

Philippines

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The Philippines has had intermittent periods of democracy and authoritarianism. Following its independence in 1946 it had an authoritarian regime until 1950. There is no SOLS change at independence. It entered a parliamentary period that is ended by elected president Marcos in 1972, who established a personalist regime (Geddes). Marcos ruled until 1986 when his regime was replaced by a democratic government under Aquino. The Philippines then remained democratic until the dataset end date in 2008.

The initial non-democratic period from 1946 until 1950 is not coded as any particular Geddes regime type and Cheibub et al. actually code the country as a presidential democracy during that time. The first president after independence was Roxas, who had collaborated with the Japanese, but was favored by McArthur nonetheless. “MacArthur supported Roxas in his ambitions for the presidency when he announced himself as a candidate of the newly formed Liberal Party (the liberal wing of the Nacionalista Party) in January 1946” (US Library of Congress 2010). Roxas won against his Nacionalista opponent Osmeña (US Library of Congress 2010). When Roxas died of a heart attack in 1948, he was succeeded by his vice-president Quirino (Manilla Bulletin 2011). Because, as vice-president, Quirino was Roxas’ predesignated successor and he had the same party affiliation, we code no SOLS change here. During Quirino’s presidency, the Philippines liberalized and became democratic. Quirino went on to win democratic elections in 1950 but because he maintained his Liberal Party (PL) affiliation, we code no SOLS change.

In 1953 Quirino and his Liberal Party (LP) were defeated in elections by the Nationalist Party (PN) candidate Magsaysay. This is coded as a SOLS change. The PN ruled until their candidate Garcia lost to LP candidate Macapagal who took office on November 14, 1961. This is a SOLS change. President Macapagal was subsequently succeeded by Nationalist Party (PN) candidate Marcos who came to power on December 30, 1965 through democratic elections (US Library of Congress 2010). Marcos encountered opposition when pushing for a third term as president even though the constitution did not allow for it. Moreover, a decrease in popularity that would have likely led him to lose elections, due to domestic troubles with the economy and a communist insurgency, led President Marcos to prolong his power through illegitimate means and as such his rule as the democratically elected president of the Philippines ends in 1968 (Guillermo 2012). Following bombings and attacks, likely perpetrated by pro-Marcos provocateurs, Marcos suspended habeas corpus and later declared martial law in what was effectively an autogolpe (US Library of Congress 2010). We code a SOLS change when Marcos came to office but we do not code a SOLS change in 1972 when Geddes codes the start date of Marcos’ personalist regime. Note also that Cheibub et al (2010) code the Philippines as non-democratic from 1965 to 1985 and thus ignore this brief democratic period.

Marcos changed his party affiliation from PN to KBL (New Society Movement), a pro-Marcos personalist party, in 1978. He went on to rule until 1986, when increasing pressures due to a deteriorating economy and risk of civil war led to the return of previously exiled opposition leader Benigno Aquino, a lifelong rival of Marcos (US Library of Congress 2010). Benigno Aquino was assassinated upon arrival and Marcos was widely held responsible for the murder, which backfired and resulted in widespread support for Aquino's widow Corazon Aquino. In an effort to hold on to power Marcos held "snap" and fraudulent elections that he won. However, widespread allegations of fraud – even from the government's Commission on Elections – led to great social unrest. When Philippine soldiers subsequently refused to shoot at unarmed civilians and the US withdrew its support, the downfall of Marcos became inevitable (US Library of Congress 2010). The People's power movement that brought about the downfall of Marcos "encompassed members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the business elite, and a faction of the armed forces. Its millions of rural, working-class, middle-class, and professional supporters were united not by ideology or class interests, but by their esteem for Aquino's widow, Corazon, and their disgust with the Marcos regime. After her husband's assassination, Corazon Aquino assumed first a symbolic and then a substantive role as leader of the opposition" (Library of Congress 2010). Aquino, supported by the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDA), a coalition of anti-Marcos parties, became the new President of a democratic Philippines. This is a SOLS change.

Aquino's successor was Ramos, whose candidacy was endorsed by Aquino. Ramos, having failed to win the leading UNIDO party's primary to become their presidential candidate, created a new party, the LEN-NUCD, with which he won the elections, which was therefore coded as a SOLS change. The LEN-NUCD was a National Union of Christian Democrats (People's Power/National Union of Christian Democrats/United Muslim Democratic Party). Ramos ruled until he was replaced by opposition candidate Estrada (LMP- Struggle of the Philippine Masses). This is a SOLS change. Estrada was in turn succeeded by LE-NUCD-UMDP (People's Power-National Union of Christian Democrats-United Muslim Democrats of the Philippines) candidate Arroyo - coded as another SOLS change - who remained in power until the dataset end date in 2008 (Maher, 2004).

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