

Table 3: A comprehensive illiberal consolidation

Institutions of power	What the ruling coalition controls or influences	Weakened counter-forces
<i>Local governments and House of Representative positions</i>		
Ilocos Norte Province	The Marcos family won key seats with landslide votes. Matthew Manotoc (son of Imee) is governor. Cecilia Marcos is vice-governor. Sandro Marcos (son of Bong-bong) is first district representative and likely to hold a top position in the House of Representatives.	Former Deputy Speaker Rudy Fariñas and his daughter Ria lost their bids for governor and representative.
Leyte Province	In the first district, Martin Romualdez (nephew of Imelda) ran unopposed and is now eyeing the House Speakership. A cousin, Alfred Romualdez, held on to his seat as Mayor of Tacloban City.	Other winning Leyte politicians are now expected to join the Marcos-Duterte supermajority party
Davao City	The Duterte boys won resounding landslide victories. Sebastian Duterte, the youngest son, won as mayor with 597,082 votes, with his challenger getting only 67,615 votes. Paulo Duterte, the eldest, won as first district representative 212,382 votes, compared to his challenger's 14,122. Paulo will make a bid for a senior position in the House of Representatives.	An opposition is alive in Davao City but is very much in the minority. After his victory, Sebastian Duterte suggested the closure of opposition-leaning University of the Philippines.
Pampanga Province	Former president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo ran unopposed for representative of the second district and may become the Speaker of the House if she can put down the challenge from other speakership aspirants. Local candidates allied with her won other important seats in the province.	Like the Marcoses in Ilocos Norte and the Dutertes in Davao, Macapagal Arroyo and her allies have a firm hold of Pampanga. No major opposition candidate won.

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<i>Senate and party-list positions</i>		
Party-list seats in the House	A total of 56 party-list groups gained enough votes to get at least a seat each in the House. All but 5 are expected to join the supermajority party and cooperate with the administration.	The leftist Makabayan bloc has been reduced from six to three seats. Akbayan and Magdalo did not make it, although a maverick newcomer, P3PWD, made it with one seat.
Senate	The ruling coalition controls or influences 23 out of 24 seats. Two sons of Joseph Estrada, half-brothers JV Ejercito and Jinggoy Estrada, are newly elected senators. Duterte loyalists – Go and dela Rosa – are senators. Five senators, officially listed as 'independents', are coalition partners or allies. Fierce fights among ruling coalition partners over top Senate posts are expected, but overall, coalition unity is likely to hold. Senator Imee Marcos has positioned herself as referee in the scramble for the top Senate posts.	There remains only one consistent opposition senator, Risa Hontiveros. But she will likely pick her battles in the Senate and compromise on some. Competition for seats may likely force some partners to break away from coalition.

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<i>The Judiciary and constitutional commissions</i>		
Supreme Court	Of the 15 justices, only two (Leonen and Caguioa) are not Duterte appointees. The Supreme Court has been pliant and supportive of the administration.	Challenges to the Anti-Terror Law or anti-corruption petitions are unlikely to prosper in the Supreme Court.
The Ombudsman	Tasked to investigate government abuses of power and corruption, the Ombudsman is now a Duterte appointee who has not taken action on recent corruption scandals investigated by the Senate and complaints over the rampant red-tagging by a government task force.	Unlikely to pursue 'Napoles' pork barrel cases vs. four senators (Estrada, Revilla, Legarda, and Pimentel) and Bongbong Marcos himself.
Commission on Audit	Tasked to conduct an annual audit of all government expenditures, the chair and two commissioners are now all Duterte appointees. In 2010, both Duterte and the new COA chair were charged with malversation for misusing some PhP2.93-billion in public funds from 2003 to 2006, when Duterte was mayor of Davao City. Duterte said those charges were politically motivated.	In previous years, the COA has been pro-active in upholding standards of integrity in government expenditure reporting. It is unlikely to continue in such role.
Commission on Human Rights	The CHR, which investigates serious abuse of power and human rights violations committed by agents of the state, now has all its five positions of commissioner vacant. Duterte has refused to appoint anyone to the posts. A severely constrained or non-functional CHR at a time when the Anti-Terror Law is in force is an indication of ominous times ahead.	Duterte wants the CHR abolished, and his allies in Congress at some point reduced the CHR's annual budget to only one peso. By withholding appointments, Duterte is effectively shutting it down.

Note: All election figures draw from Halalan 2022, as of May 27, 2022 with 98.35% of votes counted from 106,008 out of 1007,785 clustered voting precincts (<https://halalanresults.abs-cbn.com/>).