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## Local Power in the Philippines

Before taking up the case of Naga City, this chapter will examine the theoretical framework for local power in the Philippines. Generally, there are two theoretical dimensions in the arguments on local politics. One is a distinction between structuralist and culturalist. The other is a distinction among the structuralists between state-centered and society-centered perspectives.<sup>1</sup> The culturalist and society-centered perspectives, which have been dominant in the field, will be reviewed first followed by a comparative review of the state-centered perspective.

### **Sociocultural Approach**

The study of local politics in the Philippines, like that in developing countries in general, is dominated by both the cultural approach and the society-centered structural approach.

The cultural approach regards the cultural values of the traditional society as independent variables. The cultural values are perceived to work as norms or standards that decide how one should behave, therefore they are considered to define the patterns of politics. On the other hand, the society-centered structural approach stresses the importance of social structure and relationships, like family, kinship affinity, and religious relations. While appearing to overlap each other, the two differ in their emphasis. The cultural approach treats “ideas” or “consciousness” as the basis of politics, while the society-

centered structural approach emphasizes the structural framework as the factor deciding actors' behavior. But both approaches are often considered as mutually complementary and are combined in actual analyses. Cultural values are regarded as bonds that hold the social structure together. This combination of cultural and society-centered structural approaches can be regarded as a sociocultural approach.

Studies on Philippine local politics have very much followed the sociocultural approach. They see traditional rural Philippine society, free from any external influence, as the prototype of Philippine local society. At the same time, they regard the values and relationships which exist in such a prototype society as continuing to form the basis for political patterns in the Philippines. An early study by Jean Grossholtz, based on a discussion of political culture in comparative politics, stated that "successful political development in the Philippines owes much to two related factors: historical experience and cultural patterns" (Grossholtz 1964, p. 5). She emphasized in particular the significance of the traditional social and cultural framework of reciprocity in Philippine politics.

Sociologists and anthropologists started researching Philippine local politics ahead of political scientists, and they developed their sociocultural understanding as a reflection of their discipline. Frank Lynch (1959) pointed out the two-layer stratification of "big people" and "little people" through his field work in a Bicol town. Influenced by Lynch's work, Mary Hollnsteiner (1963, 1973) underscored the role of reciprocal relationships based on traditional cultural norms like *utang na loob* (literally, a debt inside oneself or sense of gratitude), *compadrazgo* (ritual kinship), and kinship in local politics. These researchers were the pioneers in the study of Philippine local politics.

The sociocultural perspective of these pioneers was further elaborated by the argument for patron-client relationships. A patron-client relationship is defined as a whole-person reciprocal dyadic tie between persons of different status based on the values and social relations of traditional society.<sup>2</sup> Carl Landé (1965) is regarded as the distinguished work which incorporated the patron-client framework into the analysis of Philippine local politics.

Landé found that the structure of Philippine politics, especially political parties, was made up of vertical links of patron-client relationships. He saw the former two-party system of the Nacionalista Party and Liberal Party as the product of vertical patron-client links from the national level to the community level reflecting the bipolar tendency of political groupings at each level.

On the other hand, Landé pointed out the existence of factions as basic political units at the local level and explained that local power is maintained through such factions. He regarded a faction as a "loose combination of a

number of such family constellations with a rather large and prosperous family constellation at its core and smaller or less prosperous ones at its periphery” (Landé 1965, p. 17). Landé explained that each family constellation is connected to the other through marriage, ritual kinship, or patron-client relationships.

Landé also saw that private wealth based on landownership plays a crucial role in local politics. He even asserted that because of their wealth landlords can resist any attempt by the state to undermine their political clout, which is relatively independent of government favors (Landé 1965, p. 5)

Landé’s argument is typical of the sociocultural approach in the sense that he tried to explain local power by means of patron-client relationships, local factions based on family and kinship, and private wealth based on landownership. In his argument, political resources are in the society and culture. There is no room for the state to intervene. Landé’s work has become a classic in the study of Philippine politics and continues to be quoted by political researchers. However, this argument has been challenged by revisionist studies coming from the modernization school. These studies took up two points in particular: changes in leadership and in political ties. Observations by modernization school researchers found that political ties at the local level are cultivated more specifically for political purpose than for ‘whole-person’ relationships. At the same time, they have pointed out that non-landlord professional politicians who do not have so much personal wealth have emerged as political leaders.

The main concept of the modernization school is that traditional patron-client relationships are transformed as the socioeconomic situation changes. The transformation shows up in particular as changes in the ties of loyalty to political parties. James Scott (1969, p. 1146) presents three phases in such changes in accordance with the transformation of the socioeconomic situation: (1) political ties are determined by traditional patterns of deference in traditional society. Then (2) vertical ties emerge based on reciprocity, especially with concrete, short-run, material inducements, as commercialization advances and competition among political leaders intensifies. Finally (3) horizontal class or occupational ties are formed as the economy grows, and loyalty is decided based on policies or ideologies.

Kit G. Machado (1971, 1974a, 1974b) introduced this concept into the study of Philippine local politics.<sup>3</sup> Machado’s studies pointed out the emergence of “new men” who are non-landlord professional politicians from relatively lower social classes. Such new men appeared especially in localities where social mobilization is high and concentration of landownership is low. At the same time, instead of factions that Landé pointed out, Machado claimed

that political machines have emerged in such localities, and these machines specialize in political activities and provide their members with concrete benefits. These political machines are composed of organized grassroots-level leaders (*lidors*) who collect votes at the barrio (present-day barangay) level. The modernization school argues that the political machine is different from Landé's factions, since the political machine is based on short-term benefits while the faction is based on the personal relationship of kinships, patron-client relations, and other kinds of social relationships.

The modernization school emphasizes the socioeconomic transformation and intensification of political competition among leaders as the key inducing change, and this argument is widely accepted and applied in analyses of urban politics (Nowak and Snyder 1970, 1974a, 1974b; Leichter 1975; Magno 1993). In urban area especially, political groupings based on short-term businesslike relations are more common than factions which are expected to exist over the long term. And political leaders in urban areas emerge mostly from the ranks of the professionals and are different from the wealthy landlords or capitalists in rural areas. These observations have led researchers to accept the modernization school's explanations of urban politics in the Philippines.

However, the modernizationist approach is still part of the sociocultural perspective. Its emphasis is on the transformation of society, and the core of the argument is that the transformation of society changes the patterns of politics, meaning it still considers that society defines the patterns of local politics. Regarding political resources, Machado (1974a, p. 527) hints that the new professional politicians rely on external resources. Machado does not elaborate on what the external resources are, but it seems that they are the personal resources of higher-level provincial or national politicians. In this regard, the modernization school has paid little attention to the state.<sup>4</sup>

The martial law period, which began in 1972, shut down local politics, and congressional and local elections no longer took place regularly.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the national government increased its intervention to local matters. This process constrained political activities at the local level, and in a reflection of the situation, studies on local politics almost ceased to take place. Only after the "EDSA (Epifanio de los Santos Avenue) Revolution" in 1986, which expelled President Marcos and restored pre-martial law institutions including elections, did the study of local politics become vigorous again.

However, studies on post-EDSA Revolution local politics generally emphasized the continuity with the pre-EDSA Revolution period, although there are some works that have sought to point out changes in local politics by focusing on the importance of issues and ideas (Kerkvliet and Mojares 1991; Kerkvliet 1995). This tendency to see continuity can be attributed to the

continuation of the people holding positions of local power all across the Philippines despite the large political change at the macro level from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. The words like “warlord,” “*trapo* (traditional politician),” “cacique,” and “boss” are often used to describe local power holders as if these local leaders rule their bailiwicks without any intervention by the state.<sup>6</sup> These studies highlight two characteristics: (1) family rule (dynastic rule) in local areas which is characterized by the monopoly of public offices by certain family members or the transfer of public offices within a family from one generation to another, and (2) the exercise of violence such as having private armies and carrying out political assassinations.<sup>7</sup>

Alfred McCoy (1994) elaborated on the “warlord” argument by focusing on the relationship between the state and political families. He argued that the weak state and strong families created the pattern of Philippine politics. He postulated four points: “(a) that family-based oligarchies are a significant factor in Philippine history; (b) that relations among elite ‘families’ have a discernible influence on the course of Philippine politics; (c) that elite families, organized on complex patterns of bilateral kinship, bring a contradictory mix of unified kinship networks and a fissiparous, even volatile factionalism into the political arena; and (d) that the interaction between powerful rent-seeking families and a correspondingly weak Philippine state has been synergistic” (McCoy 1994, p. 19). McCoy academically rearranged the “warlord” argument. His argument emphasized the significance of families as the basis of local power. In this sense it repeats the argument of the sociocultural approach. But, at the same time, it is noteworthy that he began to pay attention to the state concerning the aspect of rent seeking. The issue of the role of the state has introduced new questions in the study of Philippine local politics.<sup>8</sup>

### **State-Centered Approach**

The sociocultural perspective has features in common with Joel S. Migdal’s “strong societies and weak state” framework (Migdal 1988). Migdal developed his argument on the assumption that in third world countries there is a struggle between state leaders and social organizations (or strongmen in society) to mobilize people and resources. He argued that social organizations dominate in the struggle, and the state has no capability to achieve social control. Thus he considered that society remains fragmented and therefore has the power to define the pattern of politics due to its dominance. In effect he treated society and culture as key independent variables.

The sociocultural approach has presumed that the Philippine state is incapable of controlling the society. Consequently, the Philippine state is seen as

having no significant role in shaping politics. Clearly the classic patron-client perspective (or Landé's factional model) is in line with this argument. The modernization school and the "warlord" argument pay some attention to the state as a source of resources, but do not consider that the state itself defines the political patterns.

However, some recent works have started to challenge such presumptions. Paul D. Hutchcroft (1991, 1998) focused greater attention on the state, saying that "access to the state apparatus remains the major avenue to private accumulation, and the quest for 'rent-seeking' opportunities continues to bring a stampede of favored elites and would-be favored elites to the gates of the presidential palace" (Hutchcroft 1998, pp. 414–15). McCoy's argument about the state has been apparently influenced by Hutchcroft's argument of the patrimonial state.

John T. Sidel (1999) is a stimulating work that pays much attention to the role of the state. Sidel considers that the state shapes politics, and he emphasizes two points as important factors explaining Philippine politics. One is the institutional structure of the Philippine state, which facilitates private control over local coercive and extractive power by means of its feature of subordinating the state apparatus to elected officials. Another is "primitive accumulation" in the Philippines, which he describes as "a phase of capitalist development in which a significant section of the population loses direct control over the means of production and direct access to means of subsistence and is reduced to a state of economic insecurity and dependence on scarce wage labor" (Sidel 1999, p. 18). In such a circumstance, he asserts, "considerable economic resources and prerogatives remain in the 'public' domain and secure (private) property rights have not yet been firmly established by the state" (Sidel 1999, p. 18). Sidel then points out the emergence of "predatory power brokers who achieve monopolistic control over both coercive and economic resources within given territorial jurisdictions or bailiwicks" (Sidel 1999, p. 19) and calls these people "bosses."<sup>9</sup> To counter the argument that the Philippine state is weak, Sidel claims that "while the Philippine state appears relatively weak in its failings as a 'developmental state,' it has also been shown to be somewhat stronger in its capacity as a 'predatory state'" (Sidel 1999, p. 146).<sup>10</sup>

Patricio N. Abinales (2000) also sees importance in the role of the state and its institutions. Abinales tries to modify the "strong societies and weak states" framework by claiming that the supposed distinction between the state and society in the "strong societies and weak states" framework does not clearly exist in reality, and this ambiguity of the border between the state and society needs to be taken into consideration. He points out the dual face of the social strong man as a representative of the society to the state, and simultaneously,

that of the state to the society. In such a situation, the notion of a “mutual accommodation” between the state and the society rather than that of a weak state vis-à-vis the society is more appropriate in explaining Philippine politics. Abinales proceeds to stress the importance of institutions of “mutual accommodation” between the state and society, especially the electoral system as rules in the game for access to resources and participation in national politics. In his argument, institutions function as parameters defining the patterns of politics as rules of the game. Although Abinales focuses on the relationship between the state and society, the state and its intuitions are crucial in his argument.

The arguments of Sidel and Abinales on the state and its institutions are augmented by earlier case studies on political leaders. During the American colonial period, leaders like Manuel Tinio, Manuel Quezon, and Sergio Osmeña Sr. were able to climb the ladder of power through access to the state apparatus with the support of colonial officials and utilizing government institutions (Hayden 1942; Paredes 1989; Cullinane 1984). Even the accumulation of wealth, be it in land or the expansion of private business, was made possible through access to the state apparatus like financing, concessions, or regulations. Umehara (1992, p. 107) showed that the process of land accumulation was enhanced by the American colonial administration’s undertakings in the early twentieth century to secure land titles. The state’s power to recognize the ownership of land was the basis for land accumulation.<sup>11</sup>

The state matters even in Philippine local politics. Since the Philippine state has largely failed to promote economic development, unlike other neighboring countries, it is perceived as weak, at least in terms of implementing development policies. The Philippine state may be “weak” in terms of some “attributes,” like the degree of power concentrated in the executive, or the quantity and quality of the state bureaucracy. But “conventional dichotomies like ‘strong’ versus ‘weak’ mislabel” certain states (Evans 1995, p. 45). As the empirical studies mentioned above have pointed out, political power cannot be acquired or maintained without access to the state resources, and local politicians try hard to win election to public office, or at least keep strong ties with persons in public office, since they recognize that being in public office is crucial for maintaining political influence. In addition, the state matters not only because of its “attributes,” but also because of the influence of its organizational structures on overall patterns of activities and state relations with the society as defined by its institutions (Skocpol 1985; Mabuchi 1987).<sup>12</sup> If such aspects of the state are taken into consideration, the Philippine state emerges with the capacity to shape politics.

The Philippine state matters in two ways. Firstly, the state holds relatively more resources than the society does, contrary to the conventional perspec-

tives. The country's delayed industrialization makes resources in the society scarce, and it causes the state to hold comparatively more resources. In such a situation, control over state resources becomes the key factor to determine patterns of power. The state has resources like (1) finance which facilitates the distribution of both divisible and indivisible benefits; (2) granting of credit ranging from small-scale livelihood programs to the financing of state-owned or -controlled institutions; (3) regulatory power including issuance of business licenses, granting of concessions, land reclassification, etc.; (4) employment in the government sector; and (5) physical coercive power like the police and military forces.

Secondly, institutions of the state provide rules for the political game. Basically the institutions of the Philippine state were inherited from the American colonial administration and formulated after the American system.<sup>13</sup>

There are several important institutions, such as regular elections, the institutional framework of central-local relations, and the civil service spoils system. Regular elections, both national and local, function as the way of accessing the state resources. Power seekers need to win votes to gain elective offices through which they can control the state resources. That encourages them to set up systems to win elections.

The institutional framework of central-local relations is significant simply because it defines the rules of resource allocation and utilization.<sup>14</sup> The state's resources are divided into national and local ones. Local government institutions decide how the resources are allocated nationally and locally as well as the way national resources are channeled to local governments. Local powers seek additional supplies of state resources from the national government and try to monopolize access to both national and local resources within their bailiwicks. Such a situation pushes local politicians to form coalitions with national political figures, especially with the president. If a local power holder fails to construct collaborative relations with national power holders, state resources at the national level could be channeled to his opponents. Such a situation severely endangers a local power holder since he loses the monopoly over state resources in his territory. Moreover, changes in the institutional framework of central-local relations lead to changes in the patterns of maintaining local power. The remarkable example was the martial law government of President Marcos, where his allies in national politics manipulated the makeup of local power in each region through the increased intervention of national government in local affairs.<sup>15</sup> Along with access to state resources, the pork barrel system allows members of the House of Representatives to utilize state resources to keep their political clout in their home districts. These congressmen also play a crucial role in central-local relations.



The most noteworthy institutional feature is the huge amount of discretionary control that elected officials have over the state apparatus, which includes their control over financial and regulatory resources as well as the spoils system in the bureaucracy. The Philippine bureaucracy is composed of many coterminous, temporary, casual, and contractual employees, and elective officials have the discretionary power to appoint them (Sto. Tomas 1995; Kawanaka 1996). This institutional feature is apparently a copy of “Jacksonian Democracy” in the American political institutions.<sup>16</sup> Elective officials—from president to mayors—decide how to utilize the state’s resources without any opposition from the bureaucracy which is subordinate to elective officials through appointments under the spoils system. Along with the president’s powerful prerogatives over national resources, governors and mayors hold various privileges like releasing funds, regulatory powers, and appointing government employees. Senators and congressmen also have rights to decide how to distribute pork barrel resources in addition to their legislative power. Within such an institutional setting, holding elective offices is crucial for attaining and sustaining power. Why politicians compete hard to gain elective office every three years can be readily understood when the significance of the state is brought into the discussion.

### **The Political Machine**

But even when recognizing the significance of the state, the impact of socioeconomic change, particularly urbanization, should not be disregarded. If elections are important, the voters’ socioeconomic situation also matters because it sets the basic conditions for voters’ preferences. The political machine can be grasped within such a perspective. Basically, the machine can be understood as the elite’s strategic choices during particular phases of urbanization within the framework established by the state.

The sociocultural approach continues to see the political machine as a reflection of values and social structure even if it is a result of the transformation of patron-client relationships as mentioned above. In this sense, it sees the political machine as created by the demands from the voters based on their cultural background or “ethos.” This is, in effect, a voter demand side explanation.<sup>17</sup>

However, the study of Naga and other case studies (Mojares 1986, 1994) in the Philippines show that the demand side perspective cannot sufficiently explain the emergence of the political machine. The machine is organized on the initiatives of the political elite. It is set up by the elite as a suitable political institution for keeping their monopoly on resources and their effective control

over these resources and over grassroots leaders and voters.<sup>18</sup> It is a strategic choice by the elite within a certain structural framework. The political machine provides the elite with several advantages: (1) to manage resources under a unitary system which is a key to resource monopoly, (2) to hold and watch over grassroots-level leaders using rewards and sanctions, (3) to activate such leaders for elections purposes, and (4) to give the local elite bargaining power against national level politicians who need the machine's network at the local level for their elections. These advantages push the local elite to create a political machine as a suitable strategic choice.

The political machine functions in two ways to achieve the above-mentioned advantages. The first and basic function is exchange; loyalty and rewards are exchanged through the machine. But it is not enough to focus only on this function because the increase or decrease of support and loyalty from voters is not in direct proportion to quantity of rewards supplied. Even a small quantity of benefits can gain substantial support.

The machine's second and more significant function is the ability to sanction. Due to the scarcity of resources in the society, grassroots leaders and voters always seek access to the state's resources. Cutting such access to state resources immediately means deprivation from the resources. By hinting at sanctions to prevent especially disloyal grassroots leaders from access to resources, the elite can maintain the loyalty of subordinates and control the exchange of rewards and support.

In order to make sanctions effective, the political machine needs to keep its monopoly over resources. Thus, monopoly over resources is more important than the quantity of benefits supplied.<sup>19</sup> To keep the machine strong, the power holder needs to maintain its capability to control the resources. Moreover, monopoly over resources in a locality is not attained only through control over the resources of the local government. As already mentioned, channeling national resources to the locality needs to be under the control of the power holder's machine. The frequent party switching observed in Philippine politics is related to this aspect. While needing to maintain his monopoly over resources in his bailiwick, the local power holder always seeks to put the inflow of resources from the national level under his own control. Therefore he has to open up a channel to the incumbent president. If the national resources were channeled to his opponents, the local power holder would be in jeopardy of losing his monopoly control.

A point to be noted is that political machines depend on each local politician. They are not incorporated into the political parties in the Philippines due to the absence of cohesive political parties. National politicians need the local machines for their campaigns while local politicians expect them to facilitate

the inflow of national resources. Therefore, whenever an election period comes, both national and local politicians need to work out tactical alliances with each other. Political parties in the Philippines may be described as short-term alliances among national figures and local political machines.

### **Significance of “Good Governance”**

While political machines continue to exist in the Philippines, there are some assertions that a “new breed” of local politicians is emerging. Young congressmen who are called the “Spice Boys” may be a good example. Although they are from established political families, they show a certain idealism and concern with good governance and morality.<sup>20</sup> There are other examples of local politicians who are known to collaborate with nongovernmental organizations, or who have managerial skills acquired from their experience in business.<sup>21</sup> Jesse Robredo, who is dealt with in this study is a politician in this category. How might this new breed of politician and their politics be analyzed?

There is the example of the “reformist” movement in American urban politics which brought the demises of the political machine. For treating politicians who have appealed to morality, a few scholars on Philippine politics have been influenced especially by the “moral appeals” argument as an explanation for the decline of political machines in American politics.<sup>22</sup> The sociocultural approach makes the “moral appeals” argument on the basis of cultural background in the formulation of the machine. Moral appeals, which are supposed to shun corruption and create good government, can also be perceived as an ethos.<sup>23</sup> Mark R. Thompson (1995, pp. 29–32) discusses “moral appeals” in the Philippines by referring to American urban reformers.<sup>24</sup> Benedict J. Kerkvliet (1995, p. 419) asserts, but without mentioning American political machines, that “. . . principles, beliefs about what is best for a constituency or a class of people or a nation, assessments of what is right or wrong beyond the personal, and many other considerations are also pervasive.” Mark Macdonald Turner (1991, p. 34) points out the significance of charisma, factional splits, issues, and a popular desire for moral regeneration and peace based on his research in Zamboanga City. These studies stress ideas or beliefs as a crucial political resource especially for reformist politicians.

Ideas, integrity, efficiency, and morality are important factors, and the emergence of the “new breed” of politicians certainly reflects people’s tiredness with *trapo* (traditional politicians) who pursue private wealth without paying attention to the public welfare. But such factors should not be discussed purely as a matter of consciousness or norm. Improvement in governance

leads in the end to material benefits for the citizens. Ideas and interests are hard to separate in actual politics.

Moreover, the emergence of the “new breed” of politicians has not brought a decline in political machines unlike the reformist movements in American cities. The case of Naga City shows that the combination of good governance and the political machine maintains Jesse Robredo’s firm political base within both the middle class and poor class. The example of the Osmeña family in Cebu shows the same situation. They set up a strong political machine. At the same time they were able to gain the support of the business sector through their successful management of city and provincial governments which enhanced development in Cebu (Mojares 1986, 1994). On the other hand, reformist movements without the backing of a political machine have shown no ability to survive as exemplified in several case studies.<sup>25</sup> Ideas and morality matter. But in the Philippines they need to be backed by interests. For this reason political machines continue to coexist with “good governance.”

The next chapters in this study will examine local power in Naga City based on the above-discussed state-centered approach.

## Notes

- 1 The rational choice school is also gaining influence in current political science. However, it is not dealt with in this study because no research has yet been done on Philippine local politics from the rational choice perspective. This author also does not adopt this approach in this study. For excellent discussions of the different schools in comparative politics, see Lichbach and Zuckerman (1997).
- 2 Scott (1972, p. 92) provides a clear definition of the patron-client relationship calling it “an exchange relationship between roles—maybe defined as a special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron.” In addition he points out some distinguishing features: (1) an imbalance in exchange between the two partners which expresses and reflects the disparity in their relative wealth, power, and status, (2) the face-to-face, personal quality of the relationship, and (3) that patron-client ties are diffuse, “whole-person” relationships rather than explicit, impersonal-contract bonds (Scott 1972, pp. 93–95).
- 3 Benson (1970, 1973, 1974) also presents the same discussion.
- 4 Only Leichter (1975) and Magno (1989) have looked at the state.
- 5 The 1975 local elections were not carried out, while the first local elections under

- martial law were held in 1980. Elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly) were held in 1978.
- 6 One example of this viewpoint is John McBeth, "Manila's Disarray Leaves Countryside under Local Barons: The Boss System," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 14, 1989, pp. 36–43.
  - 7 Gutierrez et al. (1992) provides comprehensive data on political families in the Congress, while Gutierrez (1994) is quite useful for data on political clans in the Philippines. Lacaba (1995) presents interesting cases of local politicians focusing on family and violence. Regarding political clans in the Philippines, Temario Rivera produced a significant piece of research based on empirical data which, contrary to the modernization school's assertion, showed that more developed provinces (not only economically but also in terms of human development) tend to have political families that last over generations, while less developed provinces have fewer such political families (see Temario C. Rivera, "Political Clans and the Philippine State: A Rethinking," paper presented at the Tokyo Philippine Seminar 2001, held on May 12, 2001 at the Sophia University, Tokyo).
  - 8 McCoy's paper (1994) is published in a collection of papers dealing with local politics in several places in the Philippines. It provides a framework for the other papers, but some of these other papers provide interesting case studies beyond his framework, especially the case study of Cebu (Mojares 1994) which counters the warlord type image through its presentation of the Osmeña family, and that of Cavite (Sidel 1994) which presents the story of a single-generation political kingpin.
  - 9 Historian Reynald Ileto raises an important criticism of Sidel's argument. Ileto (1999) points out the orientalist tendency in the works of some American scholars, including Sidel. Ileto claims that the main problem of Sidel's work, as well as that of other American scholars, is his essentializing of Philippine politics through a bipolar perspective, namely, "family vs. state, particularistic vs. nationalistic, violence vs. law, clientelism vs. genuine democracy" (Ileto 1999, p. 61). The motivation for conducting the present study in Naga City is to present a different type of local politician from that of the warlord type, and to refute the image of Philippine local politics as filled with violence and illegal activities. In this sense, this author shares a similar perspective with Ileto. However, at the same time, another aspect of Sidel's argument, particularly his attention to the role of the state and its institutions, has opened the way for new discussions on Philippine local politics. This author considers that Sidel's argument about the state can be separated from his argument on political violence and illegal activities. The case study of Jesse Robredo, which this study deals with, is such an example. Robredo does not rely on violence or illegal activities. He is definitely not warlord. But his power base can be well explained by bringing the state into the argument.
  - 10 Evans (1989, 1995) proposed the classification of "development state" and "predatory state." The difference between the two typologies is the existence of "embedded autonomy." The development state has such embedded autonomy, i.e., bu-

- reaucocracy based on meritocracy which has a network with the society. Evans considers such embedded autonomy as a key for development. On the other hand, the predatory state is perceived as just the opposite. Evans says, “predatory states extract at the expense of society, undercutting development even in the narrow sense of capital accumulation,” and such predatory states are characterized by “a dearth of bureaucracy” (Evans 1995, p. 12). But Evans thinks that the predatory state is not weak in its ability to penetrate society and implement its decisions.
- 11 There are other works that provide important arguments on the role of the state in Philippine politics, such as Hawes (1987), Anderson (1988), Wolters (1984, 1989), Fujiwara (1990), Rivera (1994), and Katayama (2000).
  - 12 Skocpol (1985) sees two lines of the statist argument. One is that of state autonomy which perceives the state as an actor influencing the political process; the other is the state-centered structuralist argument which emphasizes the state’s organizational configuration along with its overall patterns of activity as factors influencing politics. Furthermore, the argument of “policy network” focusing on the institutional interface between the state and the society is also considered to be the dominant aspect in the statist argument (Katzenstein 1985). Sidel’s argument can be placed in the second line of the statist argument, i.e., the state-centered structural approach, while Abinales’s is within the policy network argument. These different arguments have greatly enhanced the development of the institutionalist approach (Thelen and Steinmo 1992).
  - 13 Sidel (1999, p. 153) also emphasizes this point.
  - 14 Hutchcroft (2000) presents a significant discussion on central-local relations from a historical perspective.
  - 15 Turner (1989) described such a situation in La Union Province, while Wolters (1989) observed the same based on his research in Nueva Ecija Province.
  - 16 Regarding democracy in the Philippines, see Fujiwara (1988), Kawanaka (1997), and Nakano (2000).
  - 17 Banfield and Wilson (1963) is a classic work on the American political machine using such an explanation. They traced the cultural background of immigrants and assert that such background creates the machine.
  - 18 Shefter (1976, 1994) saw a significant role played by the elite in the American political machine, saying “In the city as in other political settings, mass political behavior occurs not in a vacuum but rather within the structure of alternatives established by political elites in the course of their struggles with one another for position, precedence, and power” (Shefter 1976, p. 41). Erie (1988) is a clear and detailed presentation of the different schools of study on machine politics.
  - 19 In her case study on the Italian political machine, Chubb (1982, p. 6) states, “It is thus not the quantity of available resources that is the determining factor for the survival of the machine, but rather the ability of the machine to control the channels of access to critical resources of all kinds, political and bureaucratic as well as strictly economic.”

- 20 See James Payawal Saspa, "Pop and Politics," *Philippines Free Press*, February 24, 2001, pp. 16–18.
- 21 See "Focus: RP's New Breed of Local Bosses: All Politics Is Local," *Politik*, November 1996, pp. 38–41 for the examples of Eddie Dorotan of Irosin (Sorsogon Province) and Ignacio Bunye of Muntinlupa City (Metro Manila). Katayama (2000) also points out the example of Jocil Jaen of Leganes (Iloilo Province).
- 22 See Erie (1988, pp. 221–29) for the different explanations on the decline of the political machine in American politics.
- 23 In American politics, Banfield and Wilson (1963, p. 139) regarded it as the Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle-class ethos.
- 24 Thompson based his argument on Averch et al. (1971). But he was aware that the methodology of Averch et al. had been criticized by Kerkvliet (1973).
- 25 For example, the Brotherhood for a Better Bacolod (BBB) in Bacolod City (Leichter 1975, pp. 63–65) and Quezon City Citizens League for Good Government (Laquian 1966, pp. 171–95).