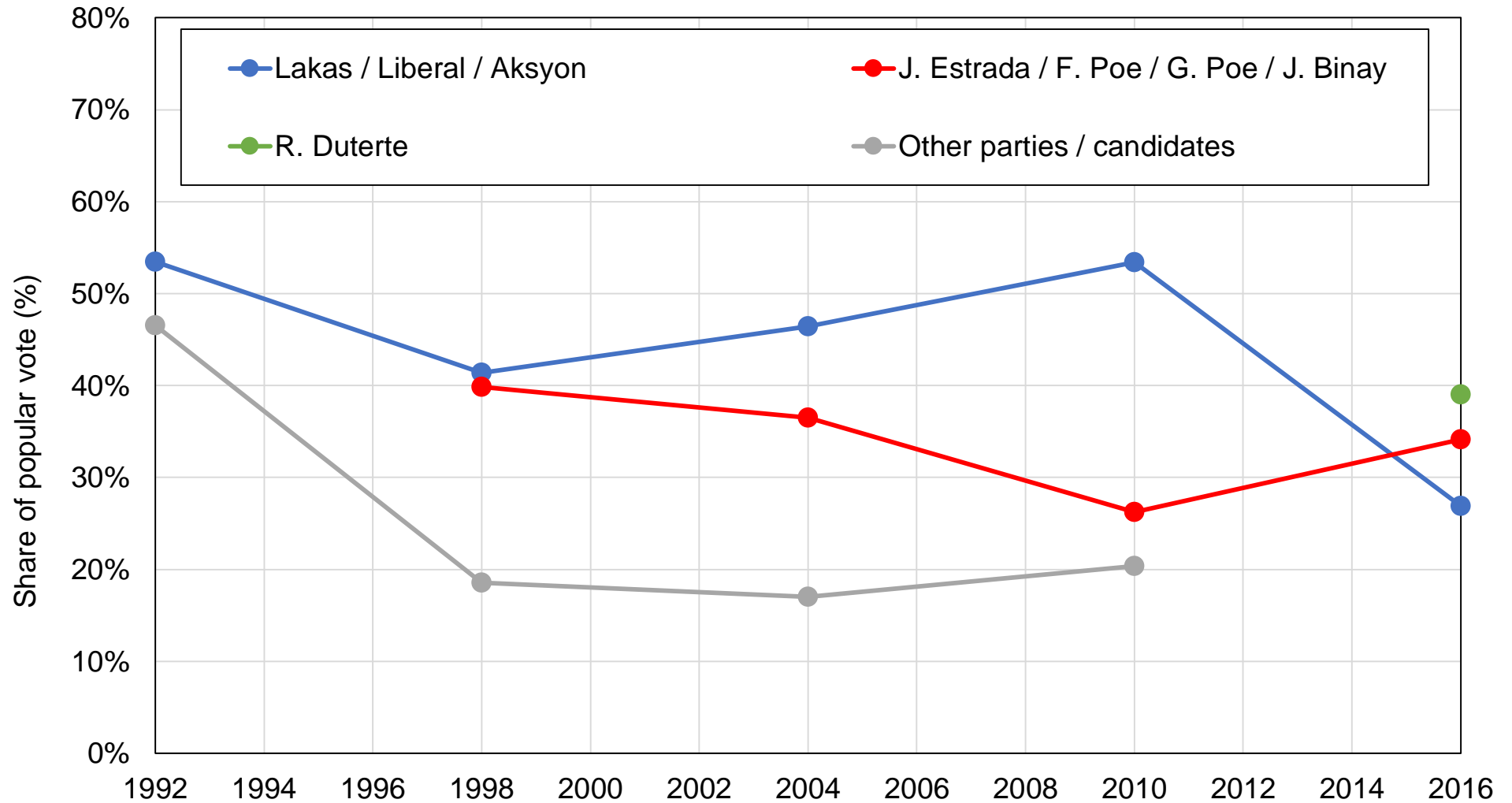


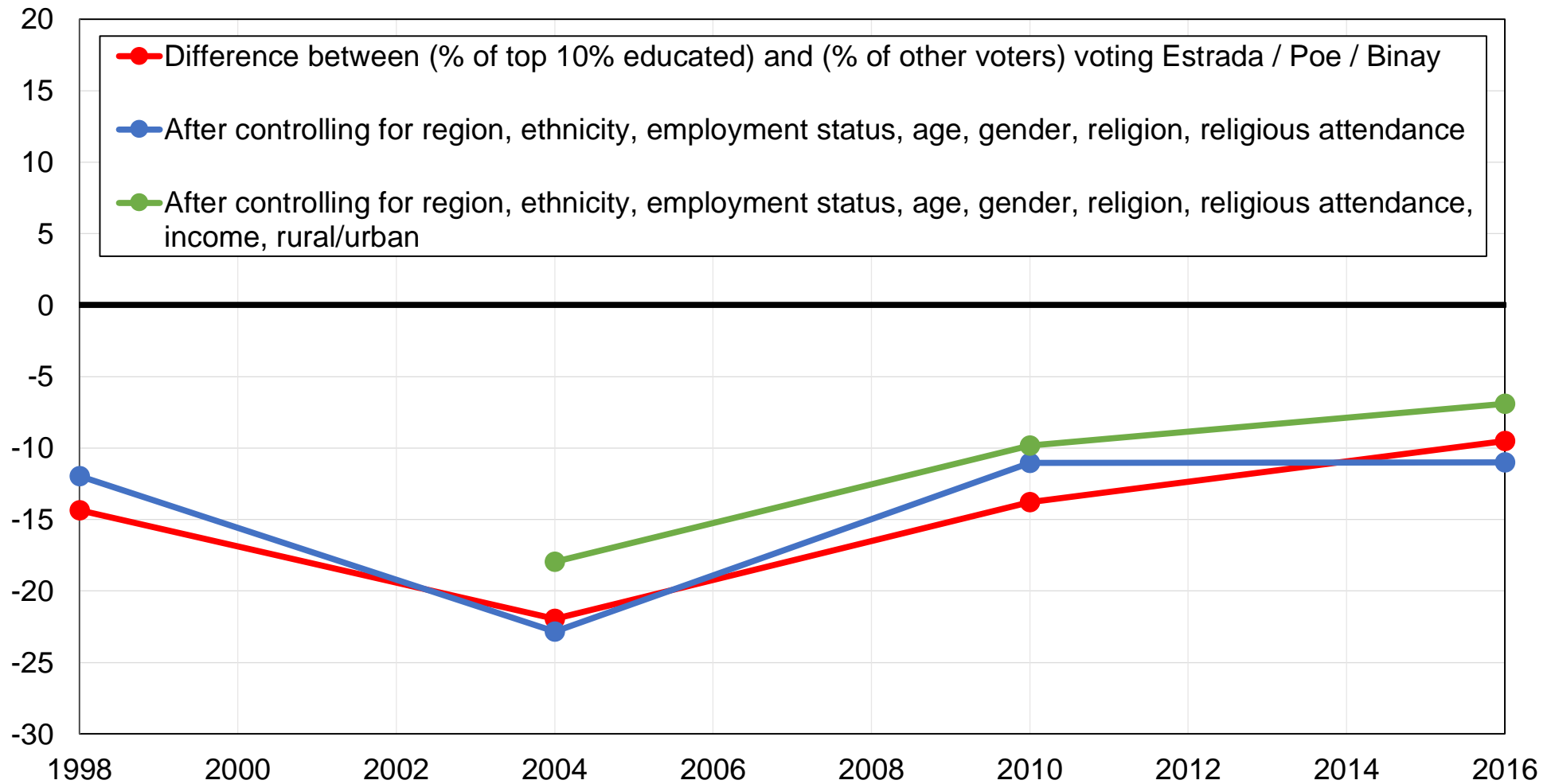
Figure B1 - Election results in the Philippines, 1992-2016



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected parties, groups of parties, or candidates in the first round of presidential elections.

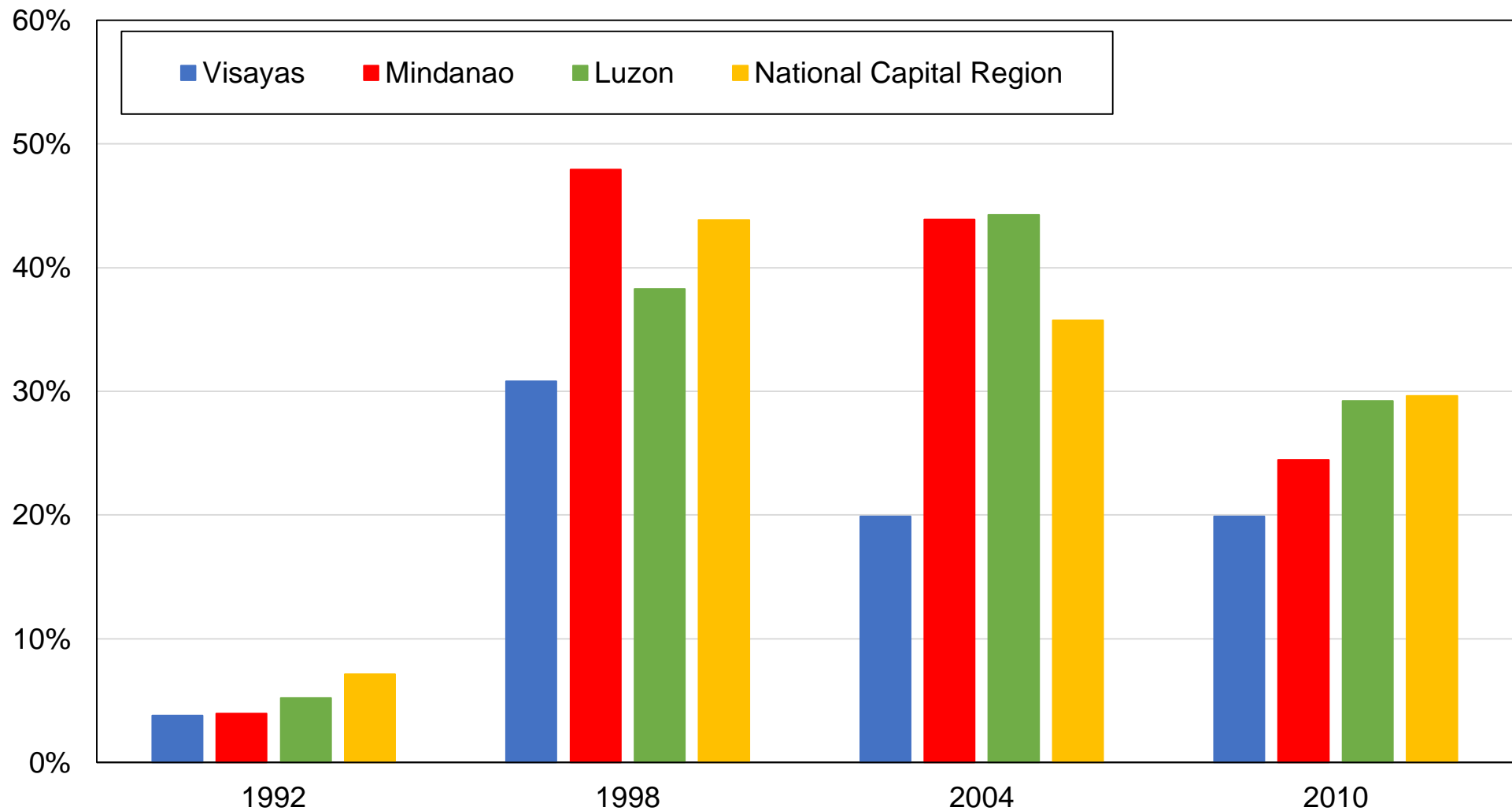
Figure B2 - Educational divides in the Philippines



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting Estrada / Poe / Binay and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections, before and after controls.

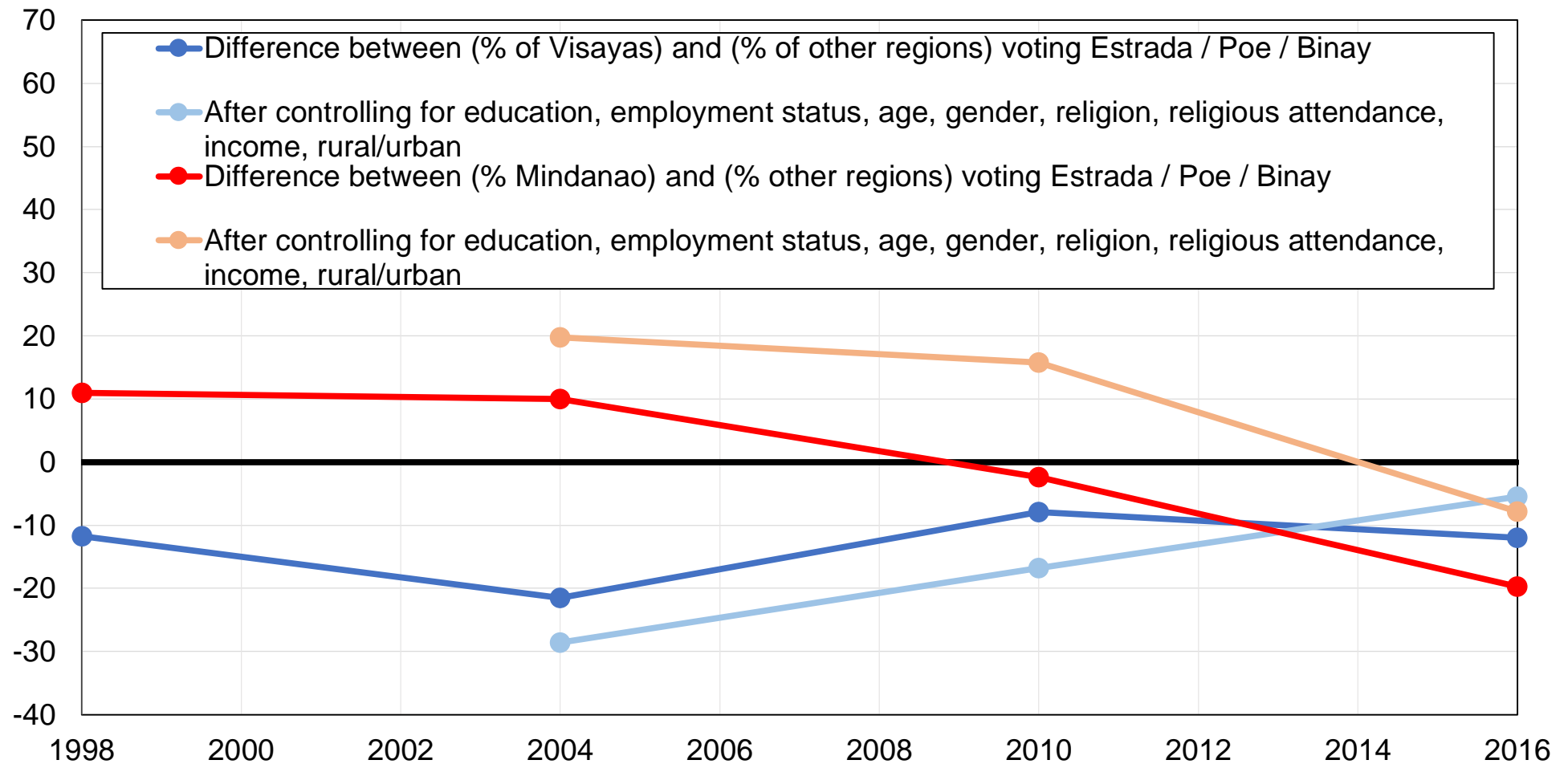
Figure B3 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by region



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by region.

Figure B4 - Regional divides in the Philippines



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters living in the Visayas region voting Estrada / Poe / Binay and the share of voters living in other regions voting Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections, before and after controls.

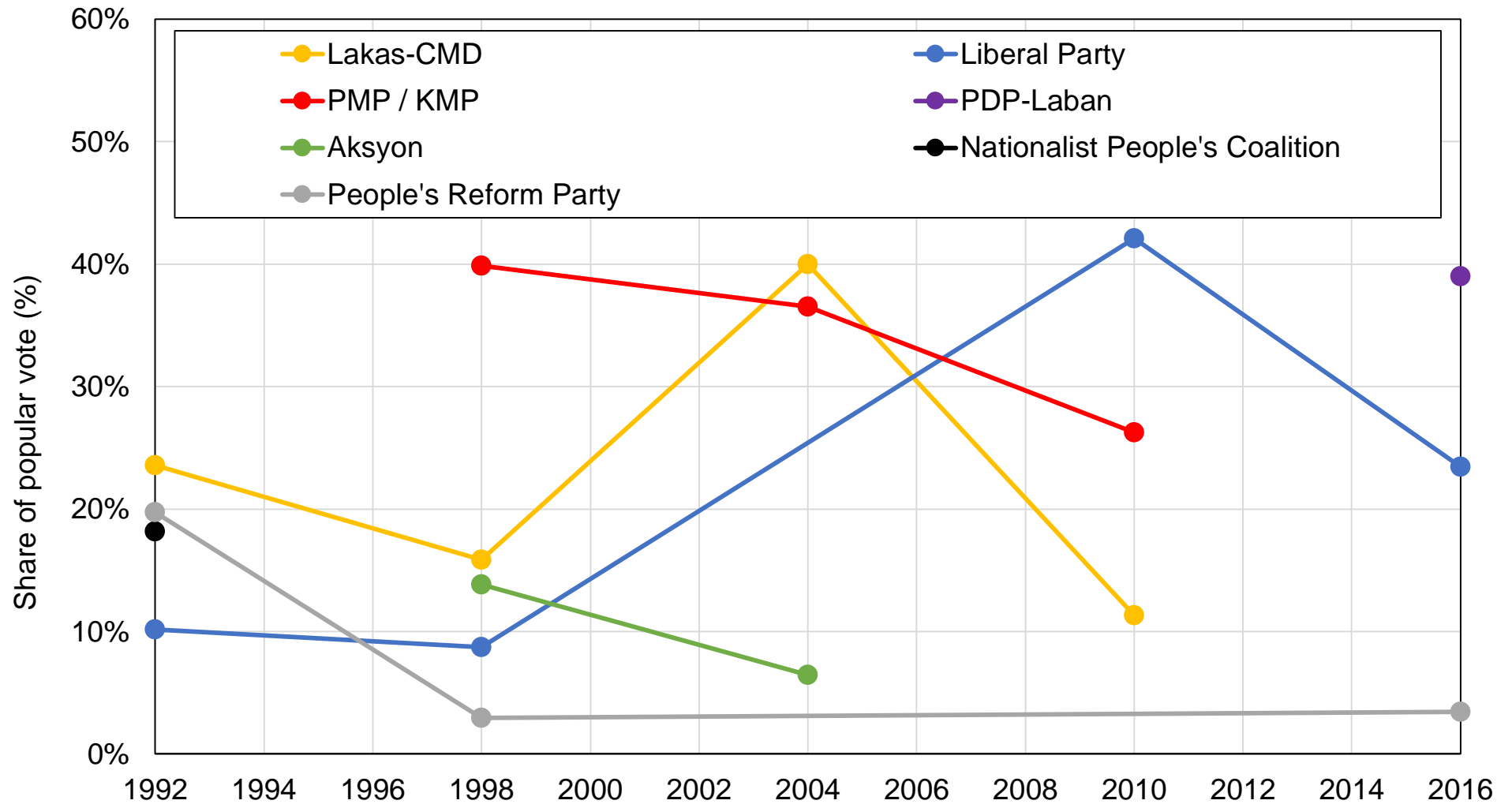
Table B1 - Structure of the vote in the 2016 Filipino presidential election

	Rodrigo Duterte <i>PDP-Laban</i>	Mar Roxas <i>Liberal Party</i>	Grace Poe <i>Independent</i>	Jejomar Binay <i>UNA</i>
Overall vote share	39,0%	23,5%	21,4%	12,7%
Education				
Primary	42%	24%	19%	13%
Secondary	35%	24%	24%	12%
Tertiary	43%	21%	21%	12%
Region				
NCR	33%	16%	27%	19%
Luzon	29%	26%	27%	16%
Visayas	39%	31%	17%	8%
Mindanao	62%	16%	12%	7%
Religion				
Catholic	37%	25%	22%	12%
Protestant	31%	21%	30%	18%
Muslim	75%	5%	3%	13%
Location				
Urban	43%	15%	21%	15%
Rural	36%	30%	22%	11%
Age				
20-40	44%	21%	20%	11%
40-60	36%	21%	26%	13%
60+	35%	34%	12%	16%
Gender				
Woman	34%	28%	23%	12%
Man	45%	19%	20%	14%

Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the vote share received by main parties among specific groups of the Filipino voting population in the 2016 election.

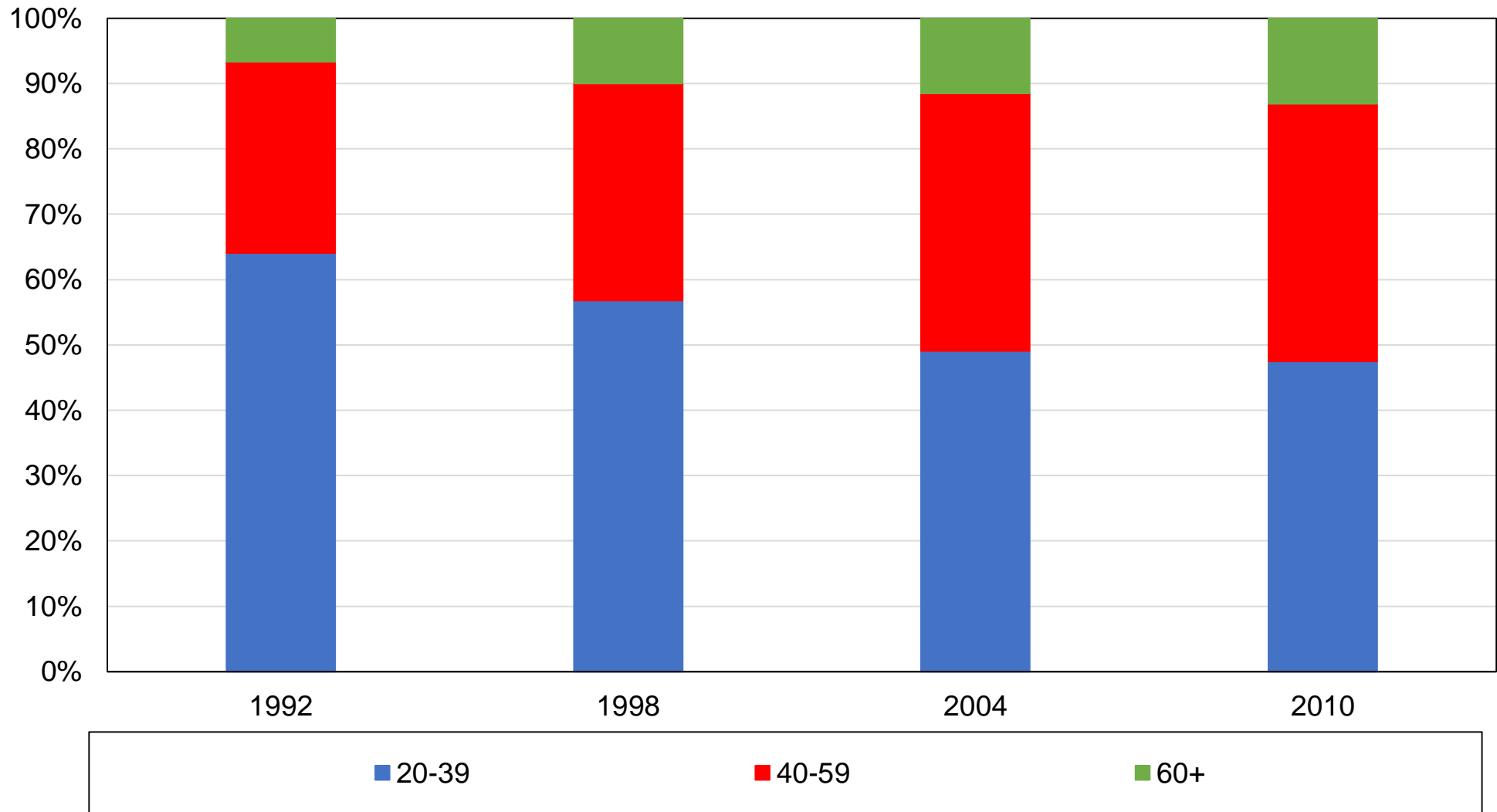
Figure BA1 - Detailed election results in the Philippines, 1992-2016



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

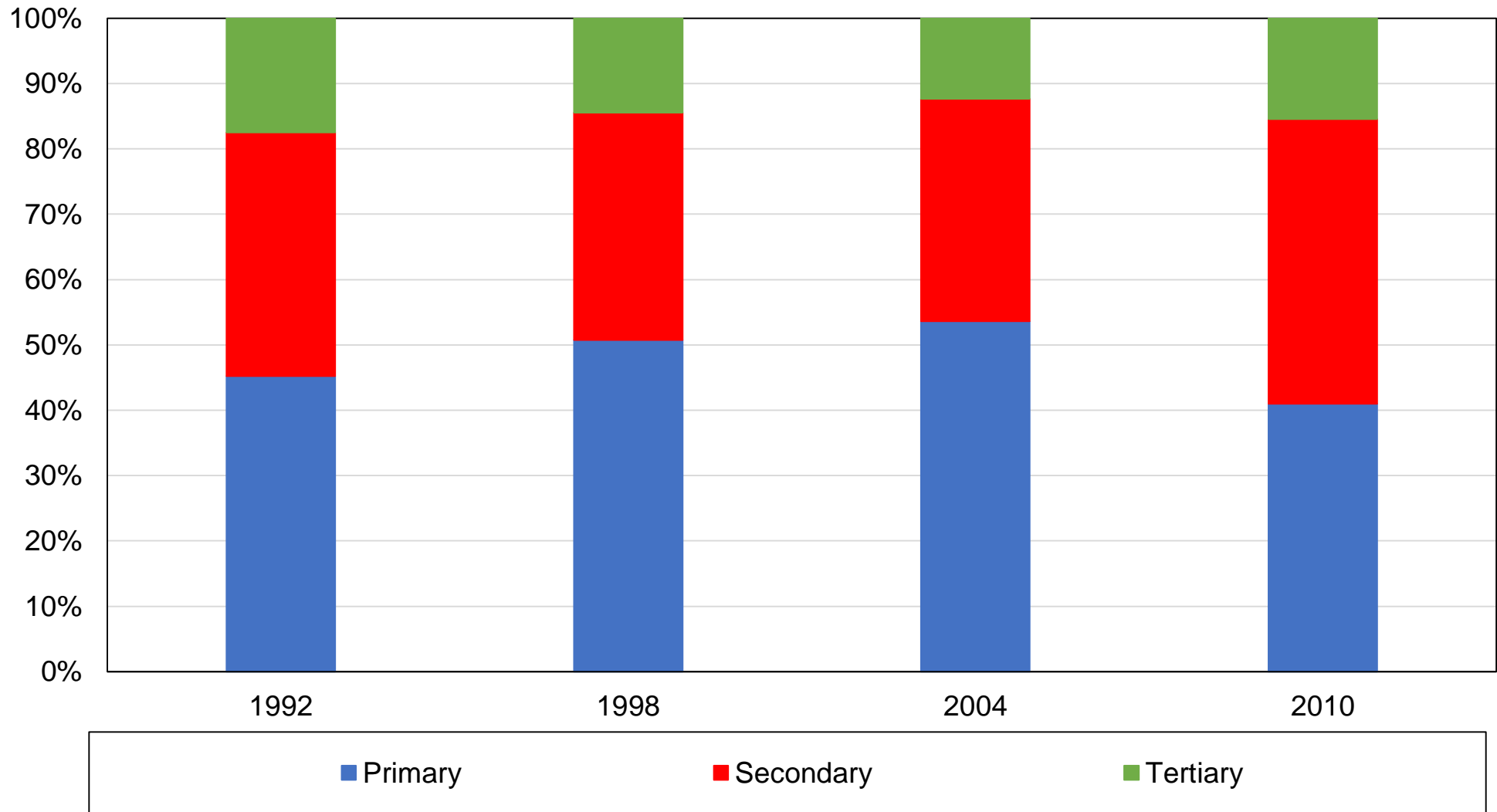
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by specific groups of parties in the first round of presidential elections.

Figure BA2 - Composition of the electorate by age



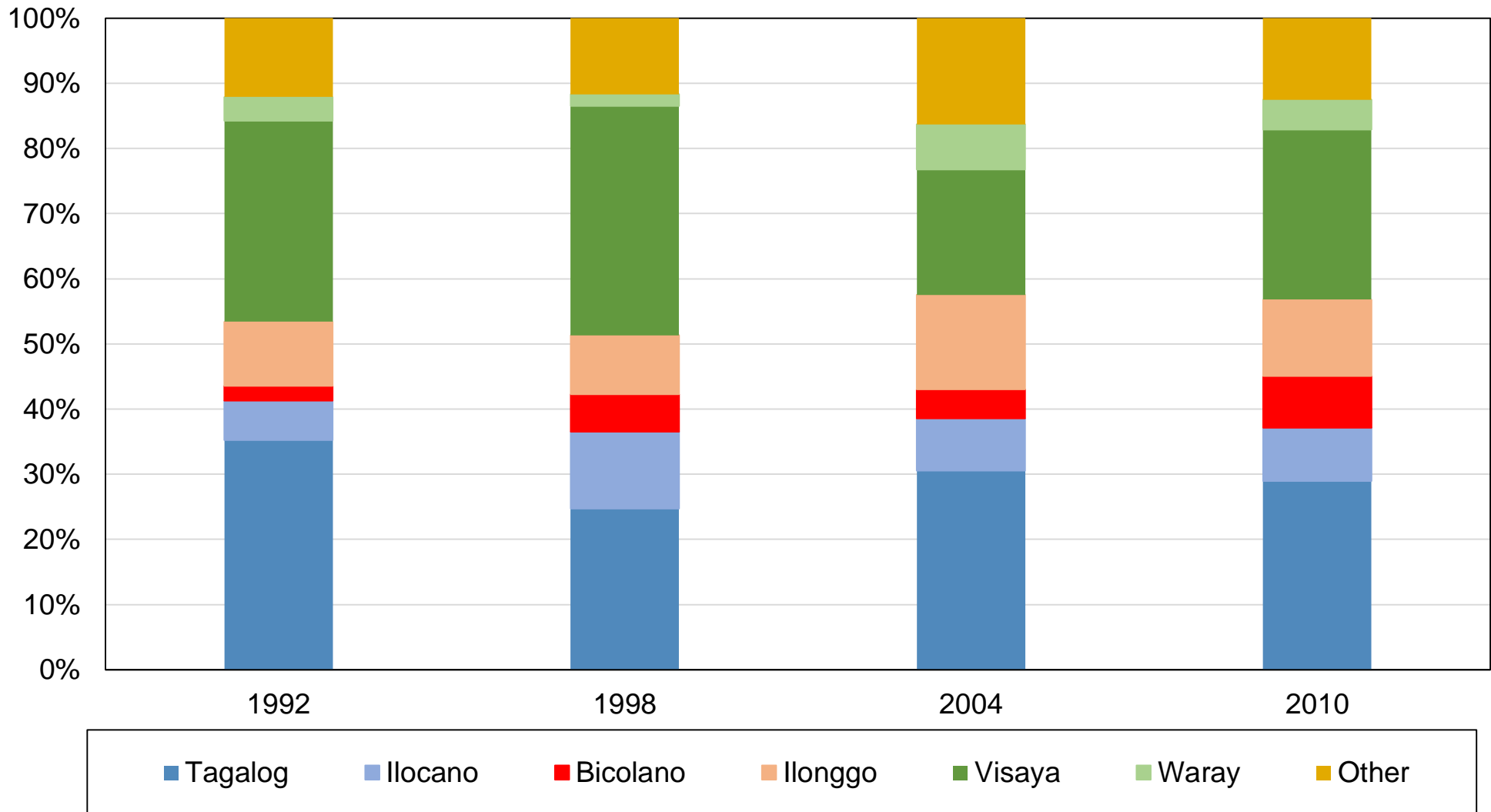
Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

Figure BA3 - Composition of the electorate by education



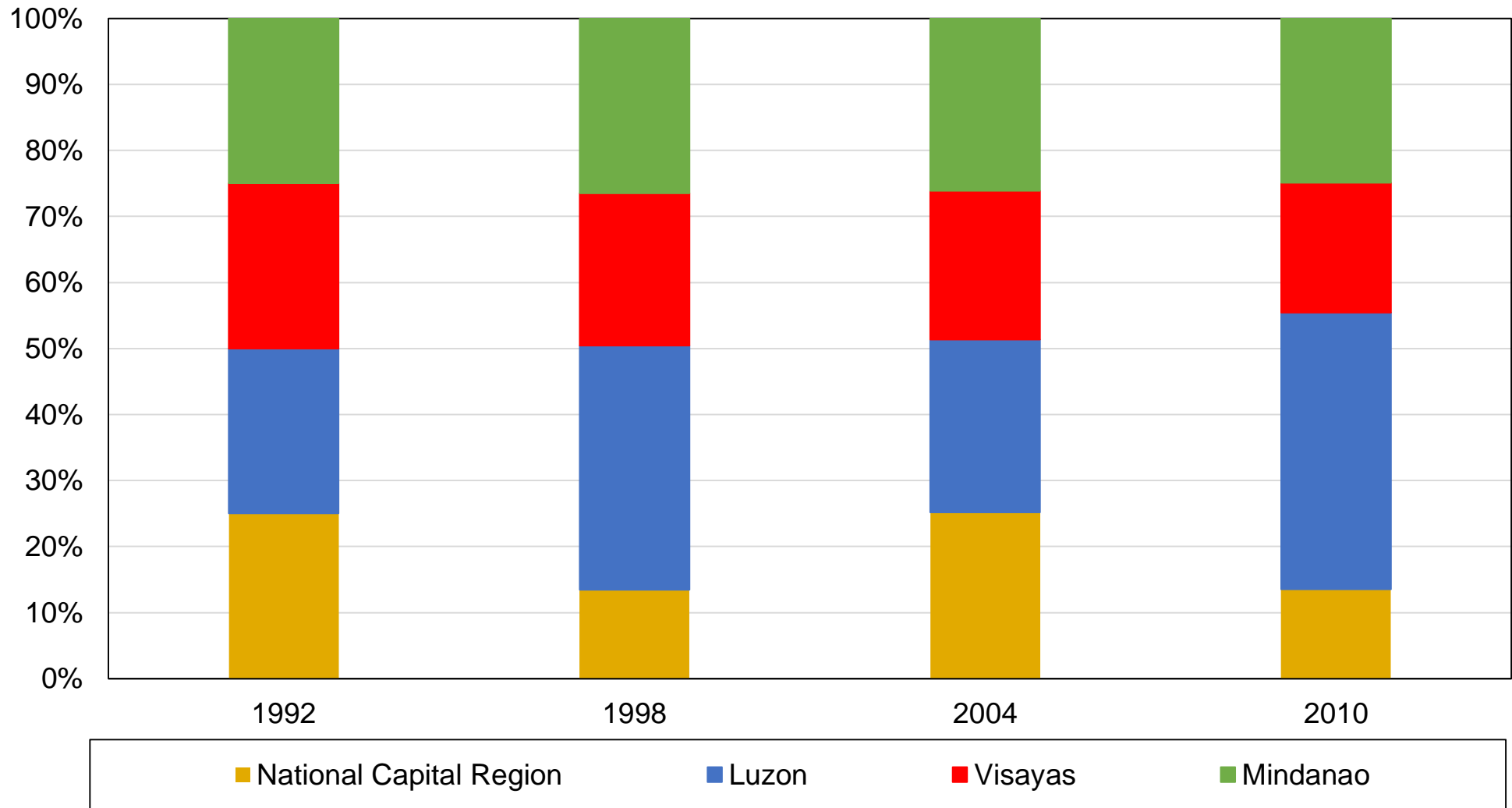
Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

Figure BA4 - Composition of the electorate by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnic group.

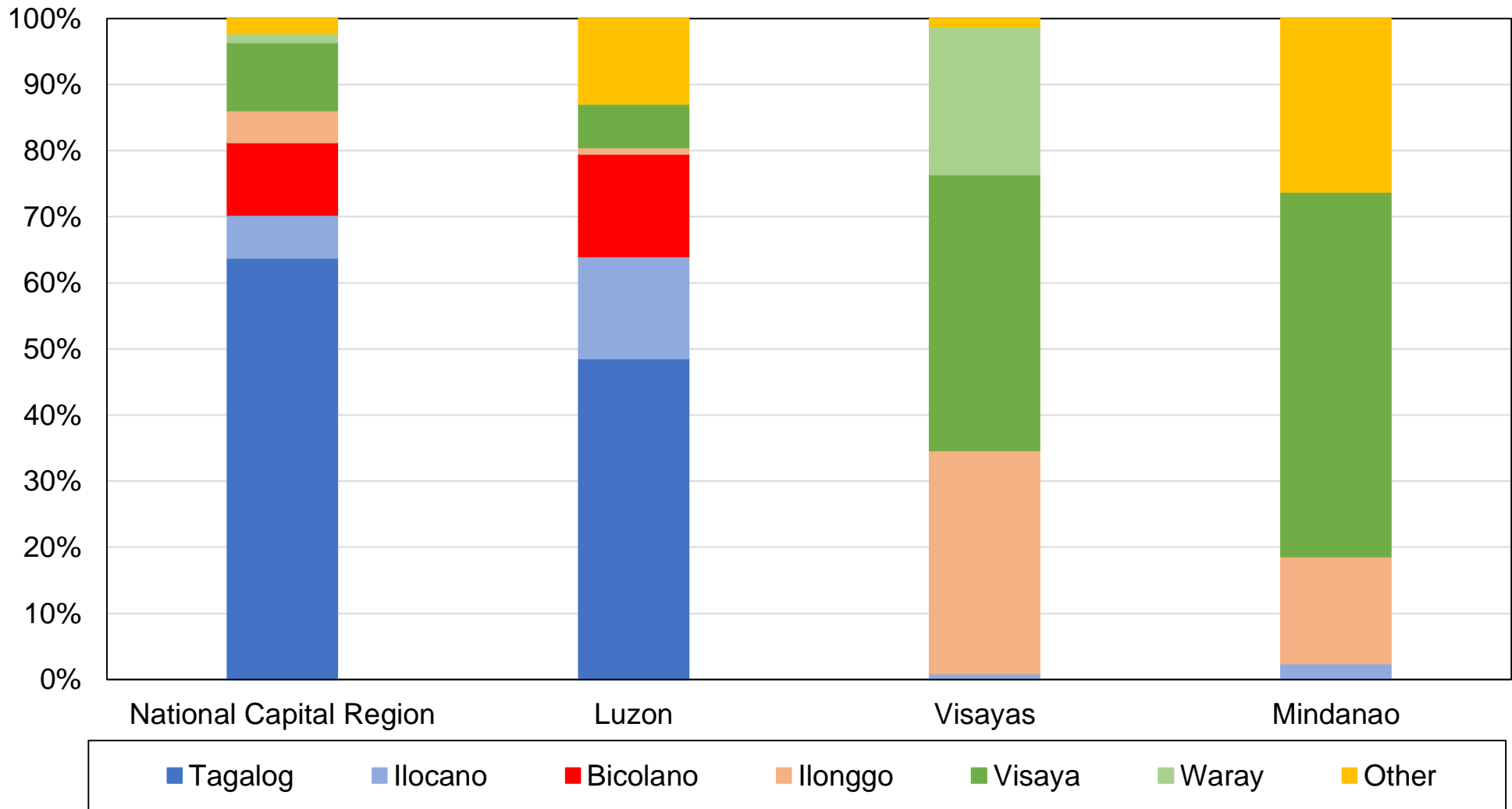
Figure BA5 - Composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

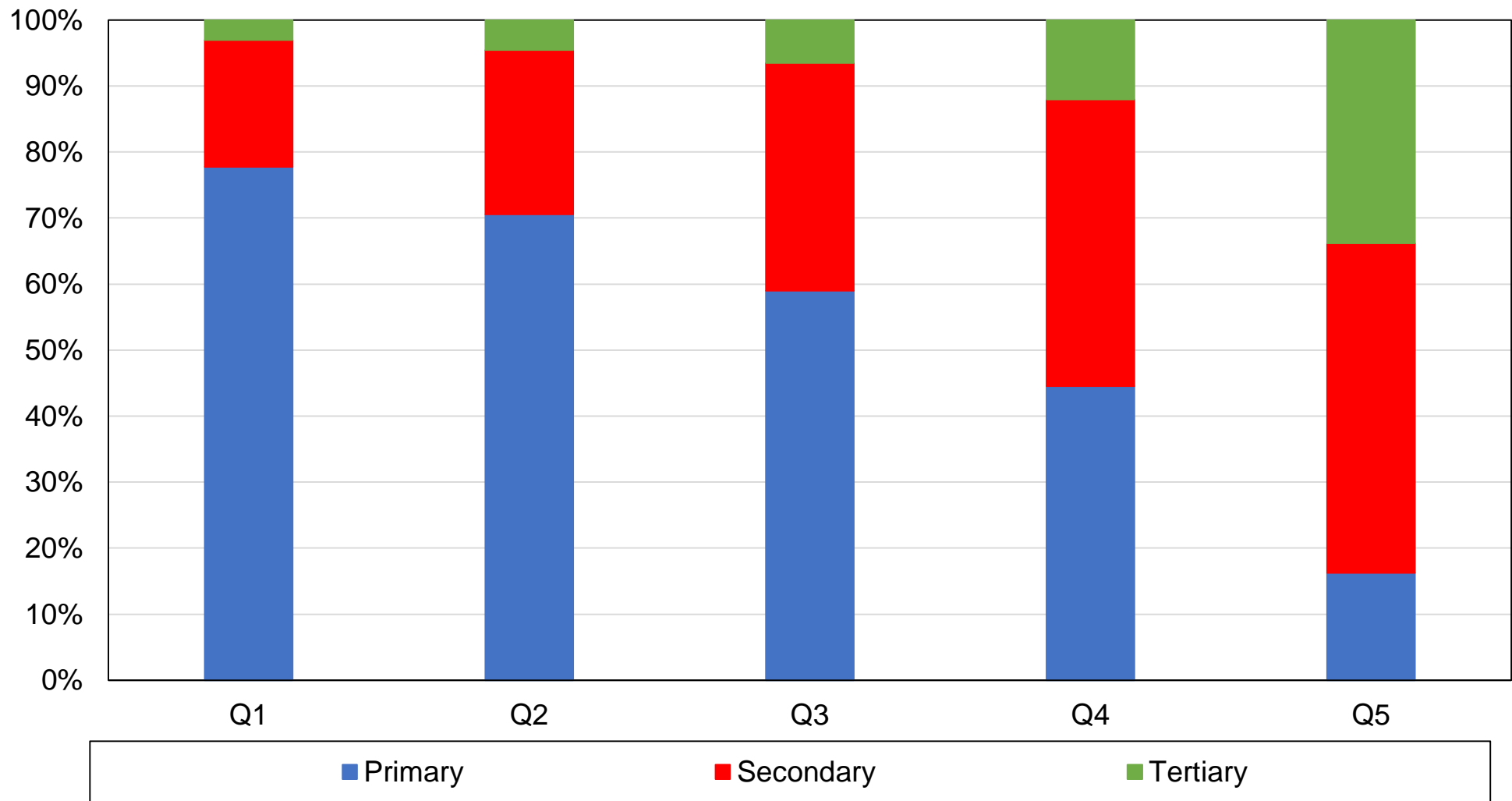
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

Figure BA6 - Composition of regions by ethnic group, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the composition of regions by ethnic group in 2016.

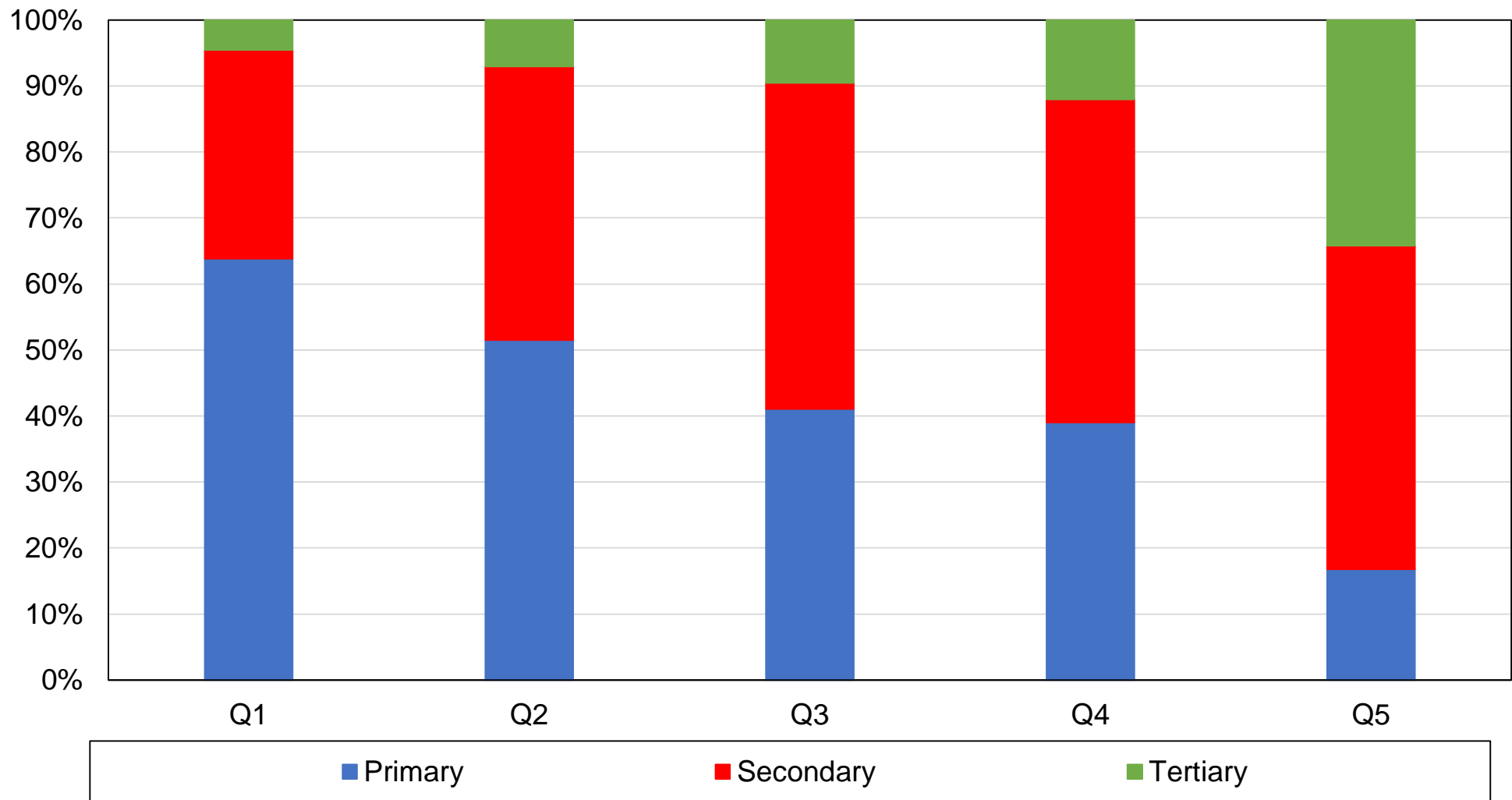
Figure BA7 - Composition of income quintiles by education, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2004.

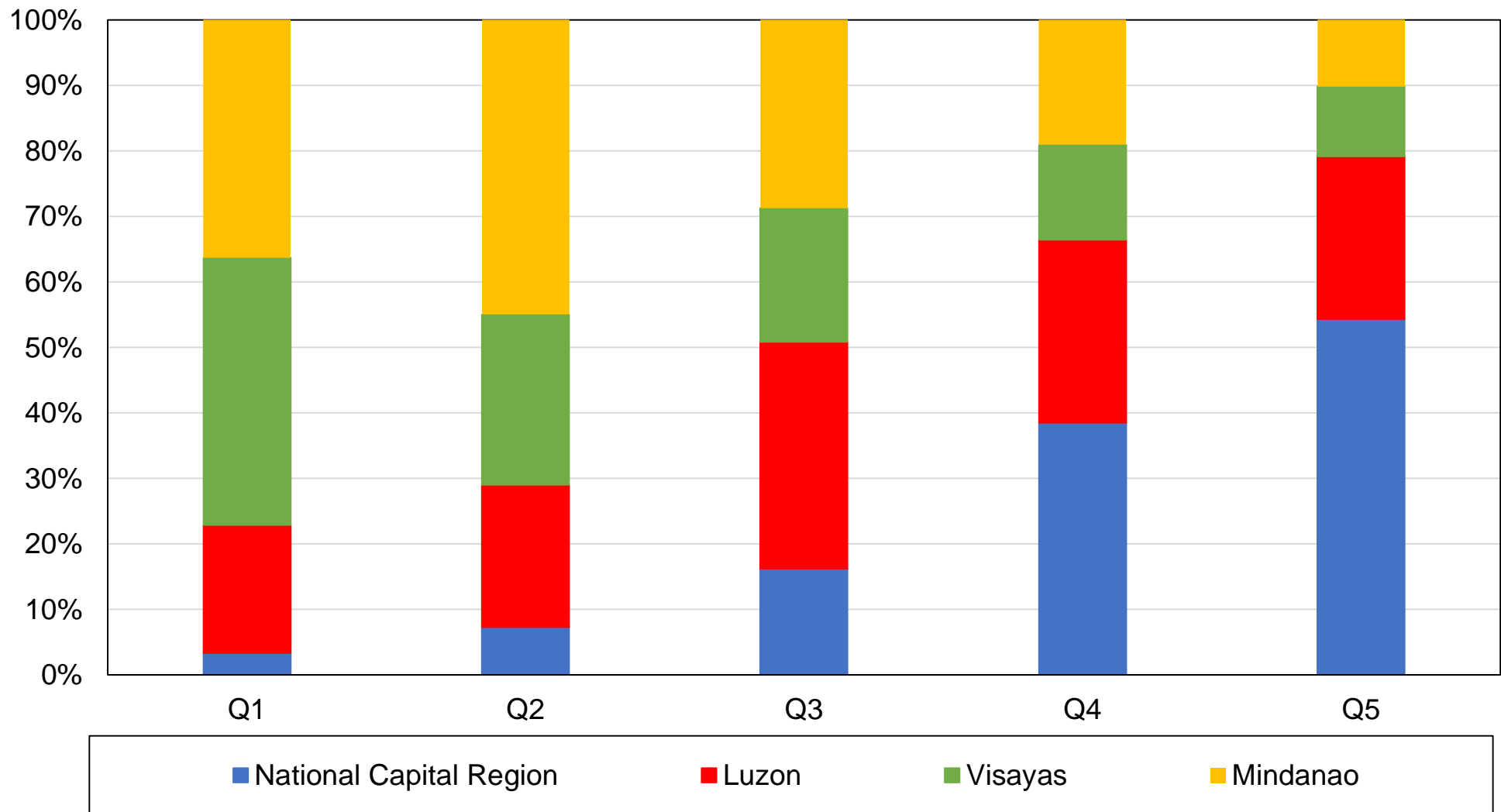
Figure BA8 - Composition of income quintiles by education, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2016.

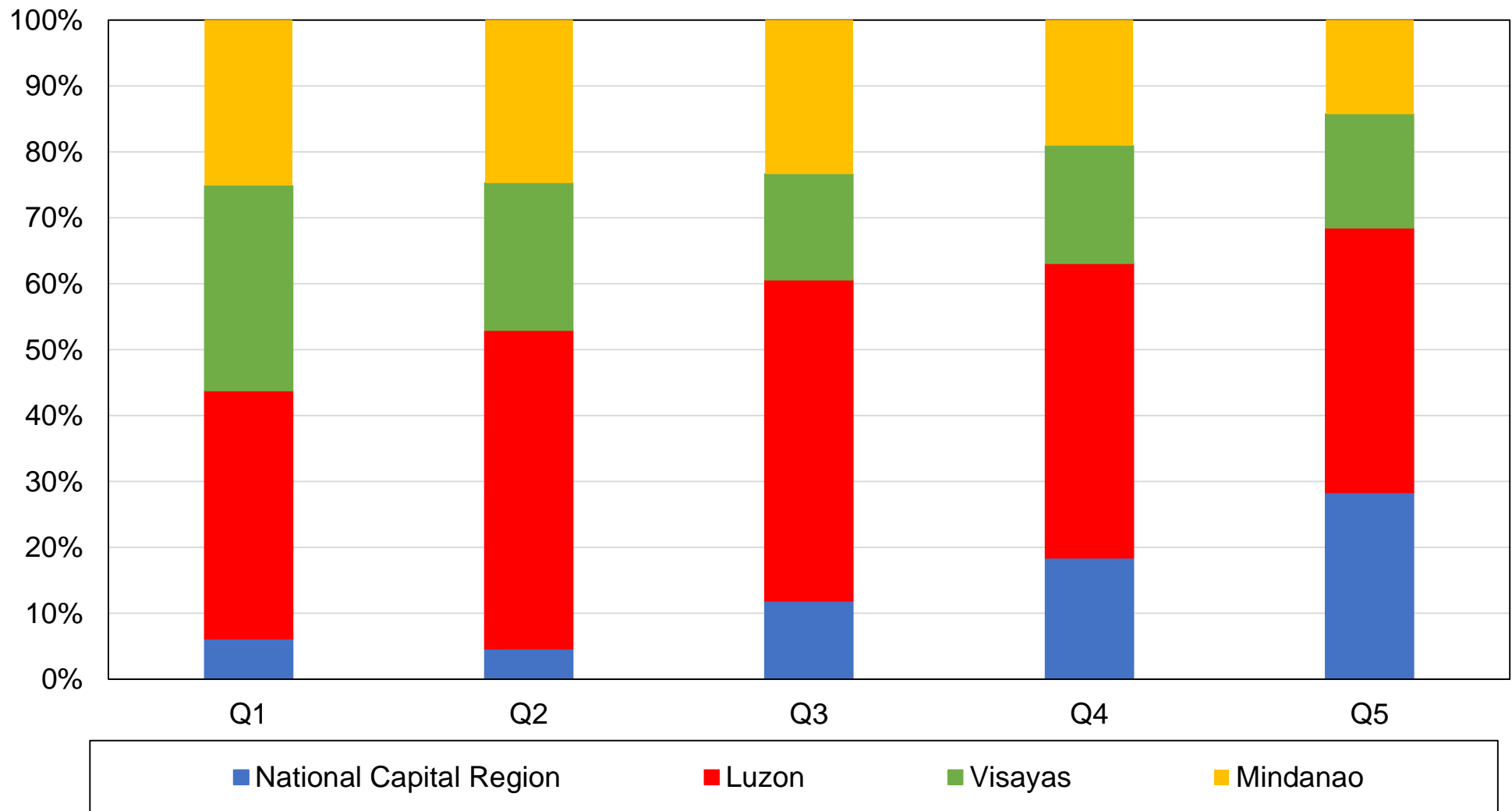
Figure BA9 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

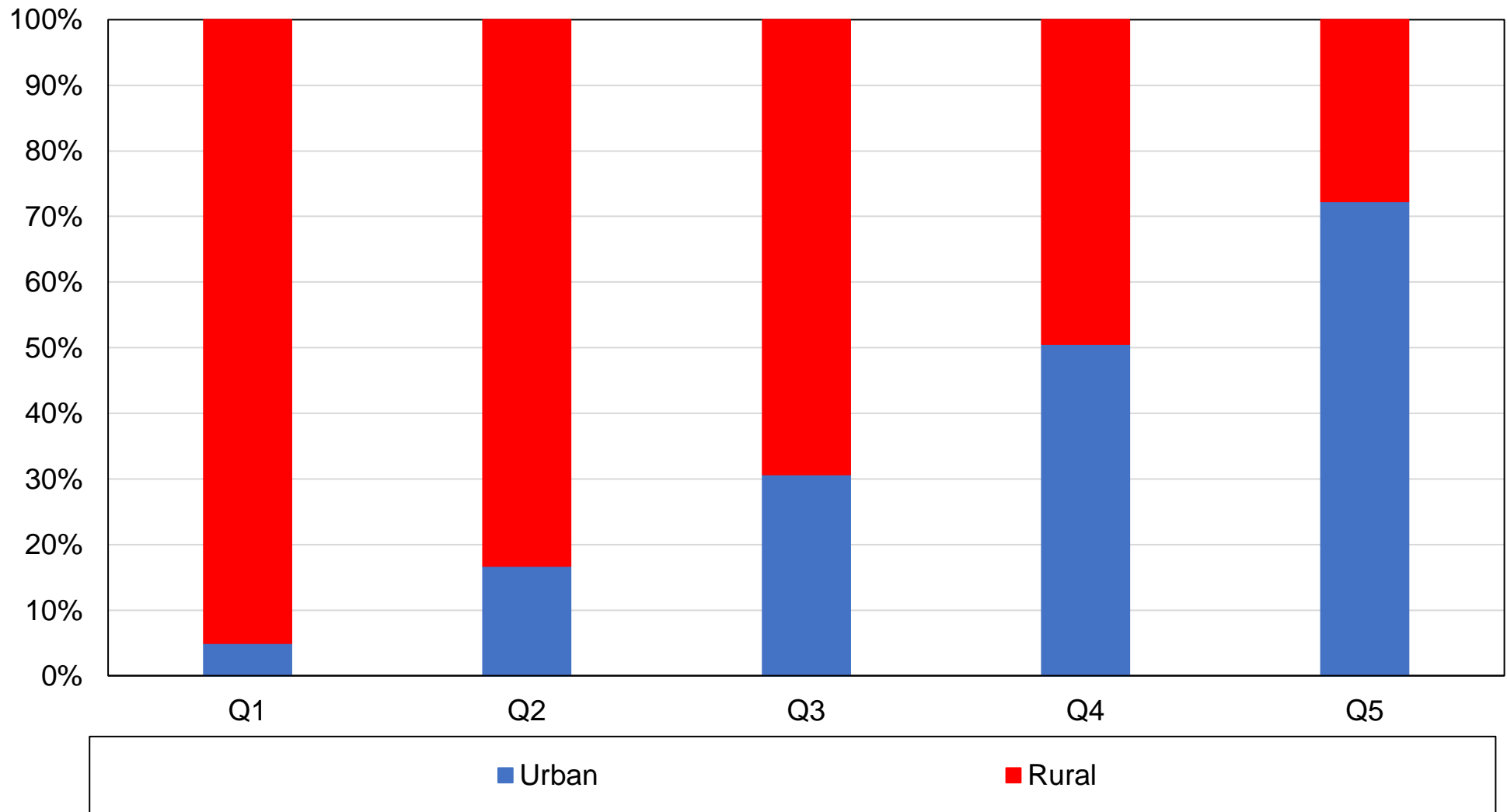
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2004.

Figure BA10 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2016.

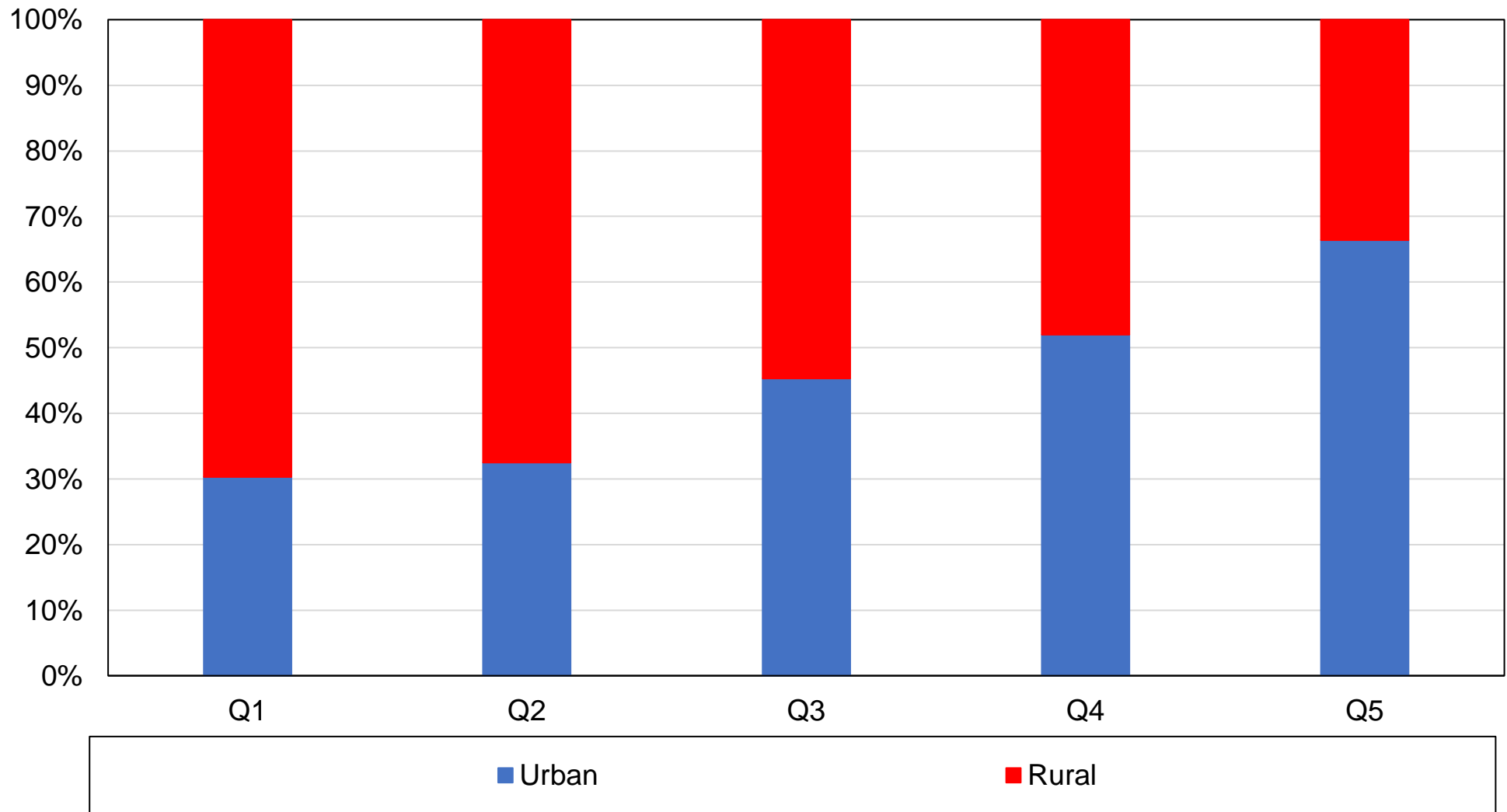
Figure BA11 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by rural-urban location in 2004.

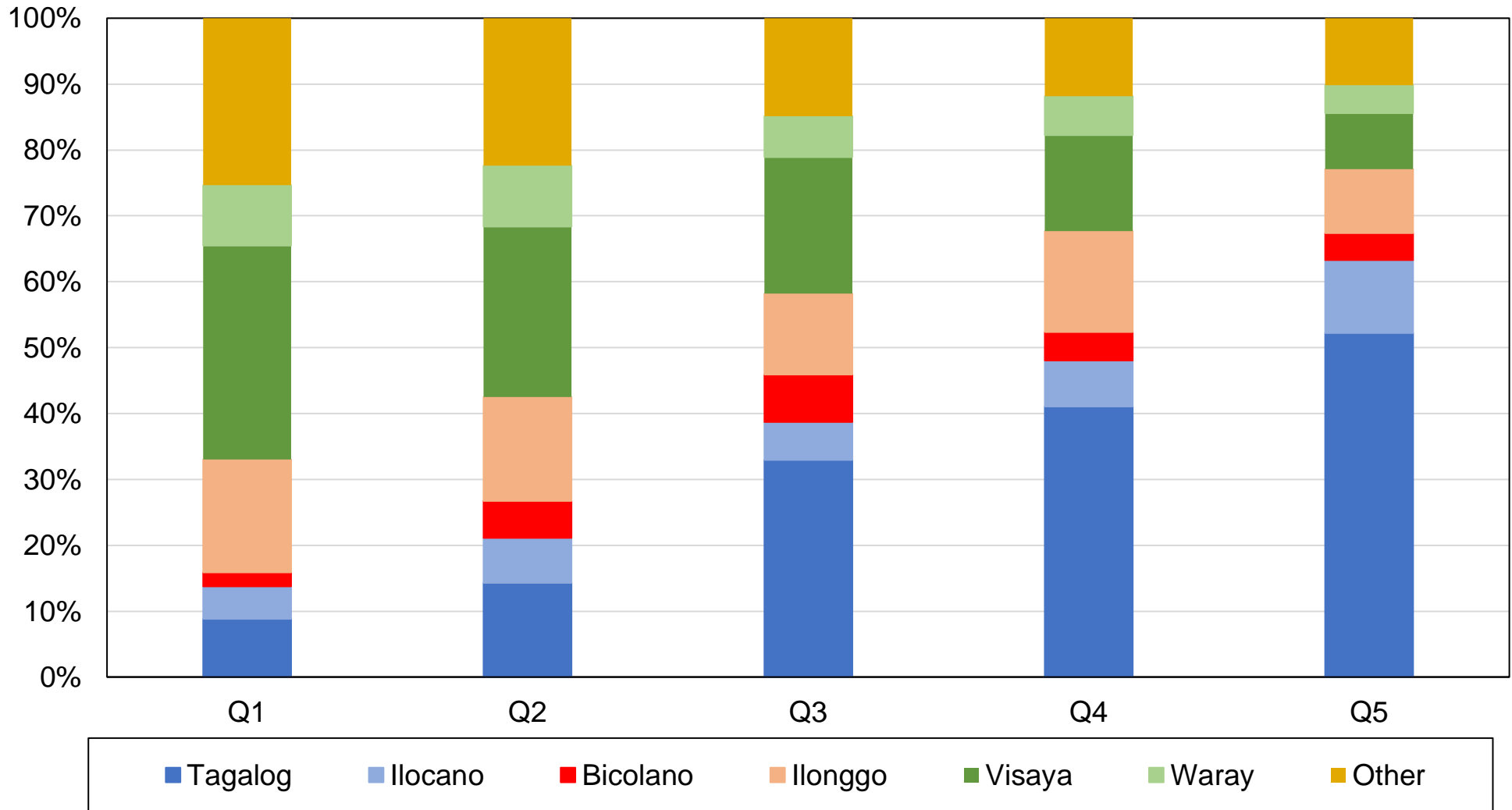
Figure BA12 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by rural-urban location in 2016.

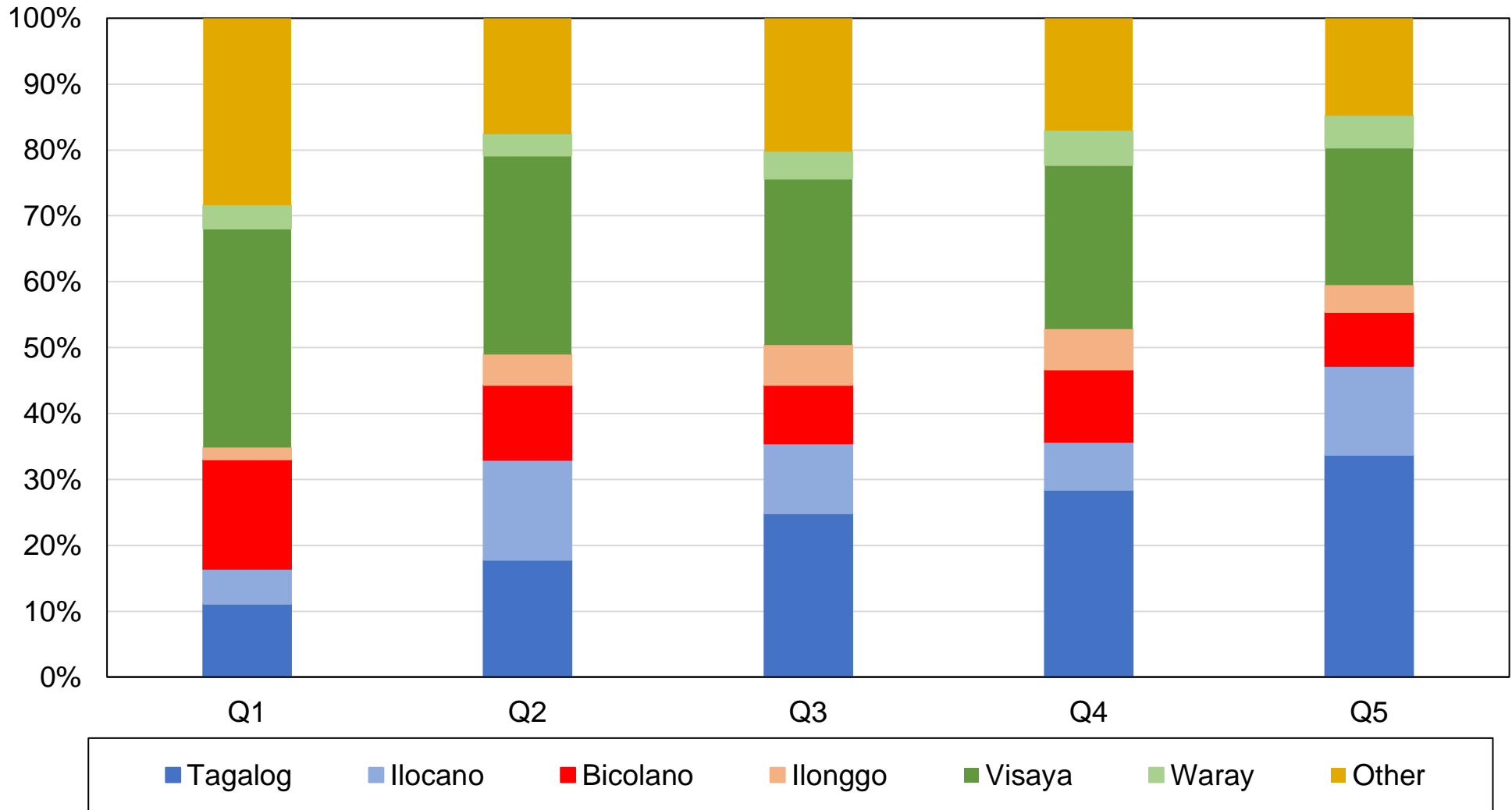
Figure BA13 - Composition of income quintiles by ethnicity, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by ethnicity in 2004.

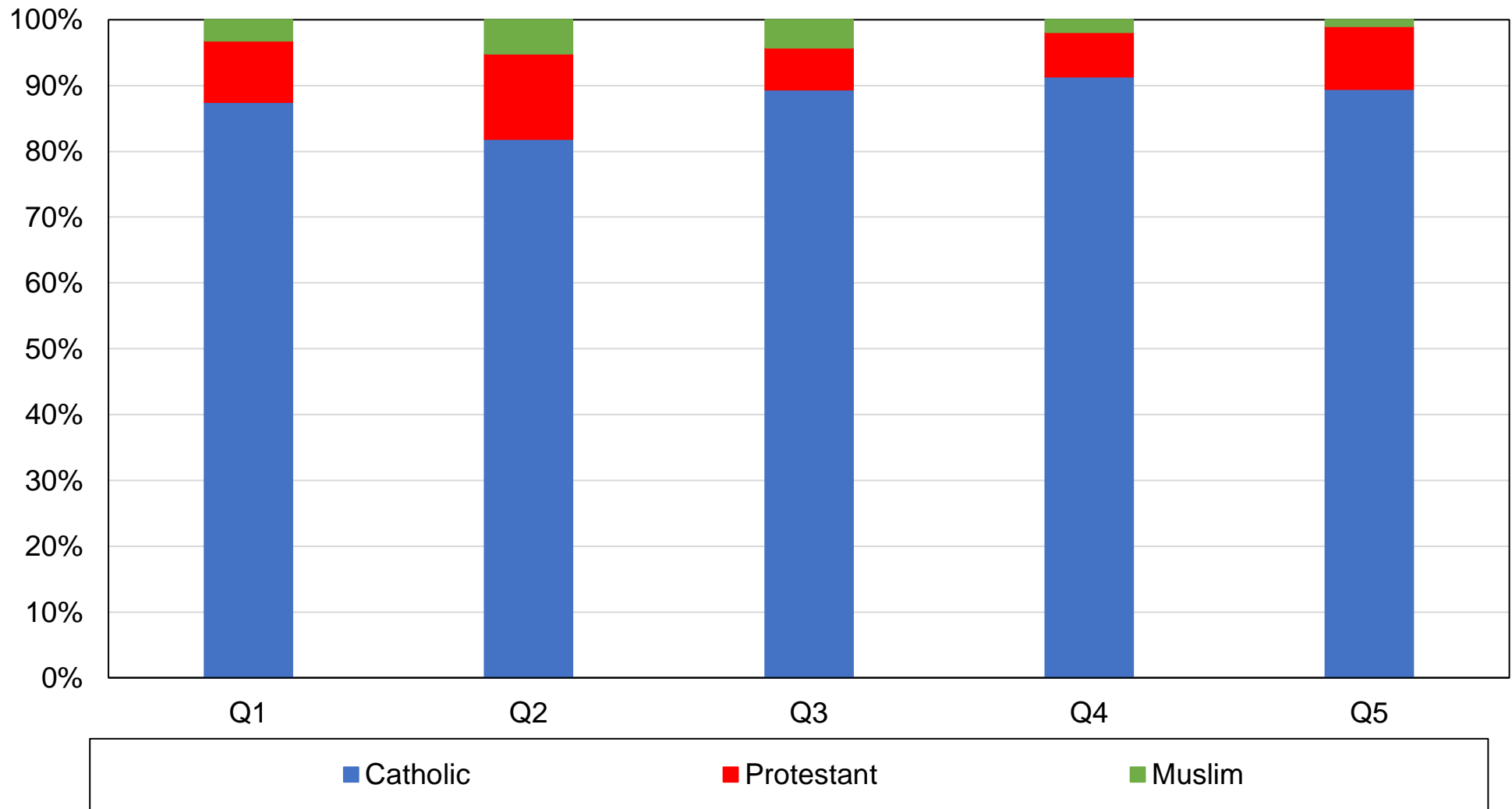
Figure BA14 - Composition of income quintiles by ethnicity, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by ethnicity in 2016.

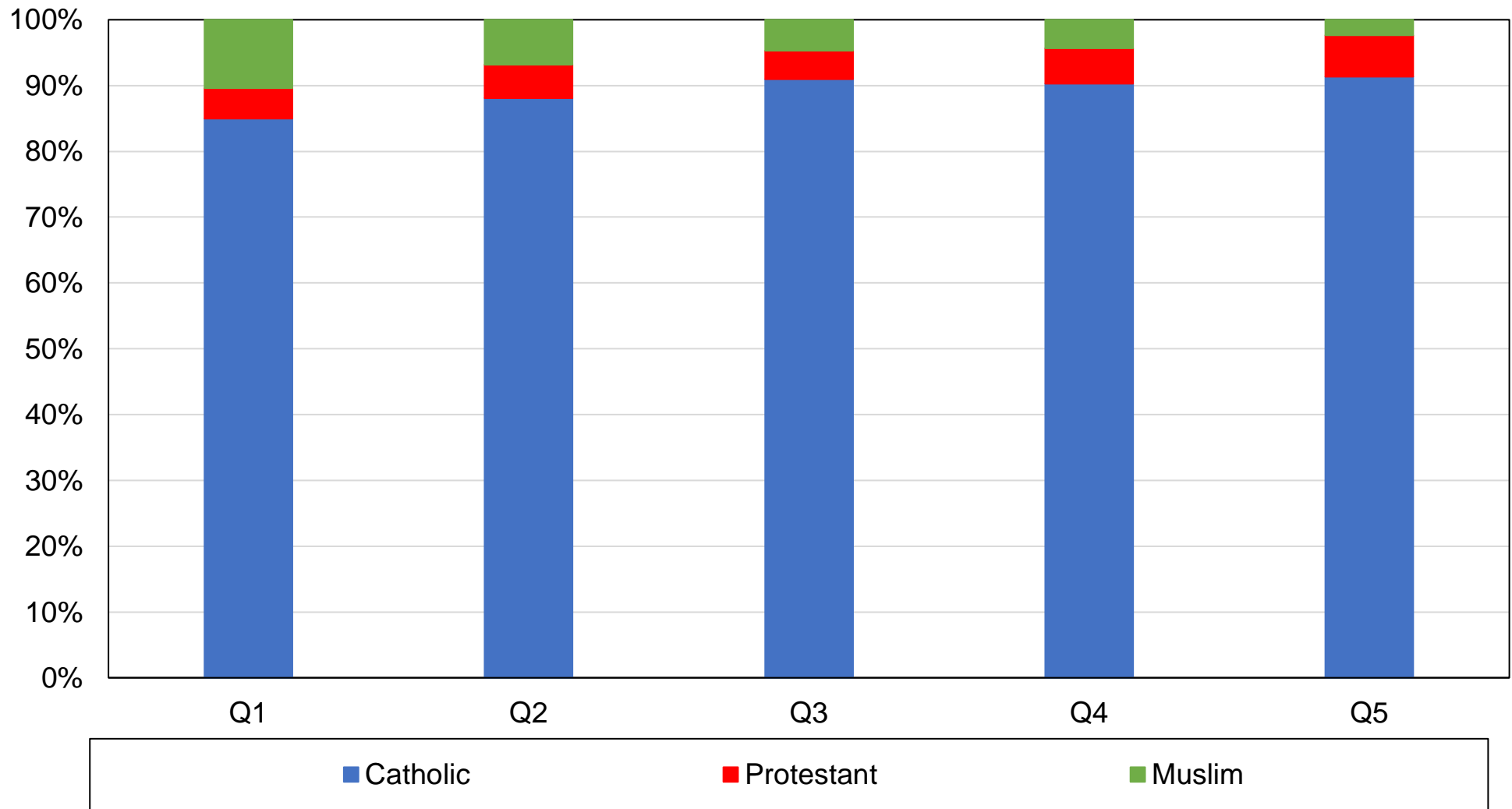
Figure BA9 - Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 2004.

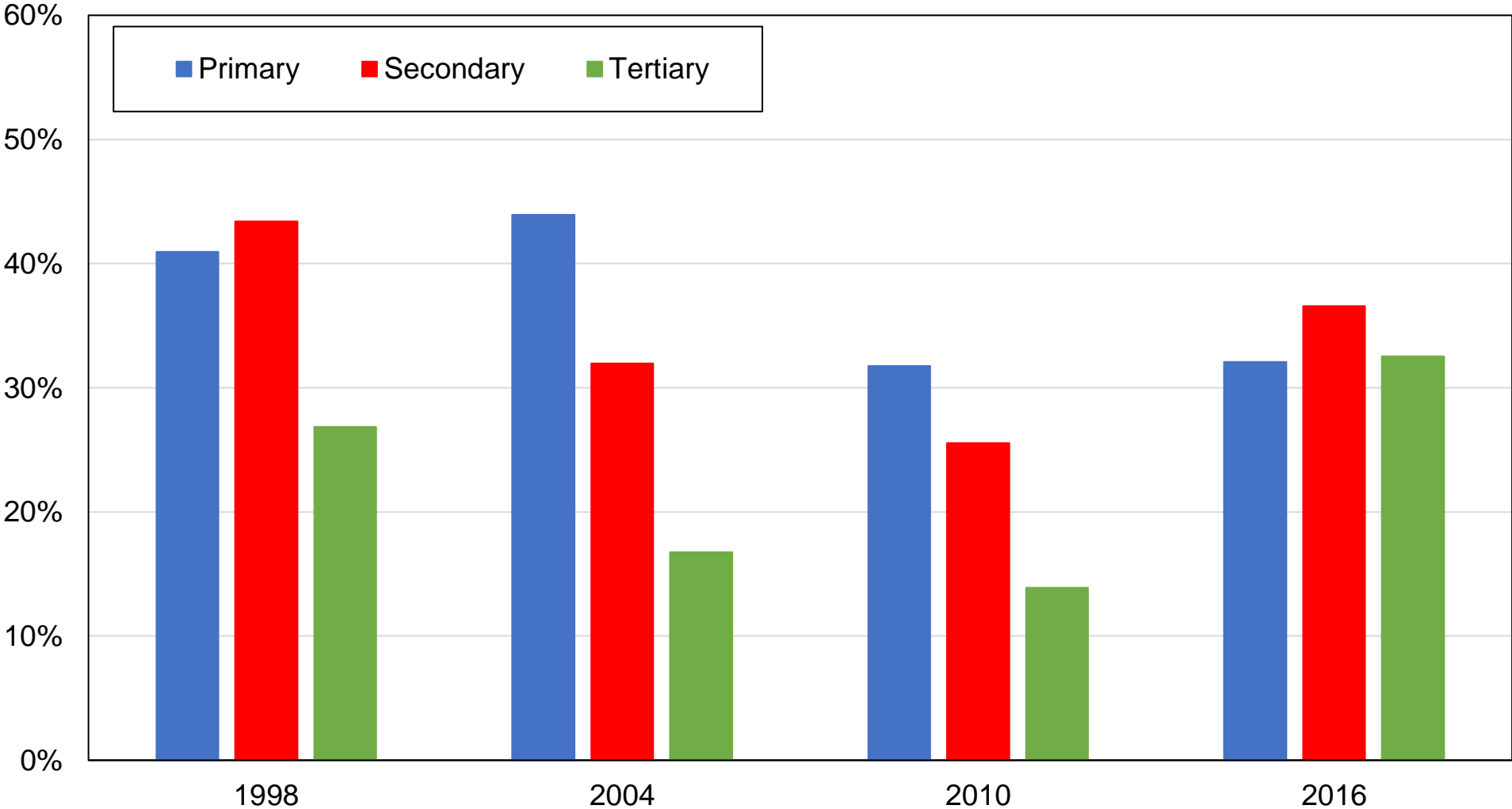
Figure BA9 - Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 2016.

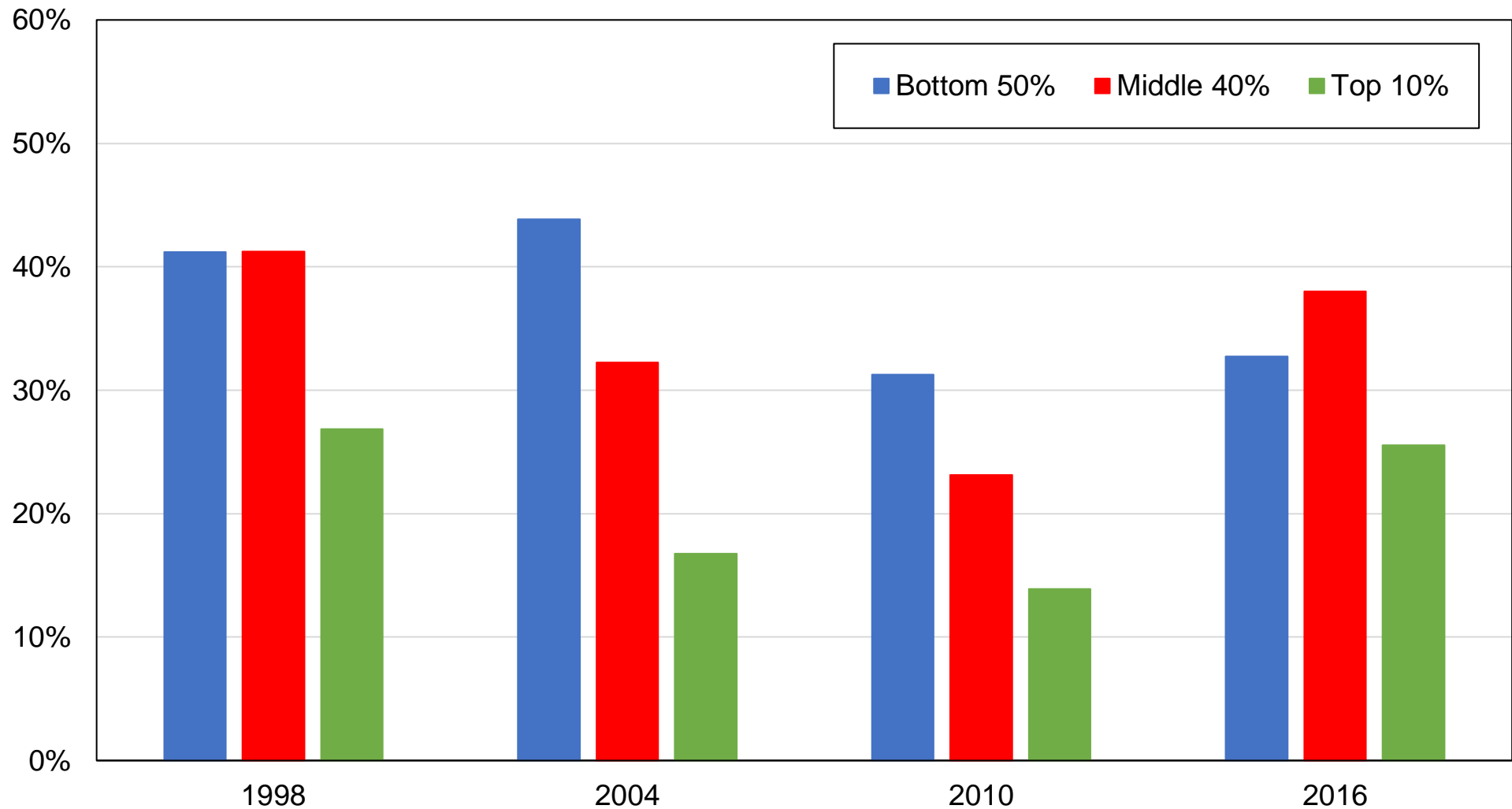
Figure BB1 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by education level



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by education level.

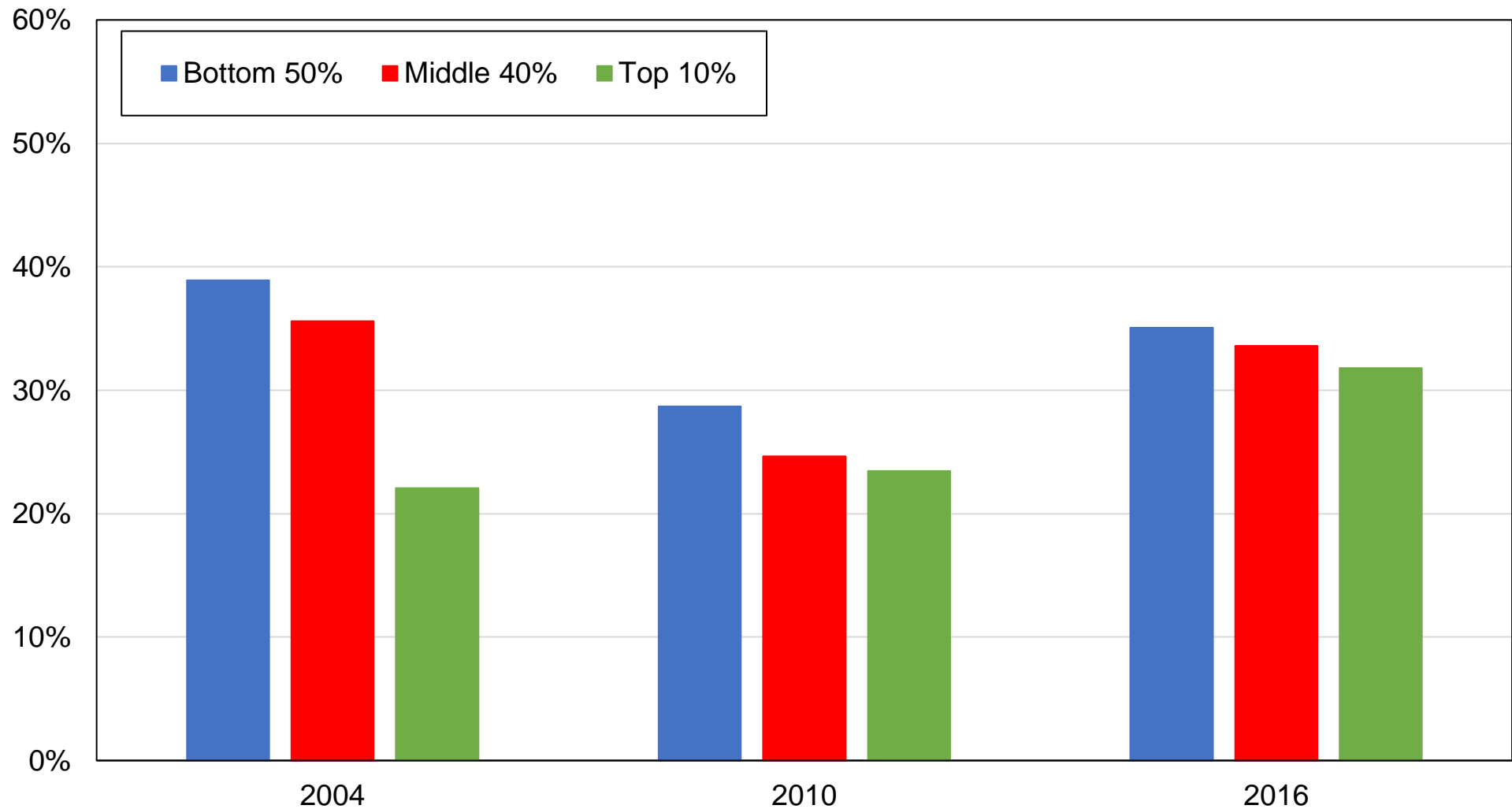
Figure BB2 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by education group



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by education group.

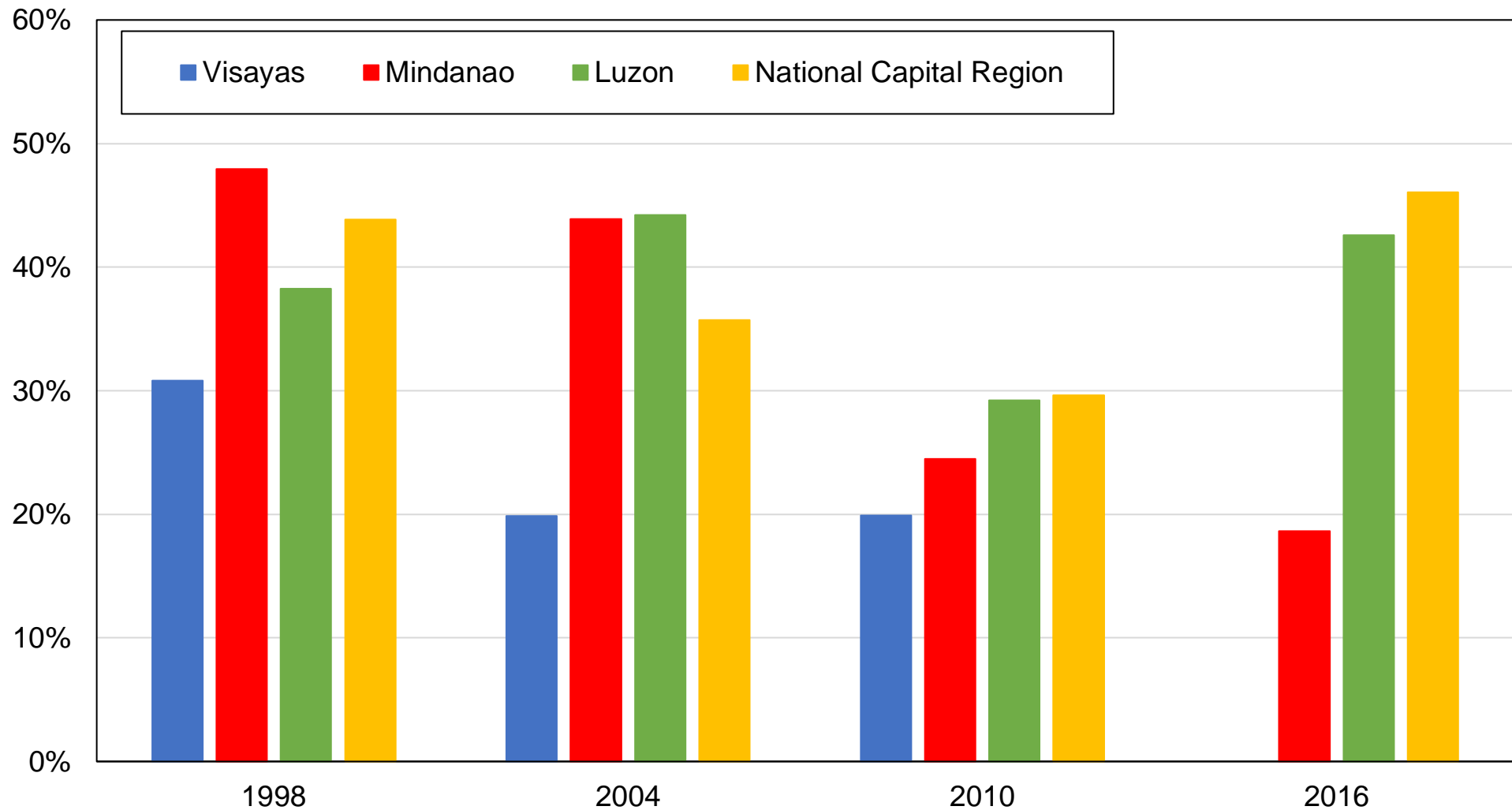
Figure BB3 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by income group



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by income group.

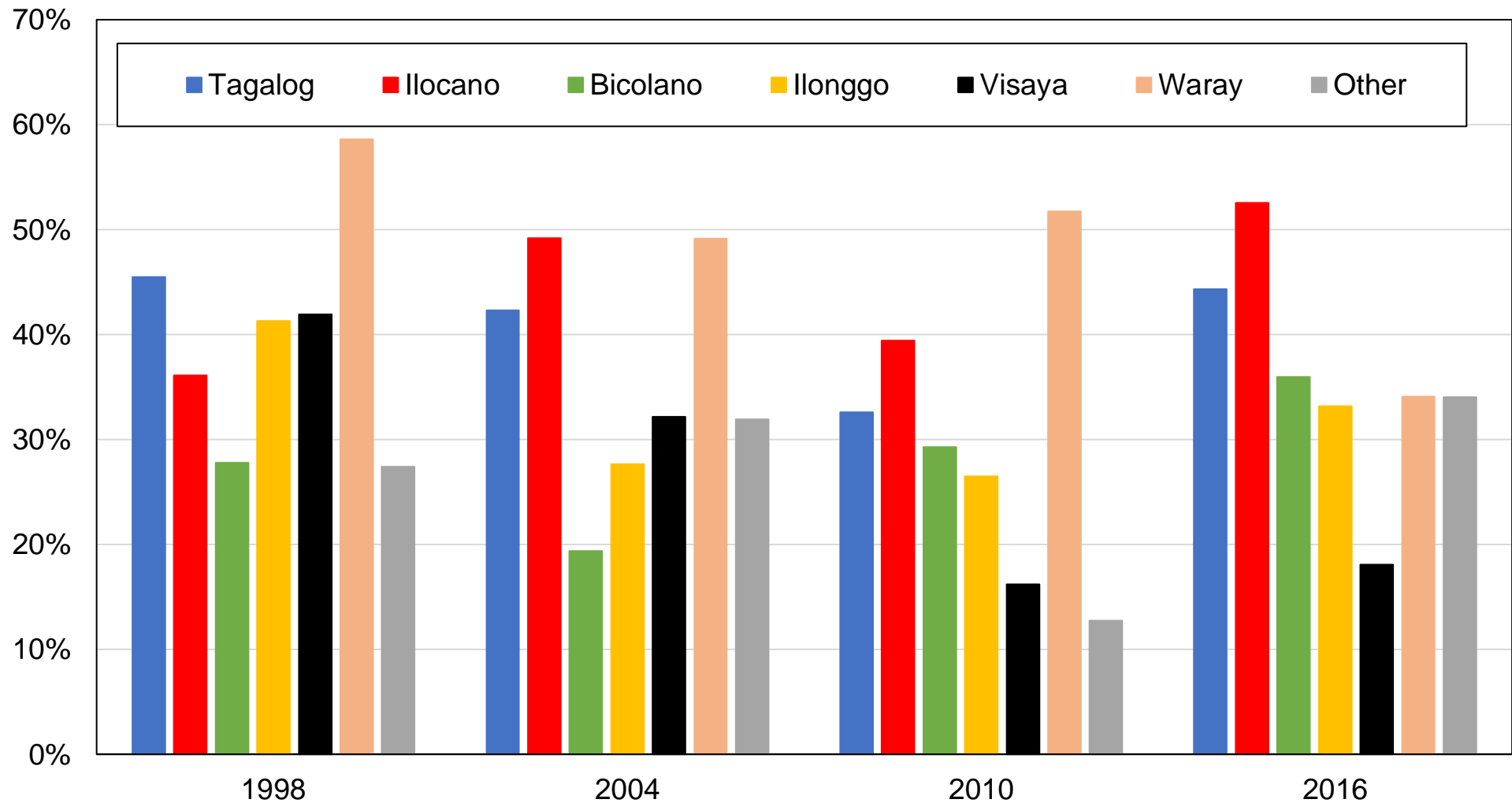
Figure BB4 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by region



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by region.

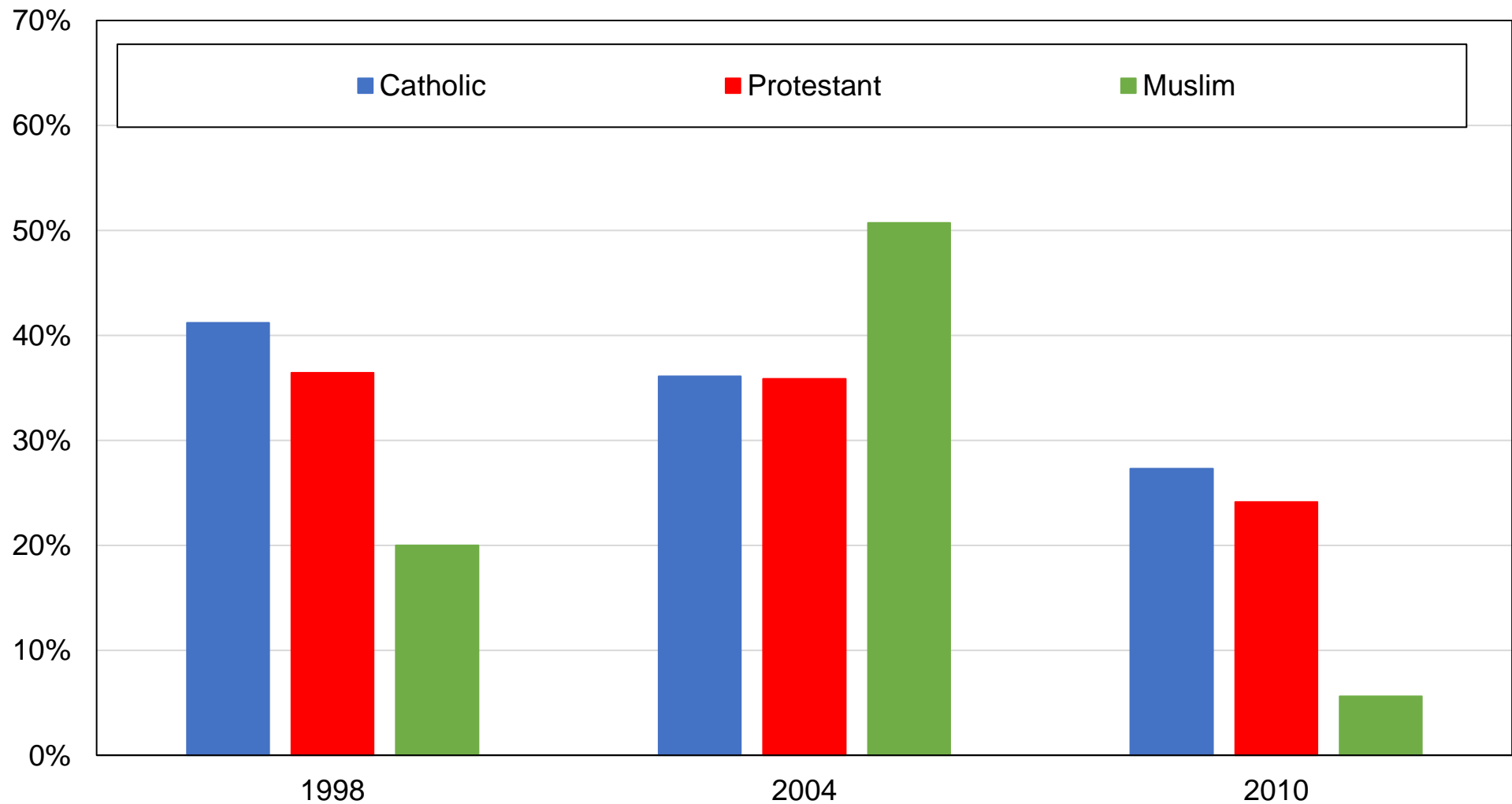
Figure BB5 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by ethnic group.

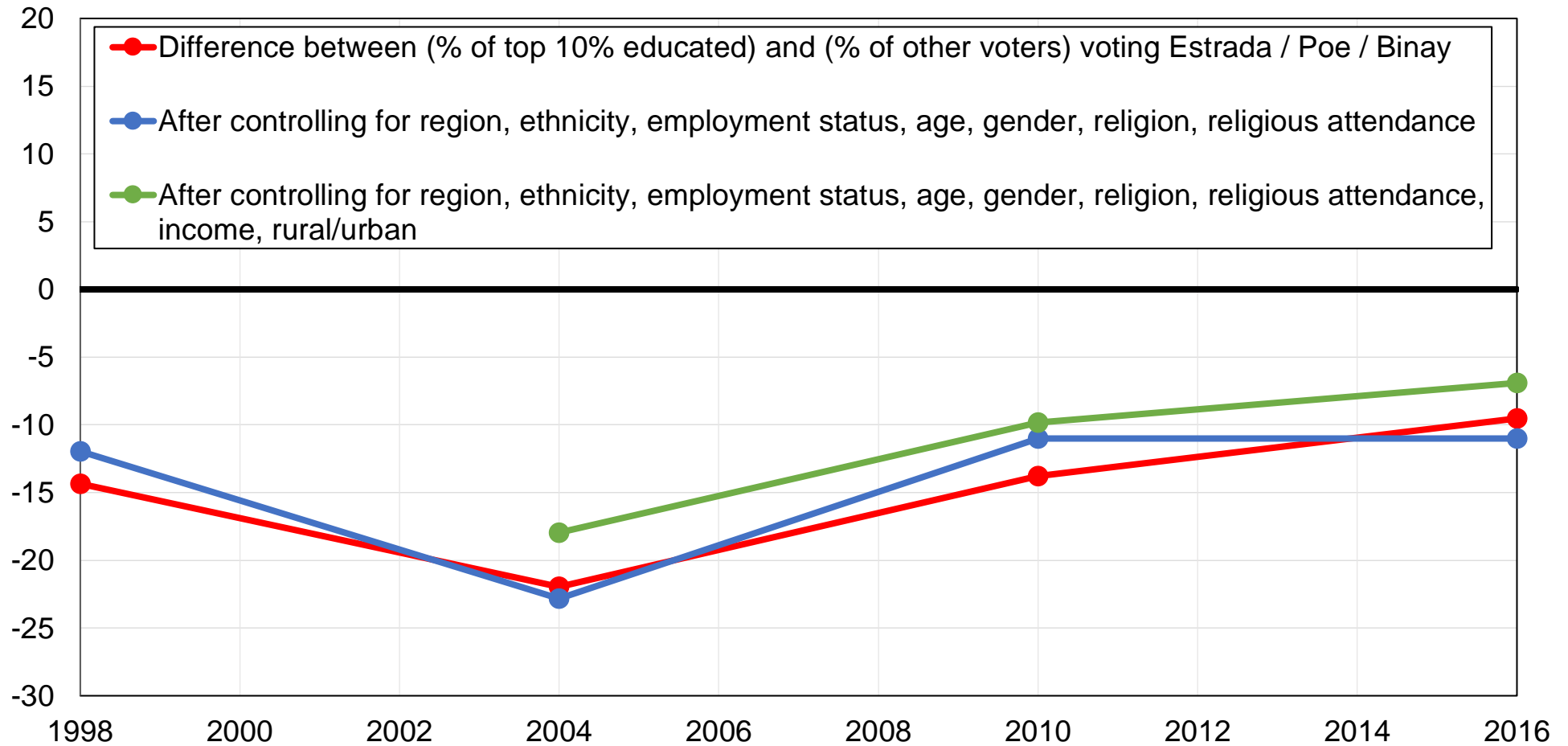
Figure BB6 - Vote for Estrada / Poe / Binay by religion



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections by religion.

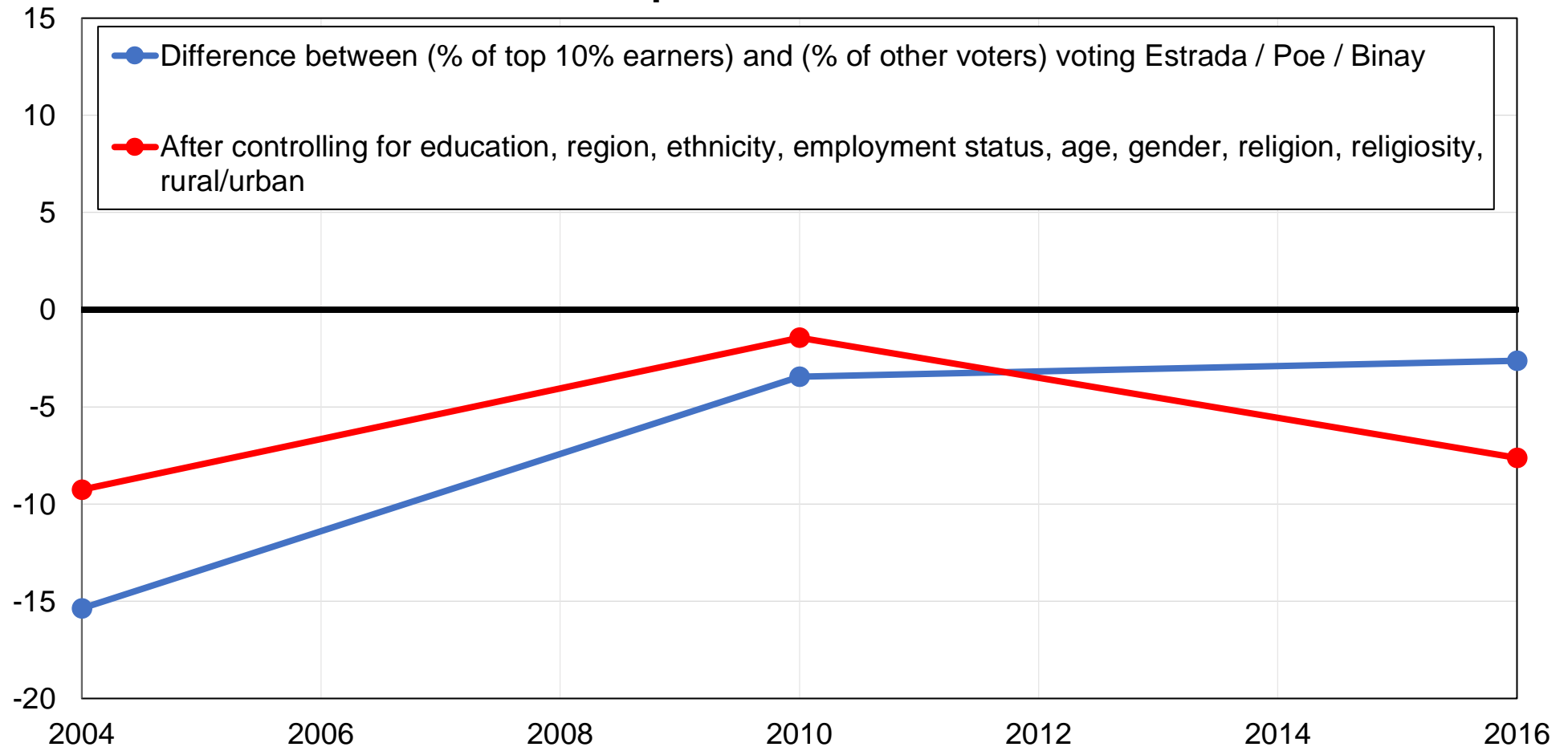
Figure BC1 - Support for Estrada / Poe / Binay among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting Estrada / Poe / Binay and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections, before and after controls.

Figure BC2 - Support for Estrada / Poe / Binay among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting Estrada / Poe / Binay and the share of bottom 90% earners voting Estrada / Poe / Binay in the first round of presidential elections, before and after controls.

Table BA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1998	World Values Survey, 2001	WVS	1200
2004	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1200
2010	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1200
2016	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1200

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. WVS: World Values Surveys; CSES: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems.

Table BA2 - Descriptive Statistics

	1992	1998	2004	2010
Age: 20-40	64%	57%	49%	47%
Age: 40-60	29%	33%	39%	39%
Age: 60+	7%	10%	12%	13%
Education: Primary	45%	51%	54%	41%
Education: Secondary	37%	35%	34%	44%
Education: Tertiary	17%	14%	12%	15%
Ethnicity: Bicolano	2%	6%	4%	8%
Ethnicity: Ilocano	6%	12%	8%	8%
Ethnicity: Ilonggo	10%	9%	15%	12%
Ethnicity: Other	12%	12%	16%	13%
Ethnicity: Tagalog	35%	25%	31%	29%
Ethnicity: Visaya	31%	35%	19%	26%
Ethnicity: Waray	4%	2%	7%	5%
Region: National Capital Region	25%	13%	25%	14%
Region: Luzon	25%	37%	26%	42%
Region: Visayas	25%	23%	23%	20%
Region: Mindanao	25%	27%	26%	25%
Religion: Catholic	87%	84%	88%	92%
Religion: Protestant	12%	12%	9%	4%
Religion: Muslim	1%	4%	3%	4%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	10%	19%	16%	14%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	90%	81%	84%	86%
Rural areas		43%	64%	51%

Table BA3 - Structure of the vote in 1998

	PMP	Lakas	Laban	Aksyon	Kilusang	Liberal	NPC	PROMDI
Education								
Primary	41%	13%	4%	16%	2%	9%	2%	12%
Secondary	43%	15%	4%	12%	2%	8%	1%	13%
Tertiary	27%	29%	5%	11%	1%	10%	2%	13%
Bicolano	28%	3%	3%	47%	1%	14%	4%	0%
Ethnicity								
Ilocano	36%	12%	4%	26%	4%	9%	1%	6%
Ilonggo	41%	24%	3%	11%	2%	5%	2%	9%
Other	27%	26%	6%	17%	1%	14%	2%	6%
Tagalog	45%	15%	3%	12%	3%	10%	1%	7%
Visaya	42%	14%	4%	6%	1%	5%	1%	25%
Waray	59%	16%	8%	0%	1%	14%	0%	0%
Region								
NCR	44%	9%	4%	21%	3%	12%	2%	3%
Luzon	38%	14%	4%	20%	3%	11%	2%	7%
Visayas	31%	16%	3%	7%	1%	7%	2%	31%
Mindanao	48%	21%	5%	8%	1%	6%	1%	9%
Religion								
Catholic	41%	15%	4%	14%	2%	8%	1%	13%
Protestant	36%	13%	4%	12%	3%	13%	3%	14%
Muslim	20%	54%	3%	9%	1%	12%	0%	0%
Location								
Urban	40%	15%	4%	12%	2%	9%	1%	14%
Rural	39%	17%	4%	16%	2%	9%	1%	10%
Age								
20-40	42%	15%	5%	15%	2%	4%	1%	14%
40-60	37%	17%	3%	13%	2%	15%	2%	9%
60+	39%	17%	2%	11%	1%	13%	1%	14%
Gender								
Woman	41%	13%	4%	15%	2%	9%	1%	14%
Man	39%	19%	4%	13%	2%	8%	2%	11%

Table BA4 - Structure of the vote in 2004

	KNP	Lakas	Aksyon	BPP	Laban
Education					
Primary	44%	43%	5%	3%	6%
Secondary	32%	39%	4%	8%	17%
Tertiary	17%	30%	20%	16%	17%
Income					
Bottom 50%	39%	48%	4%	2%	7%
Middle 40%	36%	32%	7%	9%	16%
Top 10%	22%	33%	7%	19%	19%
Ethnicity					
Bicolano	19%	22%	30%	11%	18%
Ilocano	49%	25%	4%	10%	12%
Ilonggo	28%	50%	2%	5%	15%
Other	32%	58%	4%	2%	4%
Tagalog	42%	24%	9%	11%	14%
Visaya	32%	56%	2%	2%	7%
Waray	49%	33%	8%	2%	7%
Region					
NCR	36%	25%	9%	14%	17%
Luzon	44%	28%	11%	6%	11%
Visayas	20%	67%	4%	5%	4%
Mindanao	44%	43%	2%	1%	10%
Religion					
Catholic	36%	39%	7%	6%	12%
Protestant	36%	45%	2%	12%	5%
Muslim	51%	49%	0%	0%	0%
Location					
Urban	35%	27%	11%	12%	16%
Rural	38%	47%	4%	3%	8%
Age					
20-40	36%	38%	8%	5%	13%
40-60	38%	39%	6%	8%	10%
60+	36%	50%	3%	4%	7%
Gender					
Woman	36%	42%	6%	7%	10%
Man	37%	38%	7%	5%	12%

Table BA5 - Structure of the vote in 2010

	Liberal	PMP	Lakas	Nacionalista
Education				
Primary	45%	32%	4%	16%
Secondary	41%	26%	12%	14%
Tertiary	36%	14%	28%	16%
Income				
Bottom 50%	44%	29%	7%	18%
Middle 40%	39%	25%	16%	14%
Top 10%	38%	23%	18%	16%
Ethnicity				
Bicolano	46%	29%	9%	10%
Ilocano	38%	39%	2%	18%
Ilonggo	39%	26%	11%	17%
Other	50%	13%	24%	14%
Tagalog	40%	33%	9%	11%
Visaya	42%	16%	13%	23%
Waray	41%	52%	0%	7%
Region				
NCR	35%	30%	12%	12%
Luzon	43%	29%	12%	12%
Visayas	50%	20%	11%	14%
Mindanao	38%	24%	11%	23%
Religion				
Catholic	41%	27%	11%	16%
Protestant	44%	24%	4%	15%
Muslim	61%	6%	20%	13%
Location				
Urban	41%	24%	14%	16%
Rural	44%	29%	9%	15%
Age				
20-40	39%	25%	11%	17%
40-60	43%	28%	12%	15%
60+	50%	25%	10%	12%
Gender				
Woman	42%	24%	12%	17%
Man	43%	28%	10%	14%

Table BA6 - Detailed structure of the vote in 2016

	Duterte	Roxas	Poe	Binay
Overall vote share	39%	24%	21%	13%
Education				
Primary	42%	24%	19%	13%
Secondary	35%	24%	24%	12%
Tertiary	43%	21%	21%	12%
Income				
Bottom 50%	37%	26%	22%	13%
Middle 40%	41%	21%	21%	12%
Top 10%	39%	25%	20%	11%
Ethnicity				
Bicolano	15%	45%	25%	11%
Ilocano	29%	15%	30%	22%
Ilonggo	42%	15%	29%	4%
Other	42%	19%	16%	18%
Tagalog	35%	19%	28%	17%
Visaya	53%	29%	15%	3%
Waray	44%	12%	18%	16%
Region				
NCR	33%	16%	27%	19%
Luzon	29%	26%	27%	16%
Visayas	39%	31%	17%	8%
Mindanao	62%	16%	12%	7%
Religion				
Catholic	37%	25%	22%	12%
Protestant	31%	21%	30%	18%
Muslim	75%	5%	3%	13%
Location				
Urban	43%	15%	21%	15%
Rural	36%	30%	22%	11%
Age				
20-40	44%	21%	20%	11%
40-60	36%	21%	26%	13%
60+	35%	34%	12%	16%
Gender				
Woman	34%	28%	23%	12%
Man	45%	19%	20%	14%
Occupation				
Farmer	49%	25%	12%	8%
Self-Employed	39%	26%	17%	16%
White Collar	32%	29%	24%	10%
Worker	39%	17%	27%	14%

Source: authors' computations using Filipino political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the vote share received by main parties among specific groups of the Filipino voting population in the 2016 election.

**Table BA7 - Determinants of the vote for main candidates in the
2016 Filipino presidential election**

	(1) Duterte	(2) Roxas	(3) Poe	(4) Binay
Education: Primary	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Education: Secondary	-0.058** (0.024)	0.036 (0.026)	0.030 (0.028)	-0.015 (0.019)
Education: Tertiary	0.002 (0.035)	0.034 (0.038)	-0.002 (0.039)	-0.028 (0.029)
Income: Bottom 50%	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Income: Middle 40%	0.043* (0.023)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.037 (0.027)	-0.021 (0.019)
Income: Top 10%	0.036 (0.044)	0.048 (0.047)	-0.057 (0.046)	-0.044 (0.033)
Age: 20-39	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Age: 40-59	-0.088*** (0.023)	0.012 (0.025)	0.061** (0.027)	0.018 (0.018)
Age: 60+	-0.103*** (0.031)	0.130*** (0.037)	-0.070** (0.031)	0.049* (0.026)
Gender: Man	0.101*** (0.021)	-0.084*** (0.023)	-0.033 (0.024)	0.011 (0.017)
Ethnicity: Bicolano	-0.158*** (0.037)	0.184*** (0.055)	-0.032 (0.054)	-0.047 (0.035)
Ethnicity: Ilocano	-0.070 (0.045)	-0.056 (0.046)	0.021 (0.055)	0.079* (0.045)
Ethnicity: Ilonggo	-0.068 (0.058)	-0.035 (0.052)	0.109 (0.067)	-0.083** (0.034)
Ethnicity: Other	-0.018 (0.042)	-0.020 (0.040)	-0.062 (0.044)	0.062 (0.039)

Ethnicity: Tagalog	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Ethnicity: Visaya	0.044 (0.043)	0.091** (0.042)	-0.031 (0.051)	-0.081** (0.032)
Ethnicity: Waray	0.055 (0.061)	-0.110** (0.055)	-0.022 (0.061)	0.026 (0.044)
Region: NCR	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Region: Luzon	0.046 (0.034)	0.014 (0.033)	-0.022 (0.037)	-0.032 (0.030)
Region: Visayas	0.074* (0.043)	0.070 (0.046)	-0.101** (0.049)	-0.084*** (0.032)
Region: Mindanao	0.312*** (0.042)	-0.091** (0.041)	-0.167*** (0.045)	-0.077** (0.032)
Location: Rural area	-0.065** (0.026)	0.119*** (0.026)	0.023 (0.028)	-0.031 (0.021)
Constant	0.350***	0.132***	0.296***	0.203***

Source: authors' computations based on Filipino surveys.

Note: the table shows the results of a multivariate regression assessing the determinants of support for the main candidates of the 2016 presidential election. All other things equal, voters aged 60 or older were significantly less likely to support Duterte than those being younger than 40 years old.