

PSYCHOGRAPHICS STUDY ON THE VOTING BEHAVIOR OF THE CEBUANO ELECTORATE

By

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ABSTRACT

This study identified the attributes of a presidential/vice presidential that the Cebuano electorates preferred and prioritized as follows: 1) has a heart for the poor and the needy; 2) can provide occupation; 3) has a good personality/character; 4) has good platforms; and 5) has no issue of corruption. It was done through face-to-face interview with Cebuano registered voters randomly chosen using a stratified sampling technique. Canonical Correlation Analysis revealed that there was a significant difference as to the respondents' preferences on the characteristic traits of the presidential and vice presidential candidates across respondents with respect to age, gender, educational attainment, and economic status. The strength of the relationships were identified to be good in age and educational attainment, moderate in gender and weak in economic status with respect to the characteristics of the presidential. Also, there was a good relationship in age bracket, moderate relationship in gender and educational attainment, and weak relationship in economic status with respect to the characteristics of a vice presidential. The strength of the said relationships were validated by the established predictive models. Moreover, perceptual mapping of the multivariate correspondence analysis determined the groupings of preferred characteristic traits of the presidential and vice presidential candidates across age, gender, educational attainment and economic status. A focus group discussion was conducted and it validated the survey results. It enumerated more characteristics that explained further the voting behavior of the Cebuano electorates.

Keywords: canonical correlation, correspondence analysis perceptual mapping, predictive models

INTRODUCTION

Cebu has always been perceived as "a province of unpredictability during elections" ^[1]. Gloria Macapagal Arroyo won landslide (by over a million votes) in Cebu over the very famous actor and a hero of the masses in almost all his movies, Fernando Poe Jr. " It was believed that had Arroyo lost in Cebu by a million votes in that election, history would have been different for all Filipinos" ^[2]. In the 2010 vice-presidential race, Manuel Roxas II won in Cebu by a wide margin (37.23%) over his closest rival and eventual nationwide winner, Vice President Jejomar Binay. However, in the 2016 presidential race, Roxas lost to Rodrigo Duterte in Cebu Province. Meanwhile, in 2013, Alan Peter Cayetano led in garnering votes in Cebu City and Lapu-Lapu City in the senatorial race, but he lost in the vice presidential race in favor of Leni Robredo who won in Cebu and at the nationwide count.

Apparently, Cebuanos appeared to show no specific pattern of political party loyalty. Election results indicated no specific pattern so far that would show that Cebuanos tended to favor their local incumbent leader's political party. Election results in the past appeared to show that Cebuanos based their choices on the platforms and performance of the person running for candidacy. In the 2010 election presidential race, despite it being a province of One Cebu, which openly urged Cebuanos to support Gibo Teodoro's Lakas Kampi-CMD party, the Liberal Party bet Benigno Aquino III won in Cebu. In the 2016 election, most of the UNA and LP leaders and supporters turned their backs on their party's presidential bet to favor Rodrigo of the PDP-Laban party.

The Cebuano presidential and senatorial candidates drew heavy support from their linguistic-regional base. For instance, in the 1946 presidential elections, Sergio Osmeña Sr. received the greatest support from Region 7 compared to other regions. The same trend was noted when Sergio Osmeña Jr. ran for the vice presidency in 1961 against Emmanuel Pelaez. Osmeña Jr. defeated Pelaez in Central Visayas but Pelaez scored his highest win in his homeground in Northern Mindanao. In the May 2016 election, Duterte won in Cebu where his father Vicente was a mayor of Danao, Cebu, and is reportedly related to the Durano and Almendras political families in the province. This cultural linguistic affiliation was also observed in other regional choices during national election. For instance in the 2016 election, Roxas ruled over the support of his hometown of Capiz; Poe was the top choice for president in the 16 provinces in Luzon; Binay, as expected, won in Makati City being its mayor for 21 years before he was elected vice president in 2010; Robredo won in Bicol province except in Sorsogon, the hometown of vice presidential candidate Sen. Francis Escudero.

Up until now, the exact basis of preferences of Cebuano voters in choosing among those running for political national positions is still unspecified since Cebuanos, as most critiques say, think differently compared to other Filipino linguistic groups. They can be your allies in one moment, and may be out of your league the next time around. As observed there is a need to look into the specifics of Cebuano voter's preferences. The researchers believe that this study will be of great help to those who are opting to run for presidency or vice presidency, in their strategic planning on political campaigns. Likewise, this study will also benefit the political analysts on their understanding and views on Cebuano electorates' mind that looks into these specific preferences for those seeking the top two positions in the government. Considering the huge number of active registered voters in Cebu, its impact upon those who need to win their votes cannot be overemphasized.

This study determined the pulse of the Cebuano electorates of different age, economic status, educational attainment, location and gender; and in effect being able to understand how Cebuanos think and manifest behavior that greatly speak of their culture and political orientation.

This study attempted to present quantitatively the pattern of the voting behavior of the Cebuano electorates in the presidential and vice presidential elections. It purported to examine the explanatory powers of the variables laid down that investigated the voting behavior of the Cebuano electorates. It characterized and explained the existence of structural relationships among group of attributes and cases.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Studies disclosed that exposure to informative media coverage ^[3] and political advertising ^[4] significantly influenced the vote choice of the electorates.

David and Atun who used bivariate correlation analysis reported that the likelihood of voting for celebrity candidates for President and Vice President was associated with the voters education, television exposure and residence in the capital city. They further reported that celebrity endorsements also influenced the candidate preference of a presidential and vice presidential candidate. ^[5]

Religion was also viewed as an influencing factor in the voter's decision. Using multinomial logistic regression analysis, a study indicated that religion affiliation and the degree of an individual's behaviour and beliefs were key predictors of vote choice in a presidential election. ^[6]

In 2006, a study made by Macapagal using a three-way ANOVA, revealed that the respondents perceived political candidates positively. The females and respondents from the lower social classes showed a more favorable perception of politicians. It also showed that respondents believed that female politicians were more attractive, emotional, intelligent and religious but male

politicians were more corrupt. There were also findings that females tended to view female politicians more positively.^[7]

The Institute for Political and Electoral Reform (IPER) on the other hand, used Factor Analysis to identify factor groups that determine the voting behaviour of the Filipino electorate. They are the following: the benefit factor (characteristics that can be of benefit to the voter), political machinery, popularity and endorsement of traditional networks.^[8]

Approximately one month before the 2014 election in Taipei, survey participants were asked about their party identification, explicit political party preference, ethnic identity and voting intention. With the use of hierarchical regression analysis, results showed that the impact of implicit preferences on voting appeared to be present across different cultures; that voters evaluate candidates from their ethnic group more favorably than those of other ethnic groups.^[9]

METHODOLOGY

This study was focused to respondents with access in the internet. The Philippines topped among countries in terms of internet usage with about 54M (52.6%) of the countries 102,624,209 million population. Among those Filipinos who used the internet, about 25M (47%) were active on social media.^[10] Social media were believed to be one of the venues of exposure for candidates vying for public office to campaign and get votes.

The sampled population were those residents of Cebu Province who had internet access. Sampling methodology used was the two stage sampling where the primary sampling units were the cities and municipalities and the secondary sampling units were the barangays.

The sample size was computed and increased to 606. Using proportional allocation, 225 households in municipalities were surveyed while a total of 381 households were surveyed in the cities of Cebu.

The sampled cities were Cebu, Mandaue and LapuLapu. Six barangays were randomly chosen in Cebu City while two barangays each in Mandaue and LapuLapu were included.

Since the sampled population was set to residents of Cebu Province who had access in internet, the municipalities near the main cities of Cebu which were believed to have strong signals for internet connections and thus, faster speed were considered for sampling.

The data collection involved face-to-face interviews with the respondents. To validate some results and have an in-depth analysis of this study, a focus group discussion was done.

Multivariate analyses such as Correspondence Analysis and Canonical Correlation Analysis were run using IBM SPSS version 22.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

I. Respondents' Profile

The profile of the sampled 606 registered voters is as follows:

Age

There was almost an equal distribution of respondents (about 21%) across age bracket above 25 years old. Respondents of ages 18-24 were just about 16% of the total sample size percentage of the respondents.

Gender

The frequencies/percentages of male and female respondents involved in the survey were almost the same (about 50%).

Highest Educational Attainment

Majority of the respondents (about 86.5%) were either high school or college graduates. Only very few were graduates of vocational course or finished a post graduate degree.

Income

Those who indicated that they did not have an income comprised the highest percentage of the respondents. They were, actually, students and full time housewives. Majority of the sampled registered voters had a monthly income of below 20,000 pesos.

II. Frequency of Respondents' Preferences on the Characteristics of a Presidentiable and Vice Presidentiable Candidates of Cebu Electorate

The first five traits of presidential candidates preferred by the Cebuano electorate were the following: 1) a president who has a heart for the poor and the needy (98.2%); 2) a president who can provide occupation (97.0%); 3) a president who has a good personality/character (96.4%); 4) a president who has good platforms (95.0%) and 5) a president who has no issue of corruption (94.2%). On the other hand, their least preferred were the following: 1) a president who can give money during campaign (81.2%); 2) a president who supports gay marriage (78.1%); 3) a president who had not held an office in politics yet (76.7%); 4) a president who allows divorce (71.8%); and 5) a president who is dictated by their religious group leader (68.8%). Likewise, the same characteristics were preferred by the Cebuano voters in a vice president.

The least preferred traits of vice presidentiables were the same as that of the presidentiables except that their fifth least preferred was a vice-president who was a wife, husband, sister/brother, daughter/son of politician.

More than half (about 59.7%) of the Cebuano electorate would vote for a vice president that was not necessarily in the same party of the president they voted.

III. Canonical Correlation Analysis

Based on the P-P plot that can be seen in Figure 3.1 to 3.2, the points followed a normal distribution since the residuals were closed to the diagonal lines. Consequently, there was an independence of the error terms. The plots also indicated that there were no outliers in the data. Furthermore, since 606 was more than 20 times the number of variables (which was 24) then the sample size was statistically significant for using the Canonical Correlation Analysis.

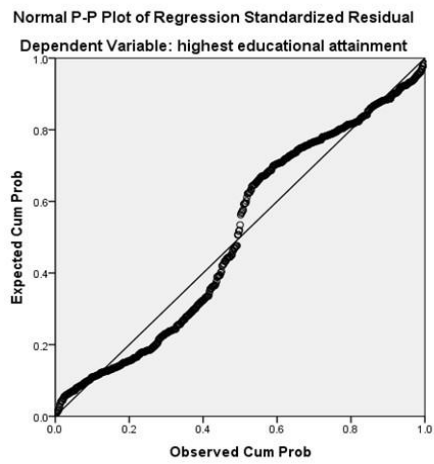
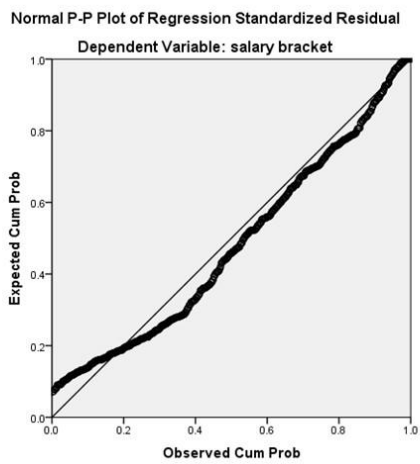
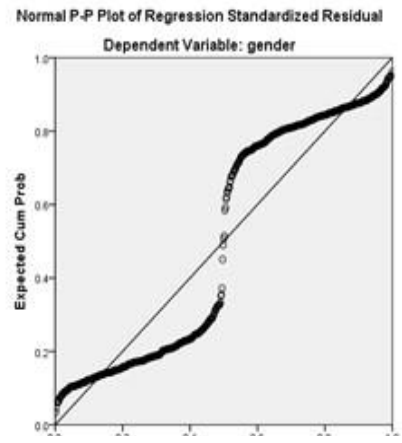
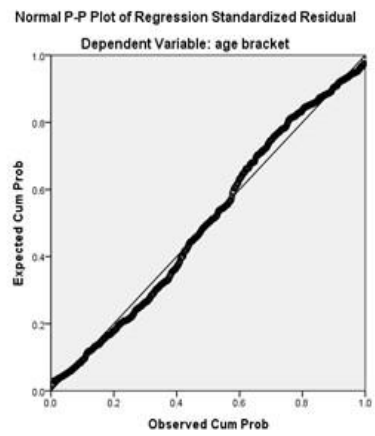


Figure 3.1. P-P Plot on the Preferred Characteristics of Presidentiable across Demographic Profile

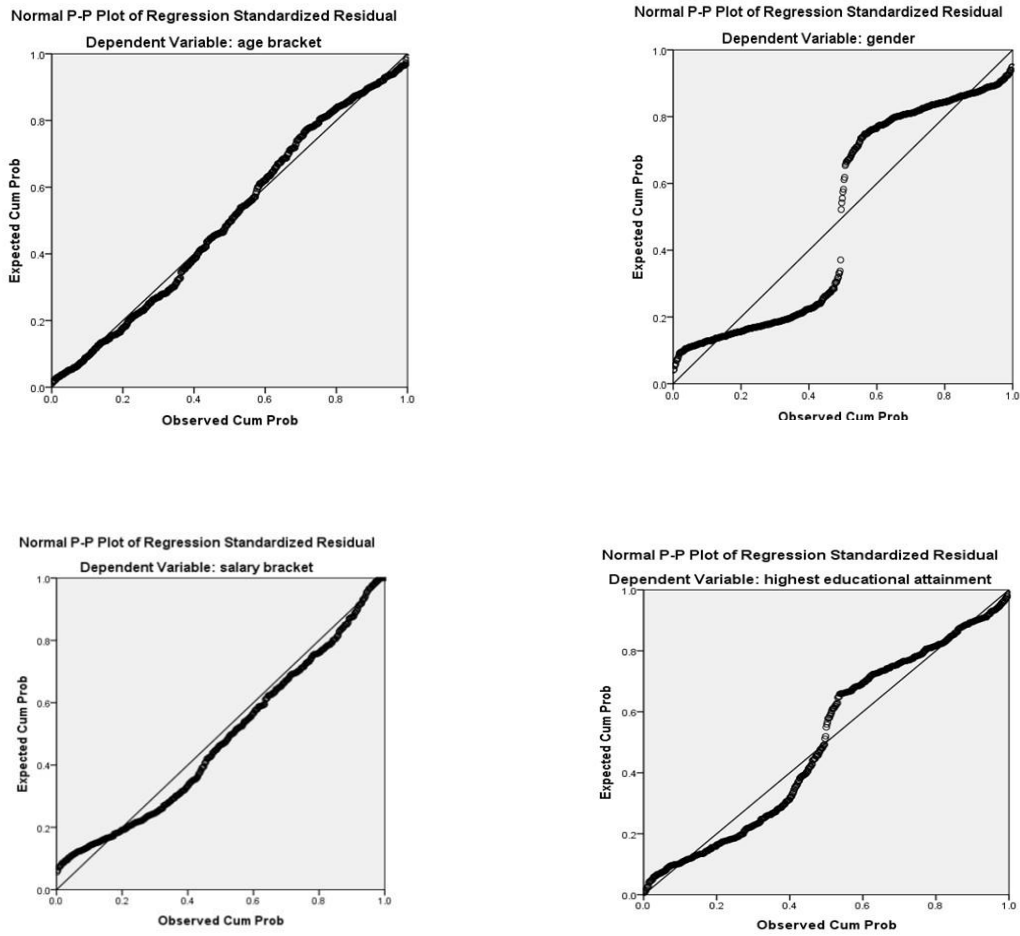


Figure 3.2. P-P Plot on the Preferred Characteristics of Vice Presidentiable across Demographic Profile

Table 3.1 Canonical Correlation Coefficients of Preferred Characteristics of a Presidentiable and the Respondents' Demographic Profile

Independent Variables	Significant Value	Eigenvalues	Correlation Coefficient of Preference Across Variables
Age Bracket	0.000	-0.49	-0.62719
Gender	0.003	-0.18	-0.52310
Educational Attainment	0.000	-0.73	-0.60271
Monthly Salary Bracket	0.006	-0.08	-0.35006

It appeared in Table 3.1 that at 5% level of significance all the demographic profiles of the respondents were correlated with their preferred characteristics of a presidentiable. It means that

the characteristic preference of the Cebuano voters were different across age bracket, gender, educational attainment and their monthly salary bracket.

The degree of their relationships were different: age bracket and educational attainment that had a correlation coefficient of about -62.72% and -60.27%, respectively, means that they had moderate relationship with the characteristic preference of a presidentiable; gender with a correlation coefficient of 52.31% also had a moderate relationship with the characteristic preference; and having a correlation coefficient of just 35%, the monthly salary bracket had a weak relationship with the characteristic preference of a presidentiable. The effect of the negative correlation coefficient in the interpretation is as follows: as the Cebuano voters got older, their standard characteristic preferences become more stringent; and as the educational attainment and monthly salary bracket increased, the standard characteristic preferences of the Cebuano voters become more stringent also.

Using the eigenvalues in Table 3.1, the model that will predict the strength of the choice of characteristics preference by Cebuano voter is given by

$$V_i = -0.49X_{age} - 0.18X_{gender} - 0.73X_{educ} - 0.08X_{salary}$$

This model strengthened the previous results on the degree of the relationship of the demographic profiles with the characteristic preference of a presidentiable. For instance, a female high school student with age in the age bracket 18 to 24 and with no salary gives us $V=-1.95$ while a female of age between 25 to 34 and finished vocational course but with salary between 1-5,000 pesos, $V=-3.25$. Moreover, a female of age between 35 and 44 and finished college with salary of 30,000 to 40,000 pesos gives $V=-4.79$ and a female of age between 45-54 and finished a post graduate course with salary above 60,000 pesos gives $V=-6.25$. Thus, as educational attainment, age and salary increased, the Cebuano electorates became more stringent in their choice of the characteristics of a presidentiable.

Table 3.2 Canonical Correlation Coefficient between the Political Party Affiliation of the Vice Presidentiables Factor Considered by the Cebuano Electorate in Voting Him and the Respondents' Demographic Profile

Independent Variables	Significant Value	Correlation Coefficient of Preference Across Variables
Age Bracket	0.899	-0.68346
Gender	0.033	-0.22734
Educational Attainment	0.394	-0.76470
Monthly Salary Bracket	0.324	-0.26550

Table 3.2 shows that at 5% level of significance only the gender of the Cebuano voters was related with the choice of a vice president who has the same or not the same political party as the president chosen. It means that female Cebuano voters had different preferences as that of the male. But the strength of the said relationship was weak.

Table 3.3 Canonical Correlation Coefficients of Preferred Characteristics of a Vice Presidentiable and the Respondents' Demographic Profile

Independent Variables	Significant Value	Eigenvalues	Correlation Coefficient of Preference Across Variables
Age Bracket	0.000	-0.47	-0.65104
Gender	0.024	-0.21	-0.51831
Educational Attainment	0.000	-0.75	-0.56864
Monthly Salary Bracket	0.012	-0.06	-0.32948

Table 3.3 shows that at 5% level of significance demographic profiles of the respondents were correlated with their preferred characteristics of a vice presidentiable. It means that the characteristic preference of the Cebuano voters were different across age bracket, gender, educational attainment and their monthly salary bracket.

Age bracket, gender, educational attainment and monthly salary bracket had moderate relationship with the character preference of a vice presidentiable. Furthermore, as the Cebuano voters got older, their standard characteristic preferences of a vice presidentiable became more stringent; and as the educational attainment and monthly salary bracket increased, the standard characteristic preferences of a vice presidentiable became more stringent also.

Using the eigenvalues that can be found in Table 3.3, the model

$$V_i = -0.47X_{age} - 0.21X_{gender} - 0.75X_{educ} - 0.06X_{salary}$$

predicts the strength of the choice of characteristics preference V_i of vice presidentiable with respect to their demographic profile. This likewise strengthened the generalization derived above on the degree of the relationship between the demographic profile and the choice of the characteristic preference of a vice presidentiable.

IV. Correspondence Analysis

Two dimensional perceptual map was used since two dimensions were enough already to explain the total variance of the data. The first perceptual map shows the mapping of the characteristics of a presidentiable with the age brackets while the perceptual map beside the first one shows the mapping of the characteristics of a vice presidentiable with the age brackets.

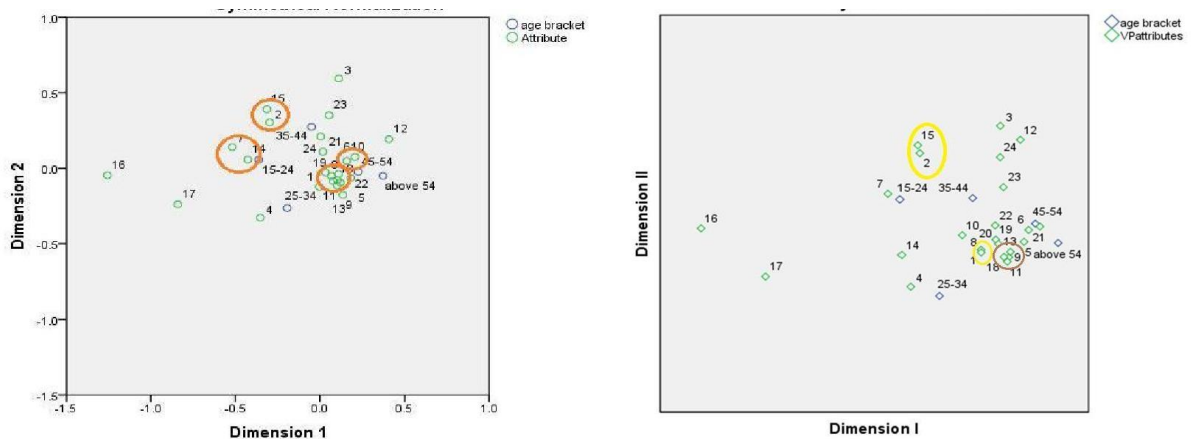


Figure 4.1. Perceptual Map of the Attributes of the Presidentiable/Vice Presidentiable with respect to Age Bracket

Figure 4.1 shows that the Cebuano voters of age 45-54 and above 54 years old seemed to have the same preferences of a presidentiable while age brackets 15-24, 25-34 and 35-44 formed another group with the same preferences. The characteristics of a president preferred by the Cebuano electorates above 45 years old were of Attribute 1 (has good communication skills), Attribute 5 (graduated college), Attribute 6 (from prestigious university like UP, Ateneo or De La Salle), Attribute 8 (has served as a senator or congressman or any other position in politics), Attribute 9 (has good platforms), Attribute 10 (a candidate of a party that they were supporting), Attribute 11 (no issue of corruption), Attribute 13 (does not blame others for his/her mistakes), Attribute 19 (has a good personality or character) and Attribute 22 (is a relative). On the other hand, the characteristics of a president/vice president preferred by the Cebuano electorates of age 15-44 were the following: Attribute 2 (a tv/radio personality), Attribute 4 (from military), Attribute 7 (awife/husband/sister/ brother/daughter/son of a politician, Attribute 14 (somebody to be feared of) and Attribute 15 (allows divorce).

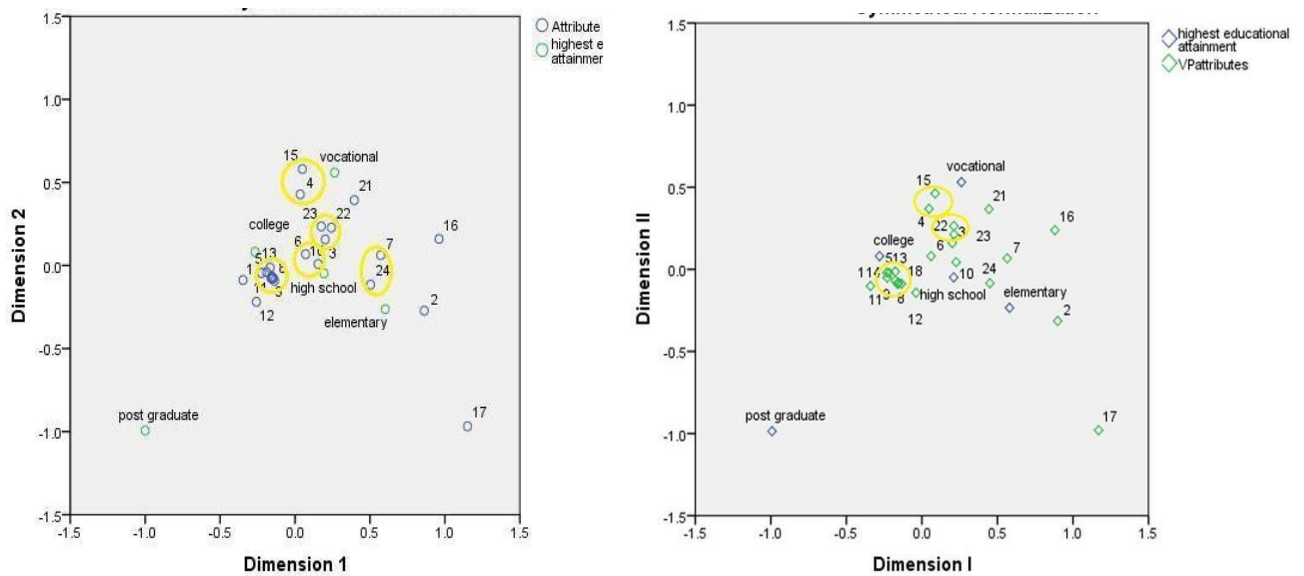


Figure 4.2. Perceptual Map of the Attributes of the Presidentiable/Vice Presidentiable with respect to Educational Attainment

Figure 4.2 shows that the Cebuano voters who were high school and college graduates had the same preferences of characteristics of a presidentiable/vice presidentiable. These preferences were of Attribute 3 (introduced himself/herself through advertisements in tv), Attribute 6 (from prestigious university like UP, Ateneo or De La Salle), Attribute 10 (candidate of a party they were supporting), Attribute 22 (a relative) and Attribute 23 (endorsed by their religious group leader). Preferences of Cebuano voters who were vocational graduates were Attribute 4 (from military) and Attribute 15 (allows divorce). Those who were elementary graduates Cebuano voters preferred Attribute 7 (a wife/ husband/sister/brother/daughter/son of a politician) and Attribute 24 (dictated by their religious group leader).

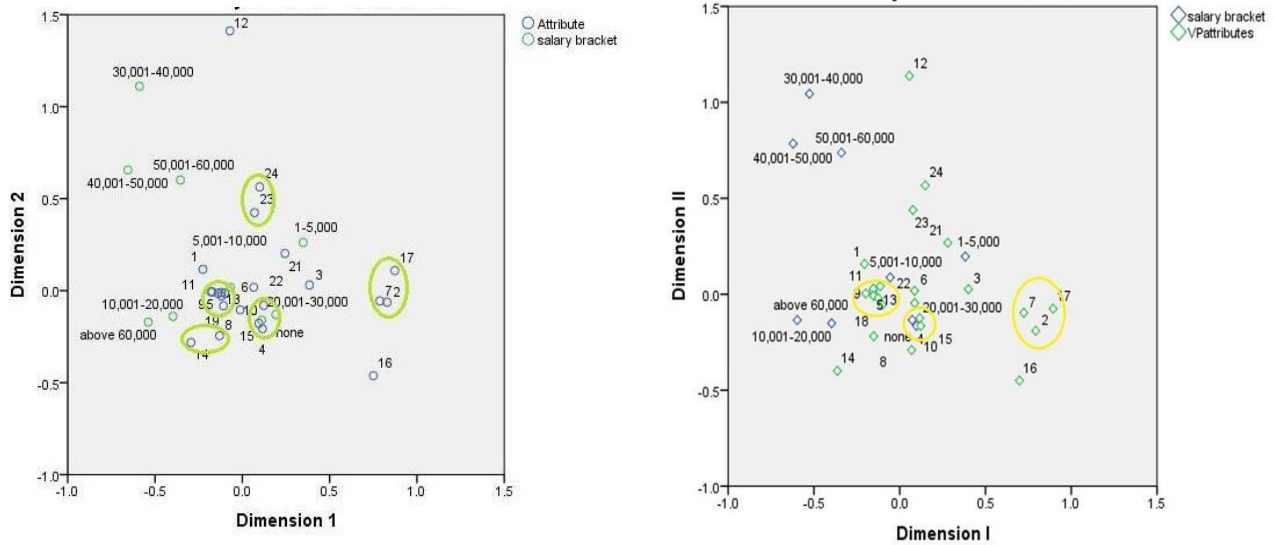


Figure 4.3. Perceptual Map of the Attributes of the Presidentiable/Vice Presidentiable with respect to Salary Bracket

Figure 4.3 shows that the Cebuano voters with no salary or with a monthly salary bracket 20,001 to 30,000 pesos had the same characteristics preference of a presidentiable/vice presidentiable. These were Attribute 4 (from military), Attribute 10 (candidate of the party they were supporting) and Attribute 15 (allows divorce). Cebuano voters with salary bracket of 5,001 to 10,000 pesos had the following preferences: Attribute 23 (endorsed by the religious group leader) and Attribute 24 (dictated by their religious group leader). While those receiving salary between 10,001 to 20,000 pesos preferred Attribute 5 (graduated college), Attribute 9 (has served as a senator/congressman/any other positions in politics) and Attribute 13 (does not blame others for his/her mistakes).

V. Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion (fgd) conducted were participated by the voters from different cities and municipalities of Cebu province and were divided into two batches. The first batch consisted of Cebuano voters with age between 18-44 years old while the second batch consisted of Cebuano voters above 45 years old. Each batch had an equal distribution of male and female, monthly salary bracket and educational attainment. These groupings were based on the result of the correspondence analysis perceptual mapping.

The outcomes of the focus group discussion validated the results of the survey. However, the following standard characteristics were added: 1) capable of protecting the country from national and international threat; and 2) had the same cultural linguistic affiliation with them. On the other hand, those above 45 years old preferred someone who had: 1) strong personality; 2) credible; 3) reliable; 4) good plans for the next 6 years; and 5) been a least evil among the candidates.

Both groups agreed that popularity had nothing to do with their choice of candidates. In fact, Fernando Poe Jr. did not win in Cebu when he ran for presidency against Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. They thought that GMA had superior characteristics in terms of educational attainment and experience in politics.

The Cebuano voters on the other hand, added preference of the characteristics of a vice president as follows: 1) good family reputation and track record; 2) whose personality would match with the president; 3) has good communication skills; 4) can push through the mandate of the

president. They said that their vice president may be of different political party affiliation to that of the president whom they would vote.

In the recent 2016 presidential election, Cebu voters considered the presidential and vice presidential debates in their decision of who to vote. Other factors that influenced their choice of president and vice president were the following: 1) debt of gratitude (utang na loob); 2) family; 3) friends; 4) teachers and classmates; 5) social media like Facebook; 6) advertisements; 7) candidate's background; 8) platform; and 9) candidates' lifestyle.

Both batches believed that Facebook played a big role in choosing a president/vice president. Reading the comments, opinions, views and news in the Facebook helped them decide which among the candidates they had to vote.

Cebuano voters considered a presidential/vice presidential candidate who could do something on social reforms like solving the criminality problems, ending the contractualization of laborers/employees, improving the medical services and having a fast government services.

Cebuano voters claimed that they were sensitive on political issues, observant, inquisitive, wise and firm on their choice of a candidate to vote.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The characteristics of presidential/vice presidential candidates most preferred by the Cebuano electorates were prioritized as follows: 1) has a heart for the poor and the needy; 2) can provide occupation; 3) has a good personality/character; 4) has good platforms and 5) has no issue of corruption. On the other hand, their least preferred characteristics of a presidential candidate were the following: 1) gives money during campaign; 2) supports gay marriage; 3) had not held an office in politics yet; 4) allows divorce; and 5) who is dictated by their religious group leader. Similar list of characteristics were least preferred characteristics of a vice presidential candidate.

The relationship between the characteristics of a presidential/vice presidential candidate and the respondents' demographic profile were determined. The results were as follows: 1) the characteristics preference of a presidential candidate were different across demographic profile; 2) as the Cebuano voters got older, their educational attainment got higher and the economic status increased, their standard characteristic preferences of a presidential candidate became more stringent; 3) more than half of the Cebuano electorate would vote for a vice president that was not necessarily in the same party of the president they voted; 4) female Cebuano voters had different preferences as that of the male but the strength of this relationship of the gender preferences was weak; 5) the Cebuano voters' characteristic preference of a vice presidential candidate were different across age bracket, gender, educational attainment and their economic status; and 6) as the Cebuano voters got older, the educational attainment and economic status increased, the standard for characteristic preferences of a vice presidential candidate became stringent also.

Consequently, the study revealed that the Cebuano voters above 45 years old had the same preferences of a presidential candidate while age brackets 15-44 formed another group with the same preferences. The characteristics of a president preferred by the Cebuano electorates above 45 years old were: 1) has good communication skills; 2) graduated college; 3) from prestigious university like UP, Ateneo or De La Salle; 4) has served as a senator or congressman or any other position in politics; 5) has good platforms; 6) a candidate of a party that they were supporting; 7) no issue of corruption; 8) does not blame others for his/her mistake; 9) has a good personality or character 10) is a relative. On the other hand, the characteristics of a president/vice president preferred by the Cebuano electorates of age 15-44 were: 1) a tv/radio personality, 2) from military; 3) a wife/husband/sister/ brother/daughter/son of a politician; 4) somebody to be feared of; and 5) allows divorce.

High school and college graduates Cebuano voters had the same preferences as follows: 1) introduced himself/herself through advertisements in tv; 2) from prestigious university like UP, Ateneo or De La Salle; 3) candidate of a party they were supporting; 4) a relative; 5) endorsed by their religious group leader. Preferences of Cebuano voters who were vocational graduates were: 1) from military; 2) allows divorce. Elementary graduates Cebuano voters preferred: 1) a wife/husband/sister/ brother/daughter/son of a politician; and 2) dictated by their religious group leader.

The Cebuano voters with no salary or with a monthly salary of 20,001 to 30,000 pesos had the same characteristics preference of a presidential/vice presidential. These were: 1) from military); 2) candidate of the party they were supporting; 3) allows divorce. Cebuano voters with salary brackets 5,001 to 10,000 pesos had the following preferences: 1) endorsed by the religious group leader; and 2) dictated by their religious group leader). While those receiving salary between 10,001 to 20,000 pesos preferred: 1) graduated college; 2) has served as a senator/congressman/any other positions in politics; 3) does not blame others for his/her mistakes.

The model revealed that only educational attainment was a strong predictor of the choice of preferences. It is recommended that other demographic profiles such as religion, language spoken, etc. be considered as predictors of the choice of preferences.

Another study that will include the characteristics mentioned in the section of the Focus Group Discussion is recommended. It is interesting also to study the voting behavior of the Cebuano electorate towards local government candidates such as the mayor/vice mayor and/or governor/vice governor.

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