

Section 1. Theorising Authoritarianism

Laiko ng Pilipinas 2020). However, the report further said that the harsh lockdowns have not been effective in stopping the contagion but instead used to consolidate Duterte's authoritarian rule. The 'lockdowns' were heavily criticized for harsh penalties and arrests of quarantine violators, such that there were more people apprehended for violating community quarantines than tested for coronavirus. In April 2020, more than 120 000 people were apprehended for violation of community quarantines by the police and the military, but only 70 000 were tested for coronavirus (Cana 2020). The United Nations, on 29 April 2020, rebuked the Philippines for its 'highly militarized response' to lockdown violators (Ornedo 2020). The strict enforcement and harsh penalties were encouraged by Duterte himself. In one of his late-night press statements, Duterte warned that anyone caught violating the restrictions would be shot (FP 2020). After a month of strict lockdown, there were more people suffering from being arrested for quarantine violations than from coronavirus infections (Viajar 2020).

Duterte's populist-authoritarian leadership: contentions and contradictions

After more than 200 days of lockdown, the year 2020 closed with an economic flatline and the worst contraction among all the countries in Southeast Asia. The Philippine economy contracted by 9.5% due to pandemic restrictions in 2020 (Lafargo 2021), the worst since World War II, and became the worst performer compared to the ten other economies in Southeast Asia (Business World, 2020). The Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) also reported that close to 10 million Filipino workers lost their jobs after one year into the pandemic (Cordero 2021). However, in the midst of the pandemic, Duterte's trust ratings rose to 91% according to a survey by Pulse Asia, a private polling firm that conducted the survey on September 2020 (CNN 2020).

As the pandemic shows, Duterte's authoritarian leadership is expressed through and thoroughly in collusion with the military and the police, which possess the legitimate use of state violence, to enforce the harsh Covid restrictions, repress dissent and critics and suspend civil and political rights. Duterte's authoritarian attributes are expressed through two aspects: (a) the narrowing of freedoms and democratic spaces such as civil, political and human rights, of communities and social movements; and (b) the demobilization of people's participation in determining the future of their communities. The narrowing of freedoms such as the freedom to dissent and to express political views under Duterte contributes to the death of

asserting domination and thus of restoring a static equilibrium during a hegemonic crisis' (Adamson 1980: 628). In this political moment, according to Gramsci, the fascist take-over may emerge through 'the sudden creation of a single heroic figure, or it may be the gradual and institutionalized outcome of a coalition government' (Adamson 1980: 628).

The peculiarity in the emergence of charismatic and populist leaders such as Duterte in the Philippines, Trump in the USA or Bolsonaro of Brazil, fuels many debates in characterizing the new forms of authoritarianism and fascism. Legitimized via electoral contest and buoyed by popular support, Duterte's populist-authoritarian leadership with fascist tendencies has been coined 'Dutertism' by political analysts in the Philippines. Insights from Gramsci's discussion of the Caesarism/Bonapartism model to explain the rise of 'charismatic leaders' places the emphasis more on transformations in society and reconfiguration of social forces, or the 'breaking up and the rebuilding of social blocs' (Antonini 2021: 105). Rather than focusing on the inevitability of the rise of populist and charismatic leaders in a moment of hegemonic crisis, Gramsci argues that, due to the weakness of the dominant class, 'having exhausted its "propulsive" force, puts itself under the protection of a leader in order to remain in power and to defer (at least temporarily) its defeat' (Antonini 2021: 109).

Conclusion

Duterte's brash brand of leadership contributes to the current polarization of the country's political and civil societies. Culturally, Duterte upended the long-held Filipino values and beliefs in solidarity, community and respect. Duterte has also thwarted liberal policies and norms regarding human rights and women's empowerment that Filipinos have come to live with in the last 40 years. Family ties and friendships have become strained over Duterte's polarizing, hateful stance against his critics, and brutal and militarized policies, such as the killings of drug addicts and communists, as well as unconstitutional restrictions on human rights and other freedoms. Duterte's mode of governance and policy responses during the Covid-19 pandemic exposed his authoritarian leadership with fascist tendencies. These were expressed through the narrowing of freedoms and democratic spaces for peoples' civil, political and human rights and the demobilization of peoples' participation in determining the future of their communities. Likewise, more than one year into our pandemic lives, we have learned that the virus does not discriminate on the basis of wealth, power and material possessions; nevertheless, whilst everyone is in the same

storm, not everyone is on the same boat. Some boats have more social protection than others.

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