



# The Rocky Road to Federalism

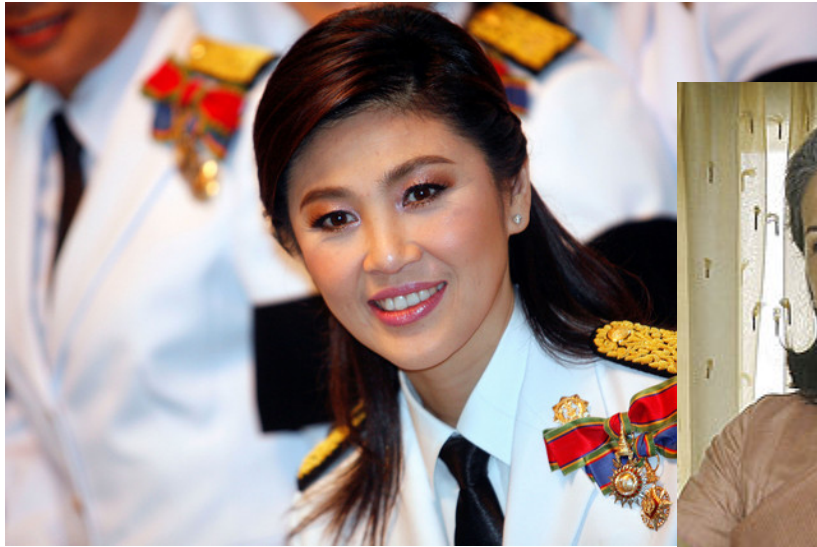
Miann Banaag, Ronald Mendoza and John Estanley Penalosa



ATENEIO

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Forming Leaders. Leading Reforms.



# Political Dynasties and Poverty/Inequality

## Empirical link between political dynasties and poverty/inequality:

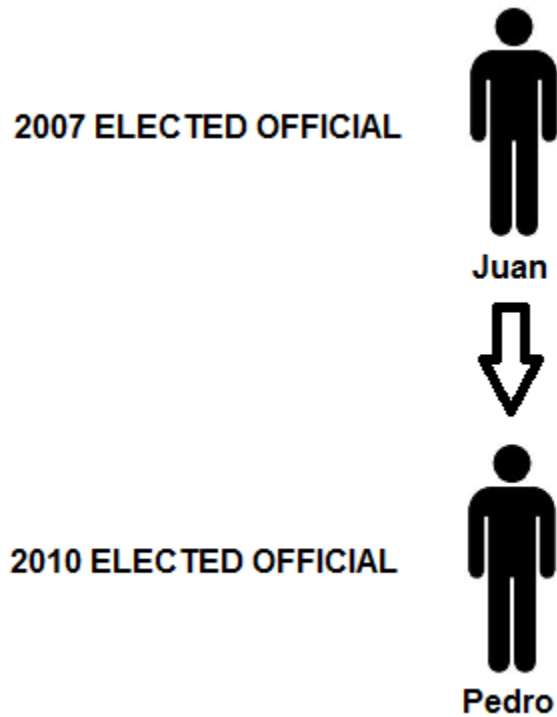
- **PREDATORY VIEW:** Dynasties increase P/I -- If dynasties are associated with rent-seeking and state capture, corruption and ineffective and poorly designed policies (e.g. Proud'homme, 1995; Hutchcroft and Rocamora, 2003).
- **STATIONARY BANDIT:** Dynasties reduce P/I -- If dynasties have longer “runways” for reform and are more firmly associated with socio-economic outcomes (e.g. Olson, 2003; Solon et al, 2009; Dal Bo and Rossi, 2009).
- **LONG RUNWAY FOR REFORMS:** Dynasties are better able to pursue reforms with longer-term gestation periods for results; policy stability and continuity that investors would prefer

## Additional complexity:

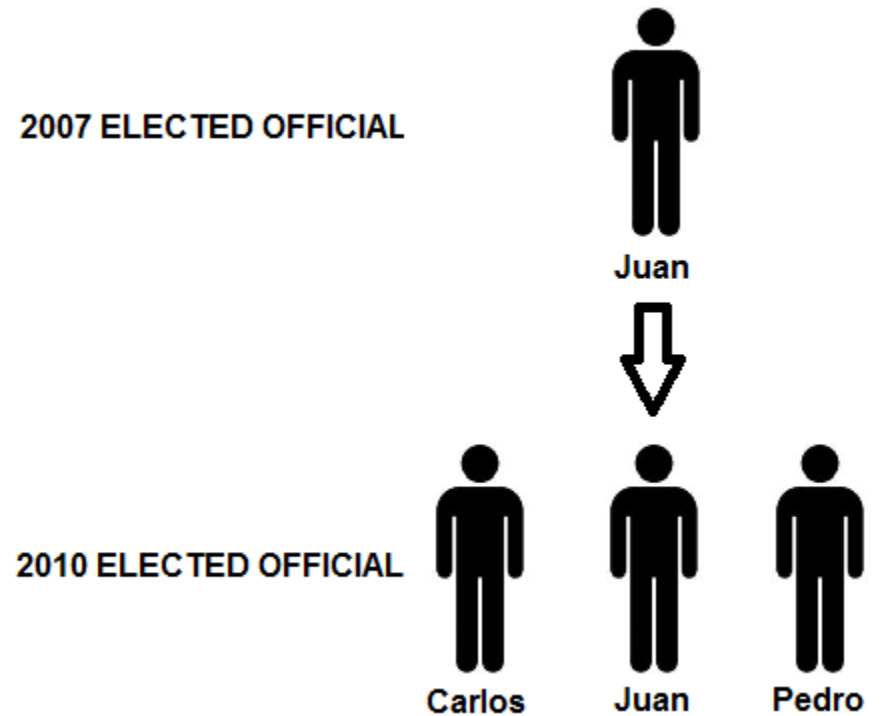
- **PATRONAGE:** High P/I tends to increase dynastic prevalence: the poor vote for dynasties as long as these are able to directly provide support during elections or in times of income shocks (e.g. Coronel, 1998; Manacsa and Tan, 2005).
- **SELF-PERPETUATION:** Politicians are capable of developing dynasties: being in public office affords politicians the opportunity and means to keep on winning or to increase their heirs' chances of winning (e.g. Dal Bo et al, 2009; Querrubin 2010).

# Innovations in this Study

- THIN DYNASTY



- FAT DYNASTY



CATAINGAN  
MAYOR

**Antonio Kho**



Antonio Kho, an engineer who started as a follower of two politicians allied with Marcos and against the Espinosas, wins a congressional seat—the first time an Espinosa is defeated in office.

**Wilton Kho**



DISTRICT  
REPRESENTATIVE

**Espinosaclan (Third District)**



Antonio Kho runs for congressman; Espinosa is defeated in office. His son Wilton Kho succeeds him as mayor of Cataingan. Moises Espinosa, Jr. is eventually assassinated in 2001.

**(Second District)**



GOVERNOR

**Espinosaclan**



Antonio Kho wins as governor

**Dr. Elisa Olga Kho**



**2013**  
Olga Kho succeeds her husband in Congress

The Espinosas controlled the province since the 1980s. Moises Espinosa Sr. (3rd District) was assassinated in a congressional seat at Masbate airport.

**February 28, 1995**  
Antonio Kho gets impeached. Rep. Tito Espinosa (3rd District) was assassinated in Quezon City position; he is defeated.

**May 2004**  
Antonio Kho challenges Espinosa for governor but is defeated by Antonio Kho's sister Seachon-Lanete in Congress.

**2005**  
Fausto Seachon, Jr. (3rd District) was assassinated in Calsocad City.

**2015**  
Seachon-Lanete survives an ambush attempt in Cebu.

**2013**  
Antonio Kho challenges Seachon-Lanete for governor; he loses.



GOVERNOR

**Fausto Seachon, Jr.**



Fausto Seachon, Jr. wins a congressional seat

**Rizalina Seachon-Lanete**



Repeated attempts to ambush Seachon and Seachon-Lanete in 2004 did not succeed

**Scott Lanete**



**2010**  
Scott succeeds his mother in Congress

THIRD DISTRICT  
REPRESENTATIVE

**Joshur Lanete**

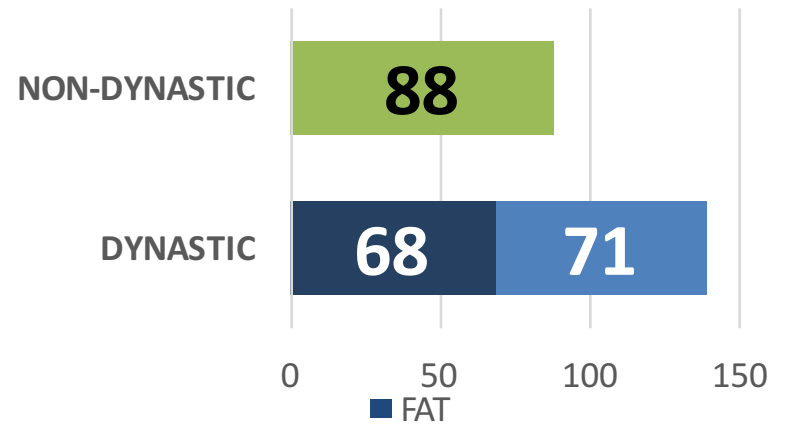
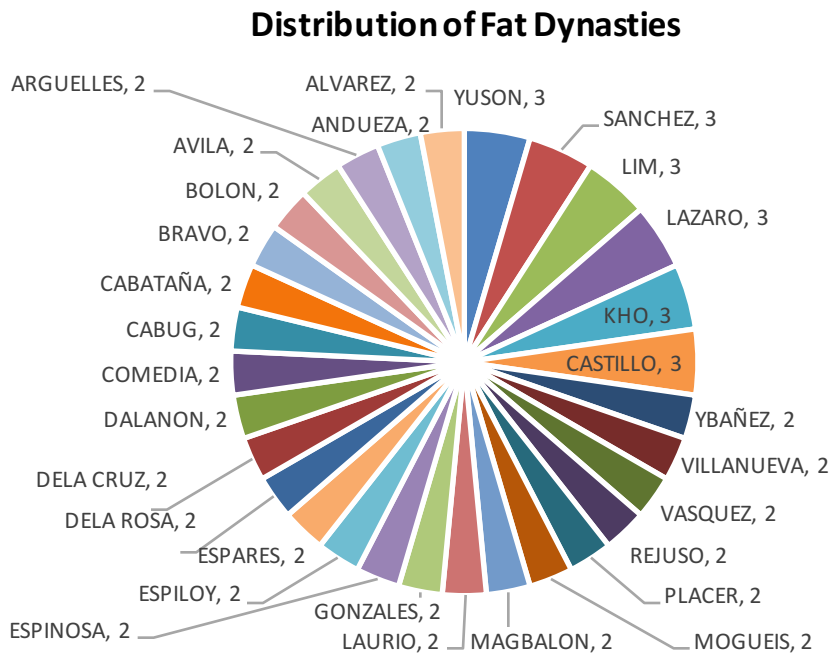


Seachon-Lanete's son Joshur wins as mayor of Placer

PLACER  
MAYOR

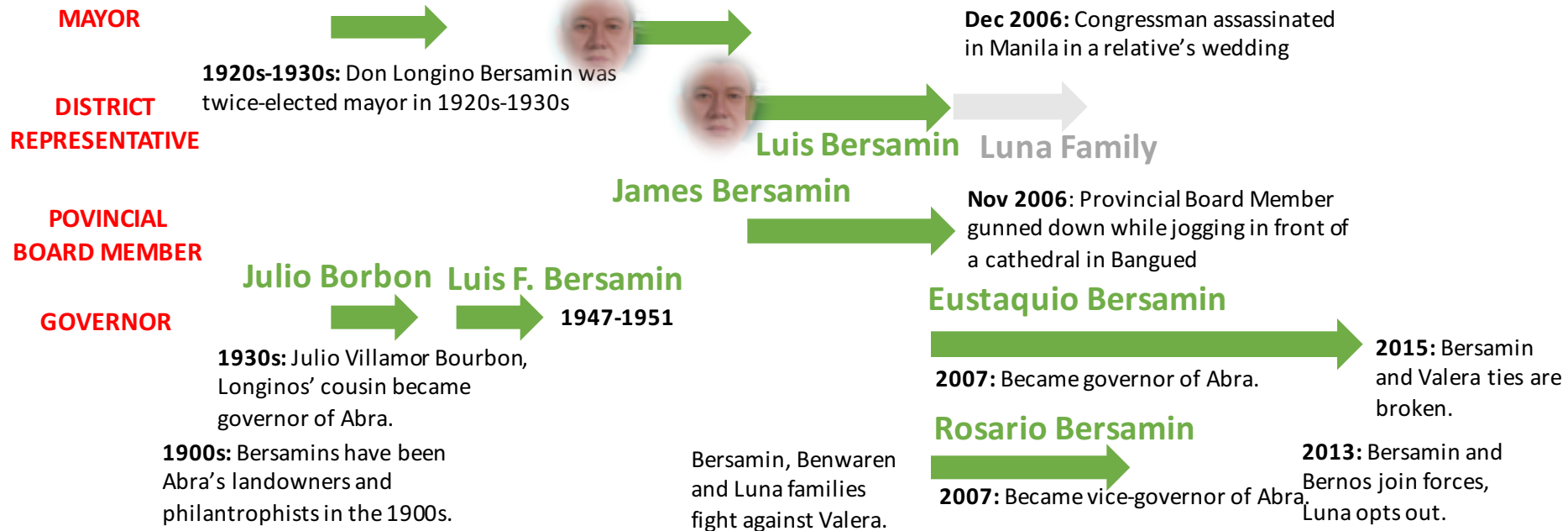
REFERENCE: ABS-CBN NEWS; BICOL MAIL; PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER

# Dynastic and Non-Dynastic Elected Officials (2016): Masbate

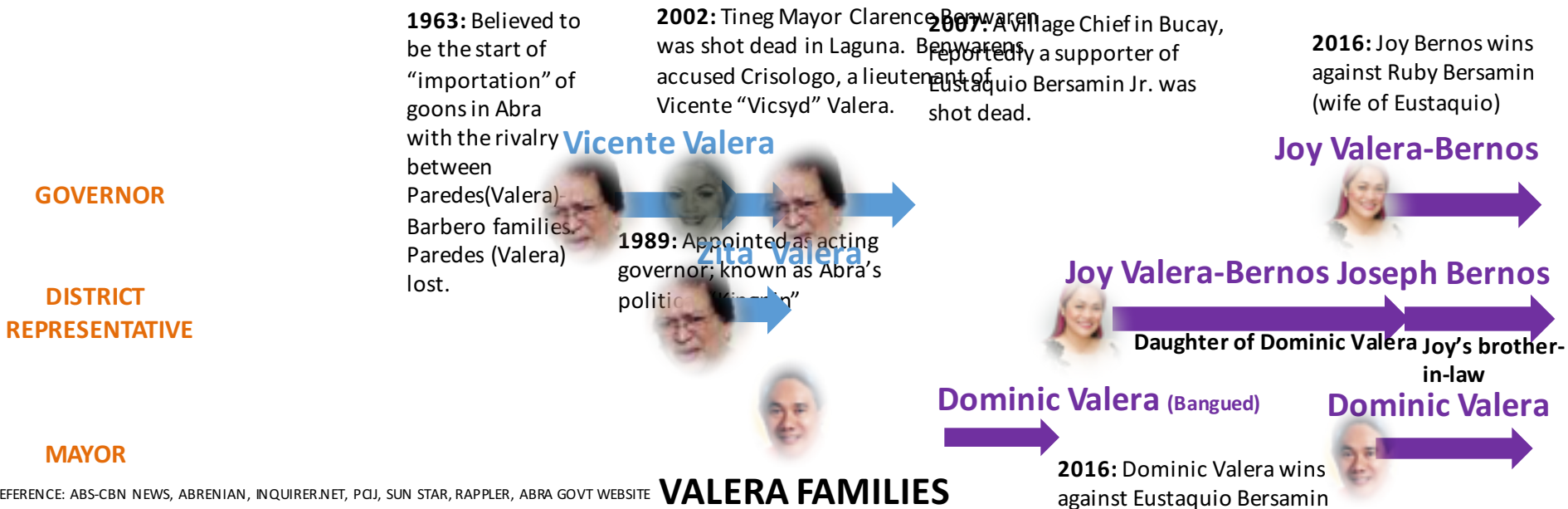


<b>Skewness of fat dynasties</b>	<b>1.47</b>
<b>2015 Population</b>	<b>892,393</b>
<b>2015 Poverty incidence</b>	<b>31.6%</b>
<b>October 2015 labor force participation rate</b>	<b>72%</b>

# BERSAMIN FAMILY



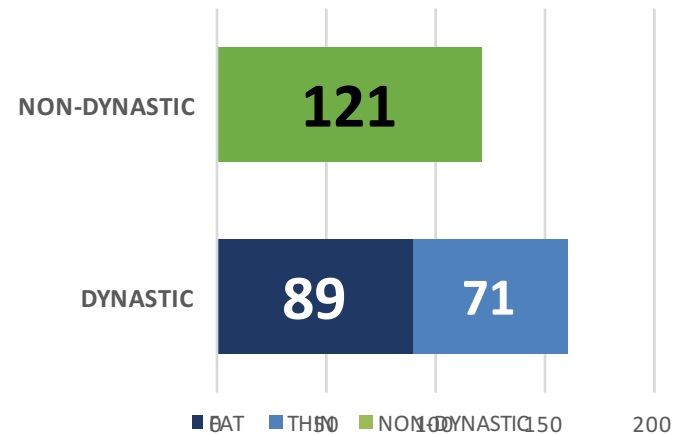
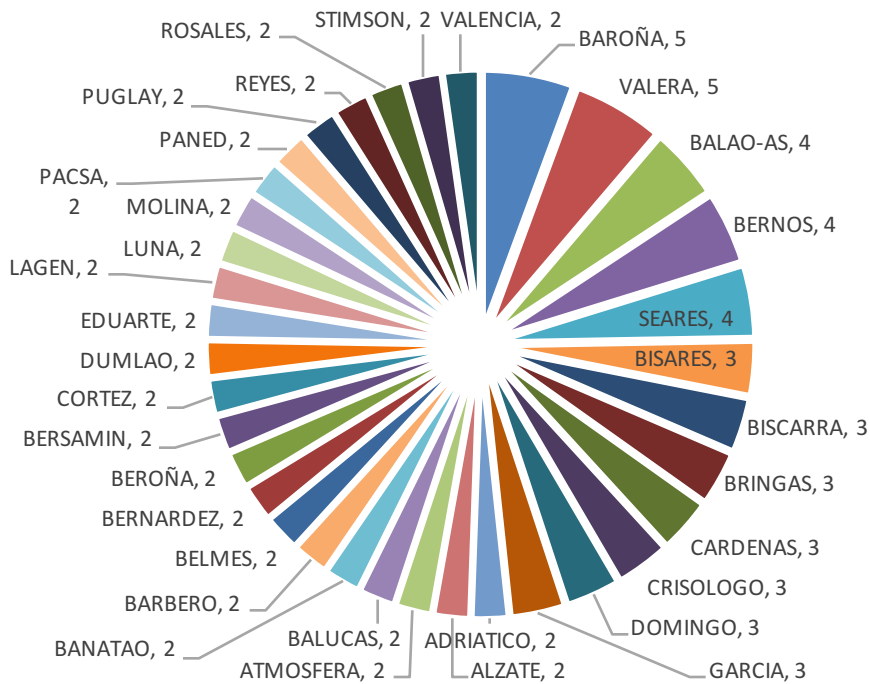
Abra | 1900s | 1920-1930s | 1960s | 1989 | 2006 | 2007 | 2010 | 2013 | 2016



REFERENCE: ABS-CBN NEWS, ABRENIAN, INQUIRER.NET, PCJ, SUN STAR, RAPPLER, ABRA GOVT WEBSITE

# Dynastic and Non-Dynastic Elected Officials (2016): Abra

Distribution of Fat Dynasties



**BAROÑA**  
 ➤ 1 MAYOR  
 ➤ 3 COUNCILORS  
 ➤ 1 VICE MAYOR

**VALERA**  
 ➤ 2 MAYORS  
 ➤ 3 COUNCILORS



# FEDERALISM AND POLITICAL DYNASTIES

The discussion focuses on three proposed Federal States and potential dynamics, including challenges, that may arise upon transition to Federalism.

## The State of Northern Luzon

15 provinces will merge into one state



Political dynasty prevalence



Second largest concentration of private armies



Relatively better socio-economic development measures

## The State of Central Visayas

5 provinces from two regions will merge into one state



Political dynasty prevalence



Third highest concentration of private armies



A combination of highly developed and least developed provinces

## The State of Bangsamoro

The proposed state is based from an existing entity (ARMM)



Political dynasty prevalence



Highest concentration of private armies and conflict



Lowest socio-economic development among its provinces

# DATA AND SOURCES

We analyzed asymmetries among key indicators, which can be grouped into **GUNS, GOONS** and **GOLD**.



**Dynasty Share (2016)**, calculations from Ateneo Policy Center's Databaset



**Count of Private Armed Groups (2012)**, Philippine National Police (PNP) and Rappler

**Incidences of conflict (2015/2016)**, International Alert Philippines for ARMM (2015) and PNP and media sources for all other regions (2016).



Following International Alert data set definitions, conflict includes:

- Conflicts arising from governance—includes competition over non-elective position, conflicts versus military versus police, corruption of public office, political/geographic splitting of administrative and political boundaries, misfires from security groups, etc.
- Political conflict—includes election-related violence, rebellion, political repression, conflict among political parties, elective positions etc.

Meanwhile, provinces with conflict are based on poll-related violence incidences reported in media from January to May 8 2016.



## **Socio-economic indicators**

**Human Development Index (2012)**

**Middle Class Share (2012)**

**Unemployment Rate (2012)**

**Poverty Rate (2012)**

**Income Inequality (2012)**

**Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA)**

**dependency (2012)**



**Count of Airports (2016)**, Philippine Civil Aviation Authority



**Count of Seaports (2017)**, Philippine Ports Authority & World Port Source



**Count of mining sites (2017)**, Mines and Geosciences Bureau

# **PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO**

# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO

**Summary versus Other Proposed States:** The proposed state of Bangsamoro is an agglomeration of the most dynastic, underdeveloped, and conflict-laden provinces.

STATE	COMPOSITION		GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Former Regions	Composition	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
Northern Luzon	3	15	49.6%	13	2	0.587	20.3	14.0%	4.3	0.417	81.48%
Central Luzon	1	7	53.8%	3	1	0.642	12.5	19.9%	8.3	0.443	74.09%
Southern Tagalog	1	5	57.5%	7	4	0.701	9.5	23.3%	9.0	0.405	61.92%
Minparom	1	5	43.4%	4	1	0.557	25.2	12.5%	3.8	0.481	94.09%
Bicol	1	5	52.6%	2	0	0.523	29.1	8.9%	5.3	0.437	85.30%
Eastern Visayas	1	6	53.1%	2	3	0.493	38.1	9.9%	5.8	0.507	91.19%
Central Visayas	2	5	54.7%	8	2	0.569	31.6	9.3%	4.8	0.473	88.05%
Western Visayas	1	6	53.4%	1	2	0.613	21.5	14.7%	5.8	0.436	82.96%
Northern Mindanao	3	11	47.0%	0	4	0.518	34.9	11.1%	4.5	0.462	83.93%
Southern Mindanao	3	10	43.2%	4	2	0.502	33.8	9.4%	3.9	0.439	85.30%
Bangsamoro	1	5	61.9%	42	4	0.330	43.2	1.5%	4.1	0.295	87.08%

Measure	Count of Regions	Count of Provinces	Average Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Provinces with Conflict during 2016 elections	Average HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Average Poverty Rate for 2012	Average Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012
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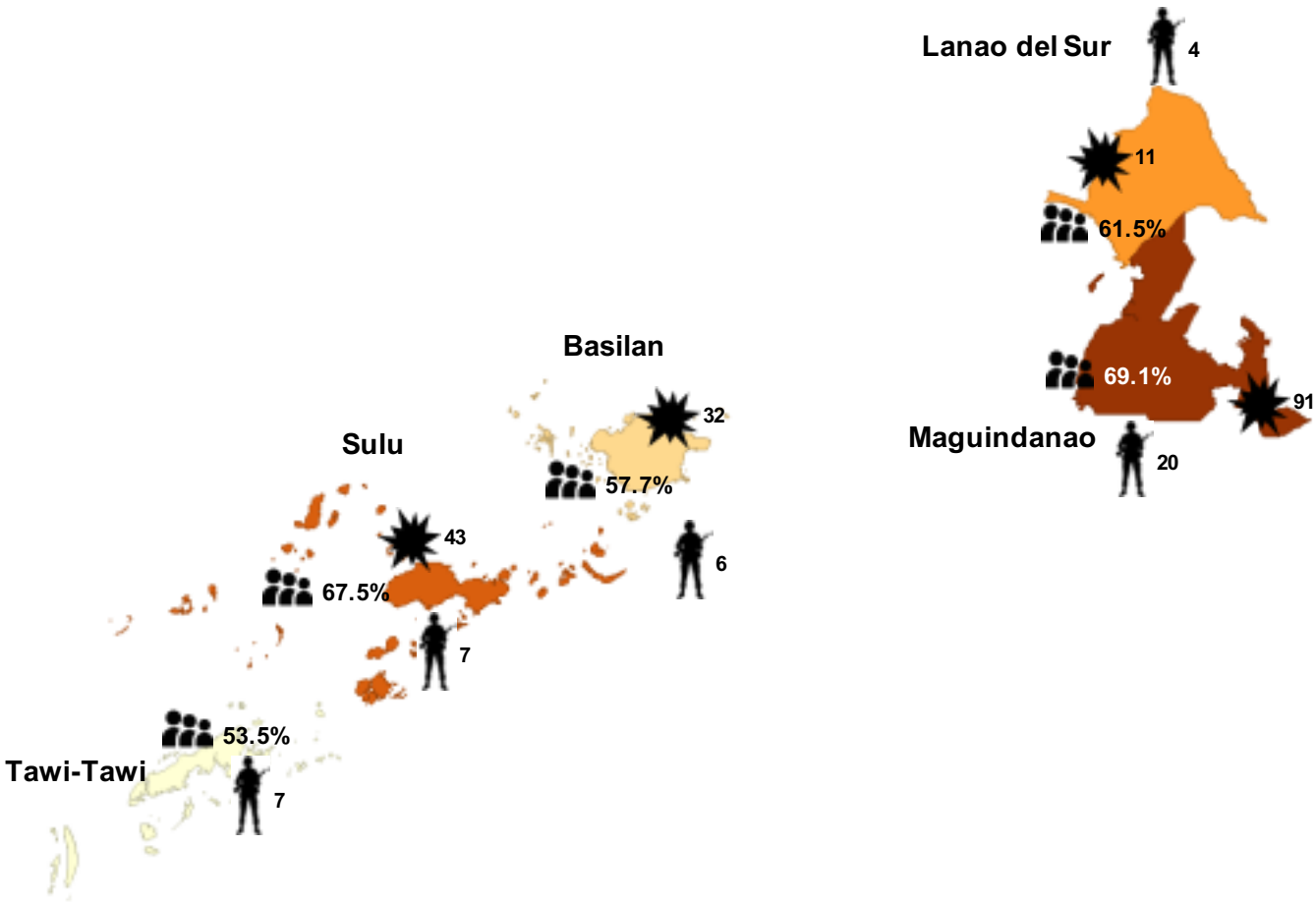
Source: Philippine Statistics Authority, Philippine National Police, Ateneo Policy Center

# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO: GUNS & GOONS

**Dynasty Shares, Armed Groups, and Conflict:** All provinces have dynasty shares that exceed national average (50%) and infiltrated by various private armed groups.

Dynastic Shares 2016

- [0.535:0.535] (1)
- [0.577:0.577] (1)
- [0.615:0.615] (1)
- [0.675:0.675] (1)
- [0.691:0.691] (1)

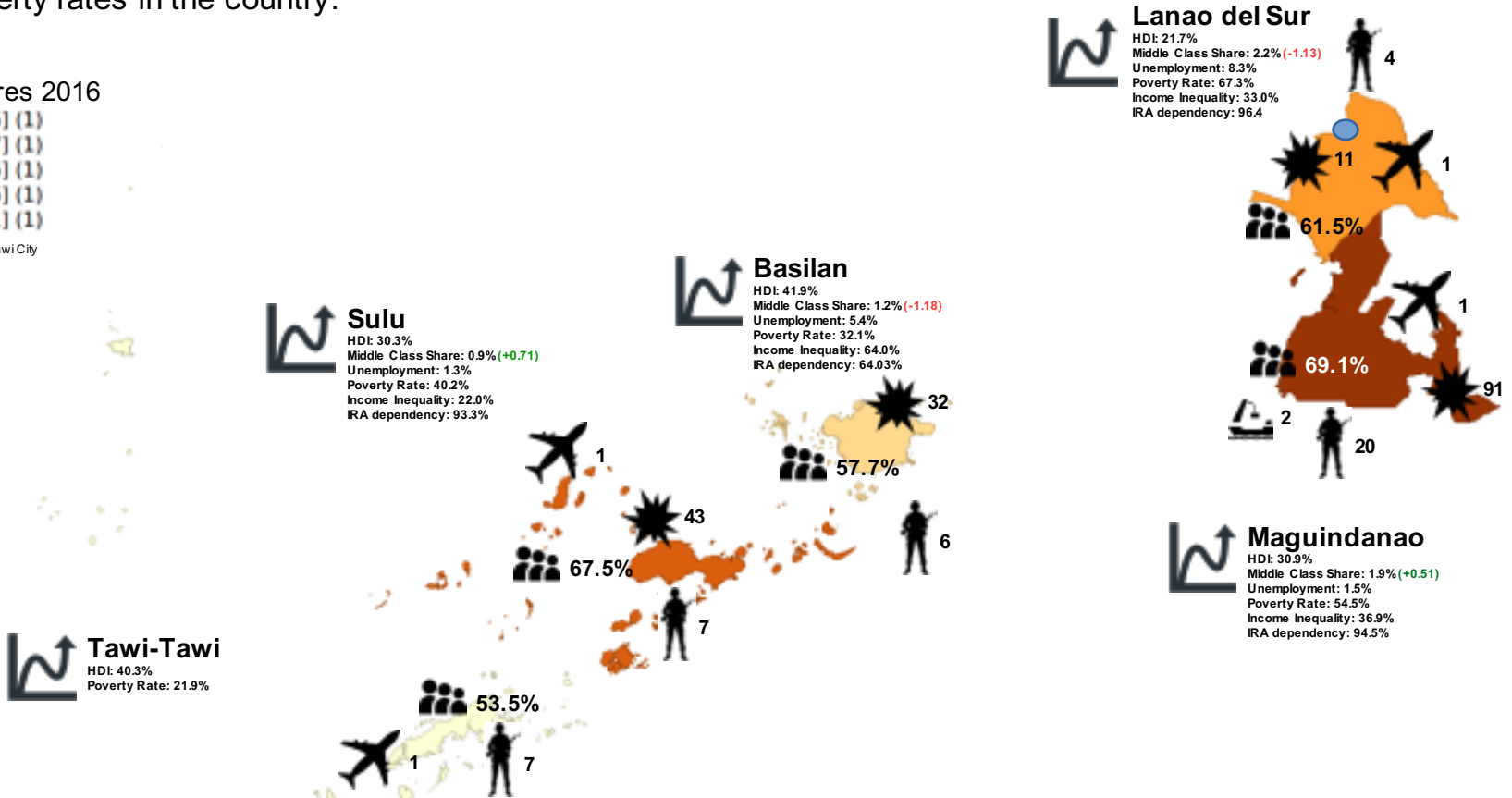
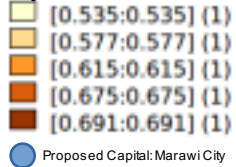


Source: Philippine National Police, Ateneo Policy Center, International Alert Philippines

# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO: GOLD

**Dynasties and development:** Lanao del Sur province hosts the proposed capital and has the largest seaport and airport. This is also the province with the biggest private armies, the most dynastic jurisdiction, and has one of the highest poverty rates in the country.

## Dynastic Shares 2016



<b>Composition</b>	Old ARMM provinces (5)
<b>Dynastic Share</b>	Hghly Dynastic (average of 61.9% versus 50% national average)
<b>Private Armies</b>	High Concentration and High Spread (all 45 armies in all 5 provinces)
<b>Conflict</b>	Highest number of provinces with conflict
<b>Resources/Economy</b>	Highly dependent on IRA, mostly gray economy, no mining activity, two ports
<b>Development</b>	Lowest human development across provinces; lowest GDP per capita

Sources: COMELEC, government and International Alert data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO: SUMMARY

**Summary Table:** The most dynastic provinces Maguindanao, Sulu, and Lanao del Sur also have relatively lower human development, higher poverty rates and severely IRA dependent.

BANGSAMORO	GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
Maguindanao	69.1%	20	91	0.309	54.5	1.9%	1.5	0.369	94.5%
Sulu	67.5%	7	43	0.303	40.2	0.9%	1.3	0.220	93.3%
Lanao del Sur	61.5%	4	11	0.217	67.3	2.2%	8.3	0.330	96.4%
Basilan	57.7%	6	32	0.419	32.1	1.2%	5.4	0.261	64.0%
Tawi-Tawi	53.5%	5	0	0.403	21.9				
<b>Total Bangsamoro</b>	<b>61.9%</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.330</b>	<b>43.2</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>0.295</b>	<b>87.1%</b>

Measure	Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Incidences of Conflict from International Alert 2015	HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Poverty Rate 2012	Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012
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**Dynasty Shares:** All provinces are dynastic, with higher shares than national average (50%).

**Human Development:** All provinces have poor HDI - lower than national average (0.644).

**Unemployment:** Unemployment is relatively low in Maguindanao, Sulu and higher in Lanao del Sur and Basilan compared to national average (5.7%).

**Poverty:** Except for Tawi-Tawi, poverty rate is very high compared to national average (25.2%).

**Income Inequality:** Low compared to national average (0.506).

**IRA dependency:** High IRA dependency except across all, except Basilan.

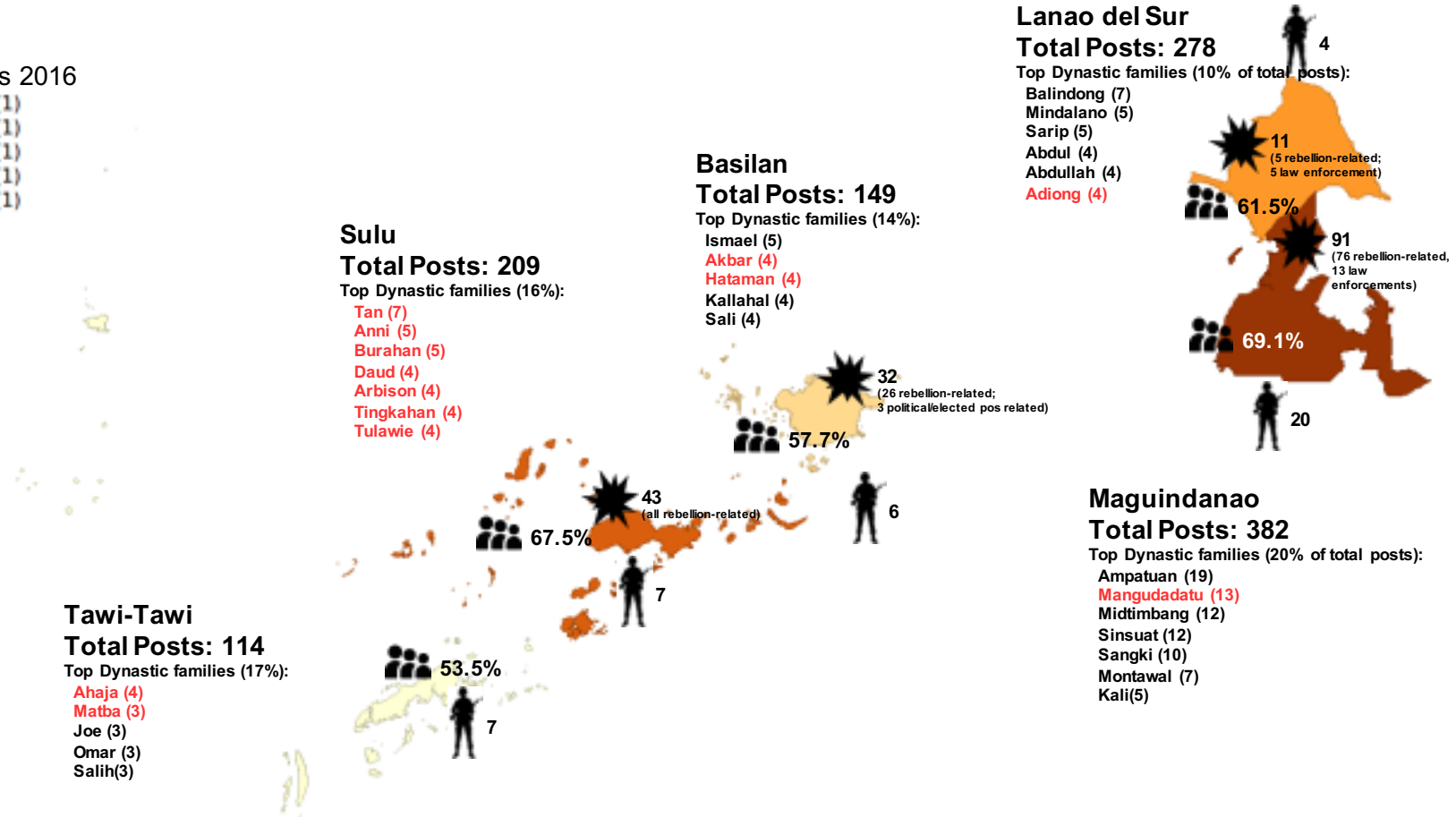
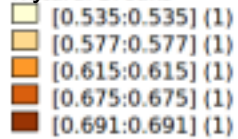
Legend: Each column (variable) is ranked from key watch-out (**red**) to least key watch-out (**green**).

Sources: COMELEC, government and International Alert data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Most conflicts are rebellion-related and linked to law-enforcement. Some of the prominent clans, like the Mangudadatu of Maguindanao occupy the highest positions in the province.

## Dynastic Shares 2016



Legend: Dynastic families are marked red if they occupy key positions in government: provincial governor/vice governor, regional governor/vice, regional leg assembly, regional vice governor, representative

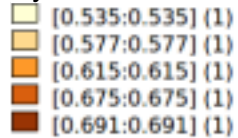
Sources: Ateneo Policy Center, Philippine National Police and International Alert data (see sources slide).



# PROPOSED STATE OF BANGSAMORO: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Key watch-out for this state is the use of private armies in politics—this would pose a challenge especially as these provinces would vie for leadership in the newly elected State. Provinces of this state are potential source of private armies to other local jurisdictions such as Masbate.

## Dynastic Shares 2016



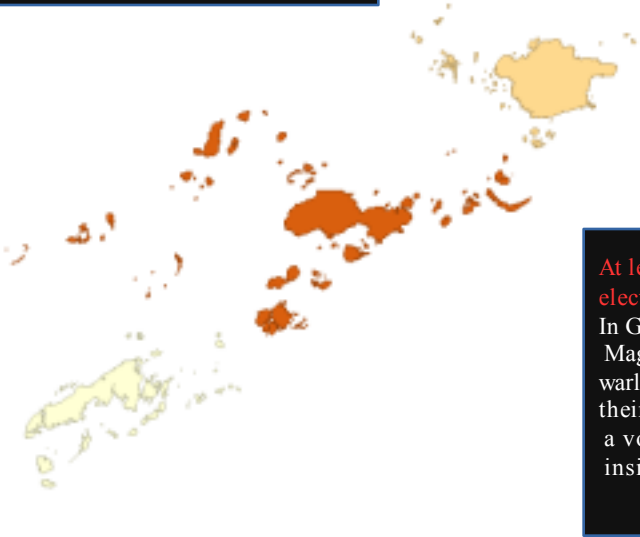
**'Politically-motivated' killings aplenty before PH elections (2016)**  
Incidents of loose firearms and presence of private armed groups were also recorded in Zamboanga del Sur, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-tawi, Zamboanga City, and CARAGA.

Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur consistently identified as a PNP hotspot for political violence Alongside Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi (2012, 2016 news articles)



**Masbate bets raise alarm over private armed groups (2016)**  
“...bigtime politicians have recruited active soldiers and policemen from Mindanao as their hired thugs, for a monthly salary of P25,000.”

**Maguindanao Massacre (2009)**



**At least 10 dead in PH election day violence( 2016)**  
In Guindulungan, Maguindanao, where warlord-politicians have their own private armies, a voter was shot dead inside a polling station.

# **PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON**

# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON

**Summary versus Other Proposed States:** The proposed state of Northern Luzon hosts the second largest count of private armies. However, this state also has notably higher human development, lower poverty, and lower dependency on internal revenue allotment on the average compared to all other states.

STATE	COMPOSITION		GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Former Regions	Composition	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
Northern Luzon	3	15	49.6%	13	2	0.587	20.3	14.0%	4.3	0.417	81.48%
Central Luzon	1	7	53.8%	3	1	0.642	12.5	19.9%	8.3	0.443	74.09%
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Measure	Count of Regions	Count of Provinces	Average Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Provinces with Conflict during 2016 elections	Average HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Average Poverty Rate for 2012	Average Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012
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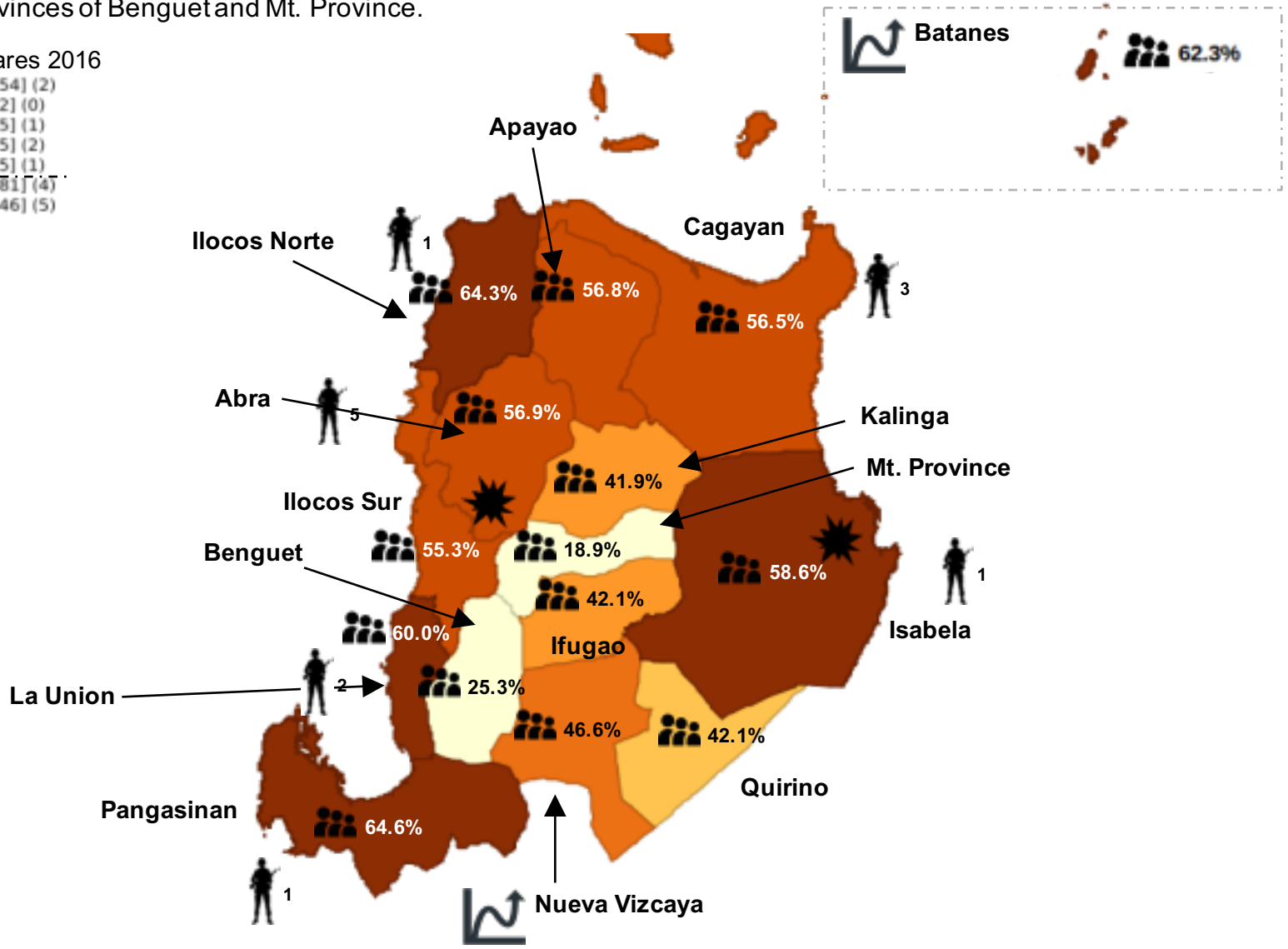
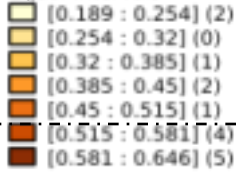
Legend: Each column (variable) is ranked from key watch-out (red) to least key watch-out (green).

Sources: COMELEC, government and International Alert data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON: GUNS & GOONS

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Fifteen provinces will be combined to form the proposed State of Northern Luzon; 9 out of the 15 over-index in dynasty share versus total PH. However, this proposed state also hosts the least dynastic provinces of Benguet and Mt. Province.

Dynastic Shares 2016

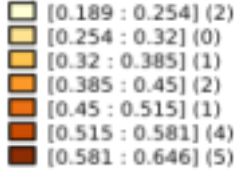


Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).

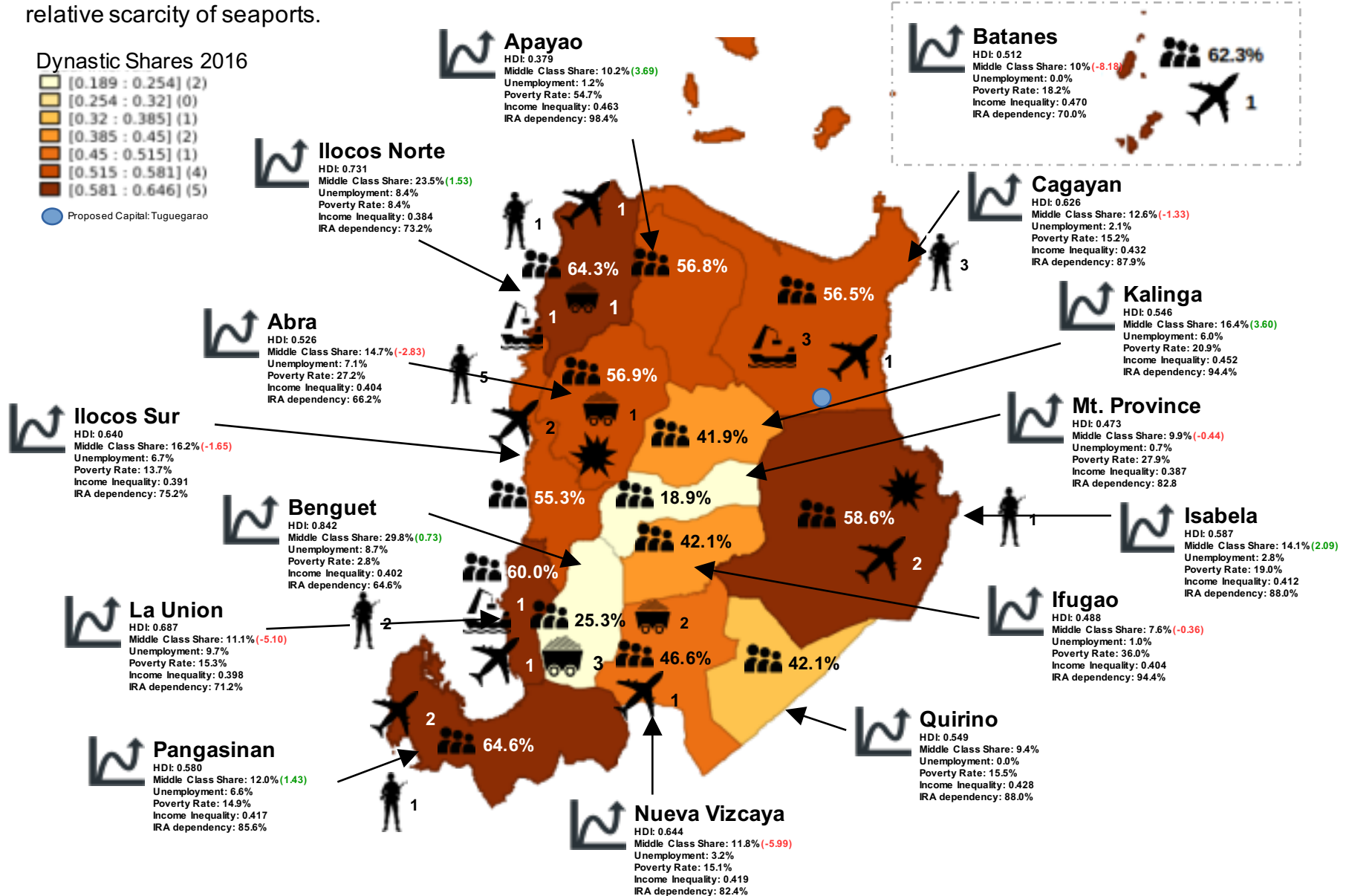
# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON: GOLD

**Dynasties and development:** This state combines the most dynastic and least dynastic provinces but with varying pattern when it comes to socioeconomic indicators. Notable is the distribution of mining activities in the provinces as well as the relative scarcity of seaports.

## Dynastic Shares 2016



Proposed Capital: Tuguegarao



Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON: SUMMARY

**Summary Table:** This state combines the most dynastic and least dynastic provinces but with varying patterns when it comes to socioeconomic indicators. Key watch-out would be private armies and conflict in highly dynastic provinces.

NORTHERN LUZON	GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
PANGASINAN	64.6%	1		0.580	14.9	12.0%	6.6	0.417	85.6%
ILOCOS NORTE	64.3%	1		0.731	8.4	23.5%	8.4	0.384	73.2%
BATANES	62.3%	0		0.512	18.2	10.0%	0.0	0.470	70.0%
LA UNION	60.0%	2		0.687	15.3	11.1%	9.7	0.398	71.2%
ISABELA	58.6%	1	YES	0.587	19.0	14.1%	2.8	0.412	88.0%
ABRA	56.9%	5	YES	0.526	27.2	14.7%	7.1	0.404	66.2%
APAYAO	56.8%	0		0.379	54.7	10.2%	1.2	0.463	98.4%
CAGAYAN	56.5%	3		0.626	15.2	12.6%	2.1	0.432	87.9%
ILOCOS SUR	55.3%	0		0.640	13.7	16.2%	6.7	0.391	75.2%
NUEVA VIZCAYA	46.6%	0		0.644	15.1	11.8%	3.2	0.419	82.4%
IFUGAO	42.1%	0		0.488	36.0	7.6%	1.0	0.404	94.4%
KALINGA	41.9%	0		0.546	20.9	16.4%	6.0	0.452	94.4%
QUIRINO	33.8%	0		0.549	15.5	9.4%	0.0	0.428	88.0%
BENGUET	25.3%	0		0.842	2.8	29.8%	8.7	0.402	64.6%
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE	18.9%	0		0.473	27.9	9.9%	0.7	0.387	82.8%
<b>Total Northern Luzon</b>	<b>49.6%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.587</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>0.417</b>	<b>81.5%</b>
Measure	Average Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Provinces with Conflict during 2016 elections	Average HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Poverty Rate 2012	Average Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012

**Dynasty Shares:** Nine out of the 15 provinces have higher dynasty shares than national average (50%). However, this region also hosts the least dynastic provinces in the country—Mt. Province and Benguet.

**Human Development:** The provinces generally have lower human development with only 4 regions matching or exceeding the national average (0.644).

**Unemployment:** Generally lower unemployment is noteworthy in this region (5.7%).

**Poverty:** Average poverty rate is lower than national average (25.2). Apayao, Ifugao, Mountain Province, and the highly dynastic province of Abra have poverty rates exceeding national average.

**Income Inequality:** Highest income inequality seen in Batanes, Apayao, and Kalinga.

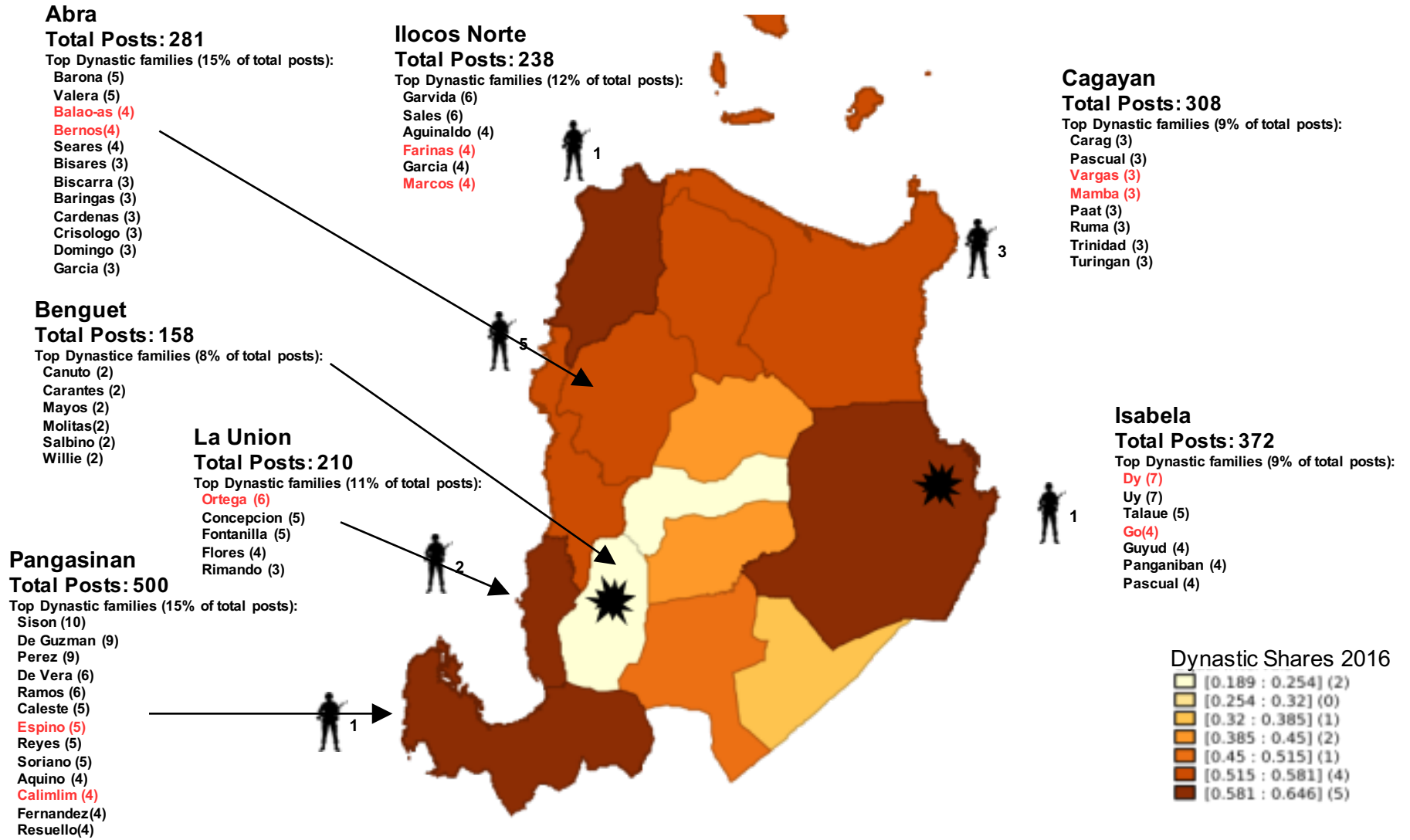
**IRA dependency:** Higher IRA dependency noted in the regions with lesser dynastic shares except Mountain Province.

Legend: Each column (variable) is ranked from key watch-out (red) to least key watch-out (green).

Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

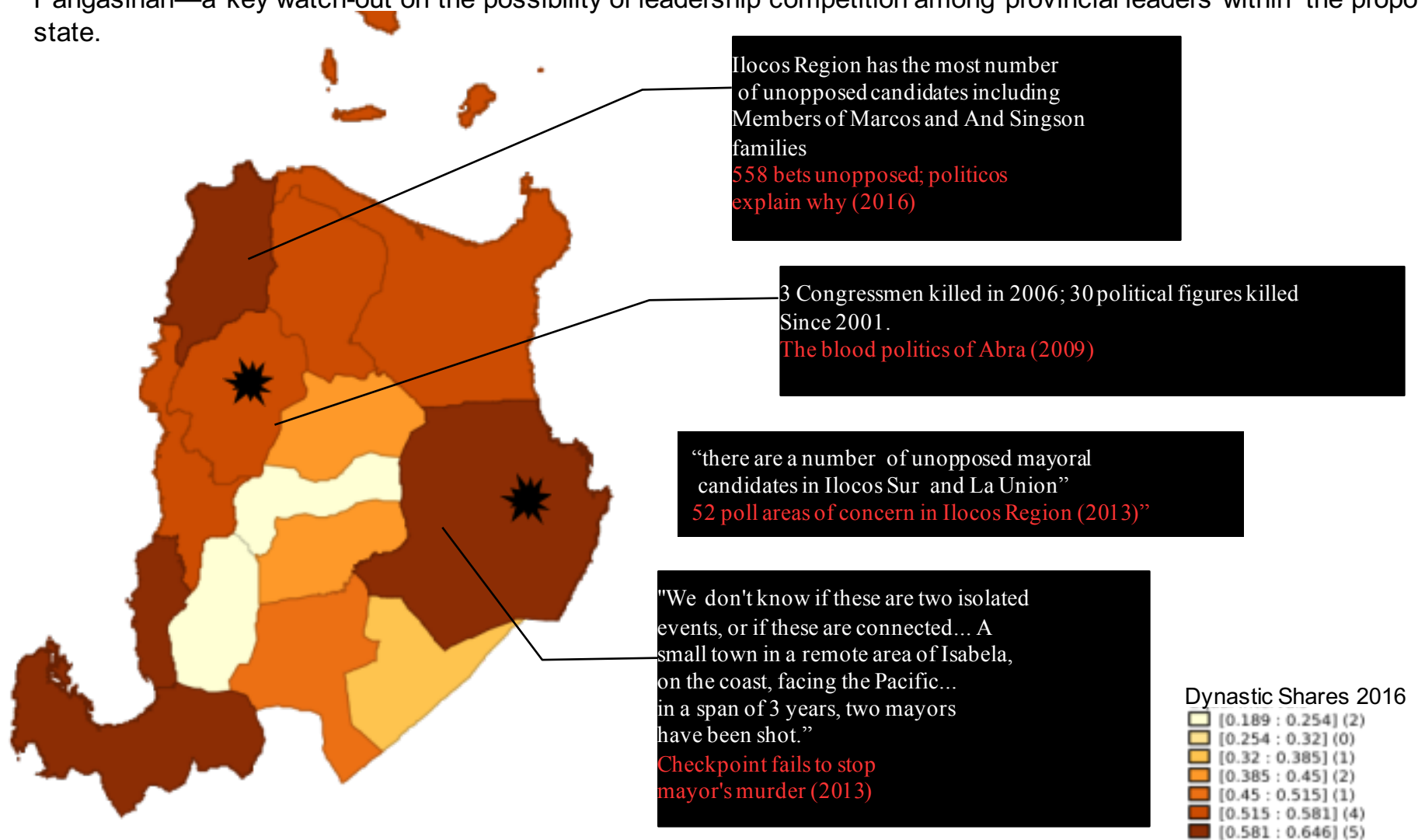
**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Clan perpetuations are very evident—with as high as 10 kins of a clan elected in the province of Pangasinan, 2016.



Legend: Dynastic families are marked red if they occupy key positions in government: provincial governor/vice governor, regional governor/vice, regional leg assembly, regional vice governor, representative  
 Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF NORTHERN LUZON: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Cases of political killings are notable in Abra, Ilocos, and Pangasinan—a key watch-out on the possibility of leadership competition among provincial leaders within the proposed state.





# ABRA: THE MURDER CAPITAL OF THE NORTH

Considered as the “murder capital of the north”, political families and the possession of hired Goons have been a fixture of Abra’s political history.



## 1963

Believed to be the start of “importation” of goons in Abra with the rivalry between Paredes(Valera)-Barbero families. Paredes (Valera) lost.



## 1965

Early press documentation of a politician hiring goons by Mayor Silverstre Perlas.



## 1986

Valeras regained power in 1986 when Vicente Valera was appointed as acting governor.



## 2006

Assassination of Congressman Luis Bersamin



## 2016

Political rival ex-governor Vicente Valera was sentenced for the assassination of Congressman Bersamin



## 2016

Valera family still involved in Abra politics with 5 in elected posts as of 2016.

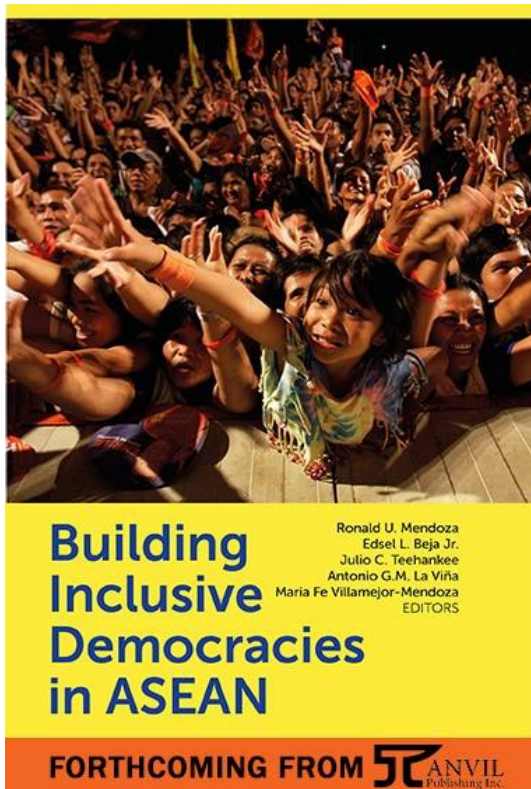
**“Most of those in the position to receive IRA fought their way there with the help of their private armies that shed sweat, tears, and a lot of blood before, during, and after elections.”**

**-Ma. Ayn Ballesta  
“The Blood Politics of  
Abra”, PCIJ (2009)**



# KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Merging of provinces into one state can create a power vacuum whereby leaders of each province would vie for leadership.
- This fight for leadership is not negative per se but may not be ideal especially for states with provinces where political dynasties and armed conflicts are prevalent.
- Furthermore, there exist asymmetries within and among provinces (dynastic, non dynastic, low/high development) which pose a challenge in integration.
  - These imbalances mirror the kind of leadership in a locale.
  - For example dynastic leaders dominate the conflict-laden and underdeveloped Bangsamoro region and Masbate province in Central Visayas
- What will be the role of the Federal Government in maintaining and ensuring that dynasties with political armies will govern the newly formed state without violence?
  - Institutional effectiveness/ Stronger policing (strong-state) to deal with private armies, more punitive measures, and shadow economies?
  - Calling for abolition of private armies in exchange of certain liberties/concessions? These concessions, however, should be beneficial to the people of the state/state development.



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**PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS**

**OPTIONAL**

# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS

**Summary versus Other Proposed States:** The proposed state of Central Visayas has the second largest concentration of private armies, over indexes versus national average in terms of share of dynastic posts, and is also a hotspot region, due to political conflict in Masbate.

STATE	COMPOSITION		GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Former Regions	Composition	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
Northern Luzon	3	15	49.6%	13	2	0.587	20.3	14.0%	4.3	0.417	81.48%
Central Luzon	1	7	53.8%	3	1	0.642	12.5	19.9%	8.3	0.443	74.09%
Southern Tagalog	1	5	57.5%	7	4	0.701	9.5	23.3%	9.0	0.405	61.92%
Minparom	1	5	43.4%	4	1	0.557	25.2	12.5%	3.8	0.481	94.09%
Bicol	1	5	52.6%	2	0	0.523	29.1	8.9%	5.3	0.437	85.30%
Eastern Visayas	1	6	53.1%	2	3	0.493	38.1	9.9%	5.8	0.507	91.19%
Central Visayas	2	5	54.7%	8	2	0.569	31.6	9.3%	4.8	0.473	88.05%
Western Visayas	1	6	53.4%	1	2	0.613	21.5	14.7%	5.8	0.436	82.96%
Northern Mindanao	3	11	47.0%	0	4	0.518	34.9	11.1%	4.5	0.462	83.93%
Southern Mindanao	3	10	43.2%	4	2	0.502	33.8	9.4%	3.9	0.439	85.30%
Bangsamoro	1	5	61.9%	42	4	0.330	43.2	1.5%	4.1	0.295	87.08%

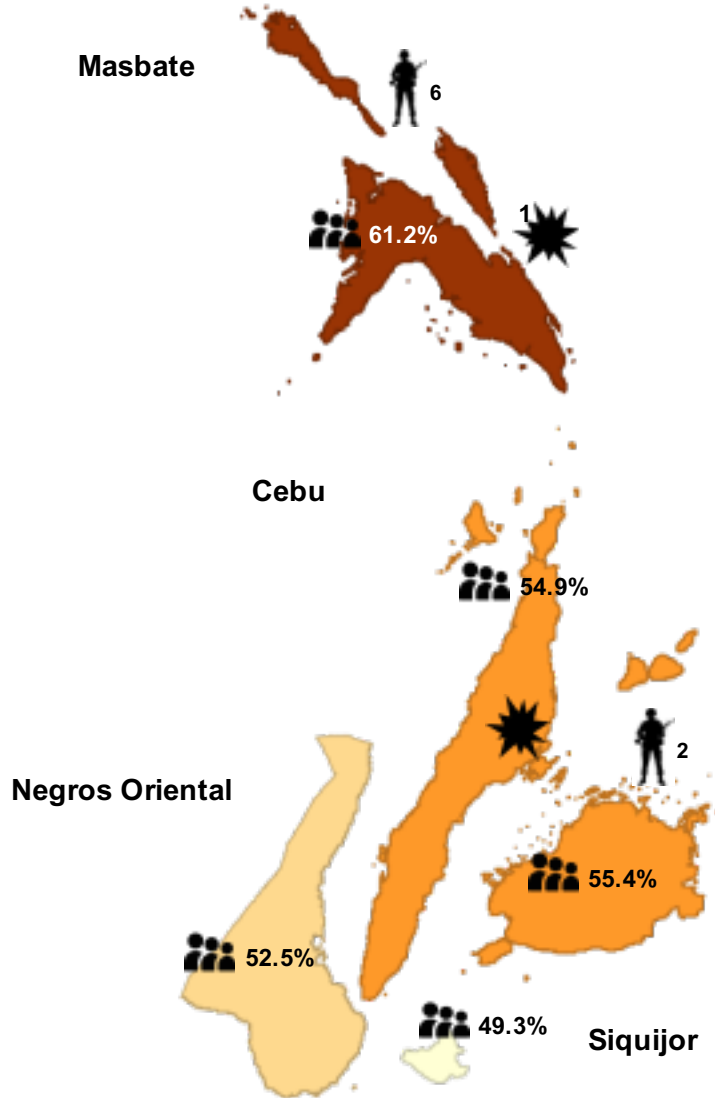
Measure	Count of Regions	Count of Provinces	Average Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Provinces with Conflict during 2016 elections	Average HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Average Poverty Rate for 2012	Average Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012
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Legend: Each column (variable) is ranked from key watch-out (red) to least key watch-out (green).

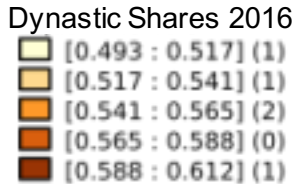
Sources: COMELEC, government and International Alert data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS: GUNS & GOONS

**Summary Map:** This state combines the highly dynastic and conflict-laded province of Masbate and the highly developed province of Cebu.



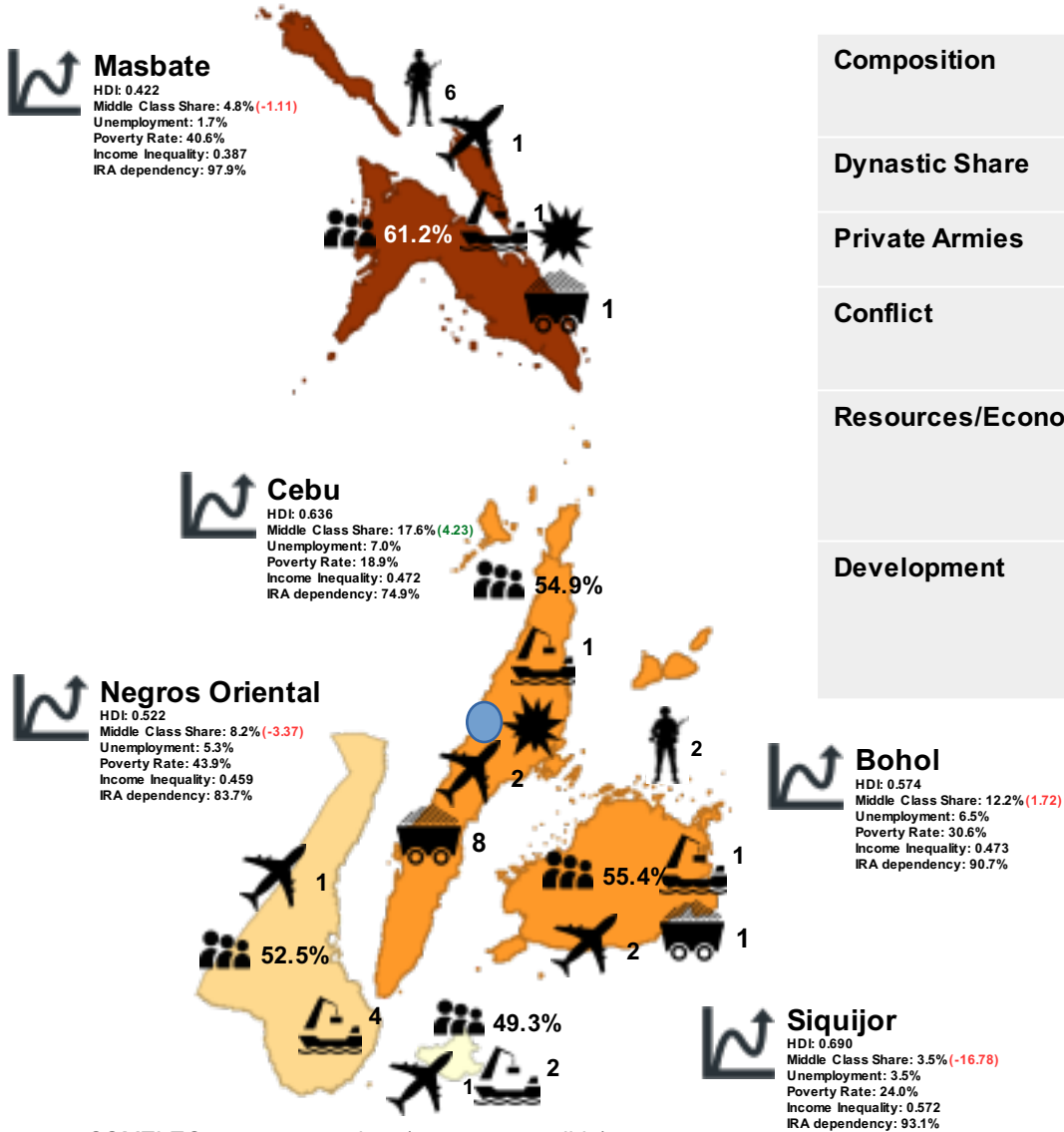
<b>Composition</b>	Composed mainly of Central Visayas (Region VII) provinces except for Masbate which is originally under Bicol (Region V).
<b>Dynastic Share</b>	Highly Dynastic (average of 54.7% versus 50% national average).
<b>Private Armies</b>	High Concentration in Masbate (6 out of 8) while the 2 private armies are in Bohol.
<b>Conflict</b>	Two provinces noted with conflict during the 2016 elections. But Masbate has been identified by PNP as hotspot in the recent and past elections.



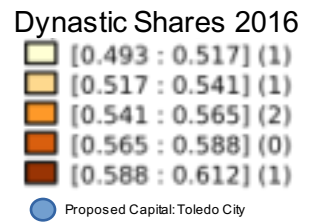
Sources: COMELEC, government data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS: GOLD

**Summary Map:** This state combines the highly dynastic and conflict-laden province of Masbate and the highly developed province of Cebu.



<b>Composition</b>	Composed mainly of Central Visayas (Region VII) provinces except for Masbate which is originally under Bicol (Region V).
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<b>Private Armies</b>	High Concentration in Masbate (6 out of 8) while the 2 private armies are in Bohol.
<b>Conflict</b>	Two provinces noted with conflict during the 2016 elections. But Masbate has been identified by PNP as hotspot in the recent and past elections.
<b>Resources/Economy</b>	Region VII has third largest value of output (PHP 20.8B, 10.9% of total value output in 2012). This state also hosts the second busiest airport in the Philippines and the largest seaport in the state.
<b>Development</b>	Has two extremes in terms of socio-economic and human development: Masbate which has lowest HDI and highest IRA dependency versus Cebu which has a relatively high HDI, middle class shares, and lower dependency on IRA.



Sources: COMELEC, government data (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS: SUMMARY

**Summary Table:** This region features two provinces from both ends of the spectrum. A highly dynastic province, Masbate also has the highest concentration of private armies, with lowest development indicators. On the other hand, another dynastic province Cebu has the highest middle class shares, lowest poverty rates, and lowest financial dependency.

CENTRAL VISAYAS	GUNS & GOONS			GOLD					
	Dynasty	Private Army	Conflict	Human Development	Poverty Rate	Middle Class Share	Unemployment	Income Inequality	Financial Resources
MASBATE	61.2%	6	YES	0.422	40.6	4.8%	1.7	0.387	97.9%
BOHOL	55.4%	2		0.574	30.6	12.2%	6.5	0.473	90.7%
CEBU	54.9%	0	YES	0.636	18.9	17.6%	7.0	0.472	74.9%
NEGROS ORIENTAL	52.5%	0		0.522	43.9	8.2%	5.3	0.459	83.7%
SIQUIJOR	49.3%	0		0.690	24.0	3.5%	3.5	0.572	93.1%
<b>Total Central Visayas</b>	<b>54.7%</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.569</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>9.3%</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>0.473</b>	<b>88.0%</b>

Measure	Average Dynasty Shares of Provinces 2016	Count of Private Armed Groups 2012	Provinces with Conflict during 2016 elections	Average HDI for 2012 of Provinces	Poverty Rate 2012	Average Middle Class Share 2015	Unemployment Rate 2012	Income GINI Coefficient 2012	IRA Dependency Ratio 2012
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**Dynasty Shares:** All except Siquijor have dynastic shares higher than national average (50%). Masbate is the most dynastic with 61.2% of posts belonging to a dynasty.

**Human Development:** Only Siquijor has an HDI index higher than national average (0.644) while Masbate has the lowest human development.

**Unemployment:** Bohol and Cebu have unemployment rates higher than national average (5.7%). Low unemployment noted for Masbate.

**Poverty:** Masbate has highest poverty rate (25.2%) with Cebu has poverty rates far below the state average.

**Income Inequality:** Negros and Siquijor have highest income inequality among the provinces.

**IRA dependency:** High dependency for Masbate while Cebu and Negros have other sources of income outside IRA.

Legend: Each column (variable) is ranked from key watch-out (red) to least key watch-out (green).

Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).



# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Highly dynastic families across regions are elected in major government posts—Khos of Masbate, Duranos of Cebu, Chatto of Bohol and Teves' of Negros Oriental.

## Masbate

**Total Posts: 227**

Top Dynastic families (10% of total posts):

- Castillo (3)
- Kho (3)**
- Lazaro (3)
- Lim (3)
- Sanchez (3)
- Yuson (2)
- Albao (2)
- Alvarez (2)



## Cebu

**Total Posts: 563**

Top Dynastic families (10% of total posts):

- Bacalitos (4)
- Baricuatro (4)
- Cabahug (4)
- Durano (4)**
- Martinez (4)
- Arquillano (3)
- Belcina (3)
- Binghay (3)
- Cabaron (3)
- Canete (3)
- Chong (3)
- Creus (3)
- Duterte (3)
- Espinosa (3)
- Gerona (3)
- Radaza (3)**

## Bohol

**Total Posts: 487**

Top Dynastic families (10% of total posts):

- Tutor (6)
- Garcia (5)
- Uy (5)
- Baguio (4)
- Chatto (4)**
- Jala (4)
- Lim (4)
- Veloso (4)
- Ancog (3)
- Ayuban (3)
- Boniel (3)
- Cajes (3)
- Cepedoza (3)

## Siquijor

**Total Posts: 69**

Top Dynastic families (29% of total posts):

- Ligutom (3)
- Monte(3)
- Asok (2)
- Calibo (2)
- Ocay (2)
- Pal-ing (2)
- Quezon (2)**
- Tumala (2)
- Villa (2)**

## Negros Oriental

**Total Posts: 259**

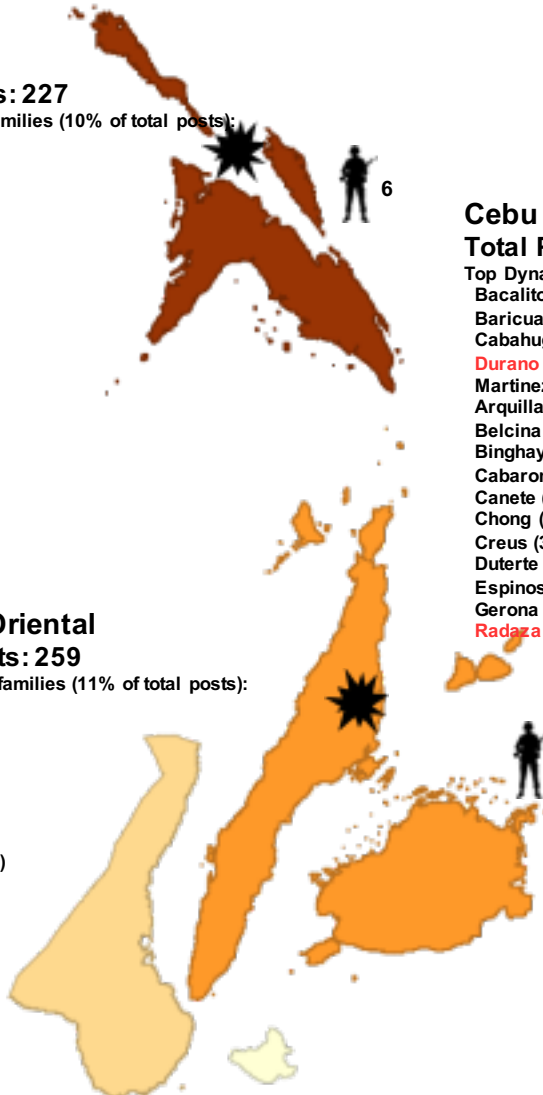
Top Dynastic families (11% of total posts):

- Alviola (4)
- Dy (4)
- Reyes (4)
- Serion (4)
- Teves (4)**
- Renancia (3)
- Trinidad (3)
- Villanueva (3)



## Dynastic Shares 2016

- [0.493 : 0.517] (1)
- [0.517 : 0.541] (1)
- [0.541 : 0.565] (2)
- [0.565 : 0.588] (0)
- [0.588 : 0.612] (1)



Legend: Dynastic families are marked red if they occupy key positions in government: provincial governor/vice governor, regional governor/vice, regional leg assembly, regional vice governor, representative

Sources: COMELEC, government data and media (see sources slide).

# PROPOSED STATE OF CENTRAL VISAYAS: POLITICAL DYNASTIES

**Dynasty Shares, Families, and Incidences of Conflict:** Masbate is an identified hotspot for political violence in the recent 2016 elections, and historically. As one of the poorest and most dynastic provinces in the country—it is yet to eradicate landlord holding in the country.

Masbate

Except for former Gov. Antonio Kho and his wife, Rep. Elisa "Olga" Kho, close to 50 candidates aspiring for various elective positions in the province signed a peace covenant in a program initiated by the COMELEC, PNP, AFP and the Masbate Advocates for Peace (MAP).  
*Despite poll covenant, peace fragile in Masbate (2016)*

Allegations of assassinations between political rivals Kho and Seachon-Lanete

Masbate, one of the areas under the monitoring of the COMELEC and the police, has been a perennial election hot spot due to intense rivalry among political clans, election-related Killings, and the presence of armed groups and communist rebels.

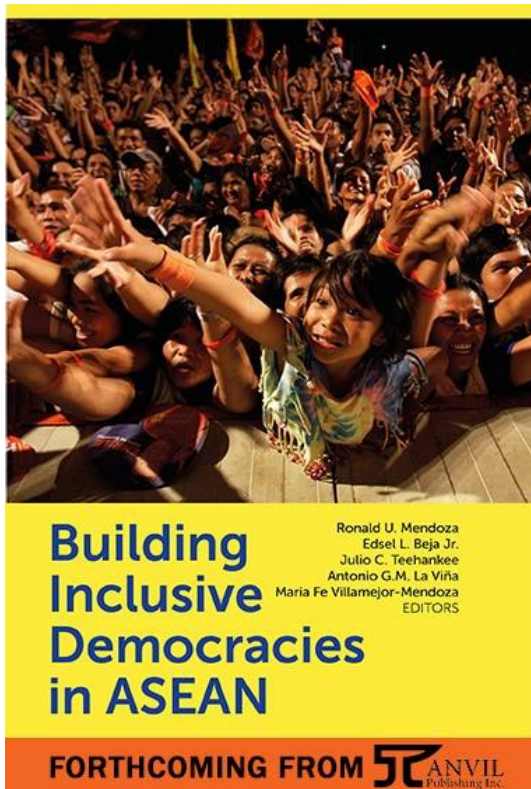
Continued concerns of land as land holding remains prevalent in the  
*Masbate peasants demand govt to enact long-delayed Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill (2017)*

Negros Oriental

Bohol

Arturo Gomez, spokesman of Task Force Masbate, said that there are at least 5 active PAGs operating in Masbate, employed by politicians. These are the Arizabal, Villaruel, Del Rosario, and Arcavado PAGs. Gomez withheld the names of the politicians employing the PAGs, citing operations to stamp out these groups.  
*Masbate bets raise alarm over private armed groups (2016)*

Siquijor



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