Abstract
This paper describes the emergence of democracy decay in the Philippines. Democracy in the Philippines is experiencing a political uproar by people power and the strengthening of political dynasties become an important reference in the development of democratization in Southeast Asia. Political development Philippine has experience implementing two major conceptions of democracy that Liberal democracy and democratic development a lesson Asian democratization in Southeast Asia. Using comparisons methodologis Philippines under democratic regimes in Asia under Ferdinand Marcos and post-Marcos Liberal Democracy. This paper gives an overview of the complexity of trying to establish democratization the Philippines.

Keyword : Democratization, Philippines, Political decay, oligarchy

Introduction
Portrait of democratization in Southeast Asia into the third wave of democratization. Political scientist Samuel Huntington in his book The Third Wave in the late twentieth century (1993) describes the third wave of democracy is a period in which the change from an authoritarian to a democratic political. In line with the conception of the third wave of democratization, the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic state is democratic momentum phase entry. The third wave of democracy which certainly implies a change of power. Transition with the assumption that there is a change in the authoritarian rulers of democratic power is power in many people under the sovereignty of the people, of the mechanism of what is now known as procedural democracy.

Robert Dahl for example, states that there is a minimum of procedural democracy indicator distribution of powers (trias politica), the establishment of democratic institutions, general election, the existence of a free press. Using the concept of procedural democracy in the southeast Asian political development praxis only Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines which can in identification as a democratic state. These three countries are the face of democratization in Southeast Asia where the future stages of the process of deciding the future of democracy is democracy in Southeast Asia. Thesis in the debate about welfare, freedom, and democracy, in the southeast Asian political traditions represented in the debate between Asian Democracy and Liberal democracy which rests on the question of whether you should begin the process of democratization of prosperity and freedom (democracy), represented by the Asian view of democracy or freedom first after the assumption of liberal democracy as expressed Fareed Zakariya democracy. Theoretical position of countries in Southeast Asia have different experiences in building democracy. Indonesia, located in one point where the democratization process in Indonesia took the first democratic welfare positions (liberal democracy), and Singapore, Malaysia is in the other extreme is the position of the democratic welfare (Asian democracy).
Theoretical positions and praxis, the Philippines is in the second position in terms of theoretical assumptions, a long history of democratic experience of the Philippines had already covered both theoretical assumptions about freedom, prosperity and democracy. Pre-Marcos political system is built by taking the first democratic and prosperous path failed to prosper. Further experiments using theoretical freedom number two position, the main thing is discipline like Asian democracy in Singapore and Malaysia were performed on Marcos regime also failed to prosper, as well as in the post-Marcos era politics, freedom is the main thesis experiment also failed to bring prosperity.

Case of Democracy in Philippines

Problems such as the complexity of the political dynasty, Patronage politics (Buendia, 1994; Sidel, 2005)\(^3\), corruption (Transparency International, 2011)\(^4\) and the institutionalization of political parties (Ufen, 2007)\(^5\) resulting in a democracy democratic decay Philippine politics (political decay). Problem complexity is proportional to the Philippine democracy iron law of oligarchy who popularized sociologist Roberto Michel (1876 )\(^6\) that power will be controlled by a handful of people with the logical consequence that the political oligarchy, the interests of a major power-holders\(^6\).

Authoritarian regimes established oligarchy by designing the structure of the highly centralized economy and run the exploit against public authorities for the purposes of the ruler. From the establishment of the system, public institutions is in line with the ruler and his cronies are those who are part of the patronage which take advantage. This framework ultimately forming Politico Buisiness Complex which is the strength of the regime's authoritarian oligarchy. So also during the authoritarian Ferdinand Marcos to establish business relations and political complex (Politico Framework Buisiness complexes) to centralize power and establish a centralized economy\(^7\). In the Marcos era centralization of power is on Marcos and his cronies. Kenji Kushida (2003) explains that the Marcos-era oligarchy run by mobilizing and organizing the violence perpetrated by the military, bureaucracy dominated by political dynasties and patronage, and master nationalize industry for the benefit of Marcos and cronies even nearly 300 companies under their control until finally overthrown people with the People Power movement than the Marcos regime monopolize aid and loans from international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monitary Fund (IMF)\(^8\)

Patron-client politics and dynasty that took place in the Marcos era, is inseparable from the historical context. Development of the country most affected Spain colonies and Filipino Americans as occupiers. The process of formation of national identity the most important factor is the formation of a political system based on patron-client and dynasties. In the Spanish colonial period, private ownership of land will be the policy would land in the Philippines which runs nearly three centuries\(^9\). This resulted in a skewed land ownership system. Distribution of soil conditions in the Philippines after colonialism had an asymmetrical distribution. In line with the conception of Marxism\(^10\) to justify that landlords and labor relations that shape the social and political structure of the Philippines and this is the result Bosisme or Local Strongman in the Philippine political system\(^11\)

Post Philippine independence, the landlords get protection in the absence of land reform policies comprehensive so landlords become important figures in the history of Philippine politics. Landlords who controlled estates and employs Filipino people getting political support of workers who worked on the plantation. Hacienda Esperanza productive land, located in villages Nagasu, Regency
La Carlotta Profinsi Negros Occidental, for example, is a family owned land Benedectos, Marcos cronies.\textsuperscript{12} Structure system powered by patron-client politics and political dynasties, which due to historical (historical roots), the oligarchs emerged as indeed Marcos authoritarian regime framework to design a centralized political and economic, that aim is to secure economic resources of political regime.\textsuperscript{13} One of the Marcos regime oligarchs fact that cases of corruption committed by Marcos to make regulations that provide incentives for people who want to build a hotel in the Philippines. This incentive is given for the help of the World Bank and the policy of giving 75 percent of the cost of construction of Development Bank of the Philippines, Government Services Insurance System and the Philippines national Bank. Development on the realization Plaza Hotel Philippines Imelda Marcos (Marcos 's wife) get loans nearly 100 percent of the cost of development.\textsuperscript{14} Not only the monopoly of the Philippine industry to be part of the political and economic framework is centralized. Monopoly of the sugar industry to be part of the design of Marcos oligarchy. Sugar industry which is 25 percent of all Philippine exports controlled by Marcos and their cronies that Benedito Roberto, Eduardo Cojuangco, Jr. and Juan Ponce Enrile.\textsuperscript{15} In addition to the very important role of the military in Marcos regime as mobilization and organizing force to protect the business interests of the Marcos regime and its cronies that led to corruption. State monopoly of violence carried out by the military as a tool. Entry of the military in politics become the frontline in protecting the interests of Marcos, which is done by replacing almost all governors and mayors by military personnel as well as the addition of the original 54,000 to nearly 3 times as much.\textsuperscript{16}

Oligarchy with authoritarian regimes is positively correlated means power oligarchy assumed to serve the rulers as well as the assumption of an authoritarian regime. People Power revolution Momentum or Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) is a new phase of the process of democratization Philippines. Fall of authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos due to the murder of Senator Beniqno Auino Jr. at Manila airport after returning from exile in the United States to be triggered of the accumulation of social fury during the reign of the corrupt Marcos otorier. These conditions form the initial phase of the transition to democracy in which democratic elections won by Corazon Aquino. Corazon Aquino's victory marks a phase in which the Philippines entered the phase transition in a democracy. In this phase is characterized by the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government. In the authoritarian regime, the oligarchs emerged as the similarity assumption between the oligarchy and authoritarianism, oligarchy rose due to the centralization of economic and political power as well as mobilasi violence used by the military authoritarian regime. In the democratic regime, the centralization of power is no longer because the division and separation of powers and military professionalism. Therefore the transition from an authoritarian regime to the democratic regime in the logical consequences of institutionalization of democracy shift toward democratic consolidation. Democratic transition in Philippines still some problems such as the strength of corruption, lack of institutionalization of party politics that characterized the strength of the dynasty (political clant), bureaucratic patron - client, as well as strengthening local elites and democracy have a some problems. This condition, which is a precondition strengthening democratic regime is not directly proportional to the minimization of oligarchic regime. Oligarchic regime emerged with new patterns and forms that no longer appear and persist with framework centralized political
economy. To reread the emergence of an oligarchic regime, writer and read mapping problem oligarch patterns during the transition to democracy. At least until the post-authoritarian Marcos Estrada presidency experiencing political instability that led to the action or people power EDSA revolution to two. During the Corazon Aquino administration, for example, the government is not without problems government is considered corrupt and is still militarism problem Corazon Aquino administration. Sheila Coronel (2009) states that the Aquino administration has failed to consolidate political power so long been a problem Corazon government implementation. Corolon, further explained that there are at least six attempts the overthrow by a military faction that rebelled sebagai efforts to overthrow President Corazon Aquino. Besides government inherited by the authoritarian regime of high poverty, corruption, weak institutions and the inability of the military to control the problem makes the Corazon Aquino administration.

Future consolidation of democracy into the process of post-authoritarian political development but in the process of political transition Philippine Government faces a kind of democracy that is not finished (Fledgling democracy). Historical process into a long process of political development path towards the consolidation of democracy, at least repeating history with the second EDSA revolution that overthrew President Joseph Estrada into picture and the long process towards consolidation. Fledgling long process of consolidation of democracy and the failure because the Philippines is still experiencing the same problem of corruption is high, and the strengthening of political clan post-democracy local elites emerge stronger because of the decentralization of power and the failure of party institutionalization as a democratic institution.

After the failure of two presidents Corazon Aquino held a consolidated democracy, namely Fidel V Ramos and Joseph Estrada became democratic constraints. Oligarch reign of Fidel Ramos became a political consolidation of development problems, such as electoral fraud, the strengthening of the military in politics still rule the Philippines, clientilisme, nepotism, fraud and election violence and political elitism Philippines (Montinola, 1999; Deehankee, 2002). As stated Gabriella Montinola (1999) that although the data in the 1998 general election there were about 28 million voters went to the place of voting for the election of president, vice president, 12 senators and more than 200 members of parliament and more than 17,000 gives an overview of Philippine democracy after authoritarian Marcos, but Montinola noted that the high political pathology 174,000 ballots indicated, the "dag-dag Bawas" is a method used to bribe election commission officials, as well as political violence fell to its lowest level in the history surrounding the 1995 murder of politician. This condition also exists in government, Joseph Estrada. Military force used by the Estrada government, as well as cases of corruption resulted in the accumulation of disappointments that led to the second EDSA revolution.

Practical after the victory Maccapagal Gloria Arroyo, who dropped the EDSA revolution Estrada became the foundation of the early post-revolutionary democratic government. Arroyo wins a marker of democratic governance and democratization of the Philippines towards consolidation succession. Democratic government hopes a new hope Philippines after Arroyo won the election in 2004 by defeating Fernando Poe, Jr. Arroyo government was able to build political and economic conditions that promise with positive economic growth appreciated until the end of the period are the points of
GDP and 7.6% decrease at the beginning of the Aquino administration in 2011 to 3.7% of GDP. But on the other hand, as suggested Nathan Gilbert Quimpo (2009) under the Arroyo political performance indicated the emergence autoritarianisme (Growing Autoritarianism) with indication of the strengthening presidential executive in the country. Reviewing, strengthening symptoms Autoritarianisme Transition democratization in post Marcosterutama Arroyo government needs to be studied further. On the structure of political parties under Arroyo, still controlled by the old actor who comes from an influential clan in the Philippine political system. Almost all major parties, especially parties that have seats in the parliament is a major political dynasty and one of the big conglomerates in the Philippines. Even the late wife of former Marcos and Estrada President still gain legitimacy in the political system of the Philippines, in addition to a parliamentary political arena is no longer centralized oligarchy, such as occurs in the form of bribery allegations of corruption at the bookies Arroyo families that exist in parliament. From the conception of the executive due to the strengthening of political dynasties also has the power in the parliamentary executive political support efforts.

Empirical facts in the political system can be categorized and mapped in that regime oligarchs appeared in every form of political system either in the form of authoritarian regimes like marcos or appearing on the authoritarian regime after Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada and Gloria Arroyo Maccapagal. Trajectory forms of oligarchy which was originally located in a centralized economic power and to control the public authority for the benefit of oligarchic regime. This framework ultimately forming Politico Complex Business resulting political decay in Philippine political system. Centralized conditions-crupt in Philippine historical political economic system produces oligarchy regimes and political revolution to replace authoritarian regimes with democratic regimes. Not resolve and minimize the oligarchy regime, a new form of democratic government mengasilkan oligarchic regime (oligarchy complex power) are more complex and no longer use the centralization of power. Adaptation oligarchy regime on democratic government reorganized form of oligarchy and threaten the future of democratic consolidation. Broadly speaking, the political motive decay on a democratic regime is the division of power in the political parties, repression is high due to the strengthening of the military in the political system, the rule weakened, and the number of political appointees in the bureaucracy. Reorganization authoritarian regimes in the post-Marcos can has old actor and performed by Marcos era, patrimonial politics, Business and local forces.

Closing Remarks

The future of Philippine democracy was an important lesson in democracy in Southeast Asia. Imports of democratization in the tradition of "the West" or democracy with Asian values that are emphasized by Lee Kwan Yuu need to be reviewed because the two concepts of democracy must undergo adaptive with countries that are experiencing democratization. Deficit of democracy in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, which is still experiencing political uproar, Political dynasties as well as the complexity of democracy in Indonesia. Problem decentralization, political money, and the strengthening of Informal Governance as a result of the weak party institutionalization and funding that led to infidelity komunnitas business and political community. Experience of post-authoritarian democracy Philippines Ferdinand Marcos became the reference tenggra political development in Asia. Complexity of the decentralization
of power, the emergence of Informal Governance and patron-client politics that produces Political decay. Another problem in the case of Philippine democracy and also occurs southeast Asia there are strong indications the country. The scholar Dan Slater in the book Ordering Power: Contentious politics and authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia explained that the intensity of the political fight that will encourage the elite to create a sort of pact with the protection of authoritarian forms of government. Using Slater conception, the authors identify that the intensity of the political fight that resulted in two people power and efforts to overthrow Maccapagal Aroyo are also encouraged to use people power protection by forming an alliance pact. This condition to be complex with patrimonial politics and monopoly of violence by the state through the military in terms Althusserian is RSA and supported by the party system became an instrument of democracy have failed institutionalization. Integral readings require further explanation regarding the OCP is a key concept that patrimonial politics, military, and powerful political dynasty in the Philippine political system.


[23] www.transparency.org
Eight indicators or conditions by Robert Dahl as a procedural prerequisite of democracy, namely 1. Freedom to form and join organization, 2. Freedom to express opinions, 3. The right to vote in elections, 4. The right to hold public office, 5. For the right to compete in the general election constellation, 6. Availability of alternative resources, 7. Existence of elections free and fair, 8. Establishment of democratic institutions. Now Samuel Huntington mention that at least in procedural democracy no right to speak, the Pers, the organization and its fatherly rights of association.

The debate around issues of freedom, prosperity and democracy with exposure to arguments that explain the development of democracy. Democracy can be built on the foundation of freedom, which in turn can mendorng formation of well-being freedom. Stating this view, democracy without constitutional liberalism is a problem because it can bring erosion of freedom, abuse and even war. Instead of democracy without prosperity could not attend because of the democratic transition can only be through the establishment of a liberal autocracy makes economic access established giving rise to the transition from autocracy toward liberal democracy. This description, especially the view of liberal democracy can be read in Fareed Zakariya. The rise of illiberal democracy. Samuel Huntington. Et al. Amerika dan dunia: memperdebatkan bentuk baru politik internasional. Jakarta. Yayasan obor Indonesia 2005 and Juga dapat dilihat pada Abubakar. E Har. Pendekatan pendekatan dalam studi demokrasi di Asia tenggara dan Relevansinya untuk Indonesia. Jurnal JPS. Vol 4, No 1, tahun 2000.

Politics based on patron-client relations in politics which is built with mutual consensus only between patron and client. Asymmetrical relationship between patron and client to support political interests. Additionally asymmetrical relationship led to local forces (bosime) in Philippine politics and political strength is based on family or dynasty familial and kinship. Further discussion can be found in Rizal G. Buendia. The Philippines. In Norma Mahmood. Rethinking political development in Southeast asia. Malaysia. Univ.Malaya press. 1994. Hal 92; J.C.Scott


Philippine corruption by Transparency International ranks 105 with point 34 of the 90 highest points. Ranking system uses the size of the numbers 0-9 (Highly Corrupt) and 90-100 (very clean) Transparency International. Corruption Perception Index. Germany. 2012 can be accessed at www.transparency.org

Party's failure to perform the regeneration and modernization of institutions that emphasize impersonalitas failure due to the strength of the constellation of political dynasties and disarkan on competition as a non- ideological problem of the institutionalization of the party. In Andreas ufen. Political party and party system institutionalization in the southeast asia: A comparasion of Indonesia, the Philippines and the Thailand. Working Paper. Giga Research Programe. German. March 2007


Karl Marx formulated in the conception of the landlord class. Landlords as a class who are exploiting and maintaining the political economy. Marx pointed out the land ownership Royal family, where the ownership of land as an economic power politics against buruh. In Social Marxs theory of class and class structure[http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s28f99.htm](http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s28f99.htm)

Occurences Bosisme and Local strongmen on Philippine socio-political structure of the system at the start because of colonialism and the legacy system of land distribution. Bosisme emergence as the asymmetric division of land that led to landlords. the emergence of the landlord class, making the relation between landlords with laborers became the patron-client relationship, the client requires wages to survive while the client is in need incentive while political support to gain power. John Sidel. Capital, Coercion And Crime: Bosism in the Philippines dalam Leo Agustino dan Muhammad Agus Yusoff. Politik lokal indonesia: dari otokratik ke reformasi politik. Jurnal Ilmu Politik. Edisi 21. 2010

Noer Fauzi. Memahami gerakan-gerakan rakyat dunia ketiga. Insist.Jogjakarta.2005 hal 113


Ibid. Hal 351


Lurence Whitehead (1989) e xplains that described the consolidation of democratic institutions and the institutionalization kotestasi competitive , while Juan J Linz and Alfred Stepan (1998) explained that there are five main arena in terms of democracy konsloiddasi 1 . Civil society, 2. 3 political
society. Rule of law 4 negra apparatus and integrated economic community and support each other. In terms of op Cit Suyanto 116-117


http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_democracy/v010/10.1montin ola.html


21 Liberal Party (LP) led March Roxas; LakaskalibatngMalayangIslam Christian Democrat (LakasKampi CMD) dipimpinGloriyamaccapagalAroyo; Nacionalista party coalition (NPC) headed by Eduardo CojuangcoJr; Nacionalista Party NP) headed by Manuel VilliarJr; Pwersangmasang (PMP) Joseph Estrada; demokratikong Laban ng Pilipino (LDP) with the chairman Edgardo Angara; Bagongkilusanglipunan ( KBL ) with the chairman of Imelda Marcos. Partidodemokratiko (PDP) with Laban president Aquilino Pimentel Jrlebih about national and local party list in the Philippines
