

Voter Demands and Personalistic Parties: Explaining Legislative Voting in the Philippine House of Representatives 1987-2007

Jae Hyeok Shin
Department of Political Science
University of California, Los Angeles
jae.shin@ucla.edu

ABSTRACT

Why do politicians sometimes vote against their party leadership, which is believed to harm programmatic accountability and government performance? The pre-existing research suggests that legislators who are elected from less developed districts, in which the majority of voters are poor and less educated and thus desire pork and patronage over national public policies, are more likely to vote against their party line in order to vote with the president for access to government resources. This paper tests that theory in an extremely pork-oriented (personalistic) context—the post-Marcos Philippines. The study reveals the opposite mechanism in the exceedingly personalistic party system where almost every legislator wants to join the president's gravy train: legislators who are elected from more developed districts (where voters often desire policy over pork) are more likely to vote against their party leadership who always want to vote with the president, and thus tend to undermine party cohesion.

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Parties whose rank-and-file members are less disciplined and loyal to their leaders in order to deliver individual/local benefits to constituents are labeled personalistic. Since in most developing countries, the president controls government resources for such benefits, where parties are personalistic, politicians often vote with the president or switch to the president's party for access to state resources. Two approaches have evolved to explain the development of personalistic parties: contextualism and institutionalism. The former focuses on the social context in which personalistic parties develop, whereas the latter focuses on the effects of electoral institutions on party development.

On the one hand, the contextualists contend that the voter's socio-economic status largely affects the success of personalistic parties (Banfield and Wilson 1963; Scott 1972). Poor, less educated voters tend to prefer tangible individual or local benefits to national public policies (Scott 1972, 117-8). Thus, personalistic parties are more likely to flourish in less developed countries where the majority of voters desire pork over policy.

The institutionalists, on the other hand, claim that electoral rules that induce candidate-centered campaigns spur personalism in party politics (Carey and Shugart 1995). They argue that candidate-centered electoral rules, in which party leaders lack control over ballot access or in which candidates compete against copartisans for voter support, encourage politicians to develop personal reputations with constituents rather than party policy reputations in order to increase their electoral chances. The more candidate-centered electoral competition is, therefore, the more likely parties are to become personalistic.

Hence it is expected and corroborated with empirical studies that party cohesion in legislative voting is weaker in less-developed countries *or* under more candidate-centered electoral institutions (Hix 2004; Nemoto 2009; Kunicova and Remington 2008; Haspel et al.

1998; Sieberer 2010; Desposato 2006; Carey 2007).¹ Yet it is seldom obvious how legislators vote in less-developed countries *with* highly candidate-centered electoral rules. What account for legislative voting behaviors in such extremely personalistic party systems? In this paper I aim to address the question by examining one of the most pork-oriented systems in the world, the post-Marcos Philippines.

In analyzing roll call votes of the members of the Philippine House of Representatives since 1987 (after the fall of Marcos), I find that in this pork-dominant system where almost all politicians vote with the president in order to gain access to government resources for pork, legislators from less-developed districts (in which the majority of voters desire pork over policy) tend to stay with the rest of copartisans in legislative voting, while those from developed districts (in which voters often desire policy over pork) are more likely to deviate from the position of the party majority. This is because most of the time, politicians pass legislative bills and motions, including pork barrel legislation and the president's bills, by unanimous consent except when those who care about programmatic goods have incentives to oppose certain policies. These findings suggest that voters' socio-economic conditions also affect the legislative behavior of politicians in the pork-dominant context although the direction of the effects is opposite to the conventional wisdom that would lead us to expect politicians from poor districts to be more likely to deviate from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting; conversely, those politicians are less likely to defect in extremely pork-centric systems.

¹ Few empirical studies have been conducted on the effects of voters' socio-economic conditions on legislative voting, however. Desposato (2006) shows that party switching is more frequent among legislators from less-developed districts, in which the majority of voters are poor and less educated, in order to deliver individual/local benefits.

The paper proceeds as follows. In the following section I present an overview of pork-dominant system in the Philippines. In section 2 I detail theories of how legislators vote in the pork-dominant system. In section 3 I describe the data, statistical model, and measures to test those theories. In section 4 I analyze the results of the empirical test, and I discuss the findings and conclude in section 5.

1. Overview: Pork-Dominant System in the Philippines

In the Philippines, wealthy families have long been dominant in local politics (Anderson 1998; Quimpo 2005; Landé 1965; Franco 2001; Hutchcroft 1998; Sidel 1997). In the pre-Marcos era, even though two national parties, Nacionalista and Liberal, competed for legislative seats across the country,

(the) national parties, rather than being the highly centralized parties of so many new nations, (were) loose federations or alliances among independent factional leaders in the provinces who (held) through familial and other powerful ties a primary claim upon the loyalty of the people of their localities (Landé 1965, 24-5).

Since those local factional leaders were able to mobilize a large number of votes in the regions, the two national parties strived to obtain the support of the bosses in the provinces in

order to win the election.² To receive and maintain their support, national party leaders had to provide the local leaders with resources for pork (local public goods) and patronage (individual benefits) that were necessary to retain the loyalty of the locals because the majority of the local people were poor and uneducated and they thus desired tangible individual or local benefits (Landé 1965, 79-83). In other words, national leaders diverted governmental funds and projects into the hands of local leaders in exchange for voter support from the regions.

Even during the Marcos era, although national leaders of the dictator's party (KBL, *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*: New Society Movement) relied less on the support of the local bosses for electoral success, most of the local leaders maintained a strong personal support base in the regions, and thus the opposition, which lacked access to government largesse, had to heavily count on those bosses in the provinces. Following the fall of Ferdinand Marcos in a "people power" uprising in March 1986, many wealthy local families continue to exert great influence on national politics and national party leaders compete to feed those factional leaders pork and patronage for voter support.

The single-member district plurality rule (or first past the post, FPTP), under which the candidate who receives the most votes wins in each constituency, adopted since the independence of the country has bolstered this patronage politics.³ The Philippine FPTP was extremely candidate-centered in that neither candidate names nor party labels were printed on

² Sidel (1997) calls the local leaders *bosses* to emphasize their coercive powers over the locals. The bosses are usually landowners, creditors, or employers who can demand personal loyalty from the people (tenants, debtors, or employees) using their superior positions.

³ Interview with Wilfrido V. Villacorta, member of Constitutional Commission of 1986 (selected from academic sector), Makati City, 25 May 2010.

ballots and voters must write candidates' names in the blanks on the ballot.⁴ Moreover, politicians who lack a party nomination can run as independents, and parties are thus unable to limit access to the ballot. In addition, voters often have difficulty recognizing official party candidates, for at least two reasons. First, "parties do not make or announce a list of approved candidates" (Choi 2001, 492). Second, independents who lack a party nomination sometimes use the party label during electoral campaigns.⁵ Thus, politicians tend to strive to cultivate personal reputations using a strategy of delivering targeted individual/local benefits to constituents, which has led almost all the legislators to join the president's party or coalition and to vote with the president irrespective of their original party affiliations in order to gain access to government resources for such benefits (Montinola 1999; Hicken 2002; Kasuya 2009).

In short, because of country's perennial patronage politics bolstered with an extremely candidate-centered electoral system, Philippine politicians tend to obsess about delivering pork (instead of policy) to voters, and hence opposition parties that often vote against the president's bills hardly exist.⁶ How then do legislators behave in legislative voting in such pork-dominant contexts? The following sections are devoted to addressing this question.

⁴ A section for party vote used to be included on the ballot, but it was removed in 1951 (Choi 2001, 492; Montinola 1999, 135). A new standard printed ballot that contains candidate names and party labels was introduced in 2010. I briefly discuss how the new ballot system would affect the legislative behaviors in the conclusion.

⁵ Most of the time, parties nominate a single candidate for each district and only those official party candidates use the party label during electoral campaigns (Interview with Lambert Ramirez, Executive Director of National Institute for Policy Studies, Makati City, 20 May 2010). Exceptions occur, however, when candidates who fail to get their party endorsements nevertheless use the party label when they run as independents, as for instance, "Liberal Party-Independent" (Interview with Joseph Emil Abaya, Secretary General of Liberal Party, Quezon City, 24 September 2008; interview with Antonius C. Umali, Professor, Political Science, Polytechnic University of the Philippines-Manila, Makati City, 10 May 2010).

⁶ Interview with Lambert Ramirez, 20 May 2010; Interview with Joseph Emil Abaya, 24 September 2008.

2. Theories of Legislative Behaviors in Pork-Dominant Systems

Normally, strong party discipline in legislative voting has a twofold connotation. It helps a party pass bills to achieve collective policy goals on the one hand; it often prevents individual legislators from responding to the particularistic demands of their constituents on the other hand. In other words, where politicians are disciplined to deliver programmatic goods (e.g. universal health care, national pension plan), voters who desire individual/local benefits (e.g. money, jobs, local projects) may be dissatisfied with their representatives. Conversely, where politicians often deviate from the party line to deliver such particularistic goods, those who desire national public policies may remain discontented.

Since politicians tend to care about what the majority of constituents demand in order to increase their electoral chances in the subsequent election (Mayhew 1974; Desposato 2006), it is likely that they are more disciplined where the majority of voters desire programmatic goods, or policy, while less disciplined where the majority desire particularistic goods, or pork. The pre-existing research shows that poor, less-educated voters tend to desire pork over policy because poverty gives them short time horizons and individual benefits are easy to monitor, which would significantly discount the value of programmatic goods (Banfield and Wilson 1963; Scott 1972). Hence we can expect that politicians from less-developed countries/districts are more likely to deviate from the party line in general.

In most developing countries, only governments possess resources for pork and the president controls access to such government resources. Consequently, members of the president's party or coalition can be expected to cast legislative votes in a disciplined way in

order to avoid losing access to resources. Once a party is off the president's gravy train, its members may vote with the president where they need to deliver particularistic benefits, leading to lower discipline in opposition parties. Hence it is typically expected that opposition politicians from less-developed districts are more likely to deviate from the majority of copartisans in legislative voting.

In extremely pork-oriented contexts where most politicians strive to deliver particularistic goods using state resources, however, since almost all of them want to side with the president in legislative voting irrespective of their original party affiliations. Accordingly, in those pork-dominant systems where virtually all politicians seek access to government resources, since legislators vote on the floor of the legislature as if they affiliate with the same party, presumably with the president's party, we can expect that most of the time bills, including motions and resolutions, are passed without significant obstructions. Moreover, since politicians become aware of the importance of delivery of pork and individual benefits to constituents in order to win the election under the extremely candidate-centered electoral system, the expectation is that the more elections they experience (or observe), the more likely they are to vote with their copartisans for logrolling of pork barrel legislation and for passing the president's bills. Hence legislative obstructionism will decrease over time.

Hypothesis 1. *Most bills are passed with unanimous or near unanimous consent in pork-dominant systems.*

Hypothesis 2. *The proportion of the bills passed with unanimous or near unanimous consent increases as more elections are held in the pork-dominant system.*

In rare cases, however, some politicians do deviate from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting. Who then defect in such an extremely homogeneous legislative body? Assuming that all politicians approve pork barrel legislation (logrolling), only the bills or motions that aim to deliver national public policies to voters should receive negative votes if some politicians oppose those policies. Well-educated, well-off voters often desire policy over pork (Banfield and Wilson 1963; Scott 1972). Hence, sometimes politicians elected from developed districts should have strong incentives to object to a policy that may conflict with the interests of their constituents. It is expected, therefore, that politicians from developed constituencies occasionally deviate from the majority of fellow party members in legislative voting.

Nonetheless, voter demands for policy stemming from the voter's socio-economic conditions have varying effects on the legislator's decision of voting defection depending on her party affiliation. Members of the president's party, for instance, should be less likely to defect from the party majority even when constituents desire policy because those who voted for the president's party candidate should expect to receive the promised programmatic goods from the president. Hence we can expect governing party members to be highly cohesive in legislative voting irrespective of whether their constituents demand pork or policy. In contrast to those president's party members, opposition legislators from developed districts where voters often desire policy over pork should sometimes defect from the party majority (who always vote with the president) when their policy goals differ from those of the president. We can accordingly expect that only opposition politicians from developed districts sometimes deviate from the position of the party majority in legislative voting in the pork-dominant system.

Hypothesis 3. Governing party members are less likely to defect from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting regardless of voters' socio-economic conditions in pork-dominant systems.

Hypothesis 4. Opposition party members who are elected from more developed districts are more likely to defect from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting in pork-dominant systems.

3. Data, Model, and Measures

In order to examine the legislative behavior in the pork-dominant system, I gather information about all bills and motions, including resolutions and committee reports, that have been roll-call voted in the Philippine House of Representatives from the 8th Congress (1987-1992) through the 13th Congress (2004-2007).⁷ Then, to analyze individual politicians' voting behaviors, I collect roll call votes of all legislators for bills and motions that receive at least one negative vote (see Appendix Tables A).

Two dependent variables are used in this study. To explore the longitudinal collective voting behavior of politicians in the extremely pork-oriented legislature (*Hypotheses 1 and 2*), I use *Affirmative Voting Rate*, the proportion of affirmative (yea) votes for each roll call voting bill, as the dependent variable,⁸ and 6,289 bills and motions are included in the dataset (see Table A).

⁷ In the Philippine Congress, bills on third (final) reading, overriding a presidential veto, and approval of a resolution affirming or overriding the articles of impeachment require a roll call voting (Paras and Santos 1996, 38); other resolutions, motions, and committee reports, however, can be roll-call voted if it is requested by legislators.

⁸ Abstention is omitted since it does not count toward the total number of votes cast for bills in the Philippine Congress.

A high *AVR* means that the legislative body is homogeneous in pursuing legislative goals. Hence if the affirmative voting rate increases over time, it can be interpreted as the legislature becoming more homogeneous.

The other dependent variable for the studies of how individual politicians vote on bills in the pork-dominant context (*Hypothesis 3 and 4*) is *Defect*, an ordinal variable measuring how strongly each legislator defects from the preference of legislative majority when casting a roll call vote. In contrast to the existing studies that use a dummy variable indicating whether or not a legislator defects, I include abstention in the middle because politicians tend to say “abstain” instead of staying quiet and being treated as not present when they want to deviate from the party majority but their willingness to deviate is not as strong as when casting a salient vote counting against the preferences of the majority. Accordingly, *Defect* is coded 2 if a roll call vote of the legislator differs from those of the party majority; 1 if abstain; 0 otherwise. I exclude roll call votes of the legislators whose party majority’s preferences are indistinct, such as independents and legislators of small parties, less than three members of which cast a roll call vote, from the dataset. The independent variables include voter demands and controls. Since the dependent variable is ordinal, I use an ordered logit regression model: legislator *i* chooses to vote with or deviate from the party majority’s preferences on bill *j*.

$$Defect_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Voter Demands} + \beta_2 * \text{Party Affiliations} + \beta_3 * \text{Controls} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

Voter Demands

Socio-economic status of the voter largely determines the type of voter demands, either pork or policy (Desposato 2001; Lyne 1999). I rely on the mean education level of voters in each district

as a proxy for constituent demands, since less-educated voters tend to be poor and thus to prefer pork and patronage over public policies, whereas the well-educated tend to be well-off and to prefer policies over pork. $Education_{ij}$ represents the proportion of legislator i 's constituents who received tertiary education beyond high school, including college, university, and vocational schools (when casting a roll call vote for bill j). I use district-level census data, and the proportion varies in the dataset from .07 to .63, with a mean of .27.⁹ Since the expectation is that politicians from developed districts, where voters are well-educated and thus often desire policy over pork, are more likely to defect from legislative majority, $Education_{ij}$ is expected to have a positive effect on $Defect_{ij}$.

Party Affiliations

I obtained the information about the party affiliation of legislators in elections from the Commission on Elections. Nonetheless, in order to test the hypotheses of voting defection properly, we need to know the party affiliation when legislators cast a roll call vote.

Unfortunately, since party switching is frequent and since few care about which party politicians affiliate with during legislative sessions, it was impossible to keep track of the party affiliation of each legislator from one election to another.¹⁰ Assuming that legislators are free to affiliate with any parties during legislative sessions, critical to the choice of party affiliation is access to state

⁹ In the Philippines, census takes place every ten years. I use the 1990 census data for the 8th Congress (1987-92) and the 9th Congress (1992-1995), and use the 2000 census data for the rest (1995-2007).

¹⁰ Even the Congressional Record lacks the information about legislators' party affiliations. A political observer said that even party leaders could hardly provide a list of their party members because some members might have switched to another party while the leaders are making the list (Interview with Nancy T. Tuason, Supervising Legislative Staff Officer III of the Legislative Library, Quezon City, 24 September 2008).

resources in the pork-dominant system. Hence almost all governing party members who affiliated with the president's party in the election should remain in the party until the next election, whereas opposition party members often join the president's party after the election.

One could consider opposition politicians who affiliate with the president's party in the subsequent election to be members of the governing party during the entire legislative session. I assume, however, that all legislators remain in their original parties (stay put) for most part of the legislative session after an election. There are at least three reasons justifying this decision. First, as aforementioned, members of the president's party are highly likely to stay put. Second, even though many opposition legislators appear as candidates of the president's party in the subsequent election, it is hard to know when they switched to that party. It is likely that they did not bother to switch to the president's party during the legislative session because almost all of their copartisans vote with the president for access to state resources, and that they switched to the president's party only a few months before the next election in order to attract their constituents. Moreover, such drives to affiliate with the president's party take place only in midterm elections.¹¹ Because the 1987 Constitution bans presidents from running for reelection and because presidential and congressional elections are held concurrently, uncertainty about the winner is normally great in the post-Marcos presidential election (Hicken 2009; Kasuya 2009), which leads far fewer politicians to get endorsed by the incumbent president's party in those synchronized elections than in midterm elections. It is thus possible that opposition politicians who affiliate with (other) opposition parties in the subsequent concurrent election actually joined the president's party earlier in the legislative session and switched back to the opposition. Hence,

¹¹ The term of office for the president is six years, while that for members of the House of Representatives is three years.

if we regard politicians who are with a different party in the next election as members of that party during the legislative session, we can commit a Type I error (false positive, treating opposition party members who stay put for most part of the legislative session as those who are with the president's party during the entire session) for midterm elections and commit a Type II error (false negative, treating opposition politicians who switched to the president's party earlier in the legislative session and switched again to another party with a strong presidential candidate just before the election as those who did not join the president's party at all) for concurrent elections.

Government_i is coded "1" if legislator *i* is with the president's party when elected, and "0" otherwise; *Opposition_i* is coded "1" if legislator *i* affiliates with an opposition party when elected, and "0" otherwise. *Government_i* is expected to have a negative effect on *Defect_i* (*Hypothesis 3*). Furthermore, it is expected that opposition politicians elected from developed districts, where policy is often demanded, are less likely to vote with the president, and hence are more likely to defect from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting (*Hypothesis 4*). To test this hypothesis, I interact the proxy for constituent demands with the legislator's original party affiliation; *Education_i*Opposition_i* is thus expected to have a positive effect on *Defect_i*.

Control Variables

First, I control for electoral institutions. In Philippine House of Representatives elections, about 80 percent of legislators are elected from single-member districts using an open ballot, while the

rest are elected from nationwide party lists since 1998.¹² As the literature on voting defection suggests, since the party-list legislators should be loyal to their party leaders to be ranked high on the party list in the subsequent election, they tend to be more disciplined in legislative voting (Carey 2007; Hix 2004). Up to three members from each party can enter the House of Representatives through the party-list election, and I include only the parties with three members in the dataset. $List_{ij}$ is coded “1” if legislator i was elected from a party list, and “0” otherwise. That variable is expected to have a negative effect on $Defect_{ij}$.

Second, I include a dummy variable (*Motion*) for motions, including resolutions and committee reports, to control for different characteristics between bills and motions. Unlike bills that require a roll call voting, motions are roll call voted only when requested by legislators, and those motions thus tend to be controversial. Hence *Motion* is expected to have a positive effect on *Defect*.

Third, since the 1987 constitution stipulates that “no member of the House of Representatives shall serve for more than three consecutive terms,” I also include a dummy variable (*Third*) to control for the legislators in their final third terms. Because those politicians are ineligible to seek reelection, they should have less incentive to vote with the president for delivering pork to constituents. Thus, I expect *Third* to correlate positively with *Defect*.

Forth, in the Philippine, it is common for powerful local elites who built political dynasties in the provinces to have other family members succeed them as representatives of the districts when they retire. Especially after the transition to democracy in 1987, due to the reelection ban after three consecutive terms, those local bosses often have their wives, sons, or

¹² The rest were appointed as sectoral (e.g. youth, farmers, women) representatives by the president from 1987 to 1998. Since they are not members of a party, roll call votes of those sectoral representatives are removed from the dataset.

daughters run for Congress in the districts for one term and then come back in the following election. I create a variable (*Dynasty*) to measure how strong local support base each legislator has by counting the number of terms for which members of a family have served in the same province since the first Congress in 1946. A larger number indicates that the family of the legislator has long been dominant in the local politics. Since those powerful local leaders relate closely to the national party leaders who provide them with resources for pork in exchange for voter support from the locality in the presidential election (Landé 1965), they should be more likely to vote with the legislative majority; hence *Dynasty* is expected to correlate negatively with *Defect*.

Finally, I control for legislative session fixed effects: dummy variable for each session is included in the model to control for unobservable factors specific to each session.

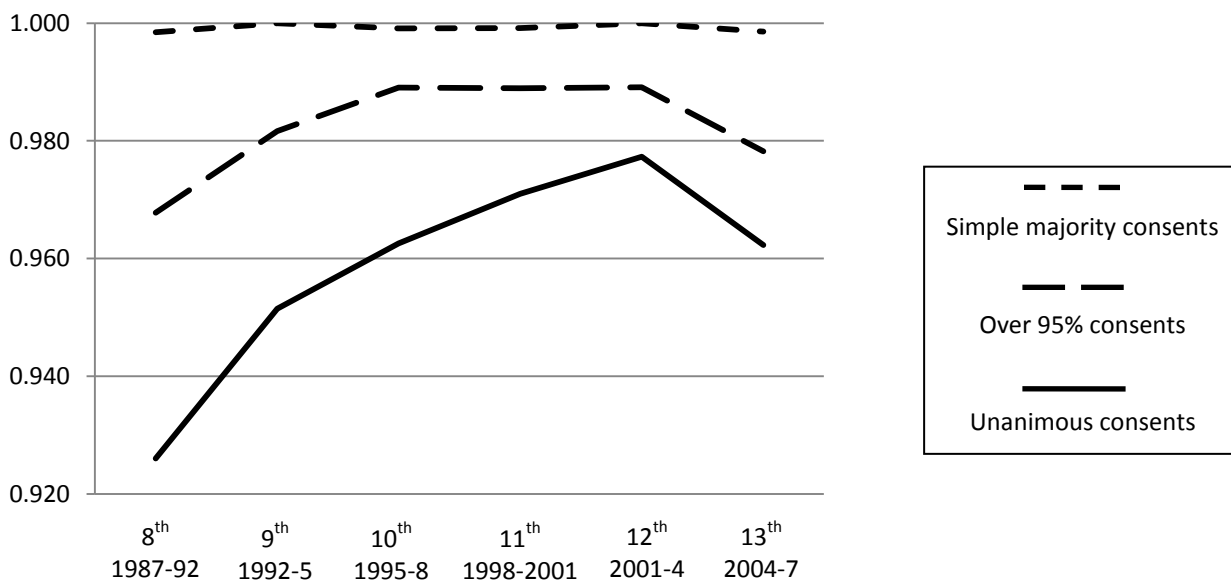
4. Empirical Results

Longitudinal Affirmative Voting Rate

Figure 1 shows the proportion of roll call voting bills and motions that received simple majority consents, over 95% consents, and unanimous consents respectively in the Philippine House of Representatives since 1987. In the 8th Congress, the first post-Marcos legislature, all 1,303 bills and motions presented on the floor (in the third reading) were passed by roll call vote with simple majority consent with the exception of two motions, which indicates that as expected in *Hypothesis 1*, the legislature faced extremely little obstruction in legislative voting. Even more striking is that 96.8% of bills and motions were passed with over 95% consents; 92.6% of bills and motions passed unanimously (see Appendix Table B). That is, most of the time, the

Philippine legislators voted affirmatively on bills and motions that require roll call vote. Furthermore, except for the 13th Congress, the proportion of bills and motions passed with unanimous or near unanimous (over 95%) consent increased over time, while the bill passage rate (with simple majority consent) remained extremely high. In the 12th Congress, for instance, 97.7% of bills and motions were passed without a single objection; 98.9% passed with less than or equal to 5% objection, which confirms that legislative obstructionism decreases as politicians go through more elections (*Hypothesis 2*).

Figure 1. Roll Call Voting Bills, Motions, and Resolutions in the Philippine House of Representatives 1987-2007



In short, in this extremely pork-oriented context, politicians pass bills with little obstructionism because they do logrolling on pork barrel legislation and because few of them care about bills with some policy goals. Even if they do care and oppose certain bills, once those bills are put on the floor requiring roll call vote, it is often uneasy for them to object when those

bills are presented on behalf of the president.¹³ Furthermore, this unanimity tendency generally gets stronger as the effects on electoral gains of delivered benefits using government resources become evident.

Individual Level Voting Defection

Table 1 shows results from estimating my ordered logit models of voting defection for the members of the Philippine House of Representatives. The results match my expectations. In the pork-dominant system, as voters' socio-economic conditions improve, their representatives are more likely to defect from the legislative majority; thus the coefficient on *Education* is consistently positive and significant. Also as expected, politicians who affiliated with the president's party in the election are less likely to defect and so the sign on *Government* is negative. Finally, opposition politicians, including independents, who are elected from developed districts are more likely to defect as evidence by the positive coefficient on *Education*Opposition*.

Model 1 tests the effect of constituents' educational level on voting defection decisions of their representatives. An easy way to understand the coefficient is by comparing the choice of two legislators, one from a poor district where no voters have ever received tertiary education beyond high school and the other from a developed district where a half of voters have completed any form of tertiary education. The latter is 73 percent more likely to defect (not

¹³ For instance, it is a norm in the Philippine Congress that every legislator should help pass the president's bills, which is called presidential mandate (Interview with Lambert Ramirez, 20 May 2010).

defect to abstain, or abstain to defect) from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting than the former.¹⁴

TABLE 1. Ordered Logit Models of Voting Defection in the Philippine House of Representatives, 1987-2007

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Voter Demands						
<i>Education</i>	1.10	0.22**			0.88	0.31**
Party Affiliations						
<i>Government</i>			-1.05	0.10**	-1.28	0.13**
<i>Education*Opposition</i>			1.32	0.30**	0.48	0.42
Controls						
<i>List</i>	-2.97	1.00**	-4.13	1.01**	-4.10	1.01**
<i>Motion</i>	1.04	0.06**	1.06	0.06**	1.06	0.06**
<i>Third</i>	0.19	0.07**	0.20	0.07**	0.20	0.07**
<i>Dynasty</i>	-0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.01**	-0.03	0.01**
<i>8th Congress</i>	0.18	0.08*	0.06	0.08	0.10	0.09
<i>9th Congress</i>	-0.34	0.10**	-1.37	0.10**	-1.33	0.10**
<i>10th Congress</i>	-0.12	0.09	-0.34	0.09**	-0.31	0.09**
<i>11th Congress</i>	0.07	0.09	-0.82	0.09**	-0.81	0.09**
<i>12th Congress</i>	-0.07	0.10	-0.13	0.10	-0.13	0.10
Log-likelihood =	-8136.19		-7818.16		-7814.22	
<i>n</i> =	32519		32519		32519	

* = .05, ** = .01.

Model 2 shows that governing party members are 2.86 times less likely to defect from the party majority than opposition party members, and among the opposition politicians, those who are elected from developed constituencies where a half of voters have ever received tertiary education are almost twice more likely to defect than governing party members, or opposition

¹⁴ $(e^{1.10})^{0.5} = (3.00)^{0.5} = 1.73$

politicians from poor constituencies where no voters have ever completed any form of education beyond high school (Model 2).

Model 3 includes the full set of independent variables. The result confirms my hypotheses 3 and 4. First, governing party members are 3.6 times less likely to defect from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting than opposition legislators are, holding other factors constant (*Hypothesis 3*). Second, representatives from developed districts are more likely to defect. The probability of legislators from those developed constituencies to defect is 55 percent higher than that of their counterparts from the poor constituencies, all else equal. That probability greatly increases for opposition politicians from developed districts, who are 97 percent more likely to defect than governing party members, or opposition party members from poor districts are (*Hypothesis 4*).

5. Conclusion

Many observers believe that low party cohesion in legislative voting harms programmatic accountability and government performance, and hence may undermine citizen support for democracy in the long run; in contrast, strong party cohesion is believed to hinder delivery of particularistic goods to constituents (Desposato 2006; Chang 2007; Cox and McCubbins 1993; Hicken and Simmons 2008; O'Dwyer 2006). However, beliefs of this kind are founded on the assumption that parties seek programmatic goals. In most developing democracies, because a majority of voters are poor and less educated, and because candidate-centered electoral institutions often encourage politicians to rely on personalistic campaign strategies, pork and patronage play a larger role in garnering voter support than national public policies do.

I have argued that where pork barrel politics is dominant, party voting cohesion is extremely high for logrolling of pork barrel legislation and for voting with the president on policy bills. In addition, while voter demands for pork drive politicians to defect from the party majority's preferences in legislative voting in the policy-oriented system, voter demands for policy foster voting defection in the pork-oriented system. Using new data from the post-authoritarian House of Representatives in the Philippines, I find statistically and substantively significant evidence for my arguments.

The results of my research suggest that politicians pay close attention to voter demands when casting a roll call vote in order to improve their electoral chances in the subsequent election. In general, representatives from developed districts where constituents desire policy over pork sometimes vote against the preferences of the party majority who tend to care less about policy and who always vote with the president. Nonetheless, opposition party members from developed districts have stronger incentive to defect on certain policy bills, compared to governing party members, since the well-educated who elected the opposition politicians in the election expect their representatives to oppose some important policies of the president.

To be certain, I should be careful not to overstate the meaning of my findings. My analyses are based on the fragile assumption that all members of the House of Representatives remain in their original parties for most part of the legislative session, which is highly unlikely in the extremely personalistic party system. I encourage future work on other pork-dominant personalistic systems that provide more accurate information about the party affiliation of legislators. Regardless, my results demonstrate the importance of considering voter demands when analyzing legislative voting of their representatives. To explain voting defection of individual politicians properly, we need to assess how the type of benefits desired by their

constituents differ from that desired by constituents of the party majority. Furthermore, my research can offer evidence-based advice to would-be reformers in less-developed countries who want to replace their pork-centric politics with policy-centric politics. Since the poor desire pork and politicians are responsive to such demands, we should focus on improving the voter's socio-economic conditions to promote policy-oriented party competition.

APPENDIX

Table A. Bills, Motions, Resolutions, and Committee Reports Roll-Called in the Philippine House of Representatives 1987-2007

Congress	Bills		Motions		Total	
	Roll-called	w/ negative votes	Roll-called	w/ negative votes	Roll-called	w/ negative votes
8 th (1987-1992)	1293	90	10	6	1303	96
9 th (1992-1995)	922	42	5	3	927	45
10 th (1995-1998)	1091	38	4	3	1095	41
11 th (1998-2001)	1154	29	19	5	1173	34
12 th (2001-2004)	1097	24	5	1	1102	25
13 th (2004-2007)	680	22	9	4	689	26
Total	6237	245	52	22	6289	267

Note: Motions include resolutions and committee reports.

Table B. Roll Call Voting Bills, Motions, Resolutions, and Committee Reports in the Philippine House of Representatives 1987-2007

Congress	100%	> 95%	> 50%	N
8th (1987-1992)	0.926	0.968	0.998	1303
9th (1992-1995)	0.951	0.982	1.000	927
10th (1995-1998)	0.963	0.989	0.999	1095
11th (1998-2001)	0.971	0.989	0.999	1173
12th (2001-2004)	0.977	0.989	1.000	1102
13th (2004-2007)	0.962	0.978	0.999	689
Total	0.958	0.982	0.999	6289

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