
A Critical Discourse Analysis of Philippine Political Advertising

Heherson P. Valdez

Isabela State University
Cauayan City, Isabela, Philippines
hehersonpasionvaldez@gmail.com

Jayson Mark G. Colcol

Isabela State University
Cauayan City, Isabela, Philippines
jaysonmark14@yahoo.com

Abstract

The growing number of studies in Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly advertisements, highlighted how a particular discourse or group of discourses change or alternate society's traditions, cultures, values, beliefs, norms, and ideologies. Incorporating the framework of Fairclough (2001) and by adopting the transdisciplinary approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, wherein the theories in sociology were integrated into the analysis of texts, this study examines the forty (40) political campaign advertisements from Facebook and YouTube. It analyses the interrelationship of text and context, identifying their underlying sociological and political ideologies. More specifically, this paper examines the Philippine political campaign ads focusing on rhetorical tools, capitals, and representations. There are seven (7) rhetorical tools identified in this study: the use of taglines, testimonials, catchy lines and slogans, the use of humor, figures of speech such as simile and hyperbole, repetition, and ad hominem. The use of two types of capital, social and cultural capital, was also observed in the ads.

On the other hand, three (3) representations of politicians' positionality are identified: politicians as our only hope, politicians as a savior, and politicians as people who grew up in poverty. The samples that had been analyzed show hegemonic features of Philippine political advertising. This study proposes that the creation of political campaign advertisements in the Philippines, as supported by the theory of Bourdieu (1986) and Gramsci (1978), needs to reassess and evaluated.

Introduction

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is concerned with the study of political discourse. PDA is a critical enterprise as well as an arena for political discourse. This would indicate that critical-political discourse analysis, in the vein of contemporary approaches in critical discourse

analysis (CDA), focuses on the reproduction of political power, power abuse, or domination through political discourse, including various types of discursive dominance. Such an examination focuses on the discursive circumstances and repercussions of social and political inequality that arises as a result of such dominions (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993).

CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis as what Fairclough (1995) shall prefer to call a transdisciplinary form of research. This term entails is that the 'dialogues' between disciplines, theories, and frameworks that take place in doing analysis and research are the source of theoretical and methodological developments within the particular disciplines, theories, and frameworks in dialogue, including CDA itself. In this study, CDA was used as the main method of analysis. It also integrates Bourdieu's (1986) Theory of Capital and Gramsci's (1978) Concept of Hegemony. Discourse analysis includes more than just text analysis. Fairclough (2001) recognized three parts of discourse: text interaction, social context, and the corresponding distinction of Critical Discourse Analysis: description of the text, interpretation of the text-interaction relationship, and explanation of the interaction-social context link. The description refers to the stage concerned mainly with the formal properties of the text. Interpretation is the stage concerned with the relationship between the interactions with the text. The latter is seen as the end product of the process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation and explanation, the stage that deals with the relationship between social context and interaction with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and

their social effects.

This study integrated two theories in Sociology which are Bourdieu's (1986) Theory of Capital and Gramsci's (1978) Concept of Hegemony. Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital has three basic forms, depending on the field it operates and the cost of the more or less expensive transformations required for its efficacy.

These three forms are economic, social, and cultural capital. Another theoretical approach used in this study is concept of hegemony wherein it refers to the ideological superiority of the dominant class's cultural norms, values, and ideas over the subordinated in Gramsci's matrix.

This study analyzed the political discourses here in the Philippines through an in-depth analysis of the senatorial and presidential political ads examining the social formation and representation in these political ads through the integration of Fairclough's (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis framework supported by Bourdieu's (1986) Theory of Capital and Gramsci's (1978) Concept of Hegemony.

Methodology

The researcher gathered the corpus of the research from reliable pages and channels found on Facebook and YouTube. Only selected senatorial and presidential campaign ads from the 2007 to 2019 elections were used in this study. The nature of the research design is purely qualitative as the Philippine political text is analyzed based on Fairclough's CDA framework. There's a large number of televised political ads uploaded on Facebook and YouTube, that's why the researcher chose one political ad for each candidate. The researcher limits the data to thirty (30) senatorial political campaign ads and ten (10) presidential campaign ads.

Verbal texts from the televised ads are the main focus of this study. Each advertisement was transcribed to written data. Fairclough's (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework was used to examine the rhetoric elements and identify the capitals and representations present in each advertisement. CDA requires three levels

of analysis: 1) Description, 2) Interpretation, and 3) Explanation. Since CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis as what Fairclough (1995) shall prefer to call it as a transdisciplinary form, this study will integrate Bourdieu's (1986) Theory of Capitals and Gramsci's (1978) Concept of Hegemony. The first level, *description*, refers to the evaluation of rhetorical tools/elements in the ads. The second level, *interpretation*, deals with the analysis of capitals in the ads based on Bourdieu's (1986) Forms of Capitals. On the third level, *explanation*, the study will utilize Gramsci's (1978) Concept of Hegemony to inspect the ideologies and describe the representation of politicians' positionality and social classes' position in the ads.

Analysis

Rhetorical Tools in the Ads

An in-depth examination of the rhetorical tools of the senatorial and presidential political campaign ads is crucial in applying the first stage of Fairclough's CDA (2001) model, *description*. This stage describes the creation and manipulation of rhetorical elements or tools as one of the strategies of persuasions of the politicians in the select political campaign ads.

i. The use of Tagline

One of the unique characteristics of Philippine political advertising, whether local or national election, is the use of tagline. The tagline is a concise phrase that is easy to remember and usually appears at the end of the ad, aiming to complete the explanation of the creative idea of the ad (Moriarty et al. 2014 as cited in Ilhamsyah & Herlina 2019).

Vilma Santos Recto: Ngayong halalan, bumoto potayo ng "correcto".

(Advertisement #2: Ralph Recto 2007)

The excerpt above shows the tagline of senatorial candidate Ralph Recto. The candidate created his tagline by forming a new word, "*correcto*," using the lexeme "*correct*" and his last name, "*Recto*." His wife's statement above

aims to encourage the audience to vote correctly or wisely.

This finding supported what Rahmawati and Tajuddin (2020) found in their study of politicians' billboards in Indonesia that included taglines and messages intended for voters. They claimed that a billboard serves not just to advertise something but also to communicate the creator's identity and ideas. The use of taglines in the politicians' ads does not promote their names, but it also contains a message, platform, and advocacy.

ii. Testimonial

On traditional screen advertising such as commercials or theatrical ads, they used the testimonial technique to convey a promotional message, either by employing an anonymous model or actor for presenting a product or for showing a product in use or by employing a celebrity, to the effect of integrating personal appeal into an otherwise short, conventional advertising format (Vonderau & Zimmermann, 2021).

Participant 1: Namasukan ako bilang OFW

Participant 2: Nagkaroon ako ng isang abusadong amo

Participant 3: Naging impyerno ang buhay ko

Participant 4: Akala ko diko na muling makita angaking pamilya.

Participant 2: Pero isang araw, sinagip kami ng isang nagmamalasakit na ating kababayan.

Participant 2: Salamat po, salamat sa pangalawang pagkakataon.

Participant 3: Niligtas niya kami mula sa kalupitan na aming pinagdadaanan.

Participant 1: Binigyan niya kami ng pangalawang pagkakataon sa buhay.

(Advertisement #28: Jinggoy Estrada 2019)

The excerpts above show the political campaign ads of senatorial aspirants Jinggoy Estrada and Sonny Angara. Testimonies from the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) and celebrities were used to highlight the name of the candidates. The ad of senatorial candidate Jinggoy Estrada focused on the testimony of the

OFWs who narrated their worst experiences while working abroad. After narrating their testimonies, these participants in the ads introduced the candidate as the hero and the main subject of their stories. Campaigns succeed in part by appealing to emotions, and emotional appeals might encourage democratically acceptable behavior (Brader, 2005). The use of testimonies also evokes emotions that make the ads more appealing.

iii. Catchy Lines/Slogans

Aside from using tag lines as a rhetorical tool of persuasion, the use of catchy lines or slogans was also observed in the political campaign advertisements of the senatorial and presidential candidates. Safire (1978), as cited in Newsome (2002), defined a slogan as "a rallying cry; catchphrase; a concise message that crystallizes an idea, defines an issue, the best of which delight, exhort, and inspire."

Music Background Lyrics: Nakaligo ka na ba sa dagat ng basura? Nagpasko ka na ba gitna ng kalsada? Iyan ang tanong namin, tunay ka bang isa sa amin? Nalaman mo na bang mapapagaral ka niya? Tutulongan tayo para magkatrabaho at ang kanyang plano'y magkabahay tayo! Si Villar ang tunay na mahirap, si Villar ang tunay na may malasakit, si Villar ang may kakayahan at gumawang sariling pangalan! Si Manny Villar ang magtatapos ng ating kahirapan!

(Advertisement #38: Manny Villar 2010)

The excerpt above shows the political campaign ad of presidential candidate Manny Villar. The catchy lines or slogans found in the ad of presidential candidate Manny Villar were found in the first, second, and third lines: "Nakaligo ka na ba sa dagat ng basura? Nagpasko ka na ba gitna ng kalsada? Iyan ang tanong namin, tunay ka bang isa sa amin? ("Have you ever tried to take a bath in a sea of garbage? Have you ever experienced celebrating Christmas in the middle of the road? This is our question, are you really one of us?"). These lines caught the public's attention through questions or interrogative statements in the song's lyrics where the characters who sang this song are "mga batang lansangan" (street

children). The ad described their way of living, and it questions the audiences' minds if they can relate to them or not. Barry (1998), as cited in Newsome (2002), argued that the effectiveness of a political slogan is determined by public acceptance. He also said that slogans could cross party lines and be adopted by the entire country. These catchy lines and slogans capture the reality in our society. Still, it could be harmful if the viewers are encouraged to vote for the candidate because of the emotions or dramatic tone residing in the slogans or catchy lines.

iv. The use of Humor

One of the popular beliefs about Filipinos is that they are known for their ability to smile and laugh despite difficulties and has been regarded as a coping mechanism for Filipinos. Humor could have been a coping technique for the Filipinos in the face of adversity (Balmores, 2018).

*Participant 1: Walang tatalo sa Tito ko!
Palinawan ng mata? Malayo pa lang kitang
kitana, pati kinabukasan mo!
Joey De Leon: Tigilan niyo yang mga tito tito
niyo!*

*Wala yang mga tito niyo dito sa titong ito!
Participant 1: Eh yan din yung Titong sinasabi
koeh!*

*Tito Sotto III: Natural sating mga Pilipino ang
masaya sa kabila ng hirap, ang maganda
samahannatin ng pagkakaisa ang saya.
(Advertisement #1: Tito Sotto 2007)*

As illustrated above, both ads used humor as a rhetorical tool. Senatorial candidate Tito Sotto used this persuasion strategy to instill the value of happiness and unity in the face of adversity. The ad was presented in a dialogue form where the participants boast their "Titos" (Tito is a Filipino term for uncle) in a witty way; then the candidate appeared in the last scene saying, "Natural sating mga Pilipino ang masaya sa kabila ng hirap, ang maganda samahan natin ng pagkakaisa ang saya" (It is natural for us as Filipinos to be happy amid adversity, but it is good when combining happiness with unity).

According to Young (2017), "political humor" refers to any hilarious text that deals with political concerns, persons, events, procedures, or institutions. Freud (1960), as cited in Harris (2009), argued that jokes could be divided into two basic categories based on the teller's intent. These are referred to as "tendentious" jokes or jokes with a purpose and "innocent" jokes, or jokes with no purpose other than making another party laugh. The finding above revealed that joke was humorously employed in the ad of senatorial candidate Tito Sotto. This is described as a joke with purpose because the political actor's nickname was utilized. At the end of the ad, he delivered his message about happiness and unity amid adversity.

v. Figures of Speech

Figures of speech are used in rhetoric to help orators and politicians shape their discourse and create effective meaning (Alruzzia & Yunusb, 2019). Philippine political advertising also contains figures of speech that help the political actors to input their propaganda and ideologies logically.

The following excerpts show how political actors use the figures of speech as a rhetorical tool for persuasion.

a. Simile

A simile is a figure of speech in which two essentially distinct objects or concepts are compared using the words "like" or "as." Similes and metaphors are often used together because the simile conveys an explicit comparison while the metaphor expresses an implicit one (Fahnestock, 2011).

*Voice Over: Si Nancy Binay daw 'sing itim
ng uling. Pero ang uling 'di ba' pag nag-
apoy, anglaking pakinabang sa atin?
(Advertisement #24: Nancy Binay 2019)*

The excerpt above shows the political campaign ad of senatorial candidate Nancy Binay. It quoted, "Si Nancy Binay daw 'sing itim ng uling. Pero ang uling 'di ba' pag nag-apoy, ang laking pakinabang sa atin?" (Others describe Nancy Binay as black as charcoal. But

once the charcoal burns, 'isn't it beneficial to us?'). Simile was integrated into this ad as a tool of persuasion. A simile is an aesthetic and skilled method of discourse in political speeches whose primary goals are to clarify an opinion or feeling, bring two meanings closer together, and compare one entity to another in praise, disapproval, adornment, or repugnance (Alruzzia & Yunusb, 2019). The result above shows how simile helps the ad clarify the negative connotation about the politician and take this connotation positively.

b. Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a figure of speech that emphasizes a quality or feature by using great exaggeration. Hyperboles are a typical approach used in advertising to grab attention, inject humor into combative dialogue, and accentuate emotions or product features (Barbu-Kleitsch, 2015).

Participant 1: Namasukan ako bilang OFW

Participant 2: Nagkaroon ako ng isang abusadong amo

Participant 3: Naging impyerno ang buhay ko
(Advertisement #28: Jinggoy Estrada 2019)

As shown in the excerpt above, senatorial candidate Jinggoy Estrada's political campaign ad used hyperbole to emphasize the life of being an Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW). In this scene, the OFWs talked about their experiences quoted "Namasukan ako bilang OFW" (I applied as OFW) said by the first speaker, "Nagkaroon ako ng isang abusadong amo" (I had an abusive boss) said by the second speaker, "Naging impyerno ang buhay ko (My life became a hell) said by the third speaker. In the sentence "Naging impyerno ang buhay ko (My life became a hell), the advertisement used the exaggerated word "hell" in describing the life of the OFW.

vi. Repetition

Repetition is a literary method in which a word or phrase is used two or more times in a speech or written work for effect. The words or phrases should be repeated within proximity to

each other for repetition to be visible. In a literary work of poetry or prose, repeating the exact words or phrases can help to clarify an idea and make it memorable to the reader. In advertising, repetition can help to create a vibrant, charming, and humorous picture (Ming-xin, 2006).

*Doon ako sa mabait
Doon ako sa
magaling JV Ejercito
JV is the good one, JV is the good
one JV Ejercito
JV good, JV good*
(Advertisement #9: JV Ejercito 2019)

In Philippine political advertising, repetition emphasized the politician's name as shown in the excerpt above. The candidate's name by using the adjective "good" in "JV is the good one" that repeated twice in each line. The results above show that repetition was used to positively and beautifully describe the political actors. It strongly emphasized their names in the ads.

vii. Ad Hominem

According to Walton (2000), an ad hominem argument is the use of personal attack in a dialogue exchange between two parties, in which one party criticizes the other party's character as being bad in some way and then uses this assault as a basis for criticizing the other party's argument.

Robin Padilla: Simple lang ang kailangan natin, disiplina. Mga train na tumatakbo sa tamang oras, mga kalyeng tama ang pagkagawa imbes na binabaha, mga kalsadang walang traffic, mga airport na hindi kahiya-hiya, pulis na di kriminal bagkus nanghuhuli ng kriminal, mga public servant na hindi nang-aapi kundi nagsisilbi, mga mambabatas na di lumalabag kundi nagpapatupadng batas. Pangulong hindi nagtatago kung hindi namumuno, gobyernong hindi kurap at mamamayang hindi takot palagi. Lahat po iyan pwede pag may disiplina. Aanhin natin ang tuwid na daan kung tinutuntun lamang ng ilan. Tigilan na ang kalokohan.
(Advertisement #35: Rodrigo Duterte 2016)

In the political campaign ad of presidential candidate Rodrigo Duterte, ad hominem was inserted at the last part of the argument, as shown in the excerpt above. This argument is “*Aanhin natin ang tuwid na daan kung tinutuntun lamang ng ilan*”. The line “*tuwid na daan*” was popularly known in the tagline of the political campaign ads of the former Philippine president Benigno Aquino III including his political party (liberal party). Presidential candidate Rodrigo Duterte's political campaign ad, used this argument negatively and made his campaign platform advocacy shine. The ad emphasized the importance of discipline rather than the “*tuwid na daan*.”

Capitals in the Ads

The second stage of CDA, interpretation, is involved with the participants' text production and interpretation processes. The stage of interpretation corrects subjects' delusions of autonomy in discourse as it makes clear what is usually implicit for participants (Fairclough, 2001). Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital was integrated into this level of text analysis. This study critically analyzed the capitals in the select political campaign ads, as shown in the discussion below.

i. Economic Capital

Economic capital refers to the form of capital that can be converted into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property (Bourdieu, 1986). Unfortunately, this form of capital was not used both in a senatorial and presidential political campaign advertisement. However, results proved that the two remaining forms of capital were mostly used in the senatorial and presidential ads. The discussion of the results is shown in the following subsections of this paper below.

i. Social Capital

Candidates who used social capital in their ads are Tito Sotto, Ralph Recto, Miguel Zubiri, Sonny Angara, Chiz Escudero, Win Gatchalian, Gringo Honasan, Grace Poe, Kiko

Pangilinan, Koko Pimentel, Bong Go, Jinngoy Estrada, Bato Dela Rosa, Joel Villanueva, and Rodrigo Duterte (See Appendix B).

Dolphy: Una ka siyang nakilala bilang bata na kalong ng kanyang ama. Paglipas ng panahon, naging kaibigan ko siyang tapat dahil sa kanyangmagandang pag-uugali lalo na sa mga taong pangkaraniwan. Magkatulad kaming nag-umpisasa wala. Ang tanging karangalan naming ang magpasaya at magbigay inspirasyon sa inyong lahat. Noon, ngayon, bukas, at magpakailanman, kayo ang bida. Sa ikasampo ng Mayo, ipanalo natin si FPJ sa pagkapangulo!
(Advertisement #40: Fernando Poe Jr. 2004)

The excerpt above shows how the celebrity acted as the social capital used by the political actor in the ads. The presidential aspirant Fernando Poe Jr was endorsed by Dolphy, an actor and a comedian in the Philippines. The comedian said in the ad that they became good friends because of his good attitude towards ordinary people.

ii. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital can take the following forms: embodied, which refers to long-term mental and physical dispositions; objectified, which refers to the objectification of cultural capital in the form of cultural goods (photographs, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and so on); and institutionalized, which pertains towards the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic or educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986).

Mrs. Josephine R. Dela Cruz: Salamat Migz, dahilsa inyong Rent Control Act, hindi na tumaas ang aming upa sa bahay.
Engr. Reden Rodriguez: Thank you Migz, dahil saBiofuels Act of 2006, hindi ko na kailangan mag- abroad para magtrabaho.
Extra: Tumaas ang sahod ko dahil AFP Rate BasePay Act! Thank you, Sir!
Dr. Nielsen B. Donato: Thank you Migz sa WildlifeConservation Act, pinangalagaan mo ang Kalikasan. Champion ka talaga!
Miguel Zubiri: Hangad ko ang kabutihan ng ating mga mamamayan tuwing gagawa ako ng

bagong batas. Tulungan niyo ako sa mga nasimulan ko na.

Ako po si Migz Zubiri!

(Advertisement #3: Miguel Zubiri 2007)

The excerpt above shows the political advertisement of senatorial candidate Migz Zubiri. Juan Miguel "Migz" Fernandez Zubiri was the Former Senate Majority Leader, Former Chairman, Committee on Environment and Natural Resources; Committee on Cooperatives, and Former Chairman, Joint Congressional Oversight Committee on the Ecological Solid Waste Management Act; Joint Congressional Committee on Clean Air Act; Joint Congressional Oversight Committee on Cooperatives. He graduated from the University of the Philippines Los Baños with the degree Bachelor of Science in Agri-Business Management. He took his Master's in Environment and Natural Resources Management at the University of the Philippines Open University (Macaraig, 2013). In his ad, he showcased his cultural capital (in an institutionalized state) by highlighting the bills he wrote and sponsored.

It includes *the Rent Control Act of 2009* (principal author, co-sponsor). We see this in the statement "*Salamat Migz, dahil sa inyong Rent Control Act, hindi na tumaas ang aming upa sa bahay*" (*Thank you, Migz, because of your Rent Control Act, our house's rental fee doesn't increase,*) said by Mrs. Josephine R. Dela Cruz, *Biofuels Act of 2006* (author) in the statement "*Thank you Migz, dahil sa Biofuels Act of 2006, hindi ko na kailangan mag-abroad para magtrabaho*" (*Thank you Migz, because of Biofuels Act of 2006, I don't need to go abroad just to find work*) said by Engr. Reden Rodriguez, *Armed Forces of the Philippines Rate Pay Base Increase* (principal author) in the statement "*Tumaas ang sahod ko dahil AFP Rate Base Pay Act! Thank you, Sir!*" (*My salary got increased because of AFP Rate Base Pay Act! Thank you, Sir!*) said by the participant, *Wildlife Conservation and Protection Act* (principal author) in the statement "*Thank you Migz sa and Wildlife Conservation Act, pinangalagaan mo ang Kalikasan. Champion ka talaga! (Thank you, Migz for Wildlife*

Conservation Act, you care on the Environment. You are the champion!), said by Dr. Nielsen B. Donato.

Representations

The goal of the explanation stage is to portray a discourse as a social activity, a social practice, revealing how social structures shape it and what reproductive consequences discourses can have on those structures through time, either sustaining or changing them. In the last stage of CDA, this study focused on the portrayal or representation of politicians' positionality and the social classes position in the select political campaign ads.

A. Representation of Politician's Positionality

Misawa (2010) emphasizes the fluid and relational qualities of social identity formation while also noting that "all parts of our identities are shaped by socially constructed positions and memberships to which we belong" and which are "embedded in our society as a system." In their political campaign ads, politicians' positionality is coated with different ideologies and ideas. Politicians represent their positionalities in the ads in different ways. The following are some identified representations of politicians' positionality.

i. Politicians as our only hope

It is noticeable how "hope" has become one of the representations of the politician's position in the ad. Hope is a strong word that describes how important the person is in the society.

*Siya lang ang tunay na pag-asa
Tanging si Loren lang (una sa
tiwala)*

(Advertisement #15: Loren Legarda 2007)

The example above was extracted from senatorial candidate Loren Legarda, it characterized and represented the politician's positionality as society's only hope. It was observed in the ad of senatorial candidate Loren Legarda the use of the word "pag-asa" ("hope")

in representing her positionality in the ad. These lines are “Siya lang ang tunay na pag-asa, tanging si Loren lang” (“*She is the only hope, Loren is the only one*”). This result supports the study of Masroor et al. (2018) that another expression of the positive self-used by political actors involves representing the self or one’s political party as the last hope for the country.

ii. Politician as a Savior

Meanwhile, some candidate represents their positionality in the ad as a savior. In the book of Western (2011) entitled “An overview of the leadership discourses,” he described the term leader as messiah or savior. Messiah discourse provides charismatic leadership and vision in the face of a tumultuous and unpredictable world. The tension between salvation and destruction, between the technocrat and the moral visionary, and between hope and despair is symbolized by the messiah character. The messiah discourse appeals to both individuals and society, promising deliverance from a chaotic world marked by a lack of control and a diminishing sense of community (Western, 2011).

Participant 1: Bilisan mo!

Participant 2: Nariyan na sila! Participant 1: Dali! Ang Bato! Participant 2: Bato Bato sa langit!

Voice Over: Dahil kay Bato Dela Rosa, bumababaang krimen. Nabago ang buhay ng mga nasa mundo ng droga. Kalaban ng terorismo. (Advertisement #29: Bato Dela Rosa 2019)

As shown in the excerpt above, the ad contains a dramatic dialogue. The concept of the ad was adopted from the scenes of *Darna*, one of the most iconic superheroines in the Philippines. *Darna* was the brainchild of komiks (Filipino colloquial for comic books) written by Mars Ravelo (Llanes, 2009). The candidate’s nickname “Bato” was highlighted in this ad as a magic white stone that saves and protects the people from evildoers. “Bato,” a Filipino term for “stone,” was very popular in *Darna*

because when *Narda*, the main character of the story, swallows a magic white stone, she transforms into the mighty warrior *Darna* by shouting “DARNA!”. This dramatic dialogue was seen in the lines “Bilisan mo” (“*Make it fast*”) said by participant 1, “Nariyan na sila” (“*They are here*”) said by participant 2, “Dali! Ang Bato” (“*Faster! The stone!*”) said by participant 1, and “Bato Bato sa langit” (“*Stone Stone in the sky*”) said by participant 2 followed by a voice over saying “Dahil kay Bato Dela Rosa, bumababa ang krimen. Nabago ang buhay ng mga nasa mundo ng droga. Kalaban ng terorismo” (“*Because of Bato Dela Rosa, the crime was lessened. The lives of the people involved in drug operation were changed. The enemy of terrorist*”), these lines acknowledge the contribution of the political actor in lessening the crime rate in the Philippines.

i. Politician as a person who grew up in poverty

Understanding hegemony requires Gramsci's view of ideology as an organic relationship between structure and superstructure. According to Gramsci (1978), ideology is conceived as a practice-producing subject. One of the observations of this study is the subject or representation of the politician’s positionality as a person who grew up in poverty.

Manny Pacquiao: Lumaki ako sa hirap. Lahat ng aking pinagdaanan ay naging dahilan para ako’y kumalinga at tumulong sa inyo. Manny Pacquiaopo, nandito para sa inyo. (Advertisement #16: Manny Pacquiao 2016)

The excerpts above show how the politicians described their positionality in their ads. “Lumaki ako sa hirap. Lahat ng aking pinagdaanan ay naging dahilan para ako’y kumalinga at tumulong sa inyo. Manny Pacquiao po, nandito para sa inyo” (*I grew up in poverty. All that I’ve experienced became the reason to care and to help you. Manny Pacquiao is here for you*’.) senatorial candidate Manny Pacquiao said in his ad. This subject or representation of his positionality in his ad as a person who grew up in poverty formed an

ideology that a person needs to look back on where he came from.

A. Representation of Social Classes' Position

This section will discuss the representation of social classes' position in the ads to help the current study identify the social dynamics that play a crucial role in examining the hegemonic features of Philippine political advertising. Gramsci (1978) argues that analyzing the historical conditions necessary for one class to acquire hegemony over others. Politicians also considered the background of their audiences who will watch their political campaign advertisements. This study has observed that many of them were careful in representing the social classes in the Philippines. Still, some politicians represented other classes, particularly the subaltern class, in a subjective way.

The representation of Subaltern Group

Representation of how the ads position or describe the social classes helps this study analyze the hegemonic class's social dynamics and dominant ideas or ideologies.

Voice Over: Sino ba si Nognog? Si Nognog ay ang bawat Pilipinong bilad sa araw, yung walang matinong classroom, yung napipilitang magtrabaho sa abroad, yung pinagbibintangan sa hindi niya kasalanan, yung walang pambili ng pagkain. Kaya sa mga Nognog, nognog din ang nagmamalasakit. Nognog pero hindi tulad ng iba, marami ng nagawa.

(Advertisement #33: Jejomar Binay 2016)

The excerpt above describes the subaltern class as “nognog” in the ad of presidential candidate Jejomar Binay in “Sino ba si Nognog? Si Nognog ay ang bawat Pilipinong bilad sa araw, yung walang matinong classroom, yung napipilitang magtrabaho sa abroad, yung pinagbibintangan sa hindi niya kasalanan, yung walang pambili

ng pagkain. Kaya sa mga Nognog, nognog din ang nagmamalasakit. Nognog pero hindi tulad ng iba, marami ng nagawa” (*Who is Nognog? Nognog” is every Filipino who labors under the sun, who endures studying in makeshift classrooms, the one who is forced to work abroad, the one who is accused of the crime he never committed, and who has barely enough money to eat every day. So, with the Nognog, Nognog also cares. Nognog, but unlike others, he had many accomplishments*). The term “nognog” is short for “sunog” or burnt, a reference to a dark, short, with curly hair and a stubby-nosed comic character created by L.S. Martinez in the 1970s (Cepada, 2016). This representation for those Filipinos who belong in the subaltern class can relate to this ad because this representation captures the reality of their lives. The politician also positioned himself as one of them but from a different angle, a *Nognog* who cares (referring to the politician).

CONCLUSION

The study's finding is essential in the field of social research. The lack of awareness of the meanings, ideas, and ideologies residing in the discourse of politicians will not help the society or country in achieving social justice, class equality, freedom, rights, and economic growth. Furthermore, increasing the standard for creating political ads in the country will challenge and measure the politicians' communication, competencies, leadership, and excellence. In this way, politicians may change their perspective about politics - that it is not merely the use of power, dominion, or control. Hence, it is all about serving the country with the right motive and motivation. Future researchers who are also interested in conducting a study on Philippine Political Advertising or other existing Political Discourses may include political campaign advertisements during the local election. They may also adopt other tools or methods in the analysis of ads such as multimodal analysis. In addition, future researchers may use other theories in social research and other frameworks in Critical Discourse Analysis.

References

- Alruzzia, K. A., & Yunusb, K. B. (2019) Creating Discourse Using Figures of Speech in the Speeches of King Abdullah II. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity, and Change*, 8(9), 245-253
- Balmores-Paulino, R. (2018). An Exploration of the Schema and Function of Humor. *Israeli Journal of Humor Research: An International Journal*, 7(2), 43-63.
- Barbu-Kleitsch, O. (2015, May). Use of hyperboles in advertising effectiveness. In International Conference Redefining Community in International Context (Vol. 15).
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241- 58 in Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education, edited by J.G Richardson. New: Greenwood Press.
- Brader, T. (2005). Striking a responsive chord: How political ads motivate and persuade voters by appealing to emotions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 388-405.
- Cepeda, M. (2016, January 13). In the new Binay ad, the average Filipino is 'nognog' like him. *Rappler*.
<https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/118920-binay-ad-average-filipino-nognog/>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. (London, Longman).
- Gramsci A (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (trans. Q Hoare and GN Smith). New York: International Publishers.
- Gramsci, A. (1978). *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*. New York. International Publishers.
- Harris, M. K. (2009). The Political application of humor.
- Ilhamsyah I. & Herlina H. (2019) "Tagline in Advertisement Digital Era Case Study of #adaaqua Advertising Campaign." *Neliti*.
<https://www.neliti.com/publications/293392/ta-gline-in-advertisement-digital-era-case-study-of-adaaqua-advertising-campaign#cite>
- Llanes, R. (2009, July 17). Darna Through Six Decades. *Pep. ph*.
<https://www.pep.ph/lifestyle/19501/darna-through-six-decades>
- Macaraig, A. (2013). This time, Migz Zubiri wants untainted victory. *Rappler*.
<https://www.rappler.com/nation/elections/19734-this-time-migz-zubiri-wants-untainted-victory/>
- Masroor, F., Khan, Q. N., Aib, I., & Ali, Z. (2019). Polarization and ideological weaving in Twitter discourse of politicians. *Social media+ society*, 5(4), 2056305119891220.
- Ming-xin, L. I. U. (2006). Rhyme and repetition in advertising English and translation approaches [J]. *Journal of Changsha Telecommunications and Technology Vocational College*, 4.
- Newsome, C. (2002). "The Use of Slogans in Political Rhetoric." *The Corinthian*, 4 (3).
<https://kb.gcsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1203&context=thecorinthian>
- Rahmawati, L., & Tajuddin, S. (2020). Analysis of Visual and Persuasive Language Used on Billboards Promoting Candidates of the 2019 Elections. *KnE Social Sciences*, 668-678.
- SET.GOV.PH. Republic Act No 9006.
<https://www.set.gov.ph/resources/election-law/republic-act-no-9006/>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society* 4(2): 249-83.
- Vonderau, P., Florin, B., & Zimmermann, Y. (2021). Advertising as Commercial Speech: Truth and Trademarks in Testimonial Advertising. In *Advertising and the Transformation of Screen Cultures* (pp. 195–214). Amsterdam University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1t1kgh7.9>
- Walton, D. (2000). Case study of the use of a circumstantial ad hominem in political argumentation. *Philosophy & rhetoric*,

33(2), 101-115.

Western, S. (2011). An overview of the leadership discourses. *Educational leadership: Context, strategy and collaboration*, 11-24

