SIX CENTURIES OF POLITICAL DYNASTIES:
Why the Philippines will Forever be Ruled by Political Clans?

Center for People Empowerment in Governance
Bobby M. Tuazon
www.cenpeg.org
POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN THE PHILIPPINES TODAY

- (2010 elections) There are 178 dominant political dynasties today (excluding those in local areas); of these 100 or 56% are old elites and 78 or 44% are new elites emerging from Edsa 1 (1986) and the 1987 post-Marcos elections;

- House of Representatives: From 64% dominance by political families, to 68% (or 115 families) after May 2010. Higher in the Senate: 80% of the current 23 members;

- Party-list system (15th Congress): 52 or 91% of the 56 seats held by millionaires and multi-millionaires; 10 nominees come from political clans
POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN THE PHILIPPINES TODAY

- 94% of the provinces (73 out of total 80) have political dynasties; average number of political families per province is 2.31
- Single family monopoly in 6 provinces (25 years): Ynares (Rizal), Ortega (La Union), Dimaporo (Lanao del Norte), Villafuerte (Camarines Sur), Petilla (Leyte), and Plaza (Agusan del Sur)
- Same period: 19 families exclusively controlled elections in their congressional districts.
- (2010) 17 provinces had political families with governors and representatives; eight of these had the same family as governor and lone congressional district
- (2007) 40% of 79 provinces had congressman and governor related
HORIZONTAL & VERTICAL EXPANSION OF DYNASTIES

• Members of the lower House expand by having their kin elected as district representatives in other provinces;
• While those in local government units (LGUs) such as governors and mayors have blood relatives as vice-mayors and councilors or in Congress;
• Example: In 2013, 73 members of the Ampatuan clan in Maguindanao are running for office
ROOTS OF DYNASTIES:
From local elite to national elite

• Pre-colonial: *Maharlika* class
• Spanish colonialism (400 years): Local elite – former *maharlika* class (gobernadorcillo, principalia) for local administration & taxation
• US colonialism (50 years): Taft limited voting/candidacy to the propertied class (less than 1% of the population);
• Local elections (1903) + national elections (1907) catapulted the local elite to national positions
ROOTS OF DYNASTIES: 1907 to present

• From 1907 to 2004 (1st Philippine Assembly to present Congress of 2 Houses): home to 160 families continuously serving each with 2+ members, accounting for 424 of 2,407 men and women elected during the period.

• Post-war House of Representatives (1946 Congress): of 98 congressmen elected, 61 came from families with elective positions from 1907 to 1941.
ROOTS OF DYNASTIES: Immutable & unequal socio-economic structure

ECONOMIC MONOPOLIZATION:

• Landowning system
• Mining, logging, sugar, tobacco
• Real estate, other industrial enterprises, media
• Links to banks, financial institutions, tie-ups with foreign and local big businesses

ECONOMIC POWER BREEDS POLITICAL POWER
POLITICAL SYSTEM Perpetuates Dynasties

ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF DYNASTIES:

• Studies of Congress & Governors (1907 to present): dynastic candidates have greater chances of winning over non-dynastic candidates

• A big percentage (up to 70%) of winning dynastic candidates have relatives in other positions
PERPETUATING DYNASTIES:
Other conditions & advantages

• Traditional kinship network, political machineries
• Wealth & property
• Access to government resources

• Weak political party system
• Weak electoral system
• Culture of powerlessness among the people/voters
• Others: Warlordism (PAGs), etc.
WARLORDISM & Private Armed Groups

2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Noberto Gonzales</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Noberto Gonzales</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Jesus Verzosa</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Jesus Verzosa</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Behnado Año Quiñó</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Generoso Cenismo Jr</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Generoso Cenismo Jr</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Alvin Paredes</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NUMBER OF PRIVATE ARMED GROUPS PER PROVINCE

CenPEG
Center for People Empowerment in Governance (CenPEG)
CONCLUSION