



**AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MERANAO
POLITICAL CULTURE IN LANA O DEL SUR,
PHILIPPINES**

BY

JAMEL ROMBO CAYAMODIN

**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and
Human Sciences
International Islamic University Malaysia**

OCTOBER 2013

*“Say: Truly, my prayer and my service of sacrifice, my life and my death,
are (all) for Allah, the Cherisher of the Worlds”. [Qur’an, 6:162]*

ABSTRACT

The Muslims in the Philippines are currently facing a robust political dilemma that brought malevolent impacts to the people and their societies. This phenomenon made Muslim provinces including those inhabited by Meranaos as the country's most politically desperate and economically backward provinces. The main objective of this study is to analyse the nature of Meranao political culture in the province of Lanao del Sur, Philippines. It examines the major dimensions of political culture in order to determine how politics affects Meranaos and their ailing society. The study adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches. On one hand, survey method was used in collecting relevant data. There were 315 respondents who took part in the survey. These respondents represent different classes and statuses in the social stratification of the Meranao society. On the other hand, a set of open-ended questionnaires was formulated in order to indulge the qualitative approach adopted in this study. This questionnaire was used for personal interviews with 6 selected scholars and experts who have irrefutable authority to talk about the topic under study. The collection of data was conducted in five-month period from March to July in the year 2012. The study found that the Meranaos have "*Subject Political Culture*". People are seen to be related only to the political system as a whole, which is regarded as passive relationship. It was found that Meranaos are not keen to participate in both transitional and gladiatorial levels of political activities. Our general analysis suggests that they are only confined with spectatorial level of political activities that are believed to have only minimal influence on political processes. The respondents' level of political efficacy, though it was found slightly high, was not able to encourage respondents to participate in transitional and gladiatorial political activities. This scenario, as further unveiled by our findings, is due to the higher feelings of cynicism of the Meranaos towards their political system. In sum, political dilemma occurs in Lanao del Sur mainly because of certain political attitudes of the Meranaos which are below par.

ملخص البحث

يواجه المسلمون في الفلبين حالياً معضلة سياسية قوية ولدت ضغائن بين الشعب ومجتمعاتهم. هذه الظاهرة جعلت المحافظات ذات الأغلبية المسلمة، بما في ذلك تلك التي يسكنها الماراناويون، المحافظات الأكثر ياساً سياسياً والمتخلفة اقتصادياً في البلاد. الهدف الرئيس لهذه الدراسة هو تحليل طبيعة الثقافة السياسية لدى الماراناويين في إقليم لاناو الجنوبي بالفلبين. إذ إنها تدرس الأبعاد الرئيسية للثقافة السياسية من أجل تحديد كيفية تأثير السياسة على الماراناويين ومجتمعهم المريض. اعتمدت الدراسة كلا المنهجين الكمي والنوعي. فمن ناحية، استخدمت طريقة المسح في جمع البيانات ذات الصلة. حيث شارك في الاستطلاع 315 مستجيباً. وتمثل هذه العينة فئات وأوضاعاً مختلفة في التقسيم الطبقي الاجتماعي لمجتمع الماراناو. من ناحية أخرى، فقد صيغت مجموعة من الاستبيانات ذات الأسئلة المفتوحة بهدف تعميق المنهج النوعي المعتمد في هذه الدراسة. هذا الاستبيان استخدم في المقابلات الشخصية مع ستة من العلماء والخبراء الذين لديهم سلطة لا يمكن دحضها للحديث عن موضوع الدراسة. استغرق جمع البيانات فترة خمسة أشهر من مارس إلى يوليو 2012. الدراسة توصلت إلى أن المشاركة السياسية للماراناويين ضعيفة. حيث يرى الناس أن تكون ذات صلة فقط بالنظام السياسي ككل، والتي تعتبر علاقة سلبية. كما توصلت إلى أن الماراناويين ليسوا حريصين على المشاركة بنوعها الانتقالية والتنفيذية في الأنشطة السياسية. يشير التحليل العام للدراسة إلى أن مشاركتهم اقتصر فقط على مستوى الحياد من الأنشطة السياسية التي يعتقد أن لها تأثيراً ضئيلاً على العمليات السياسية. وقد كان مستوى الوعي السياسي للمبحوثين، على الرغم من وجود ارتفاع طفيف، عاجزاً عن تشجيع المشاركين على المشاركة في الأنشطة السياسية الانتقالية والتنفيذية. هذا السيناريو، كما كشفت عنه مزيد من النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة، يرجع إلى مشاعر أعلى من السخرية من الماراناويين نحو نظامهم السياسي. وختلاصة القول، أن المعضلة السياسية في إقليم لاناو الجنوبي حدثت أساساً بسبب المواقف السياسية المعينة من الماراناويين والتي هي دون المستوى المطلوب.

APPROVAL PAGE

The dissertation of Jamel Rombo Cayamodin has been approved by the following:

Jamil Farooqui
Supervisor

A.H.M. Zehadul Karim
Internal Examiner

Surendra K. Gupta
External Examiner

Erry Yulian Triblas Adesta
Chairman

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Jamel Rombo Cayamodin

Signature

Date

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

**DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT AND AFFIRMATION
OF FAIR USE OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH**

Copyright © 2013 by Jamel Rombo Cayamodin. All rights reserved.

**AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MERANAO POLITICAL CULTURE
IN LANA DEL SUR, PHILIPPINES**

No part of this unpublished research may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission of the copyright holder except as provided below.

1. Any material contained in or derived from this unpublished research may only be used by others in their writing with due acknowledgment.
2. IIUM or its library will have the right to make and transmit copies (print or electronic) for institutional and academic purposes.
3. The IIUM library will have the right to make, store in a retrieval system and supply copies of this unpublished research if requested by other universities and research libraries.

Affirmed by Jamel Rombo Cayamodin

.....
Signature

.....
Date

To my Mother, to my Mother, to my Mother, &
to my late Father (May Allah's Mercy be upon him)

To Bai Charina & Hidayah

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praises and thanks are due to Allah (SWT) the Lord of the worlds for enabling me to complete this study. As soon as I started thinking and formulating this research work I owed valuable efforts, suggestions, and supports from many people and institutions directly or indirectly.

I convey my boundless gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Jamil Farooqui for his fatherly supervision to me throughout the duration of this research work. His full of wisdom advices have taught me a lot and encouraged me to work harder to complete this dissertation.

My salutation is indeed due to my external examiner Prof. Dr. Surendra K. Gupta of the Indian Association of Social Science Institutions (IASSI), my internal examiner Assoc. Prof. Dr. A.H.M. Zehadul Karim of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, IIUM, and the Chairperson of Examination Committee, Prof. Dr. Erry Yulian Triblas Adesta, for their kind and positive remarks.

My thanks are also due to the following people for their unreserved efforts in helping me during my fieldwork namely: my sisters Dr. Boniarah Rombo Usngan and Sarah Rombo Usngan, my wife Bai Charina Mamari Cayamodin, my sister-in-law Princess Charimah Ramos Mamari, and my brother-in-law Emady Ramos Mamari.

I would like to express my appreciation to the Malaysian Government as a whole, and the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) in particular for their kind financial assistance for certain period of my study through Malaysian International Scholarship (MIS).

My warmth words of gratitude are also due to the current Head of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, KIRKHS, IIUM, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurazzura Mohamad Diah, and the whole SOCA family for their kind support in facilitating the progression of my research work which expedited its completion.

I wish to express my whole hearted thanks to Dr. Pute Rahimah Makol-Abdul for her unreserved assistance especially during my first entrance in the university. I pray that may Allah reward you Madame in this world and in the hereafter for the unremitting good deeds you have done to me throughout my study.

My former professors and mentors at King Faisal Centre for Islamic, Arabic and Asian Studies (KFCIAAS), MSU. Thank you so much for the support you have shown me during our meeting in the centre and in your respective residences.

Finally, I would not be of what I am today without the love, care, guidance and constant prayers of my parents, my late insightful father Hadji Abdul Rahman “Cayamodin” L. Usngan who taught me insights which moulded my personality, and my loving mother Hadja Omairah “Rombo” M. Usngan whose prayer becomes a shield of my journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Abstract in Arabic.....	iii
Approval Page.....	iv
Declaration Page.....	v
Copyright Page.....	vi
Dedication.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
List of Tables.....	xiii
List of Figures.....	xvi
List of Graphs.....	xvii
List of Maps.....	xviii
List of Abbreviations.....	xix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background of the Study.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Research Questions.....	8
Objectives.....	8
Hypotheses.....	9
Theoretical Framework.....	9
Significance of the Study.....	29
Justification.....	30
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	32
Political Culture: Various Perspectives.....	32
Political participation and its determinants.....	44
Political efficacy vis-à-vis political participation.....	49
Political trust vis-à-vis political participation.....	52
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	54
Research Design.....	54
Construction of Research Instruments.....	55
Survey Method.....	57
In-depth Interview.....	58
Data Collection Techniques.....	58
Population and Sample.....	59
Sample Profile.....	60
Analysis of the Data.....	67
CHAPTER 4: THE PROVINCE OF LANA O DEL SUR, PHILIPPINES: DEMOGRAPHIC, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW.....	69
The Meranaos as “Lake Dwellers”.....	69
Geographical Overview.....	72
The Two Congressional Districts of Lanao del Sur.....	75

The Nature of Meranao Politics in Lanao del Sur.....	77
A. Meranao Traditional Political Activities under the Multiple Sultanate System.....	79
The Pat a Pengampong a Ranao.....	79
The Structure of the Pat a Pengampong.....	79
B. Meranao Conventional Political Activities under the Philippine Democratic Unitary System.....	81
Meranao Political Participation in the Local Level.....	82
1) Provincial Level.....	82
2) Municipal or City Level.....	84
3) Barangay Level.....	85
Meranao Political Participation in the Regional Level.....	86
Meranao Political Participation in the National Level.....	87
Party System.....	90
1) The Ompia Party (Reform Party).....	91
2) The Ummah Party (People’s Party).....	92
C. Meranao Non-Conventional Political Activities under Revolutionary Islamic System.....	93
The Revolutionary Groups	94
1) The Barracudas.....	94
2) Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).....	95
3) Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).....	96

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS – AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF MERANAO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL EFFICACY AND POLITICAL TRUST..... 98

The Nature of Meranao Political Participation.....	98
The Nature of Meranao Political Efficacy.....	106
The Nature of Meranao Political Trust.....	112
An Analysis of the Differences in Political Participation, Political Efficacy and Political Trust among Meranaos across Age, Gender, Place of Origin and Socioeconomic Status.....	116
A. Differences in Political Participation across Classes and Statuses..	116
A.1 Differences in Political Participation for Gender.....	116
A.2 Differences in Political Participation for Place of Origin.....	118
A.3 Differences in Political Participation for Age Groups.....	120
A.4 Differences in Political Participation for Monthly Income...	123
A.5 Differences in Political Participation for Education.....	126
A.6 Differences in Political Participation for Occupation.....	130
B. Differences in Political Efficacy across Classes and Statuses.....	135
B.1 Differences in Political Efficacy for Gender.....	136
B.2 Differences in Political Efficacy for Place of Origin.....	137
B.3 Differences in Political Efficacy for Age Groups.....	138
B.4 Differences in Political Efficacy for Monthly Income.....	141
B.5 Differences in Political Efficacy for Education.....	142
B.6 Differences in Political Efficacy for Occupation.....	144
C. Differences in Political Trust across Classes and Statuses.....	148
C.1 Differences in Political Trust for Gender.....	148
C.2 Differences in Political Trust for Place of Origin.....	150
C.3 Differences in Political Trust for Age Groups.....	151

C.4 Differences in Political Trust for Monthly Income.....	157
C.5 Differences in Political Trust for Education.....	160
C.6 Differences in Political Trust for Occupation.....	162
Conclusion.....	166

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS – AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POLITICAL EFFICACY, POLITICAL TRUST, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE MERANAOS..... 169

A. The Relationship between Political Efficacy, Political Trust and the Twelve Indicators of Political Participation.....	169
A.1 Voting During Election.....	170
A.2 Initiating a Political Discussion with Friends or other People.....	174
A.3 Convincing Friends or other People to Support a particular Political Candidate or Party.....	176
A.4 Participating in the Procession of Political Parties.....	178
A.5 Contacting Public Officials or Political Leaders due to a need or Problem by the People or Community.....	179
A.6 Joining a Political Campaign.....	181
A.7 Working for a Political Candidate or Party.....	184
A.8 Contributing Resources such as Money or other Properties to a Political Candidate or Party.....	185
A.9 Becoming an Active Member of a Political Organisation.....	187
A.10 Running for Political Post or Office.....	188
A.11 Attending an approved Political Rally or Demonstration.....	191
A.12 Collecting Signatures or Signing on a Petition for Political Purpose.....	193
The Summary of the Effects of Political Efficacy and Political Trust on the Twelve Indicators of Political Participation.....	195
B. The Inter-Correlations between Political Trust, Political Efficacy, and Political Participation.....	197
Conclusion.....	203

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION..206

Conclusion.....	206
Discussion.....	209
Recommendation.....	215
A. Promotion of Rational, Democratic and Peaceful Political Participation.....	215
B. Elimination of Intervening Factors that significantly thwarted Endeavours for Political reform.....	216
C. Islamicisation and Development of Political Efficacy among the Meranaos especially the Youths.....	216
D. Establishment of Youth Organisation that Promotes Altruistic Political Attitude.....	217
E. Empowerment and Unity of the two Ulama Political Parties in Lanao del Sur.....	218
F. The Creation of National Islamic Party in the Philippines.....	219
G. The Formation of Financially Independent Political Organisations that will run according to a designed Political Programmes.....	220
H. Promotion of Meritocracy.....	221

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	222
APPENDIX 1: COVER LETTER FOR SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES.....	230
APPENDIX 2: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES.....	231
APPENDIX 3: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES.....	235

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
3.1	Gender of Respondents	61
3.2	Place of Origin of Respondents	62
3.3	Age Groups of Respondents	63
3.4	Monthly Income of Respondents	64
3.5	Educational Attainments of Respondents	65
3.6	Occupational Groups of Respondents	66
5.1	Overall Description of Meranao Political Participation (PP)	101
5.2	Overall Description of Meranao Political Efficacy (PE)	107
5.3	Overall Description of Meranao Political Trust (PT)	113
5.4	Mean Levels Comparison in Political Participation (PP) for Gender	117
5.5	Mean Level Comparison in Political Participation (PP) for Place of Origin	119
5.6	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Participation (PP) for Age Groups	122
5.7	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Participation (PP) for Monthly Income	125
5.8	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Participation (PP) for Education	129
5.9	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Participation (PP) for Occupation	131
5.10	Mean Levels Comparison in Political Efficacy (PE) for Gender	136
5.11	Mean Levels Comparison in Political Efficacy (PE) for Place of Origin	138
5.12	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Efficacy (PE) for Age Groups	140

5.13	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Efficacy (PE) for Monthly Income	141
5.14	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Efficacy (PE) for Education	142
5.15	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Efficacy (PP) for Occupation	146
5.16	Mean Levels Comparison in Political Trust (PT) for Gender	148
5.17	Levels Comparison in Political Trust (PT) for Place of Origin	150
5.18	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Trust (PT) for Age Groups	156
5.19	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Trust (PT) for Monthly Income	159
5.20	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Trust (PT) for Education	161
5.21	Mean Levels Comparison of Political Trust (PT) for Occupation	164
6.1	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Voting During Election (PP1) as indicator of Political Participation	172
6.2	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Initiating a Political Discussion with Friends or other People (PP2) as indicator of Political Participation	176
6.3	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Convincing Friends or other People to Support a Particular Political Candidate or Party (PP3) as indicator of Political Participation	177
6.4	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Participating in the Procession of Political Parties (PP4) as indicator of Political Participation	179
6.5	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Contacting Public Officials or Political Leaders due to a need or Problem by the People or Community (PP5) as indicator of Political Participation	180
6.6	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Joining a Political Campaign (PP6) as indicator of Political Participation	183
6.7	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Working for a Political Candidate or Party (PP7) as indicator of Political Participation	184

6.8	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Contributing Resources such as Money or other Properties to a Political Candidate or Party (PP8) as indicator of Political Participation	186
6.9	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Becoming an Active Member of a Political Organisation (PP9) as indicator of Political Participation	188
6.10	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Running for Political Post or Office (PP10) as indicator of Political Participation	189
6.11	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Attending an approved Political Rally or Demonstration (PP11) as indicator of Political Participation	192
6.12	Correlation of Political Efficacy, Political Trust and Collecting Signatures or Signing on a Petition for Political Purpose (PP12) as indicator of Political Participation	194
6.13	Inter-Correlations between Political Trust (PT), Political Efficacy (PE), and Political Participation (PP)	198

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
1.1	Model of the relative Impact of Attitudes and Institutions on each Other and to overall Political Participation, adapted from Bratton, M. (1999)	13
1.2	Model of Class Voting, adapted from Franklin, M. N. (1984)	15
1.3	General Model of Participation, adapted from Farooqui, J. (1986)	16
1.4	Hierarchy of Political Involvement/Activities, adapted from Milbrath, L. (1965)	17
1.5	Theoretical Model of Political Orientation	28
4.1	The 2 Congressional Districts of Lanao del Sur, and the municipalities they comprise	76
4.2	The Three Types of Political Systems in Lanao del Sur, Philippines	78
4.3	The Pat a Pengampong a Ranao	80
4.4	The Composition of Provincial Government in Lanao del Sur duly elected by the People in the province who are mostly Meranaos	83
4.5	The Composition of each Municipal or City Government in Lanao del Sur	84
4.6	The Composition of Barangay Government in every Municipality of Lanao del Sur	85
4.7	The Composition of Government in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) duly elected by regional vote	86
4.8	The Composition of National Government duly elected by National Vote	87
6.1	Findings on the Effects of Political Efficacy and Political Trust on the Twelve Indicators of Political Participation as revealed in this Study	195

LIST OF GRAPHS

<u>Graph No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
3.1	Representation of Respondents according to Gender	61
3.2	Representation of Respondents according to Place of Origin	62
3.3	Representation of Respondents according to Age Groups	63
3.4	Representation of Respondents according to Monthly Income	64
3.5	Representation of Respondents according to Educational Attainments	65
3.6	Representation of Respondents according to Occupational Groups	66

LIST OF MAPS

<u>Map No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
4.1	Map of the Philippines	72
4.2	Map of Mindanao	73
4.3	Map of Lanao del Sur	74

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
NSO	National Statistics Office

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The term political culture appears to have been first used in the late eighteenth century and was more elaborated and developed as a concept of modern political science in the 1950s (Brown, 1987). There have been numerous definitions of political culture, but they can be classified into two broad categories: First, those which confine the scope of political culture to the subjective orientation of nations, social groups or individuals to politics. Second, those which broaden the concept to include patterns of political behaviour. Representative definitions in this first group include those which see political culture as the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place, or as the subjective perception of history and politics, the fundamental beliefs and values, the foci of identification and loyalty, and the political knowledge and expectations which are the product of the specific historical experience of nations and groups. The second group would prefer to employ the more anthropological approach, whereby political culture is defined as the attitudinal and behavioural matrix within which the political system is located (Ibid.).

Political cultures according to Bratton (1999) “are shaped by institutional legacies, whereas, in complementary fashion, institutions reflect the cultures in which they are embedded. The consolidation of political regimes, whether democracy or reconfigured forms of authoritarianism, is best conceived therefore as a process of reciprocal interaction between institution building and political acculturation” (p.583).

Krieger (1993), intensifies the concept when he viewed that political culture is involving both ideals and the operating norms of a political system; it includes subjective attitudes and sometimes as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behaviour and give structure and order to the political process.

Political culture as a modern concept in political science was put into a more patent explanation by Almond and Verba (1989), in "*The Civic Culture*". Their account on the subject is then regarded as one of the earliest profound literatures to put political culture into plain discussion. Almond and Verba defined political culture as "the specific political orientations – attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system" (p.12). This has found resemblance with the contention of Silver and Dowley (2000), when they argued that political culture is a subjective mass phenomenon that consists of orientations toward key objects of the political system and the individual's role in it.

Further, political culture, as viewed by Almond and Verba, is generally divided into three major types or levels – parochial, subject, and participant – where people are differently oriented. Parochial political culture indicates that the peoples' orientation implies the comparative absence of expectations of change initiated by political system. This is likely to occur in simpler traditional systems where political specialisation is minimal and it is likely to be affective and normative rather than cognitive. Subject political culture, on the other hand, indicates that the people are aware of specialised governmental authority; they are affectively oriented to it, perhaps taking pride in it, perhaps disliking it; and they evaluate it either as legitimate or as not. But the relationship is toward the system on the general level, and toward the output, administrative, or "downward flow" side of the political system; it is

essentially a passive relationship that is likely to exist in a society in which there is no differentiated input structure, which is likely to be affective and normative rather than cognitive. And finally participant political culture indicates that the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes. People tend to be oriented toward an 'activist' role of the self in the polity, though their feelings and evaluations of such a role may vary from acceptance to rejection (Almond & Verba, 1989).

The specific political orientations of the people toward their political system and its various parts, and the way they manifest their roles in the system are determined by the explicit levels and forms of political participation they are able to engage themselves. This is because the gainful outcomes of the polity, such as in the case of democracy, are more likely where participatory norms are widespread, and less likely where values take a predominantly passive, subject norm (Jackman & Miller, 1996). People may be found to participate in the polity as spectatorial, transitional, or gladiatorial (Milbrath, 1965), analogous to what Almond and Verba have viewed above as parochial, subject, or participant political culture. These various categories of political association, however, are not tantamount to every political system, but believed to be apparent in democratic system, which is a system in which people's participation is considerably high and as such they get greater opportunity to influence the decisions and policies of the polity. The success of democracy is largely dependent on the degree as well as the mode of participation of people in the political system (Farooqui, 1977).

The above features of political culture can be visualised in a greater extent if the political system is a democratic-oriented. "The democratic citizen is expected to be active in politics and to be involved. He is supposed to be rational in his approach

to politics, guided by reason, not by emotion. He is supposed to be well informed and to make decisions – for instance, his decision on how to vote – on the basis of careful calculation as to the interests and the principles he would like to see further” (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 29). This contention is seen in many Western democratic countries whereby there is a perceived rational active participation of the people in various levels of political activities.

Democracy has been widely adopted in many parts of the world. It was perceived, at any rate, to convey development and progress to any place adopting the system as people are expected to actively participate in the operation of the polity. It is in this reason that governments can be more effectively held to account, constitutionally guaranteed rights can be reinforced, and individuals’ and communities’ demands can be better represented within the policy process (Krishna, 2002). However, since democracy is a product of the West and has, to a greater extent, worked for Western people, there is no guarantee that the system will also work to other civilisations in other parts of the world such as in Asia because of impeding factors such as cultural, economic, and the absence or weakness of real commitment to democratic values among political leaders (Huntington, 1996). This contention has manifested by many countries in Asia, Africa, and Middle East where there are failures of polities while democracy is seen to be exemplified in their political systems.

The Philippines, after having a formal democratic political system in the 1960s, is a country that has been dubbed as one of the most democratic countries in Asia (Mackie & Villegas, 1999). The political participation of the people is seemingly higher to the degree that people engage not only in conventional political activities but more often in non-conventional such as in violent mass rallies on the streets, or widely