



**DUTERTE: I DISMANTLED OLIGARCHY IN PH
WITHOUT DECLARING MARTIAL LAW**

**Populist Narrative: depict society as
divided between “the pure people” versus
“the corrupt elite.”**

Elites of Wealth



Elites of Power



The oligarchs are part of the socio-economic elite or the elite of wealth.

Oligarchic elite: combination of wealth and power (Quimpo 2015)

Temario C. Rivera

Landlords & Capitalists

**Class, Family, and State
in Philippine Manufacturing**



Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS)
University of the Philippines Press

in cooperation with the
Philippine Center for Policy Studies

The oligarchy is both a cause and effect of the largely inequitable economic system of the country.

One president's oligarchy was
another president's crony.



Crony Capitalism

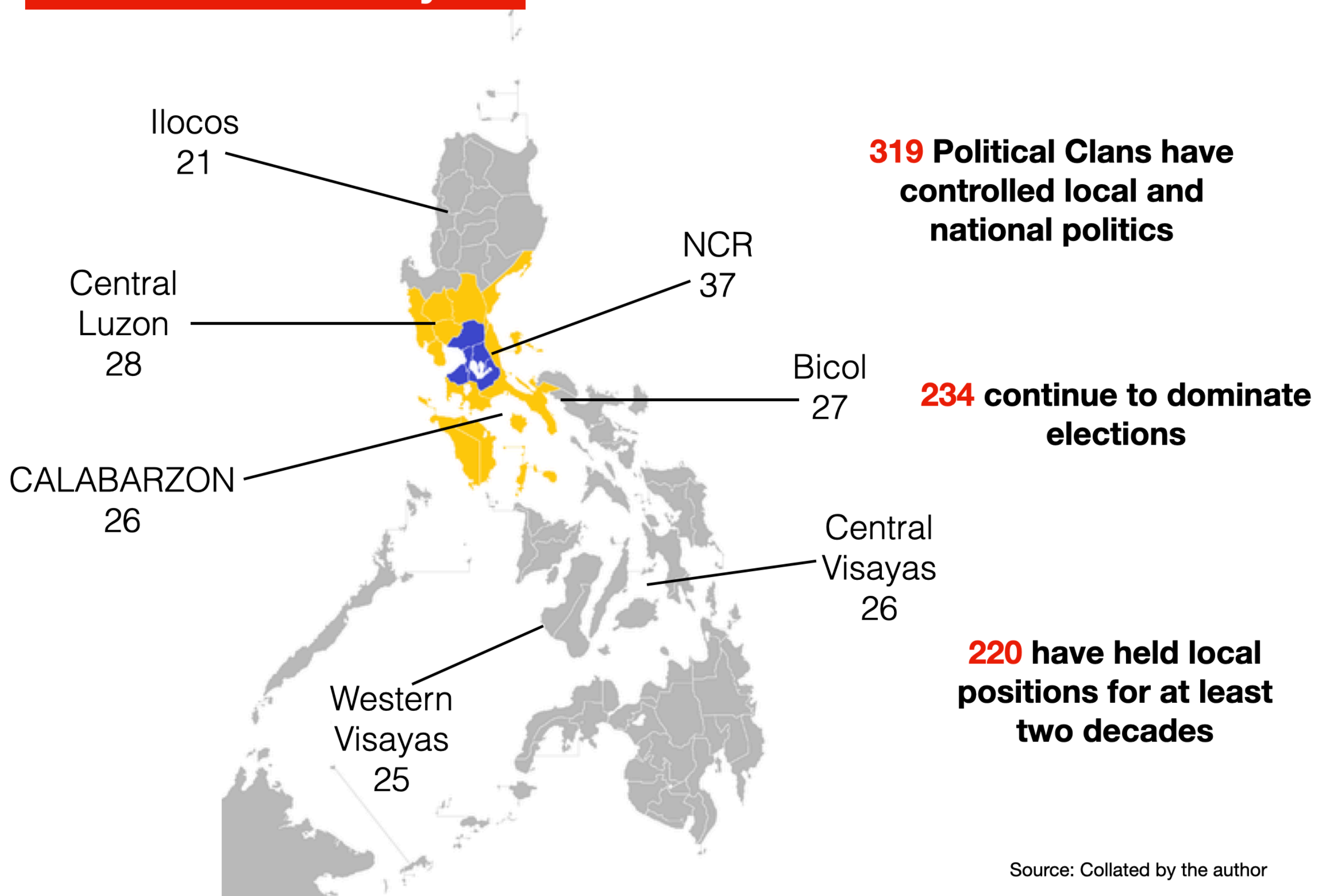
CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN
SOUTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES

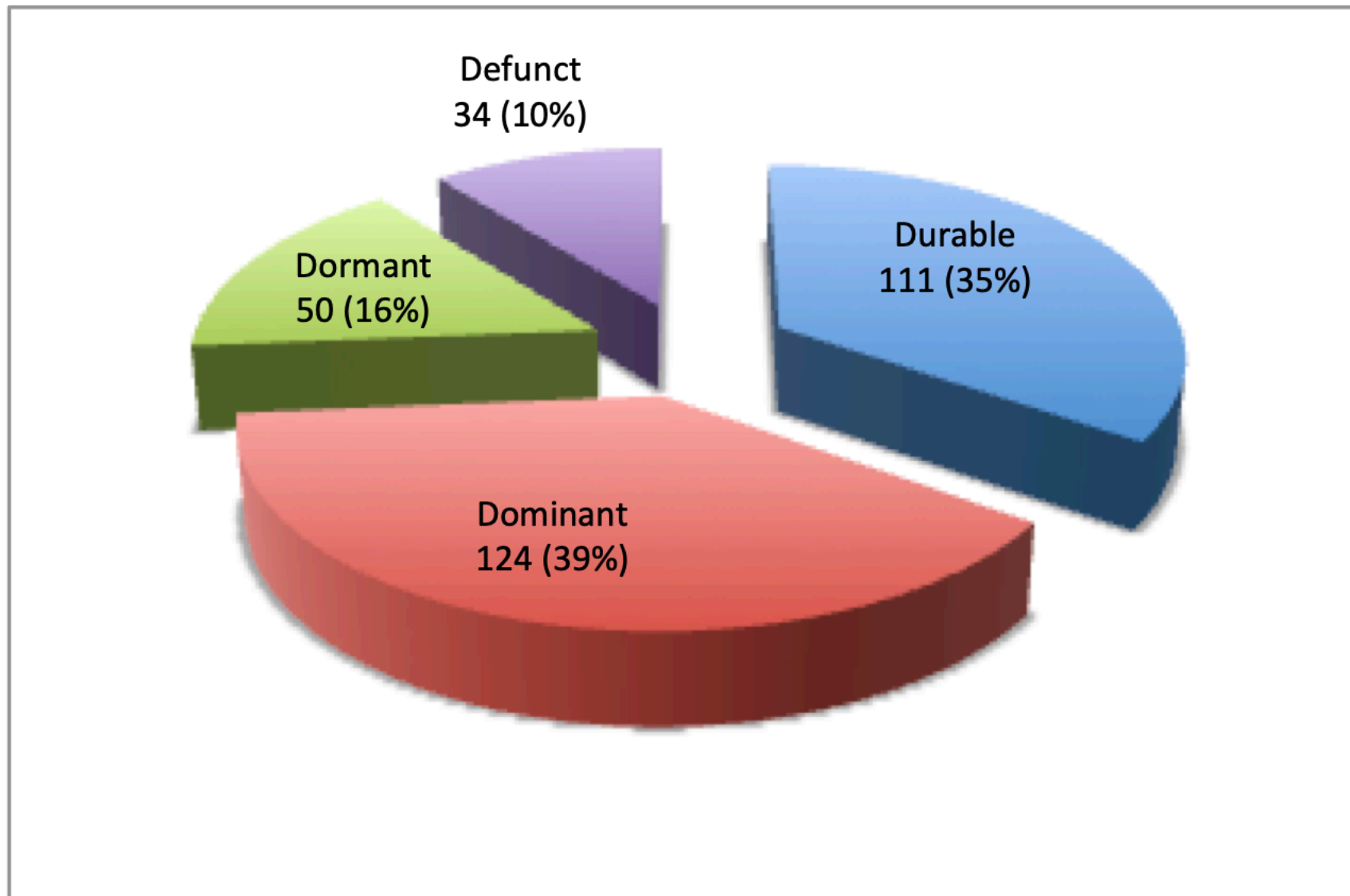
David C. Kang

The real issue is **crony capitalism** or the use of political connections instead productivity to accumulate and defend material wealth.

This system is perpetuated in collusion with the elite of power or the political class largely composed of political dynasties.

And the Clans Play On





35% of political families have been active since the colonial and postwar period

39% of political families have emerged in the last 4 decades

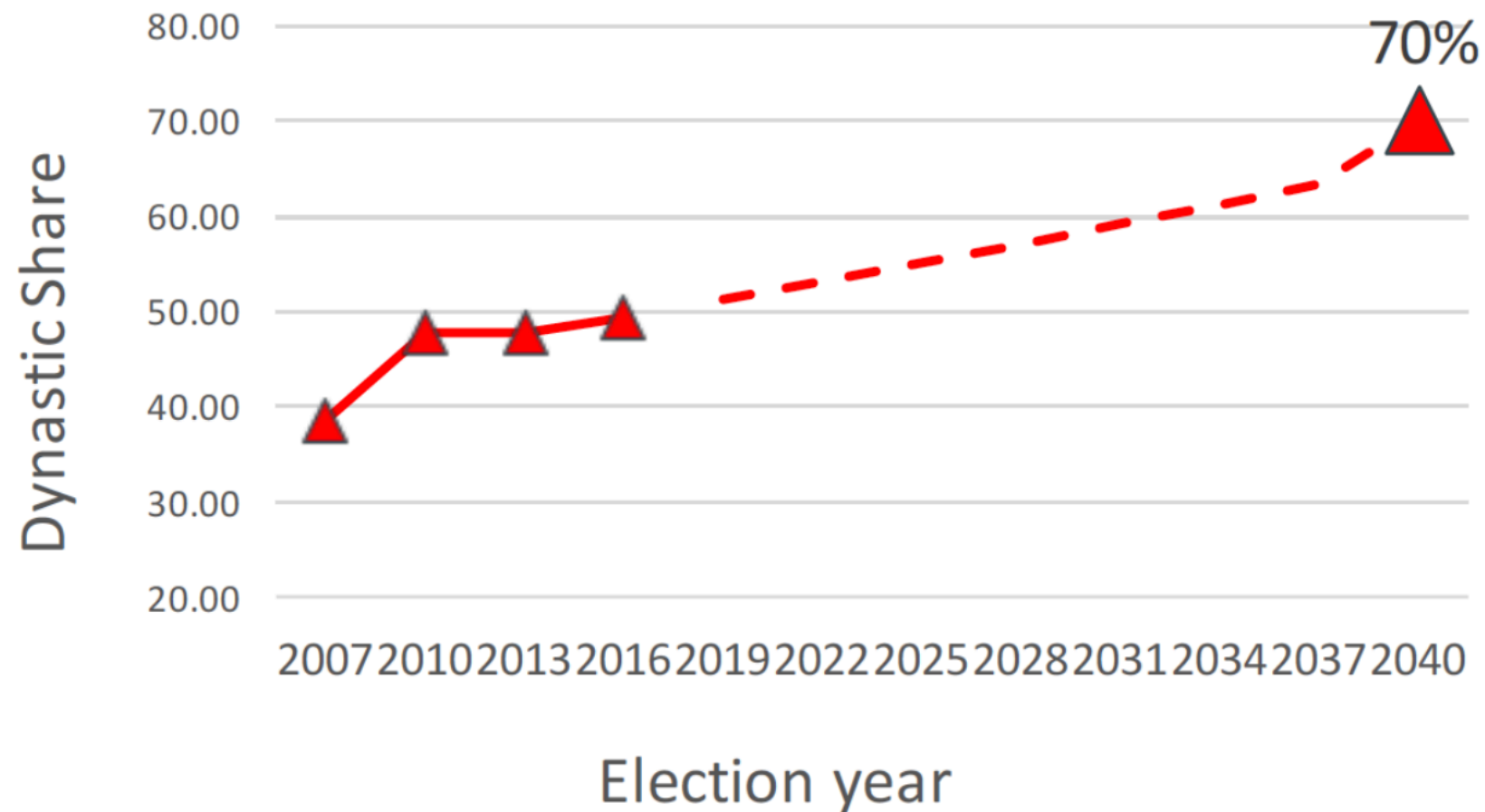
Only 26% of political families are dormant and defunct

Average Dynastic Share

Position	Dynastic share (in %)			
	2007	2010	2013	2016
Governor	69.6	82.3	86.3	81.3
Percentage increase/decrease		12.7	3.97	-5
Vice Governor	62	70.9	75	81
Percentage increase/decrease		8.87	4.11	6.01
Representative	75.3	78.7	75.3	77.5
Percentage increase/decrease		3.44	-3.46	2.25
Mayor	57.6	67.2	67.5	68.8
Percentage increase/decrease		9.6	0.3	1.3
Vice Mayor	40.6	51.2	52.6	56.9
Percentage increase/decrease		10.6	1.4	4.3

**81% of Governors. 78% of Congressmen.
69% of Mayors. 57% of Vice Mayors.**

Dynastic Trend



By 2040, 70% of the local government officials will be dynastic

Source: Ateneo School of Government Local Government Leadership Database



CAYETANO CALLS FOR CHANGE IN PH OLIGARCHIC SYSTEM

House Speaker Alan Peter Cayetano on Thursday called for change in the country's oligarchic system, **underscoring the power of certain families to "pass" or even "abuse" the law.** "And kasama nito ang very powerful politicians na either nagagamit or nagpapagamit or very happy na magkuntsaba din sa kanila," Cayetano said

RTVM



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If you just target 1 or 2 families and then you ignore the others, or if you don't totally consider changing fundamentally what is wrong with the structure and the system, **then that is not reform; that is simply partisan politics.**

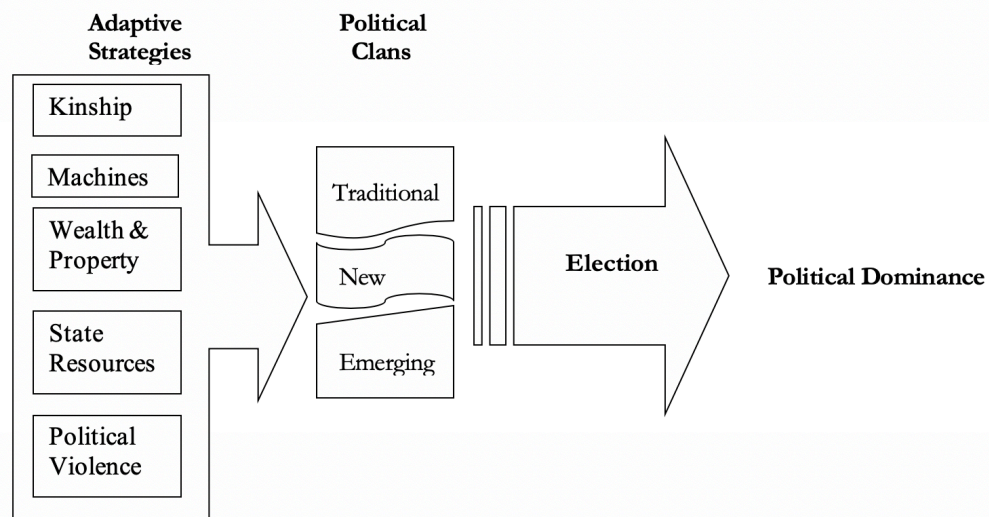
If, truly, President Duterte is sincere in trying to dismantle oligarchy in this country, he should start by passing a genuine anti-political dynasty law.

POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR
JULIO TEEHANKEE

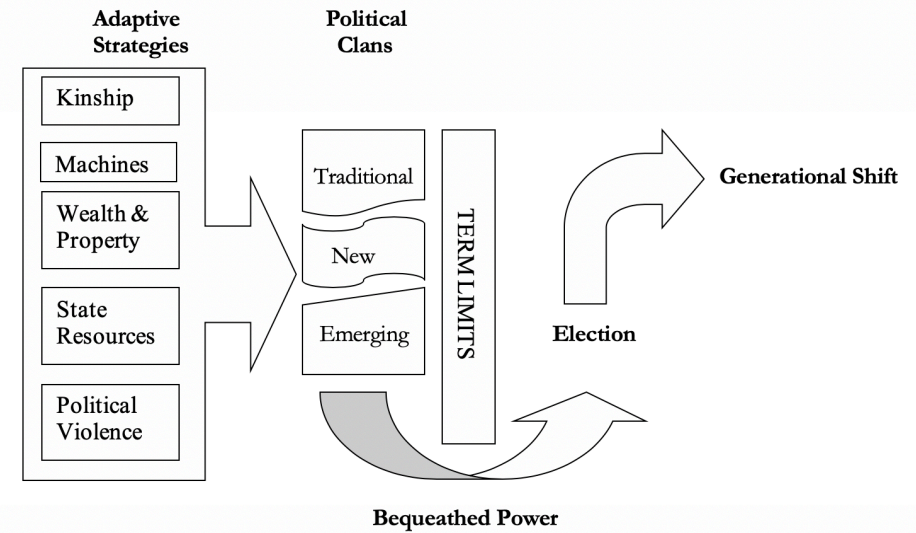
on the current administration's vow to crack
down on local oligarchy

Political Market Failure

Adaptive Strategies & Political Clan Dominance



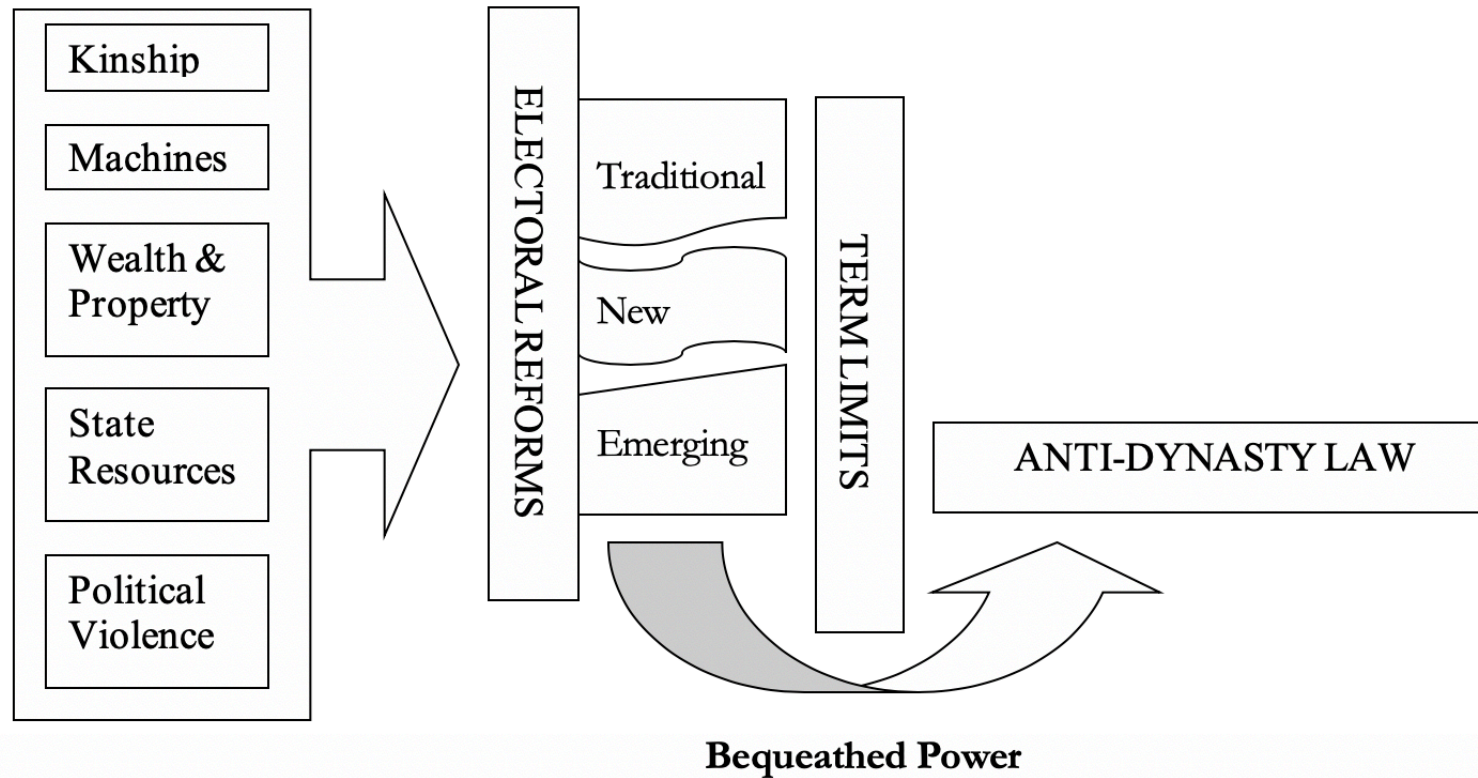
Bequeathed Power & Generational Shift



Electoral Reforms & the Anti-Dynasty Law

Adaptive Strategies

Political Clans



Leveling the Political Playing Field

1 *Anti Political Dynasty Provision*

2 *Strengthening Political Parties*

3 *Party List Reforms*

4 *Campaign Finance Reforms*

Anti Political Dynasty Provision

The State shall prevent the **concentration, consolidation, or perpetuation of political power** by persons related to one another.

- a) A political dynasty exists when a family whose members are related up to the **second degree of consanguinity or affinity** whether such relations are **legitimate, illegitimate, half or full blood**, maintains or is capable of maintaining political control by **succession** or by **simultaneously running for or holding** elective positions.
- b) No person related to an incumbent elective official within the second civil degree of consanguinity or affinity, as described above, **can run for the same position in the immediately following election**.
- c) Persons related within the second civil degree of consanguinity or affinity, as described above, are **prohibited from running simultaneously for more than one national and one regional or local position**. However, in the event that two or more members of the same family are running, the member who shall be allowed to be a candidate shall be determined by the drawing of lots.
- d) Congress may, by law, provide for additional prohibitions.

Strengthening of Political Parties: Party Switching Ban

The State shall assist in ensuring **strong** and **cohesive** political parties.

- a) Any member of a political party elected to public office is **prohibited from changing political parties** within their term of office.
- b) Any candidate for public office or any official of a political party is prohibited from changing political parties within **two years immediately after** an election and **two years before** the succeeding election.
- c) Any political party is **prohibited from accepting** any of the persons above referred to. Any violation thereof shall be a ground for the cancellation of its registration.
- d) Any change in the membership of any political party arising from a violation of the abovementioned provisions shall be **reported to the Commission on Elections**.
- e) **No political party shall nominate more candidates than the number of persons required to be voted for in an elective position** nor shall any candidate be allowed to **accept nominations from more than one registered political party**, except in cases of aggrupations or coalitions thereof.

Campaign Finance Reforms

The Federal Republic shall **regulate** the campaign finance, both from **public** and **private** sources, of political parties and candidates in all elections.

(a) The Federal Congress shall update laws on all election expenditures.

(b) Financial contributions from religious organizations, foreigners, foreign governments, and illegal sources are prohibited.

(c) There shall be a Democracy Fund, which shall serve as a repository of campaign funds. The Federal Commission on Elections shall administer the Democracy Fund and promulgate rules and regulations therefor. The Federal Commission on Audit shall have the power, authority, and duty to examine and audit all funds pertaining to the Democracy Fund.

(d) Any citizen who contributes at least ten thousand pesos (PhP 10,000.00) but not exceeding one hundred thousand pesos (PhP 100,000.00) to any registered political party or presidential candidate through the Democracy Fund shall be allowed a full credit against income tax due for the taxable year coinciding with the elections in which such political party or presidential candidate participated; Provided, that such amounts shall be subject to proper adjustment under the rules promulgated by the Federal Commission on Elections.

(e) Any corporation, partnership, or association which contributes at least one hundred thousand pesos (PhP 100,000.00) but not exceeding three million pesos (PhP 3,000,000.00) to any registered political party or presidential candidate through the Democracy Fund shall be allowed a full credit against income tax due for the taxable year coinciding with the elections in which such political party participated; Provided, that such amounts shall be subject to proper adjustment under the rules promulgated by the Federal Commission on Elections.

(f) A fair share of political party campaign funds drawn from the Democracy Fund shall be allocated for women candidates.

(g) Unless ordered by the Federal Electoral Court, all information pertaining to the contributors and the amount of their contributions shall be deemed confidential and shall be made available only to the Federal Commission on Elections, the Federal Commission on Audit, and the Internal Revenue officials for purposes of regulation, auditing, and tax credit, respectively.