and phrases contributing to metaphors will be analyzed via metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2005/2011; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It is facilitated by the process of mapping in which "sets of conceptual correspondences" are mapped via the template of "target domain is/as source domain" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 72; in Jolo, 2019, p. 63). Mapping, therefore, is a two-fold representation in which the metaphor exists in the mind and simultaneously manifested in language use. Metaphor analysis will determine how exactly the candidates metaphorize themselves towards certain identities that can sway the electorate into voting them into the presidency.

For code switching, word count will be used to quantify utterances and determine the reasons of such language use via Hoffman's kinds of (1991) and Bautista's compiled functions of code switching (2004). All five candidates utilized at least two languages, English and Tagalog, in each of their speeches, primarily to communicate linguistic solidarity with as many Filipinos as possible. This observation aligns with Trudgill's accommodation theory (1974) which "states that speakers will converge towards their interlocutor when they wish to reduce social distance" (cited in Tan, 2023). Inter- and intra-sentential code switching were also observed. Inter-sentential code switching happens at the sentence boundary marked by a period: one sentence is in one language while the next is in another. Intra-sentential code switching, on the other hand, happens within a sentence: there are at least two languages within a single sentence. The extent of how candidates mix English, Tagalog, Bisaya, and Kinaray-a linguistically, and possible reasons for them to do so, are therefore points of interest in this study.

Lastly, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is also necessary to discuss ideological squaring in the speeches and the socio-political context of when the speeches were delivered. There is a preponderance of Tagalog plural pronouns such as "tayo" (we/us) and "sila" (they/them), suggesting ideological squaring (van Dijk, 1995), a tendency in discourse to categorize people as oppositional to each other, inviting target discourse consumers to either align themselves with particular social actors or not. Ideological squaring manifests in the "Us vs. Them" ideology (Van Dijk, 1995), an "ingroup-outgroup distinction, differentiation and polarization...basic self-group schemata of social cognition" (p. 150). This strategy is particularly salient as elections are a competition towards attracting voters – the target allies – within "Us" for the presidency; thus, it is interesting to note which and how candidates mark social actors and realities as "Them", and thus engage in competition via rhetorical strategies.

From within an individual's own cognition are mental models (Van Dijk; 1995, 1998, 2002, 2006) which mediate between "structures of discourse with structures of ideologies" (van Dijk, 1995, p. 143). Highlighting the criticality of CDA – specifically its activist goal of identifying power asymmetries made commonplace via language use, CDA presents itself an appropriate framework towards analyzing which particular groups of people the candidates would align themselves with, and who are misaligned and consequently "othered" within the delivery of the speech.

CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995) will also be used to contextualize the candidates' speeches within the larger socio-political reality of the campaign season. A branch of CDA, ideological discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1995), will also be included as metaphors have "ideological purposes because [they] activate unconscious emotional associations and thereby contribute to myth creation" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 28). Code switching is ideological as well as mixing at least two different codes is a strategic move to establish solidarity with target audiences.

Lastly, the analysis will focus on linguistic strategies and not so much on multimodal cues. While gestures and short videos will be mentioned, no framework about multimodality will be included as non-linguistic cues will be discussed only in relation to prevailing ideologies established by linguistic strategies.

Data and Analysis

Data for this study are open access recorded videos and transcripts of candidacy announcements of Panfilo “Ping” M. Lacson (Appendix A), Ferdinand “Bongbong” Romualdez Marcos Jr. (Appendix B), Francisco “Isko” Moreno Domagoso (Appendix C), Emmanuel “Manny” Dapidran Pacquiao Sr. (Appendix D), and Maria Leonor “Leni” Gerona Robredo (Appendix E).

The discussion will start with metaphor analysis. Data are categorized alphabetically based on the candidates’ surnames: Lacson, Marcos, Moreno, Pacquiao, and Robredo. After which, instances of code switching within the speeches will be analyzed based on typology and function. Last would be the application of ideological critical discourse analysis (Fairclough; Van Dijk) to determine the underlying ideologies and implications of the candidates’ myth-making to socio-political realities at the time of their speech delivery.

Metaphor Analysis

Lacson is ideal leader

Lacson established himself as the most experienced among the candidates, highlighting his “more than 18 years of honest, dedicated, and competent public service” with vice presidential aspirant Tito Sotto. He adds, “[m]ayroon kaming sapat na kakayahan, katapatan, at katapangan upang pamunuan ang ating bansa at upang bumangon sa ating pagkakalugmok”. He described the ideal leader as a “leader by example”, “ang tama ay ipaglalaban at ang mali ay lalaban”, law-abiding, “[w]alang sisinuhin”, empowers the local government units (LGUs), and a “big brother watching over their shoulders”, who can efficiently address national issues. Lacson’s decision to highlight his more than 18 years of experience may be his edge against the other candidates as he is the oldest at 73.

Just as he promises empowerment of the LGUs, he empowers his target audience by promising a “roadmap or a master plan that... we intend to present to our people. After all... kayo ang magdedesisyon kung karapat-dapat ba kaming pagkatiwalaan na mamuno sa ating bayan”. He ends his speech with journey metaphors (“[w]e are nearing the crossroads of our

nation's modern history and we cannot afford to choose the wrong direction in charting the course of our nation" and "this is where Tito Sotto and I intend to steer our country"), a linguistic strategy that "creates feelings of solidarity and encourage toleration of short-term suffering for the purpose of achieving long-term political objectives" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 88). The utterance "[k]onting tiis nalang, malapit na. Makakaahon na tayo" is a reinforcement of journey metaphors as "end-focused because a purposeful journey implies arrival at a predetermined destination" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 88). Considering keeping promises as a presidential candidate takes time despite it being "predetermined", Lacson highlights his "more than 18 years of experience" as a public servant to convince the electorate that he has the highest chances among the candidates to shorten the time and distance in the journey towards achieving campaign promises set during his announcement of candidacy.

Marcos is unity

In terms of word count and airtime, Marcos has the shortest speech among all candidates. His speech has a preponderance of the first person pronouns in both English and Filipino ("our", "we", "us", "ating", "tayo"), and utterances relating to unity: "fellow Filipinos", "[w]e must face the challenges as one, as one country, as one people. Together, we must work towards a shared vision of our country", "[t]o find a way...with a common goal, a vision to guide us and lead us", "unifying leadership", "mapagkaisang paglilingkod na magbubuklod sa ating bansa", "[t]ayo'y magkaisa at sama-sama tayong babangon", and "[s]ama-sama tayong babangon muli". According to Charteris-Black (2011), "repetition...convey[s] persistence and obduracy that sounds right because it is based on conviction" (p. 10) and the "[r]epetition of 'we' implies unity of purpose" (p. 56), reinforcing the Marcos is unity metaphor via his conviction in promising a unifying presidency. Unity is furthered by opening shots of short videos of Filipinos from all over the Philippines and the world, expressing support for his candidacy. The Marcos is unity metaphor is most evident in the name of his political party, UniTeam, a morphological blending of "unity" and "team". His use of unity as his source domain may be the most accessible rhetorical strategy for Marcos whose family name is divisive and polarizing due to his family's legacy of "corruption, brutality, and impunity" (Robles, 2012, p. xv). Moreover, the absence of perennial social issues in his speech runs parallel with the fact

that he has never given a concrete campaign platform (Atienza, 3 July 2022; Buan, 8 February 2022; Mercado, 8 May 2022; Patag, 27 February 2022); thus, sticking to the discourse of unity as the only available rhetorical strategy to his presidential branding.

Moreno is cure

Moreno has the longest speech in terms of word count and airtime, and has three salient source domains: health, religiosity, and tailorship. “Moreno is cure” is the most dominant metaphor. He positions the pandemic as the foremost national issue and considers his presidency as the cure among other social ills such as poverty, hunger, corruption, inaccessibility of education, poor public health system, lack of state-sponsored housing, unemployment, political dynasties, ageism, and a weak justice system, all of which he personally experienced as a child “in the slums of Tondo”. “I will be a healing president”, he says, and reinforces his claim by calling Manila as “pambansang parmasya” and the “prototype” of his plan of healing the country, citing his efforts as Manila mayor in addressing the pandemic: offering Remdesivir and Sarilumab even to non-Manila residents and “build[ing] its (Manila) own medicine cabinet of effective responses to the pandemic from the field hospital billed in 52 days to buying our own vaccines”. He furthers his use of health metaphors in the utterances “we have the vision to stockpile essential drugs” and “sama-sama nating gamutin ang bansa. Let us heal our country”. He highlights as well the presence of medical doctors among his closest political allies: his vice presidential running mate “na sasamahan tayo sa pagbibigay ng riseta ng lunas” Willie Ong, and then-vice mayor Honey Lacuna who Moreno describes as “katuwang [na] bihasa sa usaping pangkalusugan”.

Moreno’s campaign gesture of pointing the index finger upwards and saying “God first”, which he strategically did at the end of his speech, surfaces the metaphor of Moreno is God-fearing. He dedicates an entire paragraph forwarding his religiosity, uttering “kanyang mga alagad, di ko inalipusta sapagkat di natitinig ang paniniwala ko sa Poong Maykapal”, “hands on the Bible, as I recited my oath of office, this has always been my fighting faith”, “[n]asa Diyos ang awa”, and “pagpalain nawa kayo ng Poong Maykapal”. The collocation (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) of religion and politics generally is a well-worn trope in political discourse as it “enhance[s]

the ethos of the speaker because they imply that political decisions are made on the basis of high principle rather than crude self-interest" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 217). Moreno appeals to the predominance of Catholicism in the Philippines, positioning his candidacy as rooted in steadfast faith in God – a value positively evaluated in the country.

Least prominent of the three source domains is tailorship, yielding the metaphor Moreno is tailor ("[m]araming mananahi ng suliranin, maraming tatahiin na suliranin ang susunod na administrasyon" and "plano ko...parang bandila ng Pilipinas na ating hahabiin mula sa hibla at sa mga sinulid na manggagaling sa inyo"). He references the iconic relationship (Irvine & Gal, 2000) between the country and the Philippine flag which is alluded to needing mending. He courts votes via likening Filipinos to suppliers of fiber and threads, and presenting his potential presidency as the lead tailor of a new and mended flag once torn by national problems.

Pacquiao is messiah

Pacquiao is a devout Evangelical Protestant evident in his use of religious discourse, touting himself as "Man of Destiny, for God and Country". He primarily employs collocation towards establishing the metaphor Pacquiao is messiah: "we are unbeatable because God is with us", "suportang may dalangin ng gabay sa Panginoon", "[a]ng sabi ng Bibliya, with people, this is impossible, but with God, all things are possible", "we are unbeatable because God is with us", and "God bless po" at the end of his speech. His citation of Psalm 89 verse 14 ("righteousness and justice [are] the foundation of a prosperous and strong nation") strategically at the start of his speech is reminiscent of Charteris-Black's observation (2011) of African American preachers that "many sermons and speeches are organised around biblical quotations, religious references and other stylistic characteristics" (p. 84) as a springboard to his presidential branding. Similar to Moreno, though dominant here, Pacquiao's use of religious metaphors has a "pragmatic effect... to create a myth of political leadership as equivalent to spiritual guidance" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 218) in which his presidency is discursively constructed as having moral ascendancy because it is founded on religiosity.

Pacquiao also uses his history as a decorated boxer towards establishing the metaphor of his candidacy is battle via the utterances “I am a fighter and I will always be a fighter inside and outside the ring”, “wala akong laban na inatrasan”, “Pambansang Kamao”, “kasama ninyo laban sa kahirapan at katiwalian”, “nakipagbalan sa boxing, nagpabugbog sa kalaban, kalaban mas malaki at mas malakas”, “win against poverty”, and “[m]analo naman ang mga naaapi”. He describes boxing matches as necessary to provide for his family in his youth, and likens his boxing experience to the necessity of his presidential candidacy to fight against poverty and injustices in the Philippines. Considering the analysis in the previous paragraph, the metaphor Pacquiao is messiah is founded on his represented predetermined presidency that can win the battle against social ills in the country.

Robredo is fighter

Robredo’s word choices can be summed up as her self-representation as a fighter, repeating the word “laban” 10 times in its various derivatives in these utterances: “kahandaang lumaban”, “ang nagmamahal kailangang ipaglaban ang minamahal”, “[l]alaban ako, lalaban tayo”, “pakiramdam na parang wala kang kalaban-laban”, “sasabak tayo sa mas malaking laban”, “para ipaglaban ang Pilipinas ng at mga pangarap”, “[a]ng kinabukasan... ipinaglalaman”, “[i]paglalaban ko kayo hanggang dulo”, and “tumaya sa laban na ito” wherein she fights against the old and rotten politics towards freedom (“kung gusto nating makalaya sa ganitong sitwasyon” and “[k]ailangan nating palayain ang sarili”). “Laban” is also implied in “[t]atalunin natin ang luma at bulok na klase ng pulitika”, as if inviting the target audience in her battle against traditional politics. She collocates freedom with her experience as a lawyer for abused women in “sa wakas, pinili na nilang lumaya” and likens the relationship between the Philippines and the Duterte administration with that of an abusive household – in which the mother stays for the children’s sake (“tiniis ng mga kliyente ko ang pang-aabuso at pananakit ng asawa...alang-alang sa mga anak”). The mention of her legal cases is a nod to her being the only lawyer among the five candidates.

Other than being the only lawyer, she is also the only woman among the candidates. Robredo capitalizes on the woman as home metaphor, which, according to Jolo (2019), is “a popular trope in various forms of media, owing to traditional gender roles that confine her to work in the household” (p. 65).

This is evident in her utterances of “[n]anay ako hindi lang ng tatlong anak ko, kundi ng buong bansa” and “[i]na akong nakikita ang pagdurusa ng minamahal kong bansa”. It is interesting to note that all other candidates are fathers themselves but none invoke their fatherhood in their speeches, reinforcing the notion that parenthood and child-rearing are traditionally associated with females.

Analysis of Code Switching

All candidates deploy code switching in their speeches, but the extent of which differs. Below is the table containing the word count of all languages used in the speeches.

Table 1: Candidates’ word count based on different languages

	Total word count	Tagalog	English	Bisaya	Kinaray-a	Type of code switching
Lacson	565	300 (53%)	265 (47%)	N/A	N/A	Inter-sentential
Marcos	264	33 (12.5%)	231(87.5%)	N/A	N/A	Inter-sentential
Moreno	2,282	1,317(58%)	957 (42%)	2 (0.09%)	6 (0.26%)	More inter- than intra-sentential
Pacquiao	974	725 (74%)	191 (20%)	58 (6%)	N/A	More inter- than intra-sentential
Robredo	1,284	1,247 (98%)	37 (2.9%)	N/A	N/A	Intra-sentential

Lacson, Moreno, Pacquiao, and Robredo used Tagalog as the most dominant language based on word count. Historically and politically, Tagalog is the basis of Filipino, the national language. Considering that the candidates are running for the highest position in the Philippines, they are expected to deploy language use that appeals to nationalist sentiments via Filipino. Marcos is the exception and predominantly uses English as his campaign’s language of unity.

Intersentential Taglish is used primarily for emphasis and reinforcement, via repetition of and highlighting promises to and from

Tagalog and English prominently evidenced by all of the male candidates. In the examples below, English passages are marked by italics:

Lacson: *“Kaya naman magiging una sa ating prayoridad ang mas maigting na pagtugon sa pandemya. Marapat lamang na punan ang mga kakulangan at ituwid ang mga kamalian. We have to prepare for sustainable recovery from this health crisis. I have no doubt that with a united citizenry, we will soon see the day that COVID-19 will no longer be a scare.”*

Marcos: *“I will bring that form of unifying leadership back to our country. Hangad kong ibalik ang mapagkaisang paglilingkod ng magbubuklod sa ating bansa.”*

Moreno: *“I don’t belong to a large clan. I am neither son or daughter of a president. Hindi niyo makikita sa pera ang mukha ng aking walang perang mga ninuno. No avenues named after them.”*

Pacquiao: *“Sa mga nanunungkulan sa ating pamahalaan na patuloy na nagsasamantala at nagnanakaw sa kaban ng bayan, malapit na kayong magsama-sama sa kulungan. Your time is up.”*

Pacquiao taps into his home court advantage via speaking in his native Bisaya, though like intersentential Taglish, spoke in Bisaya to reinforce and highlight promises already said in Tagalog. Bisaya words are underlined below:

Panahon na ang isang malinis na gobyerno kung saan batwat sentimo ay mapupunta sa batwat Pilipino. Mga kababayan ko sa Visayas at Mindanao, ginahangyo ko kamong tanan, nga magkauban-uban ta, magkahiusa ta, para sa tinud-anay nga pag bag-o, para sa atong kalambuan, nagpasalamat ako sa inyong walang... walay puas sa pagsuporta.

Intrasentential Taglish, on the other hand, "provides the fastest, easiest, most convenient way of saying something with the least waste of time, effort, and resources" (Bautista, 2004), as evidenced by the usage of English words that may not have readily accessible translations in Filipino. English utterances are italicized below:

Moreno: "*Bakit pagdating sa face mask, nagawa at nilako ng banyaga, express delivery pa?*"

Pacquiao: "*at sa aking asawa, siyempre, baka ma-outside the kulambo ako...*"

Robredo: "*Salamat sa lahat ng nagparating ng suporta, sumabay sa dasal, at umunawa sa pinagdaanan kong discernment process ukol sa halalan ng 2022. Sa prosesong ito, walang naging lugar ang ego o pansarili kong interes.*"

Moreno's use of Bisaya ("Daghang salamat") appeals to the local language with the second-most number of speakers in the country, and Kinaray-a an homage to his father who hails from Antique. If Tupas' argument (1999) that "nationalist sentiments are single-handedly pro-Filipino language" (p. 2) is followed and presidential candidates appeal to nationalist sentiments to win votes, then Robredo's use of Tagalog appeals most to nationalism (98% Tagalog words), followed by Pacquiao (combined total of 80% from Tagalog and Bisaya), Moreno third (combined total of 66% from Tagalog, Bisaya, and Kinaray-a), penultimate is Lacson (53% Tagalog words), and least appealing to nationalistic sentiments via language use would be Marcos (12.5% Tagalog words).

Critical and Ideological Discourse Analysis

All five candidates are notably behind a podium while they read their speeches from a script or prompter, and in front of a live audience. In terms of the Us vs. Them ideology (Van Dijk, 1995), the electorate is categorized under the former and thus the target audience of the speeches, and fellow candidates are automatically under "Them" and othered as competition in winning votes. Of all national issues categorized under

“Them” and needing to be dealt with, the pandemic is the only common one mentioned in all five speeches.

Lacson begins his speech criticizing the Duterte administration, highlighting Duterte’s admittance that it “was wrong to think that leading the country is as simple as leading Davao City”. He distances himself from Duterte via his campaign tagline “[i]to ang simula”, marking the end of Duterte’s brand of leadership and Lacson offering his candidacy as a fresh take on national governance. Among the five candidates, Lacson is the only who explicitly mentioned former Rodrigo Duterte’s name in his speech and openly criticized his governance. Lacson categorizes Duterte as misaligned and under “Them”, together with issues about the pandemic, national debt, unemployment, poverty, food security, illegal drugs, territorial rights, justice, and corruption.

Marcos makes no reference to the previous Duterte administration especially compared with the rest of the candidates. On the one hand, it may be because the former president’s daughter Sara Duterte was Marcos’ running mate now vice president, and that non-reference is better than running the risk of criticizing the previous president by mentioning his governance. On the other, however, this lack of reference may also be a (non)linguistic manifestation that the Marcos-Duterte tandem is nothing more than a “coalition of convenience” (Calimbahin, 2023), an alliance whose ultimate goal is continuation of political power via securing the two highest seats in the government. Additionally, Marcos does not explicitly mention any issue in the Philippines other than the pandemic, which are easily observable in the other speeches, as if suggesting that COVID-19 is the *only* issue the next president needs to address. The Us vs. Them ideology in his speech appears to be Marcos and Filipinos vs. the pandemic. In terms of code switching, Marcos is the only candidate whose use of English outweighs Filipino in his speech. Considering his membership in a political dynasty, English is reinforced as the language of the educated and landed elite in the Philippines (Sibayan & Gonzalez, 1996), as if his primary target audience would be his fellow elite. In sum, Marcos’ speech is marked due to its shortness, no reference of the previous administration, no mention of social issues other than the pandemic, and predominant use of English, which all together suggests that his only goal indeed is to win the elections and maintain political power.

Moreno is a known admirer of the previous president. His plan of using Manila as the prototype of what he intends for the country is reminiscent of Duterte's own governance of Davao City brought to the national stage. However, linguistic analysis of Moreno's speech suggests that he categorizes Duterte under "Them": "ni minsan hindi ako nagtampo sa Diyos. Hindi ko siya minura". Moreno references Duterte's bouts of insulting the Roman Catholic Church (Ranada, 2017; Reuters Staff, 2016). Using the source domain of religion, the quote contributes to Moreno's God-fearing metaphor as a distancing strategy between him and Duterte to align himself with the religious, appeal to the positive evaluation of religiosity in the country, and win favor from the devout.

Among the candidates, no one taps into the source domain of religion as much as Pacquiao does. His campaign tagline is "Man of Destiny", and declared himself "ordained by the Lord" and "itinakda ng ating Panginoon" in his speech. He presents his presidency as predetermined and uses religiosity to establish himself as the messiah that can rid the Philippines of the pandemic, corruption, injustice, and impunity. In terms of Us vs. Them, Pacquiao not only addresses and categorizes the electorate under Us, but also appeals to his fellow partymates to unite and support his candidacy ("sa gitna ng kabi-kabilang pagsubok dito mismo sa loob ng ating partidong ang PDP-Laban...pilit akong binubuwag ng ilan sa ngalan ng pansariling interes at politika"), referencing in-fighting within his political party (PhilStar.com, 2021). PDP-Laban was also the party of previous president Duterte: part of the rift was Pacquiao's criticism of Duterte's pandemic response, handling of the West Philippine Sea ruling against China, and corruption in the government. He continues his criticism with "[s]awang sawa na tayo sa mga pangako ng pagbabago", referencing Duterte's campaign slogan "change is coming" back in 2016. Similar to Lacson, Moreno, and Robredo, Pacquiao evaluates the Duterte administration negatively and categorizes the previous president under "Them".

Robredo exemplifies the Us vs. Them ideology (Van Dijk, 1995) most explicitly among the candidates via linguistic line-marking: "[k]ung hindi ka lilinya nang malinaw...nakakaninong panig ka ba talaga?", "[m]alinaw kung nasaan ako: nasa panig tayo ng mga sinasagad ang lahat para [maka]raos...mula sa pandemya", "[d]ito tayo poposisyon...ibabalik natin

sa...karaniwang Pilipino”, “tinatawag ko kayo: gisingin ang natutulog pang lakas”, “palawakin pa ang hanay”, “pinagsanib nating lakas”, and “sasabak tayo sa mas malaking laban”. She allies herself with the ordinary underprivileged Filipinos and assumes her target listeners are already allied with her, calling them to rouse other potential allies to strengthen “Us”. “Them”, therefore, would be the enablers of national issues such as the Duterte administration’s poor pandemic response (“Pinipilahan ang mga ospital, dumadaing ang mga health workers, at nagugutom ang mga nawalan ng trabaho. Samantala, bilyon-bilyong piso ang inilagay sa mga kuwestiyonableng kontrata...”), among other things. Her repetition of “laban” and clear line-marking effect conviction that she is one of her long-suffering target audience, and determination to attract more allies towards winning her biggest fight: the presidency. Considering the Robredo is fighter metaphor, her marked position as the only woman in the presidential race, and her appealing most to nationalistic sentiments via code switching, Robredo offers matriarchy as her presidential brand against the dominance of men among her opponents and the previous administration’s machismo leadership.

Conclusion and Future Studies

“The language of persuasion looks both outwards and inwards: it promises a better future – often based on what is wrong with the present; but it communicates this vision by activating deep-seated ideas, values and feelings that are hidden within the audience” (Charteris–Black, 2011, p. xiv). All five candidates used persuasive language via the strategies of metaphors, code switching, and ideological squaring in the form of Us vs. Them, towards the goal of amassing as much support as possible in the hopes of winning the presidency. With conceptual metaphor theory, the candidates’ self-representations are established by the metaphors Lacson is ideal leader, Marcos is unity, Moreno is cure, Pacquiao is messiah, and Robredo is fighter. Their use of code switching yields three things: (1) multilingualism is intrinsic in the Filipino experience and thus is incorporated in political speeches, (2) political candidates are expected to deploy as many languages as possible to establish solidarity with the electorate, and (3) the more Filipino words are used compared with English, the shorter the social distance is between the

candidate and the masses. The candidates can therefore be positioned in a spectrum on whose one end would be Robredo appealing most to nationalistic sentiments with the majority (98%) of her speech in Filipino, and on the other would be Marcos appealing least with a majority (87.5%) of English words. In terms of ideological discourse analysis, the COVID-19 pandemic appears to be the foremost concern as it is the *only* issue present in all five speeches - thus, consistently represented as "Them" and therefore having highest priority in terms of state response. The five candidates promise solutions to the pandemic, among other issues, via appealing to the voters' nationalist sentiments founded on motherhood, public service, religiosity, shared experience of hardships, and use of the vernacular. They give the electorate a glimpse of their plans and self-presentation should they win the presidency via linguistic myth-making.

Given that it has already been a year since the 2022 national elections, this analysis offers itself as a viable evaluation instrument for Marcos' first year as president. A comparative study can be done between this paper and Marcos' first SONA last 24 July, not only based on what he said but also on the material realities on which he is supposed to anchor his pronouncements as then-candidate and now-president. A research interest here would be if his rhetoric of unity continues into his presidency and if he can actually unify the country in effectively addressing the pandemic - the only issue he explicitly mentioned in his announcement speech. Findings from the other four candidates can also be used to evaluate their individual advocacies despite not winning the presidency. Should they decide to run in future elections, analysis of their speeches here vis-a-vis their self-representations beyond the presidential race can yield significant insights about their consistency and integrity as private citizens. This study, then, offers the analysis of linguistic strategies in speeches as the starting point for evaluating political figures' contributions to the socio-political material reality in the Philippines.

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Appendix A

Ping Lacson's speech

Thank you. Maraming salamat sa ating lahat. Maraming salamat, Pilipinas. At maraming salamat sa aking partner, Senate President Tito Sotto.

In his sixth and final State of the Nation Address last July 26, President Rodrigo Duterte admitted that it was wrong to think that leading the country is as simple and easy as leading Davao City. Walang debate sa katotohanan. Hindi natin dapat payagan ang maling akala para sa kinabukasan ng ating bansa. Sa gitna ng pandemya, baon sa utang ang ating bansa. Marami ang nawalan ng trabaho dahil nagsara ang maraming negosyo. Nadagdagan ang bilang ng mahihirap. Lalo pang dumami ang mga kumakalam ang sikmura. Talamak ang kurapsyon. Laganap pa rin ang iligal na droga. Unti-unti, nawawala ang ilang bahagi ng ating teritoryo sa West Philippine Sea. Ilan lamang ito sa malalaking problemang nagdudulot ng kawalan ng pag-asa ng mga Pilipino. Hindi biro-biro ang mga pagsubok na haharapin ng susunod na administrasyon. Between me and Senate President Sotto are more than 80 years of honest, dedicated, and competent public service. Mayroon kaming sapat na kakayahan, katapatan, at katapangan upang pamunuan ang ating bansa at upang muling bumangon sa ating pagkagalugmok. Malaking hamon subalit kailangang maibalik ang tiwala ng ating mamamayan sa gobyerno at sa mga namumuno. I could not stress it enough. Ang tamang pamumuno ay dapat pangunahan ng leadership by example. Hindi sa salita, kung hind isa gawa. No leader can succeed if he cannot practice what he preaches. Kailangan natin ng leader na ang tama ay ipaglalaban at ang mali ay lalabanan. Kaya naman magiging una sa ating prayoridad ang mas maigting na pagtugon sa pandemya. Marapat lamang na punan ang mga kakulangan at ituwid ang mga kamalian. We have to prepare for sustainable recovery from this health crisis. I have no doubt that with a united citizenry, we will soon see the day that COVID-19 will no longer be a scare. Kailangan ang mahigpit na disiplina sa paggastos ng kaban ng bayan. Walang mangungurakot at magsasamantala, malapit mang kaibigan o hindi kilala. Dapat isa lamang ang pamantayan na susundin at ipatutupad ng lahat para sa lahat. Walang sisinuhin sa mga ganid na ginagawang negosyo ang gobyerno. Dapat maikalat at maibahagi sa iba't ibang sulok ng kapuluan ang mas malaking resources ng bansa. The local government units must be given bigger roles and responsibilities and more autonomy in nation-building but with greater accountability. The national government will be their big brother watching over their shoulders. Hindi lamang upang tulungan at gabayan na paunlarin ang kani-kanilang mga komunidad, kundi papanagutin ang sino mang magkukulang o magmamalabis. Konting tiis na lang, malapit na. Makakaahon na tayo.

As we speak, we are in the process of drawing up a roadmap or a master plan that will serve as our platform of government that we intend to present to our people. After all, sa takdang panahon, kayo ang magdedesisyon kung karapat-dapat ba kaming pagkatiwalaan na mamuno sa ating bayan.

We are nearing the crossroads of our nation's modern history and we cannot afford to choose the wrong direction in charting the course of our nation in the next six years. Having said all that, with all your help and cooperation, this is where Tito Sotto and I intend to steer our country: from despair to hope... from apathy to empathy,

from fear to trust, from poverty to prosperity, from self-pity to dignity, the Filipino deserves no less!

Appendix B

Bongbong Marcos' speech

Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. As I speak to you today, the Philippines faces one of the greatest tests in its history. The global pandemic has raced through our country, destroying the lives of people, of families, of entire communities. And if we have learned anything in the time of COVID, it is that each of us, no matter our station, is in need of the help of our fellow Filipinos. We must face the challenge as one, as one country, as one people. Together, we must work towards a shared vision of our country through COVID and beyond COVID. To find a way through this crisis with a common goal, a vision to guide us and to lead us. I know that it is this manner of unifying leadership that can lead us through this crisis. Get our people safely back to work for all of us to begin to live our lives once again. And that is why I am today announcing my intention to run for the presidency of the Philippines in the upcoming May 2022 elections. <clapping and cheers> I will bring that form of unifying leadership back to our country. Hangad kong ibalik ang mapagkaisang paglilingkod ng magbubukload sa ating bansa. Tayo'y magkaisa at sama-sama tayong babangon mula sa hagupit na pandemya, babangon mula sa paglulugmok ng ating ekonomiya. Let us bring Filipinos back to one another in service of our country, facing the crisis and the challenges of the future together. Join me in this noblest of causes and we will succeed. Sama-sama tayong babangon muli. Thank you.

Appendix C

Isko Moreno's speech

Maraming salamat sa aking minamahal na vice mayor Honey Lacuna. Nitong mga nagdaang buwan, dinumog po ang Maynila ng mga taong humihingi ng mga gamot tulad ng Remdesivir at Sarilumab, dalawang gamot na maaaring makapagbigay ng tsansa na mailigtas ang taong nasa bingit ng panganib. Marami sa kanila lumuwas pa mula sa probinsya. Yung iba nagmamakaawa. may salapi o wala, mabigyan lamang ng gamot na maaaring ikaligtas ng kanilang mga mahal sa buhay. Hindi rin halos tumigil ang tawag: umaga, hapon, gabi, madaling araw, Lunes hanggang Linggo. Nagtataka ako, hindi naman trilyon-trilyon ang pondo ng Maynila. Maaaring kami'y may utang. Ngunit hindi rin po ito trilyong-trilyong utang. Ngunit bakit tila itinuring nalang pambansang parmasya ang lungsod ng Maynila. But we have was the vision to stockpile essential drugs and the virtue to give them to whoever needs them. This has been our pandemic motto with our beloved vice mayor Honey Lacuna. If the virus respects no political boundaries then our compassion must not stop at the city boundaries. So what we had, we shared with them. We were able to do so because in our own little way, with our team, Manila has foresight to build its own medicine cabinet of effective responses to the pandemic from field hospital billed in 52 days to buying our own vaccines. We did not place our entire faith on the hands of a few cabinet members. Noong una kong ipinangako that I will practice open governance, hindi ko

akalaing magiging kahulugan pala nito at hindi lang bukas ang pintuan ng pamahalaan kundi bukas ang mga record ng financial transactions pero sa lahat ay bukas ang puso sa nangangailangan taga-saan ka man. Whether it's vaccination, education, in Manila, we don't require you to present voter's ID. A Manila zip code is not requisite for college enrollment or hospital admission. Dito po sa amin sa panahon ng pandemya at kagipitan, walang patakarang "No Manila ID, no entry." This is what you call inclusive government. To tell you the truth, I learned not from school of public administration but in the slums of Tondo. Discrimination is what I experienced early in life. Not a theory read up later in school. Kung ika'y basurero, maraming off-limits sa'yo: edukasyon, kalusugan, pabahay, trabaho. Doors which are always open to other children who take them for granted, are barriers must overcome. Hindi lang pagkain ang kinakalkal mo. Mamamalimos ka rin ng respeto. Minamata ka. Hanggang ngayon maaaring inii-small ka. If you are born in the wrong side of the city, the bottom of society, you cannot escape the profiling for life. What I know is that it is no crime to wear threadbare – threadbare clothes because of poverty. What is wrong is to praise an emperor's – emperor's clothes when in fact he's wearing none. Kaya paslit palang po ako, itinatak ko na sa aking isipan na ang pagbibigay ng tulong sa kapwa, huwag pahirapan ang mga mahihirap. You give them red carpet treatment, not red tape.

There is also another lesson I learned early in life. While poverty dehumanizes, it must not take the humanity out of you. Opo, lumaki akong busabos ngunit hindi ako naging bastos. Bagama't balot ako ng dumi sa katawan, ni minsan hind ko kailangang sabunin ang aking bibig. At sa kalagitnaan ng paghihikahos ng matinding gutom na mas malakas pa ang hilab ng tiyan kesa sa aking dasal, ni minsan hindi ako nagtampo sa Diyos. Hindi ko siya minura, hindi ko siya tinalikuran. At ang kanyang mga alagad, di ko inalipusta sapagkat di natitinag ang paniniwala ko sa Poong Maykapal na suklian ang iyong pagsisikap ng mga biyayang ninanais niyo. So since the first time I laid my hands on the Bible, as I recited my oath of office, this has always been my fighting faith. Nasa bayan ang tiwala sa hinalal ang gawa. Nasa Diyos ang awa.

Aaminin ko po sa inyo, nitong mga nakaraang buwan nagmuni-muni din ako kung ano ang tatahakin kong landas sa darating na panahon. Tulad ninyo, humantong din ako sa masamang daan. Take the high but hard road with people or abandon them and take an easy stroll alone. There are hindrances I have to contend with, with hurdles I have to surmount. First, I don't belong to a large clan. I am neither son or daughter of a president. Hindi niyo makikita sa pera ang mukha ng aking walang perang mga ninuno. No avenues named after them. Kahit nga eskinita o waiting shed, wala silang pangalang Domagoso. I have pulled myself out of the gutter with no daddy or war box helping me alone. Lone ranger po ang apelyido ko sa gobyerno, nag-iisang Damagoso sa government directory, missing in action din sa social registry. At sa gitna ng mga agam-agam, mayroon pang nakapagsabi pa na sa tanda kong ito, 23 years in public service, bata pa raw ako. Di ko naman kayo masisi, artistahin to its. Nakilala niyo po akong tapat sa pamamahala. At totoong pananalita. Hard work and straight talk. Whether it is about city projects or personal beliefs, I convey it with candor and I do not play coy. Real talk lang po palagi. Kaya buong kababaang loob inihayag ko sa inyo mga kababayan ko, sa darating na Mayo, tanggapin niyo po ang aking aplikasyon bilang pangulo ng Pilipinas. <claps and cheers>

Hindi matayog na ambisyon ang nagtulak sa aking desisyon ito ngunit at dahil sa kalunus-lunos na kondisyon ng ating bayan. Other countries applied best practices, conducted field trials of scientific solutions. We on the other hand have used our people as guinea pigs in the longest and the strictest experiment of unliquarantines. 557 days na po tayong nasa quarantine, but instead of flattening the curve, we have flattened our economy. Yet many people continue to flatlining in our hospitals, without beds, without doctors, without medicine, and sad, even without oxygen. Nakalulungkot ang kalagayan ng public health system ng ating bansa. Maiintindihan sana natin kung walang pera ang DOH. Pero ang pondong panlaban sa COVID binuro, ang budget inembalsamo. Naantala ang pambili ng mga ventilators at gamot pati yung katiting na 136 daily na active duty hazard allowance sa mga frontliners na buwis buhay, paiyakan at drops pa ang bigayan. Binumbay po sila. Nagtampo tuloy ang isang nurse. Sa galing nilang mangutang, pati kami nautangan. Tama din po ang kanilang silakbo. Bakit pagdating sa face mask, nagawa at nilako ng banyaga, express delivery pa. Subalit ang pandemya ng COVID ay nagdudulot din ng epidempya ng gutom na kumikitil din sa buhay natin. No work, no pay, no food. Ang mga dating isang kahig, isang tuka, ngayon kahig nang kahig nang kahig, walang matuka. Di lang sarado ang maraming pagawaan. Ang mga negosyo nakakandado gayundin ang ating paaralan. Ang mga kabataan walang muwang nasentensiyahan ng dalawang taon pagkabilanggo sa kanilang tahanan. Indeed, it is the children who pay dearly for their government's failures. Maraming mananahi ng suliranin, maraming tatahiin na suliranin ang susunod na administrasyon. The road to recovery will be hard, the journey long, the challenges complex. The sacrifices required from each of us will be great. There is no magic wand that will make our problems go away. Only hard work will. Gusto ko pong linawin sa inyo. Simula pa lamang ngayon sapagkat ang taong nambobola nagsisinungaling sa pagdedeklara ng kandidatura pa lamang ay walang gagawin kundi mambola na at magsinungaling na kapag nakaupo sila.

In the days to come, I will release a platform of our governance. Yes, it may be grand but I assure you there are also granular. Many of them been pilot-tested in the city of Manila. Kapag sinabi kong pabahay, hindi iyan drawing. Nakatayo na po. Madaling magkama-kamada ng mga pangako. Mas mahirap gumawa ng pala-palapag na murang pabahay. Kapag sinabi ko pong ospital, hindi po iyan plano. Meron na pong nakatindig dito sa Maynila. Kapag sinabi kong suportado ang edukasyon, hindi po iyan slogan. Yan po ay mabilis na pamamahagi ng tablets para sa mga mag-aaral. Laptops para sa mga guro, bandwidth para sa kanilang connectivity, sa bawat mag-aaral dito sa Maynila. Iyan ang bilis-kilos dito sa lungsod ng Maynila. Yan ang pagtugon sa minimum basic needs ng ating mga kababayan. Pag sinabi ko pong ease in doing business sa mga negosyante, hindi po iyan promisory note but something that is up and running in Manila. Pag sinabi kong lilinis ang dugyot, hindi iyan isang araw lamang kundi tulad ng nakita niyong araw-araw buong lingo sa buong buwan habang tayo ay nanunungkulan, tulou-tuloy walang humpay na ginagawa. I will not run or I do not run in promises. I run on prototypes. While I believe in the power of example, I also recognize the need for constant innovation. I may not give you perfect government but together we make it better. Ngayon pa lamang po bubuksan ko na ang aking mga plano sa mga suhestiyon, opinyon, gaya rin ng sinimulan na natin sa pamamahala dito sa lungsod ng Maynila under Executive Order number 1, the Open Governance Policy. Bakit? Sapagkat ang ibig pong sabihin ng Open Governance sa ganung akin ay ang pagbubukas sa mga bagong idea, opinyon, at mga inyong pakikilahok sa pagpapasya sa ating pamamahala. Not only that, I will welcome criticism because the

value in listening to complaints is that they lead to better policies and improve services. I believe people should speak truth to power rather than for power to threaten people for speaking the truth. Subalit mga kababayan, anuman ang ganda ng plano kung wala namang alam ang magpapatupad, mauwi rin sa wala. We have seen administrations excel in power point presentations only to spectacularly fail in project implementation. Thus, I will form the broadest form of government with the best and brightest at its helm. Hindi lang manggagaling sa lungsod ng Maynila, o sa isang Partido, o sa isang paksayon, o sa isang propesyon, o sa isang tribo, o sa isang age group. Leaders should not only think outside of the box. He must also choose people outside of his circle. A leader who does not inspire the best among us to serve in government and surrounded by the least among us who ruining government instead of running it well. Tandaan niyo po ito: sa ating administrasyon, competence not connection will be the sole guide in making appointments. To those with skills, no recommendation is necessary. To those without, need not apply. To energize our bureaucracy, I will be inviting millennials to join their government so they can put their talents in the service of their fellow countrymen. Pero umasa kayo, pag mayroon akong taong pumalya, pumalpak, you're fired immediately. At kung anumang anomalya, hindi ko po kukunsentihin. Hindi ko po kakanlungin. Sapagkat ang mali pag ikinubli at hindi itinama, bayan ang papasan ng perwisyon ng dulot nito. Hindi ko po pagtatakpan ang katotohanan. Neither will I manufacture opinion or false praises, but when assaulted with lies I believe the truth not the trolls will set you free. Kaya naman po sa paniniwalang ko, sa konsiderasyon, sa pag-uusap, ngayon pa lamang po, kumakatok ako sa inyo at kakatok ako inyo sa mga lugar ninyo upang hingin ang inyong idea. Ang plano ko, ang plano natin, ay parang bandila ng Pilipinas na ating hahabiin mula sa hibla at sa mga sinulid ng manggagaling sa inyo.

I will be a healing President. While ours will be government of national reconstruction, it will be also a government of national reconciliation based on justice and rule of law. Hindi ko po isisipi sa nakaraan ang problemang ating kakaharapin. We can only move forward on our road to recovery if we are not consumed and immobilized by the rear-view mirror politics. Sa mga hamon ng ating haharapin, may katuwang tayong napili. Maraming lider na walang ginawa kundi na saktan tayo. Siya naman walang ginawa kundi hilumin tayo. Sa panahon ng pandemya, siya na makakasama natin bilang lider na kailangan natin. Maraming sakit ang lipunan, mga kanser sa pamahalaan, na kailangan ng isang manggagamot na sasamahan tayo sa pagbibigay ng riseta ng lunas. Isang doctor na may puso, talino, at oras para sa tao. Tuloy-tuloy sa paglilingkod sa may mga may sakit. At problemang pangkalusugan. Kaya ikinalulugod ko po sa inyong ipakilala ang aking partner, ang susunod na bise president ng Pilipinas, Dr. Willie Ong.

Magiging epektibo po ako sa buong bansa, lalo na sa panahon ng pandemya dahil nakita ko na, may pruwera na sa Maynila. Ang partner ko rin ay doktora, si Vice Mayor Honey Lacuna. As I have told you a while ago, it's based on prototypes. Sa pagtugon sa pandemya, kailangan ay bilis-kilos. Matutupad ito kung ang aking katuwang ay bihasa sa usaping pangkalusugan. Mga kapwa ko Pilipino, hindi po namin kakayanin na kaming dalawa lang ni Doc Willie ang laban na ito. Kailangan po namin kayo. Tulungan niyo po kami. Kailangan po natin ng pagkakaisa, sama-sama nating gamutin ang bansa. Let us heal our country. Sa mga batang Maynila, huwag kayong masyadong mag-alala. Hindi ko kayo iiwan. Tatawid lang ako ng kabilang ilog eh. Pumanatag kayo. Buong loob at walang halong pagdududa, walang halong

pagdududa ko kayong ipagkakatiwala kay Honey Lacuna dahil alam ko po, alam na alam kong kayang kaya niyang ipagpatuloy ang mga bagay na nasimulan na natin sa lungsod ng Maynila at mamamayan nito. At malay niyo rin, may awa ang Diyos, pagbigyan ako ng mga kababayan natin sa buong bansa, mga Pilipinong OFW at immigrants sa buong mundo, pag naging president ako't may kakampi ka pang presidente, Honey Lacuna. Mga kababayan hanggang dito na lamang po muna. Magkikita tayong muli, magkakausap tayong muli. Maupay nga aga, mayad nga aga. Daghang salamat, pagpalain nawa kayo ng Poong Maykapal. Pilipinas, God first.

Appendix D

Manny Pacquiao's speech

Sa ating mga grassroots members of PDP-Laban, PCCM movement, N People M Movement, MPPM USMP, MP Panalo ang Puso, MP Nation Fulfill, MP SIM, Pacman para sa Bayan, MP BARMM, MP grassroots, great leaders MP3 PCM PROMDI, and of course to my sister-in-law, Lorelie Pacquiao, to our honorable senator Koko Pimentel, Cong. Lito Atienza, ang aking kaibigan Mimo Osmena, former governor Lods Barbo, Cong. Arny Tevez, my friend Buddy Zamora, our campaign manager, Army Dimatillo, Cong. Eric Pineda, PDP National Executive Committee Vice Gov. Lagman, Vice Gov. Peter Alpar, at sa aking asawa siyempre baka ma-outside the kulambo ako, ang aking asawang napakaganda, nag-iisang asawa, walang iba kundi si Jinky Pacquiao. Magandang hapon po sa ating lahat. Sabi ng Psalm 89 verse 14, righteousness and justice is the foundation of a prosperous and strong nation.

Nais kong batiin at pasalamatang ang aking mga kababayan na nag-effort pa para sumali dito sa event na ito. Daghang salamat sa atong mga kaigsunan diha sa Visayas at Mindanao. To Sen. Koko Pimentel, ang patuloy na nagtataguyod ng PDP Laban. Sa mga kasama namin sa panibagong laban at sa lahat ng mga kababayan sa iba't ibang panig ng Pilipinas na ngayon ay kasama natin sa pagtitipon gamit ang teknolohiya. Maraming, maraing salamat po. Ang pagpapasalamat ko ay hindi enough, hindi sapat na sabihin lamang, gusto kong taos-puso na ipaabot sa inyo ang taos pusong pasalamat.

I am a fighter and I will always be a fighter inside and outside the ring. Sa buong buhay ko wala akong laban na inatrasan. Dahil sa ngalan ng psinsipiyo, karangalan ng bayan ay tumayo ako, nanindigan, at nakikipaglaban. Ang Manny Pacquiao na kilala ninyo bilang Pambansang Kamao ay walang pinagiba sa Manny Pacquiao na kasama ninyo laban sa kahirapan at katiwalian.

Sa loob ng ilang buwan, ako ay nanahimik, ako po ay walang sinabi ako sa gitna ng kabi-kabilang pagsubok dito mismo sa loob ng ating partidyo ang PDP-Laban na aking tinanggap kinalinga, at ipinagtanggol, ay pilit akong binubuwan ng ilan sa ngalan ng pansariling interes at politika. Sa kabila nito, ay nandito ako ngayon upang ipakita sa inyo na higit sa partido, prinsipyo, at paninindigan ang mahahalaga. Higit sa sarili. Bayan dapat ang mauna.

Sa mga nagtatanong kung ano ang aking kakayahan, naranasa niyo po bang magutom. Naranasan niyo na po bang walang makain, ang mangutang sa

kapitbahay, o mag-abang ng tira sa karinderya. Alam niyo po ba ang pakiramdam ng isang Pilipino na nakipaglaban sa boxing, nagpapabugbog sa kalaban, kalabang mas malaki at mas malakas para makabili ng pagkain? Ang Manny Pacquiao na nasa harapan ninyo ngayon ay pinanday ng hirap. Si Manny Pacquiao na kasama ninyo ngayon ay dumaaan sa lahat ng klaseng sakit at sakripisyo sa buhay maiahon lamang ang pamilya mula sa kahirapan. At ang Manny Pacquiao na pilit nilang pinababagsak, ay ilang beses nang bumangon, nagsikap, at nagtagumpay.

alam niyo po ba? Damang dama ko po ang nararamdaman ninyong lahat. Alam ko ang hirap na naranaans ninyo at alam kong pagod na pagod na kayong lahat. Pagod na pagod na po tayong lahat sa sitwasyon ng ating bansa, sa paghihirap ng bawat maliliit na tao. Mga kababayan, we need progress, we need to win against poverty, we need government to serve our people with integrity compassion and transparency. Sawang sawa na tayo sa mga pangako ng pagbabago. Inip na inip na ang taong bayan, nagtatanong kailan ba matatapos ang kanilang paghihirap. The time is now, ngayon na ang panahon. We are ready to rise to the challenge of leadership.

to the PDP Laban, I urge you to bear this in mind: the strength of our party is lies in the trust of our people. Whether we are 10,000 or a million strong, or as long as we have our people's trust, then we are unbeatable because God is with us. Ngayon, sa takdang arawa na ito, gusto ko pong alalahanin ninyo sa ngalan po ng mga kababayan natin na matagal nang nanghahangad ng tamang pagbabago sa ating pamahalaan. Tapat na panunungkulan at serbisyo sa mamamayang Pilipino. Buong puso ko po, buong tapat at kababaang loob ay umaasa po ako sa inyong suporta. Suporta may dalangin ng gabay sa Panginoon. Tinatanggap ko po ang inyong nominasyon sa akin bilang kandidato sa pagkapangulo ng Republika ng Pilipinas. Panahon na upang manalo naman ang mga naaapi. Panahon na upang makabangon ang bayan natin na lugmok sa kahirapan. Panahon na ang isang malinis na gobyerno kung saan bawat sentimo ay mapupunta sa bawat Pilipino. Mga kababayan ko, sa Visayas at Mindanao, ginahangyo ko kamong tanan, nga magkauban-uban ta, mgkahiusa ta, para sa tinud-anay nga pag bag-o, para sa atong kalambuan, nagpasalamat ako sa inyong walang...walay puas sa pagsuporta...ma-o a ni ang atong higayon, para maipaglaban ang inyong karapatan. Amo na ni...mga kasimanwa ko amo na ni ang tini-on...sa pagbangon. Mag inupod kita tanan...magkaisa kita, mabato kita. Sa mga nanunungkulan sa ating pamahalaan na patuloy na nagsasamantala at nagnanakaw sa kaban ng bayan, malapit na kayong magsama-sama sa kulungan. Your time is up. Binigyan namin kayo ng pagkakataon. Ngunit kami ay inyong binigo. Naghintay po kami ng mahabang panahon ilang dekada na ang lumipas pero wala ding nangyari. Sawa na kami sa inyong mga pangako, sa inyong mga dahilan, sa ngalan ng PDP Laban at ng bawat Pilipino, nangangarap ng isang maunlad na buhay, si Manny Pacquiao po, ay handang gumabay at mamuno sa inyo sa panahon ng kahirapan pagbangon at pag-asenso. Panahon na, magsama-sama po tayo. Ako po ay naniniwala, even the impossible can happen if it is ordained by the Lord. Ang sabi ng Bibliya, with people, this is impossible, but with God all things are possible. Wala pong imposible kung ito ay itinakda ng ating Panginoon. Kaya lalaban tayo. Samahan niyo po ako, ang anak ng mahirap. Mahirap lang po

kami. Kaya po magsama-sama tayo. Maraming maraming salamat po sa inyong pagsuporta. At magsama-sama pa po tayo sa mga darating na panahon. God bless po.

Appendix E

Leni Robredo's speech

Magandang umaga sa inyong lahat.

Puno ng taimtim na paghinay ang mga nakaraang araw. Salamat sa lahat ng nagparating ng suporta, sumabay sa dasal, at umunawa sa pinagdaanan kong discernment process ukol sa halalan ng 2022.

Sa prosesong ito, walang naging lugar ang ego o pansarili kong interes. Mabigat na responsibilidad ang pagkapangulo, at hindi ito puwedeng ibase sa ambisyon o sa pag-uudyok ng iba. Pagdating sa pamumuno, iisa lang dapat ang konsiderasyon: Ano ba ang pinakamabuti para sa bansa natin?

Lalong matimbang ang tanong na ito dahil sa napakalaking hamon ng pandemya. Ang dami nang namatay. Marami sa atin, ginawa na ang lahat na puwedeng gawin para lang mailigtas ang mahal sa buhay; para makahanap ng pambili ng pagkain; para maitawid ang sarili sa kinabukasan.

Mahaba ang daang tinahak natin para makarating sa araw na ito. Hindi ko binalak tumakbo. Iniisip ko nang bumalik na lang sa probinsiya namin, kung saan marami rin ang umaasa sa aking tumulong magpanday ng pagbabago.

Nitong mga nakaraang linggo, nakipagpulong tayo sa iba't ibang mga personalidad. Nilinaw ko sa kanila: Handa akong magbigay-daan at tumulong na lang. May alok din silang sumanib na lang ako bilang kandidato, o bilang bahagi ng kanilang administrasyon sakaling manalo sila. Ang tugon ko, hindi ito tungkol sa posisyon; hindi tayo nakikipag-usap para makipagtransaksyon. Ang pinakamahalaga, magkaisa kami – sa prinsipyo, sa pangarap para sa bansa, at sa landas na dapat tahakin tungo sa katuparan ng mga ito.

Nilinaw ko rin: Buhay at kinabukasan ng Pilipino ang pinag-uusapan natin ngayon. Pinipilahan ang mga ospital, dumadaing ang mga health workers, at nagugutom ang mga nawalan ng trabaho. Samantala, bilyon-bilyong piso ang inilagay sa mga kuwestiyonableng kontrata habang milyong-milyong Pilipino ang naghihikahos.

Alam na nating lahat ito: Kaya maraming nagugutom, naghihirap, at namamatay, dahil sariling interes at hindi kapakanan ng Pilipino ang number one priority ng mga nasa poder. Ang kawalan ng maayos na pamamahala ang ugat ng ating maraming mga problema, at ito ang kailangang wakasan.

At kung gusto nating tunay na makalaya sa ganitong sitwasyon, hindi lang apelyido ng mga nasa poder 'yung dapat palitan; 'yung korupsiyon, 'yung incompetence, 'yung kawalan ng malasakit, kailangang palitan ng matino at mahusay

na pamumuno. Handa dapat tayong iwaksi nang buong-buo ang mga agenda, ang mga interes, ang mismong mga tao at klase ng pulitika na sanhi ng pinagdaraan ng bansa natin ngayon. Kung hindi ka lilinya nang malinaw, kung makikipagkompromiso ka, kung hindi mo man lang kayang sabihin [na] mali ang mali – nakaninong panig ka ba talaga?

Malinaw kung nasaan ako: Nasa panig tayo ng mga sinasagad ang lahat para iraos ang sarili, ang pamilya, ang kapuwa, mula sa pandemyang ito. Iba-iba man ang konteksto natin, pamilyar sa ating lahat ang pakiramdam ng pagiging nasa laylayan; ang paghahanap ng makakapitan, 'yung handa kang kumatok sa kahit saang pintuan, 'yung halos isigaw mo sa kahit sinong makakarinig: Tulong.

Nanay ako hindi lang ng tatlong anak ko, kundi ng buong bansa. At alam ng lahat ng ibang nanay, ng lahat ng ibang magulang, kung ano ang kaya nilang pagdaanan at isakripisyo sa ngalan ng kanilang mga anak. Naaalala ko nga 'yung maraming kaso ng domestic abuse na hinawakan ko noong nag-aabogado pa ako. Kung paanong tiniis ng mga kliyente ko ang pang-aabuso at pananakit ng asawa nila. Kapag tinanong mo kung bakit, iisa ang sagot: Alang-alang sa mga anak nila.

At naaalala ko kapag, sa wakas, pinili na nilang lumaya – kapag nahanap nila ang tapang na mag-empake, bitbitin ang mga bata, at gawin ang unang hakbang papalabas ng pinto nila. Dahil natauhan na sila na, kung hindi sila maglalakas ng loob, mamanahin lang ng mga anak nila ang pagdurusa.

Ina akong nakikita ang pagdurusa ng minamahal kong bansa. Naniniwala ako: Ang pag-ibig, nasusukat hindi lang sa pagtitiis, kundi sa kahandaang lumaban, kahit gaano kahirap, para matapos na ang pagtitiis. Ang nagmamahal, kailangang ipaglaban ang minamahal.

Buong-buo ang loob ko ngayon: Kailangan nating palayain ang sarili mula sa kasalukuyang sitwasyon. Lalaban ako; lalaban tayo.

Inihahain ko ang aking sarili bilang kandidato sa pagkapangulo sa halalan ng 2022.

Malinaw sa lahat ang hamon na kinakaharap natin. Nakita na nating lahat ang pagsisinungaling at panggigipit na kayang gawin ng iba para maabot ang mga layunin nila. Nasa kanila ang pera, makinarya, isang buong estrukturang kayang magpalaganap ng anumang kuwentong gusto nilang palabasin. Pero hindi kayang tabunan ng kahit na anong ingay ang katotohanan: Kung parehong uri ng pamamahala at pareho ang pagkatao ng mga magwawagi sa araw ng halalan, wala tayong aasahang pagbabago.

Dito tayo poposisyon. 'Yung pagod, 'yung pakiramdam na parang wala kang kalaban-laban, na parang nagawa mo na ang lahat pero kulang pa rin, 'yung pagnanasang makaraos ng taumbayan, bibigyan natin ng bago at positibong anyo. Gagawin natin itong paninindigan, gagawin nating enerhiya. Tatalunin natin ang luma at bulok na klase ng pulitika. Ibalik natin sa kamay ng karaniwang Pilipino ang kakayahang magdala ng pagbabago.

Alam kong marami sa inyo ang ilang buwan nang kumikilos nang kusa tungo sa layuning ito. Ramdam na ramdam ko ang tiwalang kaloob 'nyo sa akin. Sinasabi ko ngayon: Buong-buo rin ang tiwala ko sa inyo. Kaya tinatawag ko kayo: Gisingin ang natutulog pang lakas.

Tumindig kayo; tinitiyak ko, mayroon ding titindig sa tabi ninyo. Kumausap ng labas sa nakasanayan; palawakin pa ang hanay. Ihayag ang katotohanan na sa kabila ng mga limitasyon, sa kabila ng panggigipit. Sa maliit na tanggapan pa lang natin dito sa Office of the Vice President, napakarami na nating nagawa para makatulong: ang mga pabahay, ang ayuda at medical at livelihood assistance, ang lingap sa mga nasalanta, ang pailaw at classrooms at dorms, ang Vaccine Express, Swab Cab, Bayanihan e-Konsulta, Bayanihan e-Skuwela, TrabaHOPE, Community Marts, free shuttle services, at mga libreng PPE at napakarami pang ibang nagawa gamit ang pinagsanib nating lakas.

Kung naipatupad natin ang lahat ng ito; kung nakarating ang tulong natin sa Agutaya, hanggang San Remigio, hanggang sa ground zero ng Marawi kahit ginigipit tayo, imagine kung ano pa ang kaya nating gawin, kung saan pa ang kaya nating marating, kung maitututok ang buong enerhiya ng gobyerno sa tangi nitong dapat iniintindi: ang kapakanan ng taumbayan.

Anim na taon ang nakaraan, tinanggap ko ang hamon na tumakbo sa pagkabisado presidente. Ngayon, sasabak tayo sa mas malaking laban. Panata ko ngayon: Ibubuhos ko nang buong-buo ang aking lakas, hindi lang hanggang sa halalan kundi hanggang sa mga natitirang araw ko, para ipaglaban ang Pilipinas ng ating mga pangarap – isang lipunan kung saan, kapag nagbanat ka ng buto, kapag ginawa mo ang lahat ng kaya mo, makaaasa ka sa ginhawa at pag-asenso; kung saan, kapag may nadapa, may sasalo sa iyo, may aakay sa iyo patayo; kung saan ang mga plano para sa edukasyon, transportasyon, pagkain, kalusugan, katarungang panlipunan ay naipapatupad dahil may gobyernong matino at mahusay, gobyernong tapat at may pananagutan, gobyernong tunay na inuuna ang interes ng taumbayan.

May landas tungo sa kinabukasang ito. Pero hindi ito maaabot sa pagwawalang-kibo kapag may nangyayaring hindi tama. Hindi ito puwedeng lasa sa iba habang nanonood ka lang; hindi puwedeng pumikit na lang at umasang pagdilal natin nagbago na ang mundo. Ang kinabukasan, pinipili, pinagsisikapan, ipinaglalaban. Kailangan nating piliing humakbang.

Heto ako ngayon, humahakbang. Ipaglalaban ko kayo hanggang dulo. Itataya ko ang lahat; ibubuhos ko ang lahat na kayang ibuhos. Sama-sama tayong tumaya sa laban na ito. Buong bansa tayong tumungo sa isang kinabukasang mas patas at mas makatao; kung saan ang bawat Pilipino ay may pagkakataong umasenso; kung saan ang lakas ng bawat isa ay nagiging nagkakaisang lakas ng lahat – lakas na dadaig sa anumang krisis, anumang hamon, lakas na magiging simula ng ating kolektibong pagbangon. Buong-buo ang tiwala ko, magtatagumpay tayo. Buong-buo pa rin ang pananalig ko sa Diyos at sambayanang Pilipino.

Maraming salamat. Mabuhay ang Pilipinas.

Source: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/full-text-leni-robredo-declares-2022-presidential-bid/>