Fact Check: Coalitional Politics

Team PNoy

Claim: Team PNoy senatorial candidates were selected based on who can support the reform agenda of President Aquino.

“More than popularity, the LP-AKBAYAN-NPC-NP-LDP-NUP Coalition senatorial slate is borne out of shared set of principles. The slate represents those who have helped in the advancement of the President's agenda and those who have committed to his program of government,” the Coalition said.


Fact Checked:

Three years into office, the administration of President Benigno “PNoy” Aquino has achieved critical successes in many of its major reform agenda, such as the passage of the Reproductive Health (RH) Law and the Sin Tax Law, the impeachment of former Chief Justice Renato Corona, the holding of former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo for prosecution, the removal from office of former Ombudswoman Merceditas Gutierrez, and advancing the peace process through the signing of the Bangsamoro Framework Agreement. Vowing to continue his slogan of Matuwid na Daan, the political party of President Aquino, the Liberal Party, has pooled together a crop of senatorial candidates composed of figures from different parties as well as independents who are believed to share the stands and the reform program of the President.

Based on their official pronouncements as well as interviews of them by the press which have been written on, the respective stands of all candidates under the Team PNoy Coalition are largely consistent with the positions of the Aquino administration except on the RH Law, the Sin Tax Law and the impeachment of former Chief Justice Corona. On these issues, either the individual candidates made categorical albeit differing stands, or their positions thereon are unclear.

The varying positions hover above critical and current issues. Understandably, the RH agenda and the impeachment of Chief Justice Corona were divisive issues. Three candidates have positioned themselves against the maintenance of a pro-RH agenda - namely Senator Aquilino “Koko” Pimentel III, Senator Antonio “Sonny” Trillanes IV, and Ms. Cynthia Villar – on the common belief that inasmuch as the prevailing RH Law is a population control measure and not a health reform program, public money should not be spent for it as such.
On the other hand, one candidate - Senator Francis Escudero- has voiced the concern that the Sin Tax Law has possible detrimental effects on tobacco farmers.

Mr. Bam Aquino, Ms. Grace Poe, and Ms. Cynthia Villar are those who have no easily-discriminable positions on the issues of the impeachment of Chief Justice Corona, the attempted prosecution of former Ombudsman Merceditas Gutierrez, and the holding of former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo for trial. Given their significance as anti-corruption efforts of the Aquino Administration, it is unusual for both Mr. Aquino and Ms. Poe to have no clear position on the impeachment and prosecution agenda.

United Nationalist Alliance (UNA)

Claim: UNA is not a true opposition to the administration of President Aquino.

“UNA is not the new opposition but an alliance of two political parties, PDP Laban and Partidong Masang Pilipino (PMP)”

Source: [http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/227937/una-is-not-the-new-opposition-says-spokesman](http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/227937/una-is-not-the-new-opposition-says-spokesman)

Fact Checked:

UNA’s senatorial ticket is an assortment of candidates without a unified, coalesced stand against the administration’s positions on the reform agenda mentioned above. The number of UNA senatorial bets who claim to be fiscalizers or who are critical about the programs of the President is practically offset by those whose positions are consistent with those of the administration or who do not have easily-determinable stands on the anti-corruption agenda of the President.

Thus, three candidates - namely Senator Gregorio “Gringo” Honasan II, Joseph Victor “JV” Ejercito, and Juan “Jackie” Ponce Enrile, Jr. - supported the impeachment of Chief Justice Corona. But among the three, only Ejercito supported both the prosecution of former President Arroyo and the attempted prosecution of Ombudsman Gutierrez. Enrile supported the attempted prosecution of former Ombudsman and has no clear stand on the other. Honasan has no clear stand on both. On the other hand, three other candidates - Representative Milagros “Mitos” Magsaysay, former Senator Juan Miguel “Migs” Zubiri, and former Senator Richard Gordon - strongly opposed the same reform agenda items. Maceda is neutral on the impeachment case yet opposed the prosecutions of the former President and Ombudsman. The remaining two UNA candidates do not have clear positions on the same issues.

Indeed, UNA can itself validly claim that it is not the opposition because, based on its roster and the positions of its individual candidates, there is no clear indication to that effect. What remains consistent with it is its inconsistency with the administration’s positions.
## Coalitional Politics Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coalition and Senatoriable</th>
<th>RH Law</th>
<th>SIN Tax Law</th>
<th>Corona Impeachment</th>
<th>Prosecution of Former Ombudsman Merceditas Gutierrez and Former President GMA</th>
<th>Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Team PNoy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angara</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquino</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Clear Stand</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escudero</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hontiveros</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legarda</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrigal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Magsaysay</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Official Stand</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poe</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>No Official Stand</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimentel</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Official Stand</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trillanes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villar</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honasan</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Clear Stand</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejercito</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Clear Stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Magsaysay</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maceda</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No Clear Stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zubiri</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cojuangco</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binay</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrile</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Pro on Merci only. No clear stand for GMA.</td>
<td>No Info Found</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT and
ATENEO SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT through its
POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND REFORMS (PODER) PROGRAM
Fact Check: Freedom of Information

Claim: All senatoriables support the passage of the Freedom of Information Bill, except for Jamby Madrigal, who has no categorical stand on FOI.


The Fifteenth Congress could have cleared the way for the passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill aimed at deepening and broadening mechanisms for transparency and accountability in the government. Despite the Senate voting unanimously for its passage, though, the apparent lack of interest from the President to certify the Bill as urgent and the failure of the House Representatives to pass their version of the Bill have kept the Bill afloat and its future remaining grim.

However, the 2013 elections seem to signal hope for FOI as ALL the senatorial candidates, except one, have expressed their support for FOI based on their official pronouncements in websites and news clippings.

This Fact Check aims to further scrutinize the position of the candidates by looking at their track record in pushing for the Bill so as to provide a more solid basis for prediction on the faith of FOI in the 16th Congress.

Fact Checked:

Among the top 20 leading candidates in the April 1 SWS Senatorial Survey Release, nine either co-authored or co-sponsored the bill (Loren Legarda, Alan Peter Cayetano, Antonio Trillanes IV, Gringo Honasan, Migz Zubiri and Richard Gordon in the Senate, and Risa Hontiveros, Sonny Angara, and JV Ejercito in the House of Representatives). Four other veterans/seniors in politics voted for or showed formal support to the passage of the bill (Chiz Escudero, Koko Pimentel, Jack Enrile, and Mitos Magsaysay).

These candidates therefore have shown, one way or another, through concrete actions (though varying in degree), their support for the FOI, signaling the reliability of their support for FOI in the 16th Congress.

But there are seven candidates who were found with no track record directly supporting their pro-FOI claims. They are: Nancy Binay, Cynthia Villar, Bam Aquino, Grace Poe, Ramon Magsaysay, Ernesto Maceda, and Tingting Cojuangco. It is the burden of these candidates to prove that their support for the FOI is not a mere lip service. To date, available facts say their support is nothing but pure pronouncement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senatoriable</th>
<th>Has track record for the passage of the FOI Bill?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legarda</td>
<td>Check! Co-authored and co-sponsored the Senate version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>Check! Co-authored the Senate version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejercito</td>
<td>Check! Co-authored the House version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escudero</td>
<td>Check! Voted for its passage in the Senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binay</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villar</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimentel</td>
<td>Check! Voted for its passage in the Senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trillanes</td>
<td>Check! Principal author of the Senate version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honasan</td>
<td>Check! Co-sponsor in the Senate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquino</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poe</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angara</td>
<td>Check! One of the principal authors of the House version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrile</td>
<td>Check! One of the 117 Representatives who signed the signature campaign for the Bill's passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magsaysay, R.</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zubiri</td>
<td>Check! Co-author of the Senate version during his time as a Senator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrigal</td>
<td>No categorical answer for her support or objection of the bill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>Check! Co-author of the Senate version during his time as a Senator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hontiveros</td>
<td>Check! Co-author of the House version during her time as a Representative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maceda</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cojuangco</td>
<td>No information found to support the claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magsaysay, M.</td>
<td>Check! One of the 117 Representatives who signed the signature campaign for the Bill's passage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fact Check: Jobs and Employment

Claim: Only a few senatorial candidates have a comprehensive platform that addresses lack of jobs and unemployment.

Fact Checked:

Despite trumpeted economic gains, and getting good investment grade status from international credit rating agencies, the Philippines' unemployment and underemployment remains to be high. According to the latest Labor Force Survey (LFS) of the National Statistics Office (NSO), there are about 10.828 million Filipinos of working age (age 15 years old and above) who are either jobless or who would want to work more hours to earn more.

LFS revealed that the increase is due to the number of underemployed rising to 7.93 Million in January 2013 from the 7.02 Million in January 2012. The underemployment rate rose to 20.9 percent from 18.8 percent. Unemployment, on the other hand, has not significantly changed. The unemployment rate is estimated at 7.1 percent in January 2013 compared the 7.2 percent last year.

The figures above reveal that economic growth did not translate to more jobs and employment. Job creation is an important issue because “several social problems have been a direct or indirect aftermath of prolonged employment and unemployment of most Filipinos.” Much worse, this puts millions of Filipinos into the poverty trap.

It is therefore relevant to see that senatorial candidates do not only make superficial promises but that they carry clear, concrete, and comprehensive platform on creating “decent, good quality” jobs and employment.

Among the top 20 senatorial candidates in the Social Weather Station (SWS) senatorial survey released last April – Team PNoy’s Alan Peter Cayetano and Cynthia Villar, and UNA’s JV Ejercito and Migs Zubiri, have job generation and addressing employment issues as amongst if not the central focus of their platforms. Common sentiments are to increase infrastructure spending, empower Small and Medium Entrepreneurs (SMEs), strengthen the support to the agricultural sector, and make education responsive to market demands.

Except for Nancy Binay, the rest have either a platform or a track record that indicates their commitment to job creation.

Meanwhile, most of the senatorial candidates have not made any pronouncements to the said “jobless growth” confronting the Aquino administration, apart from UNA's
candidates JV Ejercito, Nancy Binay, Gregorio Honasan, Ernesto Maceda, and Mitos Magsaysay who criticized the administration for “touting the fast economic growth our country has been experiencing but while failing to address that the benefits do not trickle down to the poor.” Team PNoy’s Alan Peter Cayetano and Risa Hontiveros answered these criticisms by saying that “trickle-down effect takes time, and that growth now gives us the momentum to solve poverty crisis.”

Sources:


Fact Check: Senatoriables and the Anti-Political Dynasty Bill

Claim: Candidates, who are members of political dynasties, will not champion or will not support an anti-political dynasty bill in Congress; while candidates, who are NOT members of any political dynasty, are expected to champion and support an anti-dynasty bill.

Fact checked:

The 1987 Constitution prohibits political dynasties but left it to Congress to enact an enabling anti-political dynasty law. Exactly 26 years after the constitution was enacted and despite several attempts, no such law has been passed by either chamber of Congress. All versions of the bill have not even gone way past the committee level for second reading. Now that the 2013 midterm election is coming, what is to be expected from at least the top 20 candidates vying for a seat in the Senate?

While an exact definition is still elusive, it is liberally accepted that political dynasties are those candidates who have more than one family member in any elective public position or are running for elective positions and holding such position for several terms before passing it on to either the immediate or extended family members.

Generally the top 20 candidates for the Senate, according to major survey outfits, are dominated by members of well-known political dynasties. Exactly 13 out of the 20 are members of dynasties, namely: Sonny Angara, Bam Aquino, Nancy Binay, Alan Cayetano, Ting-Ting Cojuangco, JV Ejercito, Jack Enrile, Chiz Escudero, Dick Gordon, Ernesto Maceda, Jun Magsaysay, Cynthia Villar and Mig Zubiri. Except for newcomers like Bam Aquino and Nancy Binay, most candidates are veteran or experienced politicians in Congress. On the other hand, there are seven candidates who are not members of known political dynasties. These are: Gringo Honasan, Risa Hontiveros, Loren Legarda, Jamby Madrigal, Koko Pimentel, Grace Poe and Antonio Trillanes.

(Table 1 shows the candidates who are dynasties and who are not in the top 20. These are arranged in alphabetical order)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>History of being a member of a dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 Sonny Angara | Locality: Aurora Province  
Aunt, Bellaflor Angara-Castillo, is current Governor of Aurora and is running for District Representative  
Uncle, Arturo Angara, is current Mayor of Baler  
Cousin, Karen Angara, is current councilor of Baler  
Father, Edgardo Angara Sr., is current senator of the Philippines |
<p>| 2 Bam Aquino   | Locality: Tarlac                                                          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Family Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nancy Binay</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Makati City</td>
<td>Cousin, Jeci Aquino Lapus, current Rep of 3rd District of Tarlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cousin, Benigno Aquino III is current President of the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister, Abby Binay-Campos, Representative of 2nd District of Makati</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brother, Junjun Binay, Mayor of Makati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister, Mar-Len Abigail Binay-Campos, running for reelection as District Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father, Jejomar Binay is current Vice President of the Philippines</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mother, Dr. Elenita Binay, Former Makati City Mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alan Cayetano</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Taguig City</td>
<td>Wife, Laarni “Lani” Cayetano is current Mayor of Taguig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Lino Edgardo S. Cayetano is running for 2nd Legislative District Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister, Pia Cayetano is current Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tingting</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Tarlac Province</td>
<td>Brother in law, Enrique Henry Cojuanco, Rep of 1st District of Tarlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cojuangco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Miguel Cojuanco Rivilla, Municipal Mayor of Paniqui Tarlac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Dr. Isabel Cojuanco-Suntay, running for governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Benigno Aquino III, is current President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>JV Ejercito</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> San Juan City and Laguna Province</td>
<td>Father, Joseph Estrada, his father is former President, now running as Mayor of Manila City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother, Guia Gomez, is current Mayor of San Juan City and running for reelection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Niece, Janella Ejercito is running for councilor in San Juan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half brother, Sen Jinggoy Estrada is current Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cousin, ER Ejercito is running for Laguna governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ER Ejercito’s wife is current Laguna Mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jesse Ejercito’s daughter is running for Congresswoman of San Juan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jack Enrile</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Cagayan Province</td>
<td>Father, Juan Ponce Enrile, Sr., Senate President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wife, Sally Ponce Enrile, Former representative, 1st District of Cagayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chiz Escudero</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Sorsogon Province</td>
<td>Uncle, Antonio Escudero Jr., Vice Governor, Sorsogon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Ramon Escudero, Vice Mayor, Casiguran, Sorsogon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Rico Hatoc, Councilor, Casiguran, Sorgoson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Dennis Escudero, Councilor, Casiguran, Sorgoson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nanay Escudero is running for Legislative District Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dick Gordon</td>
<td><strong>Localities:</strong> Zambales Province, Olongapo City</td>
<td>Wife, Katherine H. Gordon, former Congressional District</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brother, Jame Gordon Jr. former Congressional representative of the first district of Zambales from 1995-2004. Mayor of Olongapo from 2004 until 2013. He is now running as representative of Zambales again
Sister-in-law, Anne Marie Gordon, wife of James Gordon Jr. was elected Vice—Governor of Zambales from 2007-2010. She is running as mayor this coming elections
Son, Brian Patrick Gordon, served as city councilor from 2004-2007. He is running as vice mayor in the 2013 elections
Nephew, John Carlos Delos Reyes, former city councilor from 1995 to 1998 and 2007 to 2010. He is now running as senator under the Kapatiran Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ernesto Maceda</td>
<td>Localita: Manila</td>
<td>Son, Edward Maceda, is Manila City Councilor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jun Magsaysay</td>
<td>Localita: Zambales</td>
<td>Niece-in-law Mitos Magsaysay, Congresswoman and currently running for Senate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cynthia Villar</td>
<td>Localita: Las Pinas</td>
<td>Son, Mark Villar, running for re-election as Las Pinas Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brother, Vergel Aguillar, is current Mayor of Las Pinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spouse, Manuel B. Villar, is current Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mig Zubiri</td>
<td>MEMBER Localita: Bukidnon Province</td>
<td>Father, Jose Maria R. Zubiri Jr., Vice Governor, Bukidnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brother, Jose F. Zubiri III, Representative, 3rd district of Bukidnon</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cousin, Ignacio W. Zubiri, Major, Malaybalay City, Bukidnon</td>
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Table 2 shows candidates who are not members of political dynasties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gringo Honasan</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Risa Hontiveros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Loren Legarda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jamby Madrigal</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Koko Pimentel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Grace Poe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Antonio Trillanes</td>
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There is a common assumption that candidates who are not members of political dynasties will have strong motivations and will to pass an anti-political dynasty. This is not entirely true, at least for this election. Four out of seven of the candidates who are not members of political dynasties cannot be relied on to support the passage of an anti-dynasty law. However, there are three candidates who are in favor of having an anti-dynasty policy. For instance, Koko Pimentel and Risa Hontiveros share the opinion that whether or not a dynasty is good or bad, banning political dynasties is a constitutional mandate and Congress is duty bound to prohibit it. On the other hand Jamby Madrigal opposes political dynasties because it monopolizes power in the senate. Among these three, only Risa Hontiveros and Koko Pimentel have the legislative track record on pushing for an anti-dynasty policy in Congress. Hontiveros introduced a definition of political dynasty in Akbayan’s version of the SK Reform Law which she authored during the 14th Congress. On the other hand, Pimentel, though without any versions of the policy, has conducted several committee hearings for the Anti-Political Dynasty Bill in the Senate as Chairman of the Committee on Electoral Reforms. Most likely, these two are the same persons who will strongly champion an anti-political dynasty bill.

On the other hand, it is also commonly perceived that candidates who are members of political dynasties will fight tooth and nail to hinder the passage of an anti-political dynasty law. Generally, for this election that is true, but there are exceptions. In fact, five out of the thirteen candidates who are members of political dynasties are in favor of passing an anti-dynasty law. We can rely on the following senator candidates, who are members of political dynasties, to support an anti-dynasty law: Bam Aquino, Jack Enrile, Jun Magsaysay, Migs Zubiri and Ernesto Maceda. Most of the reasons cited by pro anti-dynasty policy candidates include (1) it is imperative to define a political dynasty, (2) the lack of such a policy or law hinders inclusivity of democratic process, and (3) leaving dynasties unchecked promotes accumulation of power and wealth under one the same family. While they are supportive of an anti-political dynasty policy, their position is still on the level of lip service as none of them (with the exception of Aquino being a new comer to elections) have the legislative track record to show that they will champion a bill in the senate.

Any form of an anti-political dynasty measure in congress will be met with strong opposition from the current candidates who are also members of political dynasties. There are six candidates, who (a) are members of political dynasties, and (b) have categorically stated strong positions against a measure to ban political dynasties. Most of the reasons they have for going against an anti-dynasty policy is

1. it is the quality of public service not membership in political dynasty which is important,
2. a policy is not needed because voters are educated enough to determine who are fit for public office,
3. political dynasties are not an issue,
4. political dynasties are not illegal.

Most of these candidates opposed to an anti-dynasty law, except Gordon and Cojuan who are not in the Magic 12 based on surveys, are strong contenders in the senate. Most likely they will present a direct and strong opposition to any anti-political dynasty measure in the senate.
In any case, both sides of the category, members and non-members, have fence sitters on the issue. There are two candidates out of the thirteen who are against an anti-political dynasty namely: JV Ejercito and Cynthia Villar. Their reasons include (1) allowing equal opportunity for all qualified candidates, and (2) that membership in a political dynasty is not a guarantee of automatic victory.

And even among non-dynasty based candidates namely: Loren Legarda, Antonio Trillanes, Gringo Honasan and Grace Poe, majority of them do not have clear position because either (1) it is impractical if not impossible to ban political dynasties in the country, (2) it is an irrelevant issue compared to a candidate’s quality of service, and (3) it has no realistic prospect of passing in congress.

In sum, there are candidates who are members of political dynasties and who will oppose an anti-dynasty bill and they are strong contenders. Yet there are candidates from the same group, who are in favor of pushing for an anti-dynasty law, but their track record in pushing for such measure is lacking. Despite the disadvantage in numbers, passing an anti-dynasty measure can be expected from three non-dynasty candidates who support pushing for an anti-political dynasty bill, with Risa Hontiveros and Koko Pimentel showing track record on anti-political dynasty advocacy.
Fact Check: Senatoriables and the Political Party Development Bill

Claim: Candidates who are not members of political dynasties are supportive of the party development bill.

Fact checked:

Political parties are political organizations that seek to aggregate various interests and gain influence in government through nominating candidates and gaining elective government positions, especially in the legislative branch, in order to enact and execute policies. In the Philippines the term political parties is commonly associated—albeit in a limited fashion—to elections. While political parties are allowed in the country, there has been no single Political Party Development Law that has been passed. The closest would be the Party-list Act of 1998 which sought to promote the multiparty system in the country.

The uphill battle of a Political Party Development bill in Congress is the prevalence of the culture of political dynasties in the country. Even though varied advocacies aiming at developing political parties have been made, emphasizing the necessity of reform, this has not overcome the patronage that dynasties create and deepen.

The most problematic in this set-up is the very subjugation of political parties to patron dynasties. There are currently 13 candidates out of the top 20 candidates who come from known political dynasties. Of the 13, seven candidates are supportive of a political party reform or development bill, namely: Alan Peter Cayetano, Chiz Escudero, Jun Magsaysay, Dick Gordon, Bam Aquino, Sonny Angara and Jack Enrile.

Out of these seven candidates, only Sonny Angara has the clear legislative track record in pushing for a party development bill. Sonny Angara is the author of the House version of the Party Development bill. Hence, he can be strongly relied on to advocate a political party reform policy in the Senate.

The six other candidates who come from political dynasties have no clear stand on the issue, or information on their position could not be found. They are JV Ejercito, Nancy Binay, Cynthia Villar, Juan Miguel Zubiri, Ernesto Maceda and Tingting Cojuangco.

On the other hand, seven non-dynasty candidates in the top 20 are all supportive of the party development bill. They are Loren Legarda, Jamby Madrigal, Risa Hontiveros, Koko Pimentel, Antonio Trillanes, Gringo Honasan, and Grace Poe. Among these seven, only Loren Legarda and Risa Hontiveros have the legislative track record in supporting a Party Reform or Development. Legarda filed her versions of a Political Party Development Bill during the 14 Congress, while Hontiveros, through her political party Akbayan, filed a political party-list reform measure in the House of Representatives.

Bill for Political Party Development think that more than strengthening political parties it will address primarily address the problem of “turncoatism” or also known as party switching. Some politicians may feel that there is no incentive in remaining in one and the same political party. Hence, they easily
switch political parties during elections, in order to improve their chances of winning. Among the 20 candidates, seven out of the 13 candidates from dynasties are switchers. Only two out of the seven non-dynasty candidates are switchers, with five with no record of switching parties ever.

In sum, Sonny Angara, Loren Legarda and Risa Hontiveros would be the strongest advocates for Political Party Reform bills. A large majority (11 out of the top 20 candidates) may support the measure, but will likely not actively push for it. It is expected that these 11 will have reservations to any version of the bill passed, and will take the opportunity to further modify or amend the bill that could imperil its passage. It is worth noting that any form of the bill will not meet strong opposition, even among the six fence-sitters on the issue.
FactCheck: COMELEC

Claim: So far, the Commission on Elections (Comelec) has responded to needed reforms in the conduct of the elections that were identified right after the 2010 elections on the following fronts: ensuring the integrity of the PCOS machines, monitoring campaign finance, and tightening the accreditation in the Party-List System

Fact Check:

The May 2010 election marked a historic event in Philippine politics with the first nationwide implementation of the Automated Election System (AES). After the relatively successful conduct of 2010 election, Comelec had gone through a change in leadership, which is expected to respond to some issues that came out in the 2010 elections to improve the conduct and outcome of the 2013 elections.

**PCOS (Precinct Count Optical Scanner)**

Reviewing the assessment and positions papers on the conduct of the 2010 elections, the following were the key issues raised surrounding the PCOS machines: (1) source code; (2) Compact Flash (CF) card configuration issue; (3) voter-verified audit trail; (4) deactivation of the ultraviolet ink-based ballot authenticity verification feature; (5) erroneous time stamps; (6) absence of digital signature; (7) rejection of fake ballots; (8) transmission; (9) Smartmatic-Dominion legal battle; and (10) procurement process of CF cards.

For most of the issues, Comelec has either taken action or response, albeit to the full satisfaction of all stakeholders. However, there are three highly critical issues related to PCOS machines that could be a source of tension and criticisms after the elections if not resolved: making the source code available, the voter-verified audit trail, and the absence of digital signatures.

In fact, the controversy that has called much attention in the past months is Comelec’s failure to provide or disclose the source code of the PCOS (precinct count optical scanner). Under RA 9369, “Comelec is under obligation to disclose the election source code for review by political parties and other interested groups.”

The source code could not be released due to an ongoing legal battle between Smartmatic (supplier of PCOS machines) and Dominion (owner of software technology). When Dominion terminated its license with Smartmatic, the release of source code was also withheld.
Campaign finance

Yet despite remaining PCOS-related issues, the Comelec has noticeably improved in monitoring the candidates’ campaign finance. In fact, a special unit – the Campaign Finance Unit – was created specifically to “monitor fund-raising and spending of candidates and parties.” And thru its pledge for a more transparent election, the Comelec constantly informs the public who among the candidates have accumulated the longest television and radio airtime, who committed the most poster violations, and the political parties’ spending in rally and public meetings. Comelec also filed cases against parties that have not acted to their notices of campaign violations.

To limit campaign expenditures, Comelec issued as well a resolution that reduced airtime from per network to an aggregate total of 120 minutes for television and 180 minutes for radio.

Comelec also issued resolutions laying down the specifics on how it conducts campaign financing.

Purging party-list candidates

In the accreditation of party-lists, no change in the formal guidelines have been noted, but there’s an indication that the actual process has been tightened and made stricter, given the number of parties that have been disqualified from the 2013 election compared to disqualifications in the 2010 election. There were 289 organizations that applied for accreditation as party-list candidates this year but only 136 (or only about 50%) of these were accredited. This is a significant reduction compared the 256 organizations that applied as party-list candidates in 2010, for which 187 (73%) were accredited. The absence, though, of changes in the formal guidelines is a hindrance for other groups to check and validate how Comelec has conducted its accreditation—perhaps room for further improvement in the process.

The party-list elections just recently faced another controversy with the new Supreme Court (SC) ruling that “organizations do not necessarily have to represent marginalized and underrepresented sectors to qualify as party-list.” While there were groups that reacted negatively to this, the decision seems to generally sit well with other party-list groups.

Finally, in order to level the playing field, the Comelec for the first time conducted a raffle to determine the party-list candidates’ order in the ballot. This is an effort to let go of the alphabetical placements in the ballot, which the party-list group had abused thus the proliferation of party-list groups that begin with 1 or A.
FactCheck: Environmental Issues

The following FactCheck tackles the candidates’ positions and records concerning the environment, in particular: mining, genetically-modified organisms (GMOs), toxic waste importation and management, and a plastic bag ban policy. Considering that candidate Teddy Casiño’s call for an environmental debate has gone unheeded, and that environmental policy plays a critical role in sustainable development, it may be well-necessary to look into the candidates’ past to indicate to where their green future will point.

Claim #1: The mining reform bill is among the list of priority measures that the Aquino administration will push for in the next Congress, according to Finance Secretary Cesar Purisima.

Fact Checked:

Will Aquino’s coalition support his mining agenda (potentially based on his Executive Order 79 on mining)? For that matter, will opposing candidates?

On the subject of mining reform, most candidates express support for “responsible mining”, though what they mean by the term will differ among them. Madrigal, Hontiveros, and Casiño have proposed the repeal of the 1995 Mining Act and its replacement. It might be useful to explore the detailed debates raised by mining, as shown below.

On President Aquino’s Executive Order 79, Legarda, Casiño, and Hontiveros are critical. Angara is largely supportive. Cayetano, Honasan, and M. Magsaysay are likely neutral based on their statements.

With regards to the scale of mining activity in the country (large corporations vs. small and medium outfits), Cayetano, Escudero, Zubiri, and M. Magsaysay have demonstrated preference for large-scale mining. Conversely, Hontiveros and Casiño have explicitly favored small-scale mining.

As mining has pitted local government units (LGUs) against national government mining policy, Escudero, Casiño, Hagedorn, Hontiveros, and Zubiri have shown support for LGU policy primacy over national mining policy. Honasan, in the meanwhile, called for “discussions” between the contesting parties.
Setting up Protected Areas to be administered by the DENR is one way of securing lands from mining activities. In the 13th-15th Congress, Angara, Escudero, Madrigal, plus Nene Pimentel (Koko Pimentel) and Manny Villar (Cynthia Villar) have filed such legislation to set up PAs. Legarda is also on record in filing Protected Areas legislation. Hontiveros meanwhile proposed a National Land Use Act to prioritize the economic and ecological use of land, a move which David related is a priority.

On the controversial grant of an ECC to SMI for the Tampakan mineral stake, Zubiri expressed criticisms, citing the S. Cotobato open-pit ban and ecological issues. Koko Pimentel’s father Nene Pimentel also indicated his opposition, suggesting his son may likewise take his stead. Considering the circumstances of the ECC grant, supporters of small-scale mining and LGU primacy may also be critical.

A few candidates have or had personal interests in mining activities: Gordon (Atlas Mining), Villar (Queensberry Mining), Maceda (fmr. Lepanto Mining; ex-Chair, Mineral Resources Development Board). The chairman of the Democratic Party of the Philippines is also President/CEO of Spartan Mining Development Corporation.

Claim #2: Only few/some of the candidates have a position and track record on policies involving GMOs, toxic waste importation, and plastic bag bans.

Fact Checked:

**GMOs**

GMOs are touted as a solution for agricultural policy, promising hardy crops, higher yields, and better nutrition. Critics though point to the ecological and health risks of novel, human-created genetic material. Half of the senatorial candidates have criticized GMOs, but few have shown a track record to support their stance. Casiño and Hagedorn were co-petitioners in a Supreme Court action to stop GMO eggplant field trials. Honasan and Madrigal proposed legislation to regulate or prohibit GMO imports, and make labelling mandatory. J. Magsaysay is signatory to a Negros Occidental petition against the commercialization of GMO Golden Rice.

**Toxic Waste Importation/Management**

The recent and alleged Subic Bay toxic waste dumping incident, involving a US Navy contractor meant to process wastewater from US Navy ships, raised this issue to the public agenda. Legarda, Escudero, Pimentel, Honasan, and Casiño called for legislative investigation of the incident. M. Magsaysay meanwhile was in favor of legal suit against the contractor.

The 2008 Japan-Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA) also raised this issue, through its lowering the trade barriers for hazardous waste materials, which critics allege will open Philippine doors to Japanese waste dumping. Those candidates who supported JPEPA ratification were Manny Villar (Cynthia), Jinggoy Estrada (JV Ejercito), Legarda, Edgardo Angara (Sonny), Juan Ponce Enrile (Jack), A. Cayetano, Honasan, Zubiri,
Gordon, Legarda and Zubiri were a surprise to the treaty's critics as they previously expressed opposition to JPEPA. Those opposed were Nene Pimentel (Koko), Escudero, and Madrigal. Trillanes was absent during the vote but indicated his opposition. Though not a senator at the time, Hontiveros likewise was critical of JPEPA. Pimentel and Pia Cayetano (Alan's sister) supported the ratification of the Basel Ban Convention against toxic waste importation, a potential solution to JPEPA toxic waste trade risks.

**Plastic Bag Ban**

A national plastic bag policy has become vogue of late, considering (a) the solid waste management challenges they pose, (b) improper disposal of such clogging waterways and drains, leading to urban flooding, and (c) a growing number of LGUs enacting their own bans. Legarda, Manny Villar (Cynthia), Angara, Madrigal, Gordon, Hontiveros, M. Magsaysay, Villanueva, Casiño, and de los Reyes have spoken in favor of a legal ban on plastic bans. Legarda, Angara, Akbayan (Hontiveros), and Casiño have filed or sponsored such legislation.

**Claim #3:** Neither the PNoy Administration Coalition nor the UNA coalition have a unified environmental agenda (considering their silence on the matter), compared to other coalitions or parties.

**Fact Checked:**

Both mainstream coalitions (PNoy and UNA) do not seem to have a unified environmental platform; the candidates are left to their own devices. In contrast, the Makabayan Coalition platform expresses a commitment to “pro-people” mining policies, which based on their candidate Casiño’s stand would be at least radical reform of the Mining Act (if not its repeal). Escudero, Pimentel, Legarda, Villar, and Poe are Makabayan guest candidates; for Villar, there may be potential conflict with her family’s mining interests. Bayan Muna (part of the Makabayan Coalition) and Akbayan are two individual parties known for strong environmental stances, particularly critical of present mining policy. Ang Kapatiran and DPP also seem to have unified environmental stances.

**SUMMARY OF ENVIRONMENTAL POSITIONS OF 2013 SENATORIAL CANDIDATES**

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<th>EO 79</th>
<th>Minin g Scale</th>
<th>Nat’l/Loca l</th>
<th>GMO</th>
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</table>

**LEGEND:**
- **Coalition (or Party)**
  - PNoy: Team PNoy
  - UNA: United Nationalist Alliance
  - Mkb: Makabayan Coalition
  - BP: Bangon Pilipinas
  - AKP: Ang Kapatiran Party
  - SJS: Social Justice Society
  - DPP: Democratic Party of the Philippines
- Ind.: Independent
- ????: Available evidence inconclusive to draw position
- Mining
  - Pro: responsible mining
  - Review: called for review of Mining Act
  - Repeal: called for repeal of Mining Act
  - Review (Repeal?): evidence indicates either; review at minimum
- EO 79
  - Support: generally supportive of EO 79
  - Critic: generally critical of EO 79
  - Neutral: generally neutral towards EO 79
- Mining Scale
  - Small: prefers small-scale mining/criticizes large-scale mining
  - Large: prefers large-scale mining/criticizes small-scale mining
  - “MKB”: Cynthia Villar’s position assumed to be that of Makabayan Coalition’s “pro-people” mining (condition of guest candidacy) (this is considering her family’s mining activity interests)
- Nat’l/Local
  - LGU: preference for LGU precedence over national mining laws
  - “Discuss”: Gringo Honasan’s call for discussions between national and local governments
- GMO
  - Anti: anti-GMO import, distribution, field-test
  - “Reluctant”: Manny Villar’s position re: GMO ban
- JPEPA
  - Yes: Voted for JPEPA ratification
  - No: Voted against JPEPA ratification
  - No (abs.): Trillanes indicated a no vote, but was not present to cast it
  - Against: Was not a senator, but expressed opposition against JPEPA
  - + Basel: support for Basel Ban ratification
- Plastic Ban
  - Ban: supportive of Plastic Ban
- *Italics indicate a position given by a close relation of candidate*

---

GREEN ELECTORAL INITIATIVE SURVEY
CANDIDATE SCORES FOR 2007 MIDTERM AND 2010 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2013 Candidate</th>
<th>2007 midterm GEI</th>
<th>2010 presidential GEI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eddie Villanueva</td>
<td>56.42</td>
<td>65.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgardo Angara (for Sonny)</td>
<td>56.42</td>
<td>65.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erap Estrada (for JV Ejercito)</td>
<td>56.42</td>
<td>65.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamby Madrigal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Candidate</td>
<td>Score</td>
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<tr>
<td>JC de los Reyes</td>
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<td>Koko Pimentel</td>
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<td>Loren Legarda</td>
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<td>Manny Villar (for Cynthia)</td>
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<td>Migz Zubiri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Gordon</td>
<td>78.45</td>
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Fact Check: Foreign Relations

Claim: No senatorial candidate has a comprehensive plan to address the issue on territorial claims in the West Philippine Sea and Sabah.

Fact Checked:

Over the past months, the Philippines has been embroiled in successive territorial disputes with two Asian powers—China and Malaysia. China aggressively insists a historic claim over the Scarborough Shoal (West Philippine Sea), while the followers of the Sultan of Sulu trooped to Lahad Datu, a part of Sabah, to assert its ownership of the land.

Many Filipinos lauded President Benigno Aquino for taking a firm stand on the West Philippine Sea, having brought the case before the Arbitral Tribunal under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). But the Administration seemed to turn a deaf ear to the question of helping the historical Sultanate of Sulu pursue its claim over Sabah.

This FactCheck aims to see who amongst the top 20 senatorial candidates in the Social Weather Station (SWS) senatorial survey from April 13-15, 2013 will have agenda of pushing forth the country’s territorial claims over said disputed territories.

Almost all the senatorial candidates except for Koko Pimentel, JV Ejercito, Jamby Madrigal, and Richard Gordon, for which we couldn't find any information on their stand, have put faith and confidence that the government have been well handling the Philippines’ claim over the West Philippine Sea. They even commended the step taken in bringing the case to an international tribunal.

On the other hand, Chiz Escudero, Koko Pimentel, Grace Poe, Gringo Honasan, Migs Zubiri, Risa Hontiveros, and Ernesto Maceda all believe that the Philippines has a valid and legitimate claim over Sabah, and that the government should not take aside this claim.

It should be noted however that no senatorial candidate so far has put the territorial claims of the Philippines on their legislative agenda.
Fact Check: Women Empowerment

Claim: Among the female senatorial bets, only a few have a track record, platform, and legislative agenda that said to empower women and promote women’s rights and welfare.

Fact Checked:

After the momentous passage of the Reproductive Health (RH) Law followed a number of other legislative initiatives that challenge the senatorial candidates. Beside the RH Law, now pending in the Supreme Court (SC) due to the staunch opposition of the Catholic Church, comes the issues on Divorce and Same-Sex Marriage, which are perceived by major progressive women's organization to be crucial in empowering women and in promoting their rights and welfare and therefore can be dubbed as a progressive women empowerment legislative agenda. Women's organizations considered these legislative agenda as advancing women's welfare and rights as these widen women’s freedom to decide and choose on matters that affect them most particularly their health and sexuality on the philosophical premise that women know what's best for them and having the freedom to advance their interest will enable women to be more productive and effective members of society.

This FactCheck aims to see who amongst the female senatorial candidates have (1) Platform, (2) a track record on women's rights and welfare, and (3) their stand on these initiatives in the "progressive" women empowerment legislative agenda.

Among the 33 senatorial candidates this election, eight (24%) are women. Six (30%) are women in the top 20 of Social Weather Station (SWS) senatorial survey from April 13-15, 2013. These are Loren Legarda, Cynthia Villar, Jamby Madrigal, Risa Hontiveros, and Grace Poe from Team PNoy, and Nancy Binay from United Nationalist Alliance (UNA).

Poe has women's rights and welfare as part of her platform, but with no legislative track record yet. Binay, on the other hand, neither has a track record nor a platform. The other four— Legarda, Villar, Madrigal, and Hontiveros—have both the track record and the platform on women’s rights and welfare. They had either passed or sponsored a bill for advancing women’s welfare.
While all have women’s rights and welfare in their platform, when it comes to the enumerated “progressive” legislative women empowerment agenda—RH Law, Divorce and Same Sex Marriage—only Risa Hontiveros is consistent in favoring these pieces of legislation. The rest would be against on at least one.

Two points can be derived from the tables: One, the top women senatoriables vary on their perspectives on what advances women’s empowerment, with most not considering all the three “progressive” legislative agenda as necessary in advancing women’s rights and welfare, i.e., they still see themselves as championing women’s empowerment even without positioning favorably on the said three progressive women empowerment legislative agenda i.e RH Law, Divorce, and Same Sex Marriage. Two, Risa Hontiveros can be considered the closest and most consistent candidate espousing the progressive women empowerment agenda in terms of track record, platform and stand on these progressive women empowerment legislative agenda.
Fact Check: DEATH Agenda

This campaign season marked the expressed and explicit articulation among certain Catholic lay groups of a supposed “Catholic vote”. In April this year, the bloc which called itself the “White Vote”, composed of lay groups such as El Shaddai, Bukas Loob sa Diyos, Couples for Christ-Foundation for Family and Life, Family Rosary Crusade, Mother Butler Mission Guild, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Teachers’ Guild, and Catholic Doctors’ Guild, issued a criteria for evaluating and supporting candidates. The said criteria specifically highlighted and focused on candidates’ support or non support for the following controversial passed or proposed legislative measures which the said bloc deemed as constitutive of a “DEATH Agenda”, namely: Reproductive Health Law, Divorce, and Same-Sex Marriage.

The bloc named the following candidates as having received the group’s support and likely endorsement:

- Joseph Victor "JV" Ejercito Estrada - UNA
- Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan - UNA
- Milagros "Mitos" Magsaysay - UNA
- Aquilino "Koko" Pimentel III - Team Pnoy
- Antonio "Sonny" Trillanes IV - Team Pnoy
- Cynthia Villar - Team Pnoy
- Nancy Binay - UNA
- Richard "Dick" Gordon - UNA
- Marwil Llasos - Ang Kapatiran Party
- Juan Miguel "Migz" Zubiri - UNA


Without prejudice for or against the existence of a supposed “Death Agenda”, this fact check investigated the following claims underpinning the White Vote bloc:

Claim #1: That there are senatorial candidates who have in all three issues (RH, divorce, and same-sex marriage) consistently been aligned with the favored position of the White Vote bloc. Conversely, that there are senatorial candidates with legislative experience whose track record relative to the said issues disqualify them automatically from being endorsed by the said bloc.

Fact Checked:
The legislative records of former senators or congressmen on issues of divorce, RH and same sex are too inconclusive to be used as a ground for them to be supported or not be supported by Catholic voters.

According to this criterion, one’s legislative record (as a member of the House of Representatives/Senate) determines one’s decision to support or not to support a particular legislative measure. This criterion is problematic because some of the candidates did not have any legislative record to speak of to be used as a basis for supporting them in this election. Using this as a basis for support is therefore unfair for other candidates who did not have the chance to have legislative record in the past.

With the use of this criterion, 19 out of 33 candidates only are eligible to be likely supported by the Catholic Vote (see table 1). This means the other 14 candidates do not have any chances to be included in the list of the Catholic Vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RH</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SS</th>
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<td>Trillanes, Antonio No</td>
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<td>Zubiri, Migz No</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Senatorial Candidates with Legislative Experience (blank cells in the table mean that no existing legislative measure has been filed or discussed relative to said issue)

Among those who have legislative experience, only a few candidates had actually voted for or against the controversial bills included in the DEATH agenda. Based from the passage of the RH Law, only 11 senatorial candidates from the House of the Representatives or incumbent senators can be included in this criterion, namely: Angara, Casino, Cayetano, Ejercito Estrada, Enrile, Escudero, Honasan, Legarda, Magsaysay, M., Pimentel, and Trillanes.

As for the other candidates, their past legislative experience did not include voting on RH law: Gordon, Maceda, Magsaysay, J., and Villar. This therefore automatically disqualifies them in this criterion.

Apart from voting, another way of operationalizing legislative experience can be done by looking at past legislative interventions done by a candidate regarding DEATH agenda. Based on existing data, only 1 candidate qualifies in this criterion—Bayan Muna Representative Teddy Casino. Casino co-authored the Divorce bill filed by Gabriela party

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age 27 of 46
list in the 15th congress. The said bill was left in the committee level when the congress closed this year.

As regards, same-sex Marriage, there is no pending bill filed in both chambers. Voting or legislative intervention on this issue is therefore irrelevant in this criterion.

In summary, the DEATH Agenda as a criterion to support senatorial candidates based on legislative experience falls short in encompassing the three identified issues of the Catholic vote: RH law, divorce and same sex marriage. From this analysis, we can say that the support for some senatorial candidates by the Catholic Vote is primarily based on the voting of members of the House and the Senate on the RH bill.

On this ground, it can be argued that the DEATH Agenda is a mere myth.

Claim #2: That public statements of senatorial candidates – with or without legislative experience – relative to the issues highlighted by the White Vote bloc are consistent and adequate indicators of their positions on the said issues.

Fact Checked:

The statements criterion alternative tells us of the use of one’s publicized stand on issues related to the DEATH Agenda. A candidate’s response, however, consistent or not, may not be an adequate indicator given the varied ways by which questions were raised. Using three major sources of information – GMA News 7 website, Rappler, and Catholic Vote – and other complementary sources, the following observations can be made:

1. First, the Yes/No framing is questionable for it does not really capture the essential points of the contentious issues on divorce, RH law, and same sex marriage.

2. Second, another problem with the framing comes from shortsighted categorization of yes or no by the institutions (media networks especially) responsible in organizing the discourse on the contentious issues like RH, divorce and same sex marriage.

3. Third, the Yes/No framing is vulnerable to flip-flopping.

Divorce, RH law, and same sex marriage as legislative measures, involve the process of initiating the discussion of the bill, debating, voting for or against the passage of the bill, among others. The simple Yes/No framing obviously does not specify what particular point or stage in the legislative process is supported by a candidate.

Based from the existing data on the stands of the senatoriables, the framing of the media networks and other institutions are diverse and varied. Upon closer reading, one can assume that the differing takes of senatoriables come from the differing framings on divorce, RH law, and same sex marriage.
Third, as regards the flip-flopping, the Yes/No framing allows voters to change his/her stand easily. The problem lies with the simplicity of the framing itself which necessitates candidates to make a stand with a simple yes or no with no qualification.

Based from a survey of the claims or statements made by the 33 candidates (GMA online, Catholic Vote Online, Rappler) 23 are said to have a “consistent” stand (all three data show the same stands) for or against issues on the RH, divorce and same sex marriage. Casino, Enrile, Gordon, and Hagedorn reflect inconsistencies on their stands on divorce, while Hagedorn, Maceda, and Jun Magsaysay reflect inconsistencies on their stands on the RH law.

Data also suggests that a large number of candidates who were supportive of the RH Law/Bill are not necessarily supportive of divorce and same-sex marriage legislation which is bundled with the White Vote criteria. The following candidates are in favor of RH but not in favor of divorce and same-sex marriage:

- Angara
- Aquino
- Cayetano
- Enrile
- Escudero
- Gordon
- Hagedorn
- Maceda
- Magsaysay, Jun
- Madrigal
- Poe
- Villanueva

Those inconsistencies are present in the way certain candidates have responded show that the method of evaluating their position on the said issues constitutive of the DEATH Agenda cannot generate conclusive and sufficient information. While some candidates may have been consistent in their positions, the reality that some candidates who have similarly shown a level of consistency would change their position depending on the way the question is framed renders this method of inquiry inconclusive a basis for the White Vote bloc in supporting or not supporting the respective candidacies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senatoriable (those with + are supported by White Vote)</th>
<th>Divorce</th>
<th>RH Law</th>
<th>Same-Sex Marriage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Belgica, Greco</td>
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</table>

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

In summary, the underlying claims of the White Vote bloc pertaining to the existence of the DEATH Agenda cannot be fully sustained for the following reasons:

2. According to an interview (see [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w))
4. CDO Press Conference. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w).

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<tr>
<td>Zubiri, Migz +</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 According to an interview (see [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w))
5 CDO Press Conference. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi7lINcDK5w).
First, the criterion on legislative record can only cover one issue—the Reproductive Health Law—and marginally, a proposed Divorce Bill. This gravely prejudices other candidates who have no legislative experience and unfairly assumes that one’s position on the Reproductive Health Law is sufficient evidence for these candidates’ position on the other two issues.

Second, the criterion on public statements highlights two realities: first, that while some candidates were in favor of the Reproductive Health Law, they were nonetheless against Divorce and Same-Sex marriage; and second, public statements on their issues are inconclusive grounds because they depend on the manner by which questions are framed and nuanced.

On a critical note, the White Vote’s basis for support or non support appears to rest solely on a candidate’s professed support or non support for the RH Law. One wonders, how much weight was hypothetically given to a candidate supportive of the RH Law but not supportive of the two other issues in the supposed Death Agenda, that automatically disqualifies such a candidate from being endorsed? Finally, one also wonders how and why the three issues were selected as constitutive of a Catholic agenda, leaving out similarly critical issues supported by the Catholic Church such as land reform, security of tenure, access to government information, and others that form part of the core of Catholic social teachings.
Fact Check: Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4ps)/Conditional Cash Transfer

The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program ("Pantawid Pamilya") invests in the health and education of poor households, particularly its members who are children aged 0-14 years old. Patterned after the conditional cash transfer schemes in other developing countries, the Pantawid Pamilya provides cash grants to beneficiaries provided that they comply with the set of conditions required by the program. In the short term, it claims to provide immediate relief from difficulties that often push families to sacrifice their future to survive the present. In the long term, it claims to address inter-generational poverty that afflicts many families in the Philippines.

Specifically, the Pantawid Pamilya provides cash grants to poor households to encourage them to keep their children of age 0-14 in school and to have regular health checks. Pregnant mothers are required to avail of proper medical care and to have their deliveries attended to by health professionals. Mothers are also required to attend family development sessions during which they discuss topics on parenting and accessing social services in the community.

As of June 27, 2012 there were 3,014,586 poor households listed as Pantawid Pamilya beneficiaries. This translates to 7,481,250 children (0-14 years old) reached by the program.

While Pantawid Pamilya is not without its critics nor is it bereft of issues, the program appears to be on track to achieve its objectives of promoting investments in health and education of children while providing immediate financial support to poor families. The report titled “Philippines Conditional Cash Transfer Program, Impact Evaluation 2012” confirms that children of Pantawid Pamilya beneficiaries are enrolling and attending schools and whose health is improving due to regular visits to health centers, and that pregnant mothers get proper care. For example, the report lists the following findings comparing enrolment and school attendance between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries:

- In barangays with the program, 76 percent of pre-schoolers are enrolled in daycare, compared to 65 percent in non-program barangays;

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7 The impact evaluation was presented by the World Bank in a public forum held in Quezon City. The study was conducted with support from AusAID and the ADB. The assessment is based on an analysis of 1,418 poor households eligible for the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program from a survey covering 3,742 households in the provinces of Lanao del Norte, Mountain Province, Negros Occidental, and Occidental Mindoro. The report can be downloaded at [http://pantawid.dswd.gov.ph/images/philippines_conditional_cash_transfer_program_impact_evaluation_2012.pdf](http://pantawid.dswd.gov.ph/images/philippines_conditional_cash_transfer_program_impact_evaluation_2012.pdf)
Among school children with ages 6-11, 98 percent of children in barangays with the program are enrolled in school, as against 93 percent in non-program barangays; and

- Children with ages 6-14 also in barangays with the program have higher school attendance (95-96 percent) as compared to that of children in non-program barangays (91 percent).

How does the Pantawid Pamilya fare with the 33 senatorial candidates? What are their public stances regarding the conditional cash transfer program?

Claim: Team PNoy coalition candidates are supportive of the CCT program; candidates of the more critical UNA coalition are not as supportive.

Fact Checked:

The candidates were assessed based on their public pronouncements. There are five (5) categories under which each candidate’s position or stance on the Pantawid Pamilya programs is assessed:

- YES (Y) – strong support explicitly mentioned, or implicitly seen
- CONDITIONAL YES (CY) – weak to moderate support; usually with conditions
- CONDITIONAL NO (CN) – weak to moderate opposition; usually conditional or contextual
- NO (N) – strong opposition explicitly mentioned, or implicitly seen
- UNKNOWN (UNK) – Unknown; no public stances or pronouncements made from which a basis can be estimated

Of the 33 senatorial candidates, only six (6) show they are for the program (4 “yes” and 2 “conditional yes”), while ten (10) are on the side of NO (4 “no” and 6 “conditional no”). The rest (17) have not made public their positions on the Pantawid Pamilya program.

Team PNoy candidates generally support the Pantawid Pamilya, while UNA candidates generally oppose the program.

While Legarda, Aquino, Poe, and Angara of Team PNoy have indicated their unqualified “Yes” to the program, Cayetano and Hontiveros appear to have given only “Conditional Yeses”. Only Escudero has indicated a “Conditional No,” while the remaining five (5)—Villar, Pimentel, Trillanes, R. Magsaysay, and Madrigal—do not have clear stances about the program.

On the other hand, all UNA candidates exhibit the common stance of not supporting the Pantawid Pamilya program (here, an “unknown” stance is taken as a non-support stance). Four have indicated their “Conditional Nos” (Ejercito, Honasan, Enrile, M. Magsaysay) and two their outright “Nos” (Zubiri, Maceda). Three have not made public their stances on the program (Binay, Gordon, Cojuangco).
Notably, not a single candidate outside of Team PNoy has expressed support for Pantawid Pamilya. Apart from the UNA candidates, none of the other independent candidates or those from other parties (hereafter referred to as “unaffiliated” candidates) has expressed support. Of the unaffiliated, only one (Hagedorn) has expressed a “Conditional No,” while Casino and Llasos appear to be categorical in their “Nos.” The rest have “Unknown” positions on Pantawid Pamilya.

Examining the positions of the so-called “Magic 15” (i.e. those who are the top 15 of the SWS March 2013 Pre-Election Survey), four appear to be fully supportive of Pantawid Pamilya (Legarda, Aquino, Poe, and Angara), while only one (Cayetano) has given a “Conditional Yes”. Four have indicated a “Conditional No” (Ejercito, Escudero, Honasan, and Enrile), while one (Zubiri) has given a clear “No” stand. The rest—Binay, Villar, Pimentel, Trillanes, and R. Magsaysay—have not made public their stance.

In summary, Team PNoy candidates generally support the Pantawid Pamilya, while UNA candidates generally oppose the program. This is expected given that the Pantawid Pamilya is very much identified with the incumbent Executive arm of government. A small number of unaffiliated candidates have expressed negative positions on Pantawid Pamilya; a large majority, however, have not made known their positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANDIDATE</th>
<th>COALITION/PARTY</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>Cond. YES</th>
<th>Cond. NO</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>UNK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legarda</td>
<td>PNoy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayetano</td>
<td>PNoy</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ejercito JV</td>
<td>UNA</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Escudero</td>
<td>PNoy</td>
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<td>Binay</td>
<td>UNA</td>
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<td>PNoy</td>
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<td>Gordon</td>
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<td>Hontiveros</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Bangon Pilipino</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hagedorn</td>
<td>Independent</td>
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<td>c. NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>UNK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casino</td>
<td>Makabayan</td>
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<td>Montano</td>
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<td>David</td>
<td>Ang Kapatiran</td>
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<td>Seneres</td>
<td>DPP</td>
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<td>De los Reyes</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coalition/Party</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>c. YES</th>
<th>c. NO</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>UNK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PNoy (12)</td>
<td>4 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNA (9)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>4 (44%)</td>
<td>2 (22%)</td>
<td>3 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated (12)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (33)</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>6 (18%)</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>17 (52%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fact Check: Local Election Dynamics

Claim: That there are local electoral contests where reform-oriented candidates are challenging well-entrenched political dynasties to offer an alternative platform of governance.

To validate this claim, we looked at four sub-claims in four localities where such kind of electoral contest is said to be present. These are as follows:

- That one of the candidates is from well-entrenched political dynasties.
- That the other candidate has solid background on reform work in civil society/social movement.
- That the reform-oriented candidates are all premising their platform on the critique of the existing poverty and corruption situation of the locality.
- That the poverty and corruption situation in these localities are indeed serious problems.

The electoral contests checked are:

- Mayoralty election in Lagayan, Abra between/among the Lunas and Bernadine Joson
- Gubernatorial contest in Masbate between/among the Lanetes, Khos, and Fr. Leo Casas
- Congressional election in the third district of Camarines Sur between/among the Villafuertes, and Leni Robredo
- Congressional contest in the lone district of Dinagat Island between/among Ecleos, and Kaka Bagao

Fact Checked #1: One of the candidates is from well-entrenched political dynasties.

In four areas, one of the candidates is from a political dynasty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Family</th>
<th>History of Political Dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abra</td>
<td>Jendrix Luna</td>
<td>Luna Clan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Lunas are today considered one of Abra’s most feared and influential families. In October 2010, Jendricks successfully ran for barangay captain of Poblacion in Lagayan and was later elected head of the Association of Barangay Captains, a position that allows him
to sit in the municipal council. He abandoned his mayoralty race due to the criticism of having three brothers running for public office. However, the family’s matriarch, Cecilia, fielded her 82-year-old aunt, Purificacion Paingan, in his stead. Purificacion won, as did Cecilia’s son Ryan for Bangued mayor. She also has her youngest daughter Lara Haya vice mayor of Lagayan, a position previously held by Cecilia sixth child, Hans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>Camarines Sur</th>
<th>Nelly Villafuerte</th>
<th>Villafuerte Clan</th>
<th>They have been dominating local elective positions in the province since 1978 or more than three decades already.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masbate</td>
<td>Rizalina Seachon-Lanete Antonio Kho</td>
<td>Seachon-Lanete and Kho Clans</td>
<td>The Seachon-Lanete’s have been in power for almost 20 years. Rizalina Seachon-Lanete, the incumbent governor of Masbate, is seeking re-election. Lanete was a former representative of the third district when she ran for governor and won in 2010.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dinagat Islands</td>
<td>Gwendolyn Ecleo</td>
<td>Ecleo Clans</td>
<td>The Ecleo’s have occupied various elective and appointive local government positions in the province for almost five decades already since Reuben Ecleo Sr. first ran for Mayor of San Jose in 1963. Currently, the mother is the incumbent, governor. Her son is the elected lone district representative and her daughter is a mayor of one of the towns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fact Checked #2:** The other candidate has solid background on reform work in civil society/social movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative Candidate</th>
<th>Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abra</td>
<td>Bernadine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Former secretary of the Sangguniang Bayan of Lagayan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Candidate Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abra</td>
<td>Ms. Joson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camarines Sur</td>
<td>Leni Robredo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masbate</td>
<td>Fr. Leo Casas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinagat Islands</td>
<td>Arelen “Kaka” Bag-ao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fact Checked #3:** The reform-oriented candidates are all premising their platform on the critique of the existing poverty and corruption situation of the locality – Fact!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>political dynasties especially the Villafuertes for the third district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masbate</td>
<td>Masbate has been a perennial election hot spot due to the number of armed encounters there among members and supporters of warring political clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dinagat Islands</td>
<td>Dinagat has been deprived of receiving substantial government financial resource through the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) because its former representative has been a fugitive of the law having been convicted of parricide. Hence, he was not able to perform his functions as representative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fact Checked #3:** The poverty and corruption situation in these localities are indeed serious problems facing these localities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Socio-Economic-Political Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Camarines Sur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of health situation, Camarines Sur ranked first with the most underweight and severely underweight pre-school children with 40,607 out of 212,858 preschoolers weighed while 3,334 are overweight in Bicol Region according to the National Nutrition Council. And based on the “Operation Timbang” 2011 results submitted by the provincial and city health offices, CamSur ranked first with grave malnutrition problem.

Graft and corruption also plague Camarines Sur as the incumbent governor has been the subject of several graft and corruption, and plunder cases for alleged malversation of public funds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masbate</td>
<td>Masbate is one of the poorest provinces in the Philippines, with poverty incidence of 51.0% in 2006. The province has been in the list of top ten poorest since 1997, ranking first in 2000, third in 2003, and eighth in 2006. Seven of the ten poorest in 2000 were able to cast off their “poorest” tags in 2003, majority registering double-digit declines in their poverty incidences. On the other hand, Masbate and two others remained in the list, with Masbate as the only province which had consistently been in the ten poorest since 1997. No significant positive economic growth during the entrenchment of the political dynasties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dinagat Islands</td>
<td>Dinagat has consistently been ranked as one of the top five poorest provinces in the Philippines. It also has one of the smallest income in terms of taxes, and one of the five provinces that are dependent on the Internal Revenue Allotment, according to a 2007-2009 survey conducted by the National Statistical Coordination Board. Graft and corruption also hounds the government of Dinagat Province. Reuben Ecleo, Jr., who was delisted from the roll of representatives in Congress has been the subject of several graft and corruption charges involving alleged malversation of public funds as well as being convicted of the crime of parricide for killing his young wife.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fact Check: Political Dynasty and Political Party Switching Dynamics

In the Philippines, party-switching or political turncoatism is a common political occurrence. Candidate shift from one party to another before and after elections according to which best serve their political interest. This is both a cause and an effect of a weak party system in the country, which has been established as one of the major gaps in the country’s democratic system. While party-switching is generally tolerated, there is also a relative level of distaste towards turncoats which is referred to in Filipino as “balimbing,” as it comes with the reputation of questionable loyalty or commitment.

One argument for the prevalence of party-switching is the weakness of parties. Instead of parties serving as machineries of candidates, politicians’ political families instead provide the more reliable political backing for politicians’ electoral bid. In fact, there are parties in the country that exist and are sustained in account of the support of known political patron from well-entrenched political families or dynasties.

This FactCheck checks on the dynamics of party switching and political dynasty. It checks this certain common notion: that candidates who are members of political dynasties are party switchers, while those not belonging to dynasties tend to stick to their parties more, thereby indicating the lower significance of parties for candidates from political dynasties than for those not belonging to political dynasties.

**Claim:** Most of the top candidates for the Senate are party-switchers, with candidates who are members of political dynasties having greater propensity to switch parties, while those not belonging to dynasties tend to stick to their parties more, thereby indicating the lower significance of parties for candidates from political dynasties than for those not belonging to political dynasties.

**Fact Checked:**

Quantitatively, this claim is not totally true. Among the 13 candidates from political dynasties in the top 20 of surveys, there is an almost equal divide between those who have switched parties and those who stuck to their parties in their legislative career. Among the 13 candidates belonging to political dynasties, seven are switchers and six are non-switchers. Alan Cayetano, Ting-ting Cojuangco, Chiz Escudero, Dick Gordon, Ernesto Maceda, Jun Magsaysay and Miguel Zubiri make up the list for candidates who are from political dynasties and have switched parties throughout their political careers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>History of being a member of a dynasty</th>
<th>History of Party Switching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alan Cayetano</td>
<td>Locality: Taguig City Wife, Laarni “Lani” Cayetano is current Mayor of</td>
<td>1 SWITCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Family Members</td>
<td>Political History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taguig</td>
<td>Nephew, Lino Edgardo S. Cayetano is running for 2nd Legislative District Rep</td>
<td>'92 - '05 LAKAS CMD '05 - Present NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sister, Pia Cayetano is current Senator</td>
<td>2 SWITCHES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother in law, Enrique Henry Cojuangco, Rep of 1st District of Tarlac</td>
<td>Present – PDP-Laban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Miguel Cojuangco Rivilla, Municipal Mayor Paniqui, Tarlac</td>
<td>Former chair of Kampaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Dr. Isabel Cojuangco-Suntay, running for governor</td>
<td>Running under UNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Benigno Aquino III, is current President</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingting</td>
<td>Locality: Tarlac Province</td>
<td>2 SWITCHES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cojuangco</td>
<td>Brother in law, Enrique Henry Cojuangco, Rep of 1st District of Tarlac</td>
<td>'98-'09 NPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Miguel Cojuangco Rivilla, Municipal Mayor Paniqui, Tarlac</td>
<td>'09 - Present Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Dr. Isabel Cojuangco-Suntay, running for governor</td>
<td>'05-'07 Genuine Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nephew, Benigno Aquino III, is current President</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiz</td>
<td>Locality, Sorsogon Province</td>
<td>2 SWITCHES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escudero</td>
<td>Uncle, Antonio Escudero, Jr., Vice Governor, Sorsogon</td>
<td>'88-'04 NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Ramon Escudero, Vice Mayor, Casiguran, Sorsogon</td>
<td>'04-'09 Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Rico Hatoc, Councilor, Casiguran, Sorgoson</td>
<td>'09-present Bagumbayan-VNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle, Dennis Escudero, Councilor, Casiguran, Sorgoson</td>
<td>running under UNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanay Escudero is running for Legislative District Seat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Gordon</td>
<td>Locality: Zambales Province, Olongapo City</td>
<td>2 SWITCHES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wife, Katherine H. Gordon, former Congressional District Representative of</td>
<td>'88-'04 NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zambales from 1987-1995. former Mayor of Olongapo from 1995 – 2004</td>
<td>'04-'09 Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother, Jame Gordon Jr. former Congressional representive of the first</td>
<td>'09-present Bagumbayan-VNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>district of Zambales from 1995-2004. Mayor of Olongapo from 2004 until</td>
<td>running under UNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2013. He is now running as representative of Zambales again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sister-in-law, Anne Marie Gordon, wife of James Gordon Jr. was elected Vice—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor of Zambales from 2007-2010. She is running as mayor this coming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elections Son, Brian Patrick Gordon, served as city councilor from 2004-2007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He is running as vice mayor in the 2013 elections Nephew, John Carlos Delos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reyes, former city councilor from 1995 to 1998 and 2007 to 2010. He is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>now running as senator under the Ang Kapatiran Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernesto</td>
<td>Locality: Manila</td>
<td>3 SWITCHES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son, Edward Maceda, is Manila City Councilor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

age 42 of 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Maceda   |            | '71-'72 NP  
 |          |            | '92-'98 'NPC  
 |          |            | '98 - present PMP  
 |          |            | Running under UNA  |
| Jun Magsaysay |          | Locality: Zambales  
 |          |          | Niece-in-law Mitos Magsaysay, Congresswoman and currently running for Senate  
 |          |          | 4 SWITCHES  
 |          |            | '65-'69 LP  
 |          |            | '92 PRP  
 |          |            | '95-'05 Lakas CMD  
 |          |            | '12-present LP  |
| Migz Zubiri |            | MEMBER  
 |          |            | Locality: Bukidnon Province  
 |          |            | Father, Jose Maria R. Zubiri Jr., Vice Governor, Bukidnon  
 |          |            | Brother, Jose F. Zubiri III, Representative, 3rd district of Bukidnon  
 |          |            | Cousin, Ignacio W. Zubiri, Major, Malaybalay City, Bukidnon  
 |          |            | 2 SWITCHES  
 |          |            | '98-'11 Lakas CMD  
 |          |            | '11-'12 Ind  
 |          |            | '12 - present PMP  
 |          |            | Now Running under UNA  |
| Sonny Angara |            | MEMBER  
 |          |            | Locality: Aurora Province  
 |          |          | Aunt, Bellaflor Angara-Castillo, is current Governor of Aurora and is running for District Representative  
 |          |          | Uncle, Arturo Angara, is current Mayor of Baler  
 |          |          | Cousin, Karen Angara, is current councilor of Baler  
 |          |          | Father, Edgardo Angara Sr., is current senator of the Philippines  
 |          |            | LDP since 2004  |
| JV Ejercito |            | MEMBER  
 |          |            | Locality: San Juan City and Laguna Province  
 |          |          | Father, Joseph Estrada, his father is former President, now running as Mayor of Manila City  
 |          |          | Mother, Guia Gomez, is current Mayor of San Juan  
<p>|          |            | PMP since 2001  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Family Relations/Political Positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Jack Enrile    | MEMBER | Cagayan Province | Niece, Janella Ejercito is running for councilor in San Juan  
Half brother, Sen. Jinggoy Estrada is current Senator  
Cousin, ER Ejercito is running for Laguna governor  
ER Ejercito’s wife is current Laguna Mayor  
Jesse Ejercito’s daughter is running for Congresswoman of San Juan  
  
Father, Juan Ponce Enrile, Sr., Senate President  
Wife, Sally Ponce Enrile, Former representative, 1st District of Cagayan  |
| Nancy Binay    | MEMBER | Makati City | Sister, Abby Binay-Campos, Representative of 2nd District of Makati  
Brother, Junjun Binay, Mayor of Makati  
Sister, Mar-Len Abigail Binay-Campos, is running for reelection as District Rep seat  
Father, Jejomar Binay is current Vice President of the Philippines  
Mother, Dr. Elenita Binay, Former Makati City Mayor  |
| Cynthia Villar | MEMBER | Las Pinas | Son, Mark Villar, running for reelection as Las Pinas Rep  
Brother, Vergel Aguillar, is current Mayor of Las Pinas  
Spouse, Manuel B. Villar, is current Senator  |
| Bam Aquino     | MEMBER | Tarlac | Cousin, Jeci Aquino Lapus, current Rep of 3rd District of Tarlac  
Cousin, Benigno Aquino III is current President of the Philippines  |

NPC since 2007  
PDP-Laban since 2012  
NP since 2001  
LP since 2012
On the other hand, JV Ejercito, Jack Enrile, Nancy Binay, Cynthia Villar, Sonny Angara and Bam Aquino are candidates from dynasties who have not switched parties.

A closer look, though, would show that there are other factors why the dynasty non-switchers stick to their parties. Among these six, two are “newbies” or new to electoral politics namely: Nancy Binay and Bam Aquino. For the four who are not newcomers, the parties they belong to have strong patrons they are related to. It can be inferred therefore that these dynasty candidates are not necessarily sticking to their parties because of party-based loyalty, but more because of family loyalty. Still, this indicates the supremacy of dynasties over parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party leader</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JV Ejercito</td>
<td>Joseph Ejercito Estrada, former President of the Philippines</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Enrile</td>
<td>Senate President Juan Ponce Enrile</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynthia Villar</td>
<td>Senator Manny Villar</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonny Angara</td>
<td>Senator Edgardo Angara</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There also are candidates who are not from political dynasties who switched parties. Two out of seven have a record of party switching. These are Loren Legarda who belongs to the Nationalist People’s Coalition (NPC) and Jamby Madrigal who just became a Liberal Party (LP) member in 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>History of Political Party Switching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grace Poe</td>
<td>DOES NOT APPLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gringo Honasan</td>
<td>DOES NOT APPLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Trillanes</td>
<td>DOES NOT APPLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koko Pimentel</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risa Hontiveros</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbayan since 1998 (Founding Member)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loren Legarda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamby Madrigal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority or five of the candidates who are not from political dynasties are non-switchers, namely: Grace Poe, Gringo Honasan, Antonio Trillanes, Koko Pimentel and Risa Hontiveros.

Poe is a newcomer. Of the four remaining non-dynasty-non-switchers, two were independent with no party affiliation prior to the 2013 elections (Trillanes just recently sworn in with Nacionalista Party, while Honasan’s voting behavior has been significantly similar with that of Juan Ponce Enrile).

Only Risa Hontiveros and Pimentel are candidates who are non-dynasty and who have stuck to their parties in their career in the legislature.