# Leadership Studies in the Philippines: A Review of the Literature

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Some major trends have been discerned from a review of two broad categories of works and studies on leadership, i.e., leadership studies in formal/organizational/political/administrative settings and leadership studies in community settings. Leadership studies in formal settings tend to focus on the basic elements of the Filipino concept of leadership along with the socioeconomic background of political and administrative leaders, case studies documenting the leadership styles of administrators, religious leadership in local sects, autobiography/political biography and memoirs. Community-based leadership studies oftentimes deal with socio-ethnographic studies, formal and informal leaders, involvement of people's organizations (POs) and nongovernment organizations (NGOs) in the redemocratization process, and POs and NGOs as reservoir of alternative leaders. Potential areas of inquiry which can form part of research agenda for leadership studies have been suggested.

#### Introduction

In a sense, anniversary celebrations and literature reviews share a common feature: they are occasions for stocktaking. As an institution marks its 45th year, it is expected to celebrate its achievements and success, even as it also takes time to reflect and reexamine its organizational and program thrusts. The latter is consistent with the organizational awareness that it must consciously upgrade its capability to adjust and respond to its changing environment. Similarly, a review of the literature on any topic is stocktaking in that the review depicts what is known in the field. It is an important starting point for determining a research agenda that would set priorities either for ongoing studies or exploring new areas for research.

# **Objectives**

Leadership studies have been described as an "emerging discipline devoted to the study of leadership as it is practiced in different organizations

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and society." More recently, it has been used to distinguish multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to the study and practice of leadership from the traditional, single profession and single academic discipline type of studies on leadership (Rost 1991: 2).

This paper has two objectives. First, it will attempt to describe and analyze broad categories of works and studies on leadership. Second, on the basis of the trends discerned, to suggest areas for research as part of a research agenda for leadership studies.

## Coverage

This review is part of the continuing effort of the Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy Program (LCDP) of the UP College of Public Administration to conduct research on the processes and problems of leadership and citizenship. It covers materials from the collection of (a) the Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy program, (b) the UPCPA library, (c) the Filipiniana section of the UP Main Library, and (d) other College Libraries such as the Asian Center and the College of Education. The authors realize that a more comprehensive search for materials can be extended to cover collections of other schools/ universities in the Metro Manila area. But the limited time and resources for this review effectively narrowed down the area for the search to sources which were more physically accessible. This paper is divided into two main parts. To facilitate the division of the tasks of reviewing materials gathered for this paper, the first part includes all materials on leadership in formal, organizational and political setting. The second part focuses on leadership studies in communities as venue for leaders based in basic sectors and nongovernment organizations.

# Leadership Studies in Formal/Organizational/ Political/Administrative Settings

This part of the review follows certain topical headings where some of the materials tended to converge. The topic headings are not mutually exclusive; some works may be classified under more than one topic. How the works were categorized was based mainly on the central ideas in the materials. This form of categorization enabled the classification of studies within one theme regardless of the varying conceptual frameworks which these studies may have adopted.

# Historical Roots of / Values Underlying Filipino Concepts of Leadership

Among the materials reviewed, three stand out for their efforts to search deep into our nation's past and look into our historical experiences and core values as a people, to establish the basic elements of the Filipino concept of leadership. Zeus A. Salazar examined how the relationship between rulers and followers among precolonial Filipinos was transformed as a result of the entry of a different culture, religion and people in our history. Leaders no longer understand, communicate, or empathize with the people they lead as they become separated by the use of a foreign language, an unfamiliar ideology and notions of independence. Salazar asserts that from precolonial times, the Filipinos had a clear notion of the qualities they expected of their leaders. He suggests, however, that to ensure that grassroots leaders are of and for our people, they should be evaluated along the following set of criteria: (a) do their goals truly promote national interest? (b) are their actions supportive of public welfare? (c) are they known to be persons of unquestionable integrity? (d) are they not identified with other interests which may conflict with public interest? (e) do they sincerely and willingly accept the tasks of being the leader? and, (f) do they communicate with the people in a language through which the people can freely express their ideas, concepts, and explain what is meaningful to them? (Salazar 1997; de la Torre 1997: 22)

Talisayon and Ramirez (n.d.), in a paper entitled Ang Ulirang Pamumuno sa mga Pilipino, drew from the mainsprings and documents of the experience of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and the EDSA People Power phenomenon of 1986. They also reviewed the outcome of international scientific surveys on human values, and analyzed about a hundred articles about Filipino values in their attempt to establish core values and identify qualities which Filipinos want to see in their leaders. On this basis, they came up with three clusters of core Filipino values: (a) pagkamakatao at pakikipagkapwa-tao (relationship and social cluster), (b) mga katangian at pagpapahalaga na bumubuo sa isang "loob complex," and (c) pagkamasayahin (optimism cluster) (Talisayon and Ramirez n.d.: 5). They also established in a local survey that at the barangay level, citizens expect their leaders to possess the following characteristics: (a) makatao, mapagkalinga, kagandahang loob (caring and humane), (b) matapat, matuwid, makaDiyos, may moralidad (God-centered and with integrity), (c) malakas ang loob (courageous and strong willed), (d) makatarungan, demokratiko, pantaypantay ang tingin sa lahat (fair and just), and (e) magaling, marunong (intelligent and capable).

These values form the core of the concept of *Pamathalaan* which means pamamahala kasama ni Bathala. First used by Consolacion R. Alaras in her doctoral dissertation, the concept of pamathalaan lies at the heart of the Moral Recovery Program of the Ramos administration. It is defined as:

a native Filipino philosophy and practice of leadership, management and/or governance rooted on [sic] sacred ancestral and heroic traditions which, if fully recovered, appreciated and lived, may provide the key to national and possibly global unity (Readings on Pamathalaan 1996: 24).

Renato Constantino's work, A Leadership for Filipinos (1967) stresses the need to define the qualities of a Filipino leader based on his analysis of the state of Philippine society. He depicts the country as beset with the ills of "poverty, cultural stagnation and political backwardness" and one "where mass vision is blinded by myths, where illusion is taken for reality, where what the people think they want is not what they really need" (Constantino 1967: 2-3). Constantino cites how Claro Recto's ideas and actions would have introduced a new type of leadership that the country needed then. Recto planned to become a politician who would learn from the masses, teach the masses, and advocate nationalism. He dared to speak the truth, to espouse new ideas, to be critical and to challenge assumptions, to break unquestioning attachment to unscrutinized postulates (Constantino 1967: 3-5).

Recto provided the impetus to redefine the concept of leadership for Filipinos. Constantino views this as a new leadership which: (a) is an "educative force" in that it seeks to discover the wishes of the people, works with the people to reshape their desires if this is not in their long-term interest and blazes new paths; (b) involves the people in the restructuring of the Philippine society; (c) recognizes that leadership is a process and not an end and a genuine leader sets in motion forces which can cause the end of his leadership; (d) has deep confidence in the people and never underestimates their wisdom; and (e) acknowledges unity with the people as the true foundation of leadership (Constantino 1967: 8-10).

The Filipino concept of leadership can only be relevant and responsive to Filipino needs if it flows from the historical roots of our society, it draws from our core values as a people and it is used to bring out the greatness of our nation.

## Political Leadership

Philippine political scientists are major contributors to the growing body of literature on political leadership. Published and unpublished materials describe and analyze models of Philippine political leadership, discuss the roles and functions of political leaders in dealing with threats to the viability of the Philippine state, and identify modes of recruitment of local and national officials who may be elected or appointed to political positions.

Aside from his pioneering work on the political elite and the people in Occidental Mindoro in the early seventies, Remigio E. Agpalo proposed a

typology for Filipino leaders in a relatively recent work. This is found in his paper on "Leadership and Types of Filipino Leaders: Focus on Ferdinand E. Marcos and Corazon C. Aquino" (Agpalo 1988).

Adopting James McGregor Burns' definition of leadership, Agpalo laid down the context for his typology, thus:

Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources, so as to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of followers (Burns 1978 in Agpalo 1988: 3).

With this definition, Burns established three elements of leadership: it is relational, collective and purposeful. He likewise distinguished power from leadership by saying that the use of power allows power wielders to control things, while leadership may not treat people as things (cited in Agpalo 1988: 3).

Agpalo's proposed schema for classifying Filipino leaders has two dimensions: organization and ideology. In combining the presence or absence of ideology with a weak or strong organization, Agpalo identified four types of Filipino leaders:

- (a) The **Supremo** is exemplified by Andres Bonifacio who had a strong organization in the Katipunan and an ideology contained in his Decalogue;
- (b) The **Visionary** is a leader who has an ideology and a weak organization. Jose Rizal is cited as an example of this type.
- (c) The **Organization Man** is a leader who has a strong organization but without an ideology. Agpalo cites General Fabian Ver as an example of this type.
- (d) The "Paradux" combines the Latin word "dux" which means "leader" and a Greek prefix, "para" which can mean faulty, irregular or disordered. This term applies to traditional Filipino politicians elected to either House of Congress, who do not have ideology nor a strong organization (Agpalo 1988: 5).

How would Filipino leaders rate in this typology? Agpalo sees the *Supremo*, the most effective leader as being the best of the four types. Marcos is categorized as a *Supremo* type, as he had an ideology and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) as a strong party organization. Corazon Aquino, who is perceived as having neither the vision nor the organization, would be categorized as a "paradux."

In a 1991 paper, Agpalo expanded this schema and added the normative dimension. Thus, aside from ideology and organization, a leader may also be good and beneficial, or venal and oppressive. When paired with the four original types, four dichotomies are created: (a) the pangulo-tyrant; (b) the prophet-false prophet; (c) prince-dictator and (d) patron-trapo (Agpalo 1991: 17).

Two major studies assess the capability of the Ramos administration to utilize its executive powers to systematically attack the structural causes of the weakness of the Philippine state. One of these is Villacorta's article on "The Curse of the Weak State: Leadership Imperatives for the Ramos Government" (Villacorta 1994: 67-92). Citing Migdal's definition of state capabilities as "the capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract resources and appropriate or use resources in determined ways," Villacorta attributed the inability of the Philippines to achieve these to a number of factors. These include the country's colonial history, which produced such social features as an oligarchy propped up by land and export agriculture, and continuing dependence on foreign external resources, among others. He also saw the functioning of an elite democracy during the postwar years, the elite's oligopolistic hold on the economy, Marcos' authoritarian rule which led to more insurgency, social disorder and political instability (Villacorta 1994: 73), the restoration of the traditional oligarchy after the EDSA phenomenon in February 1986 and the sustained elitist character of the government even after the 1992 elections as conditions which supported the persistence of a weak Philippine state.

Does Ramos have the political will and the leadership capability to liberate the country from these weaknesses? Ramos' image as a President is one of a task-oriented manager who adopts a "slow but sure" problem-solving style. Analyzing Ramos' policy pronouncements and his development strategies, Villacorta points out some inconsistencies in some of these. For instance, Ramos cannot be for a strong state and be against state intervention.

Villacorta sees the oligarchic control of the weak state to be the basic problem of the Philippine State. What kind of a leadership can deal with these realities? Resolving these national problems demands a leader with a vision and a determination to achieve this vision. More importantly, it must be one which is rooted in personal credibility and can excite and inspire a people. It is a leadership which:

has the support of the majority of the people, the capability to ward off overwhelming pressures from big politicians and oligarchs. It will require a leader who must possess the resolve to detach himself from the age-old system of patronage, to break up oligopolies and to generate opportunities for free competition (Villacorta 1994: 87).

A comprehensive study conducted by Felipe B. Miranda (n.d.) also examines political leadership as a strategic variable in achieving political stabilization. The study looks at three dimensions of political stability: legitimacy, durability and the management of conflict. For all these aspects of

stability, political leadership is a vital enabling factor. The consistent and effective performance of the political leadership "enhances the legitimacy of the government as well as the regime and increases the probability of regime durability" (Miranda n.d.: 145). The political leadership also intervenes in all national conflicts. Thus, strong and effective leadership can organize groups and institutions towards an acceptable consensus, thereby assuring stability and keeping conflicts within manageable limits (Miranda n.d.).

Having established the theoretical connection between political stability and political leadership, Miranda proceeds to examine the level of political stability of the Philippines. Threats to the country's stability have come in the form of social conflicts, manifested in armed opposition to the state, the secessionist movement in Mindanao, and possibilities of a coup d'etat from a disgruntled sector of the military. Other measures of instability include popular unrests manifested in strikes and demonstrations, the manner and frequency of change of constitutional framework, and the extralegal means by which President Aquino came to power. How can the political leadership improve national stability? Two fundamental tasks would require immediate attention. The Ramos administration must work to improve the legitimacy of the overall regime as well as that of the authorities to the whole society. The next task is for the political leadership to strengthen the state and its political institutions, to make them more responsive to citizens' demands (Miranda n.d.: 148-149). Unfortunately, historical analysis of the use of political power in the country has shown that it has served oligarchic interests and is therefore responsible for the grossly uneven distribution of political and economic power in the country.

Given the basic weakness of the state and the relative strength of organized groups, Miranda asks how may the present political leadership consolidate and increase its own political resources, coordinate when possible with aggressive, self-seeking social groups to strengthen the weak state, neutralize its armed challengers and finally, minimize the influence of powerful transnational actors in the Philippines (Miranda n.d.)? The answer inevitably points to "the need to consolidate a political base which will enable the political leadership to effectively govern as its vision and programs of action dictate" (Miranda n.d.). After it proposed how and what constituencies coalition building must be worked out with, the study proceeded to enumerate urgent policy reforms for national unity and stability, through a wide range of institutional interventions.

The third sub-type of studies under this theme describes the mode of recruitment of local political leaders. This type was done in local areas outside the Metro Manila area in the late sixties and early seventies. Kit Machado sought to determine the extent to which changes occurred in the pattern of leadership recruitment among the municipal mayors in the provinces of Batangas and Capiz. Using all mayors elected in the 1967 election as his

sample, Machado compared the socioeconomic profiles and the family backgrounds of the newly elected mayors in these two provinces. His findings indicated that in terms of family background and socioeconomic origins, the pattern of leadership recruitment in Capiz still remained highly traditional while that in Batangas had undergone some change. The study also established that there is an association between the level of social mobilization and the concentration of landownership in Batangas towns and the family backgrounds of their mayors. Almost 75 per cent of the Batangas towns which were above the provincial mean in their literacy rate elected mayors who were not from old leading families. Moreover, Batangas towns that were either above the provincial mean in literacy or below it in concentration of landownership were three times as likely to elect a mayor who was not from an old leading family as they were to elect one who was from such a family in 1967 (Machado 1972: 98-99). Machado related this emerging change in the mode of selecting mayors to what he called the "professionalization of the local politician." Local political leadership is "professionalized" as it becomes a specialized political activity rather than as an adjunct of a general social role (like a family member) and once it is considered a career rather than an avocation. It was noted that changing recruitment criteria associated with specialization were a major factor in opening leadership roles to a broader sector of the community (Machado 1972: 100).

What are the implications of having new set of men in local politics, the professionalization of local chief executives and political development in the Philippines? Given the changes noted in Batangas, Machado observed that had this pattern persisted, it would have ushered in important political developments. It was noted that new men who were recruited to politics through specialized channels were likely to have learned leadership roles later in their lives and only when they themselves became directly involved. These men are likely to adopt less traditional notions of leadership than individuals from old leading families, and may, perhaps, be more adaptable to alternative patterns of leadership behavior (Machado 1967: 121).

Benson's article on the profile of political leaders in a Philippine province (Benson 1971: 85-91) picks up from the essence of sub-leaders or the 'lider' which Mary Hollnsteiner refers to as the person with a large following in a barrio who utilizes this support during political campaigns, where he pledges to campaign for a certain candidate or group of candidates. These candidates call him their "lider'..., the lider is a staunch follower of the candidate... (and the lider) is often repaid by candidates with favors which can in turn be distributed among his followers, reinforcing his position" (Benson 1971: 85). Benson then used the term 'lider' to refer to political leaders below the top leadership level in a province as distinguished from "leader" which he used to refer to the highest political leaders in the area, i.e., the Congressman or the Governor.

The study showed that the educational levels of the *liders* were high as a large number of them had gone to college. There are different levels of *liders*, depending on how many other *liders* they influenced. The highest *liders* are those who can influence 250 or more *liders*. The study concluded that provincial *liders* play a role as intermediaries between the top leaders and the people. Moreover, Abueva's observation that political leadership is connected with wealth, education and social prestige is equally true for the *liders* in Camarines Norte (Benson 1971: 91).

The conditions under which the Benson and the Machado studies were done have changed drastically. With the redemocratization process, however, it would be interesting to know how the process of selecting local leaders under the era of decentralization would differ from the patterns that they were starting to discern before the imposition of martial law in 1972.

## Socioeconomic Background of Political and Administrative Leaders

Another approach to understanding leaders is to describe the milieu which produced them. Among the materials reviewed, there are at least eight studies which focus on the socioeconomic backgrounds of political and administrative leaders (Francisco 1960; Abueva 1965; Masa 1976; Tapales 1984; Caoili, M. 1986; Caoili, O. 1986, Pilar 1989 and Legayada 1992). Of these studies, five examined the socioeconomic profiles of higher civil servants (Francisco, Masa, Tapales, Pilar, and Legayada), while two looked at the backgrounds of members of Philippine Congress. Abueva (1965) had administrators and legislators as subjects.

A fundamental concern of studies of this type is to describe political and administrative elite groups in terms of such variables as age, regional or provincial origins, gender, parentage, education, occupation, income level and how they were recruited to public office. These data are then analyzed to establish how open these levels of the political and administrative systems are to individuals from different socioeconomic classes.

Do the political and administrative elite also come from the educated, wealthy and prominent families? The Francisco, Abueva and Masa studies showed that higher civil servants tend to come from higher income families who live in the capital cities or areas adjoining them. The Abueva study compared the socioeconomic profile of legislators with administrators. His findings indicated that administrators were less homogenous in their backgrounds when compared to the legislators. Thus, more than a third of the administrators had moved up from the lower classes and majority of them worked through college. In contrast, the legislators came from wealthy, educated and prominent families from all over the country (Abueva 1965: 28-29).

The results of the research of the Caoilis on the socioeconomic background of members of Congress before martial law and the members of the *Batasan Pambansa* confirmed the continuity of the legislative elite in the country as indicated by the educational/professional backgrounds of their parents and their career patterns (Caoili, M. 1986: 20-21 and Caoili, O. 1986: 48). This implies that the interests of the lower income classes are not represented in the halls of Congress and indicates why national policies tend to favor the political elite.

The works of Tapales and Legayada address the recent concern for the career patterns of women in the bureaucracy. Comparing her data with those of Francisco and Masa, Tapales noted that while the urban bias in the recruitment of bureaucrats persists, Filipino civil servants are better educated than their predecessors. She also observed that a growing number of younger women are joining the civil service. She attributes this to the educational opportunities to which these women have access (Tapales 1984: 318-319). Legayada's research examines the career movements of women public managers in Region VI (Legayada 1992). Being career-oriented, women public managers included in her sample believe they can fulfill their duties and responsibilities with competence since they are highly educated, with adequate training and their family life does not compete with their career since other household members share in the housekeeping chores. Compared to their male colleagues, female managers move up more slowly in the organization's career ladder (Legayada 1992: ix).

Nestor N. Pilar's study on career executives in the public bureaucracy collected data not only on the demographic and career profiles of third level executives, but also on their views as to the qualities necessary for effective executive leadership. The six most cited qualities are: integrity, honesty, dedication, ability to lead, decisiveness and competence (Pilar 1989: 15)

There is value in learning about the milieu and the socioeconomic profiles of political and administrative leaders. However, these studies were not undertaken simply because they needed to produce basic knowledge about these executives. These information on the personal profile of the executive, together with data on their career patterns are useful inputs in the design of organizational interventions directed at improving managerial skills, and identifying or enhancing leadership capabilities of these political and administrative leaders.

## Case Studies on Leadership Styles of Administrators

Case studies documenting the management or leadership styles of individual administrators during specific periods of their careers in a particular agency constitute the fourth category of materials covered by this review. Some

of these materials are parts of published materials, while others are researches done for graduate courses in the U.P. College of Public Administration.

Jose N. Endriga's case study on the administrative reforms in COA looked at the leadership role of Francisco Tantuico in pushing for professionalization and reforms in a public office (Endriga 1982). Amelia P. Varela's recent book on Administrative Culture and Political Change also includes a full chapter on the role of leadership in creating and changing administrative culture in six organizations: the Civil Service Commission, the National Power Commission, the Department of Public Works and Highways, the Department of Health, the Bureau of Customs and the Commission on Immigration and Deportation (Varela 1996). Danilo R. Reyes also prepared five full case studies on the experience and executive leadership styles of Roilo Golez as head of the Bureau of Posts, Jose Luis Alcuaz of the National Telecommunications Commission, Chairman Francisco Tantuico of the Commission on Audit, Judge Remedios Fernando of the Land Transportation and Regulation Board (LTFRB), and Elfren Cruz of the Metro Manila Commission.

As part of their academic requirements for P.A. 292, a course on the Filipino administrator, students prepare a well documented paper on an exemplary administrator. These papers may also be presented as star papers by Plan C or Mid-Career students. Patricia Sto. Tomas as CSC Chairperson, Corazon Alma De Leon as DSWD Secretary, Salvador J. Escudero III as Agriculture Secretary, Pura Ferrer Calleja as Director of the Bureau of Labor Relations, Elfren Sicango Cruz as Governor of the Metro Manila Commission, and DA Regional Director Severino G. Recto are among the subjects of these papers.

Finally, a unique set of case studies on all the six provincial governors of Region VI (Western Visayas) is part of the doctoral dissertation of Tomas A. Sajo (1989). Each case study also has a write-up on the leadership style of the governor.

## Religious Leadership in Local Sects

As part of a book on Filipino religious psychology edited by Leonardo N. Mercado (1977), leadership in four religious groups was described and analyzed. Prospero R. Covar wrote on the "Religious Leadership in the *Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi*," which he described as one of the many indigenous religious organizations in the Philippines. Its central doctrine revolves around Jose P. Rizal. He traced the history of the leadership in this organization through three stages of its history: the formative years (1936-1944), period of growth and development (1945-1970) and its steady state (1970 and beyond). He described the hierarchical positions observed in the organization's leadership structure as a fusion of traditional religious roles, offices commonly associated with socio-civic

groups which are unmistakably American-Protestant in origin, and those of the Roman Catholic setup.

Ma. Angeles C. Guanzon analyzed the religious leadership of the Iglesia ni Kristo. She presented the history of the religious organization, its doctrines, principles and beliefs, its organization structure and an analysis of the leadership of Felix Manalo using specific personality traits. In her conclusion, she attributed the growth of the INK to the rigidness of their church order resulting in an internal discipline in the Filipino culture which is highly authoritarian. The charismatic pattern of leadership observed in the *ministros* of the INK, particularly in its Supreme Head is responsible to a great degree for the application of the "indigenous principle."

As part of this collection, Florio Falcon wrote on the religious leadership in the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA), Inc. Falcon had difficulty doing his research as members of the PBMA are bound by secrecy not to reveal anything about the organization. He joined the organization and went through all admission requirements until he qualified to be a missionary doctor. Thus the report is an account of his experience as a member. In his description of the leadership of the PBMA, his thesis is that Ruben Ecleo, the head, satisfies many of the basic needs of his followers. He plays the role of father in his organization. Falcon acknowledges the capacity of the organization to keep the enthusiasm and discipline of its 300,000 members. However, he is also concerned that on the monetary side, no control is in place to protect the members.

Elizabeth A. Pastores wrote on the psychology of religious leadership of the *Lapiang Malaya*. After describing the historical development of the Lapiang Malaya, its structural setup, teachings, beliefs and rituals, the author presented a brief biography of Valentin de los Santos. She then analyzed Valentin los Santos as a leader and his relationship with his followers.

These studies indicate that effective religious leaders are: (1) charismatic and persevering, (2) eloquent and persuasive in speech, (3) compassionate, humble, sincere, approachable and sociable, (4) practical-minded, aggressive, shrewd, authoritarian, but paternalistic if necessary; and (5) good planners and dynamic organizers. These leaders must also have a pleasing and strong personality, strong religious conviction, integrity and foresight; an awareness of and concern for their people's plight and needs; and the appropriate skills in handling the emotions or sentiments of their followers and harnessing them for desired ends.

## Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses on Leadership

Doctoral dissertations and master's theses also constitute another category of leadership studies. Focusing on the subject of inquiry ranges from profiling of

leaders, operationalizing leadership effectiveness to comparing leadership styles and their effects. The unit of analysis varies from organizations, institutions, sectors to individuals.

The search for studies on leadership among dissertations and theses proved to be fruitful. We came up with about seventeen (17) theses and dissertations on the following topics: measurement of leadership potentials of small groups, leadership performance of specific organizations or groups, leadership potentials of farmers who join Samahang Nayons, leadership in decisionmaking in barangay councils, the profile of rural leadership of barrio captains, leadership roles of barrio development workers, shifts in the leadership pattern of a local government unit from 1901 to 1981; effects of leadership styles on female introductory psychology students, leadership in small military units of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, comparison of Ho Chi Minh and Sukarno as charismatic political leaders, leadership style of department heads and faculty members in a technical vocational institution, personality traits and leadership styles of college student leaders and nonleaders, and effective and ineffective student leaders (see bibliography for complete list).

Beringuela's (1998) dissertation on the leadership patterns in three Philippine social organizations is most interesting and a rich source of insights on the operations of small organizations and how these in turn affect or are affected by organizational culture.

# Autobiography / Political Biography and Memoirs

There is also a body of literature that deals with the significant lives of renowned leaders in the fields of politics and business. In his Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography (1971), Jose V. Abueva analyzed the impact of President Magsaysay on the political life of the people and assessed the role and contribution of Magsaysay as a democratic leader in the context of Filipino and Asian history. He gave particular attention to what he called "the reciprocal nature of his [Magsaysay] leadership" which he referred to as the interplay between (1) his individuality and personality, and (2) the values, attitudes, and aspirations of his co-leaders and followers.

Arturo M. Tolentino wrote his memoirs, entitled *Voice of Dissent* (1990). His voice of dissent ran through seven Presidential administrations—Manuel L. Quezon, Manuel A. Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos P. Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal and Ferdinand E. Marcos. To him, the Aquino administration was a cry of protest. He described his role as fiscalizer which he considered as a risky endeavor politically and personally. His accounts of his life in the Senate, his dream to be President, his vice-presidential team-up with

Ferdinand Marcos despite his being a foremost critic of dictatorship, and his contribution to national politics showed his conviction and leadership.

Other written works include the two-volume biography on Sergio Osmeña written by Vicente Albano Pacis, entitled President Sergio Osmeña, A Fully Documented Biography (1971); Rafael Palma, My Autobiography (1953); and the biography of Jose P. Laurel, entitled The Saga of Jose P. Laurel (His Brother's Keeper) (1949) by Teofilo del Castillo and Jose del Castillo. Of memoirs, two works exist: Diosdado Macapagal's A Stone for the Edifice: Memoirs of A President (1968); and The Philippine Presidents: Memoirs of Carlos P. Romulo with Beth Day Romulo (1988).

Leadership Studies of the Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy Program

The LCDP is actively involved in the conduct of research and the publication of its works on leadership along four major areas: (a) assessment of Presidential performance, (b) memoirs of individual political leaders, (c) works of leaders in the business community, and (d) anthology of Filipino sociopolitical thought.

On assessment of Presidential performance, the LCDP through its project on UP Public Lectures on the Philippine Presidency and Administration, has published The Aquino Administration: Record and Legacy, 1986-1992 (1992). This contains the self-assessment by the Aquino Administration of the challenges and problems it faced since it assumed power and responsibility, its performance and achievements through its leadership and stewardship of the government, and its legacy to the nation and succeeding administrations. The alternative assessments from the perspectives of the academe and members of the media are contained in a companion volume entitled, The Aquino Presidency and Administration (1986-1992): Contemporary Assessments and The Judgment of History? Volume 2 (1993). Commentaries given by these sectors are intended to broaden and enrich the self-assessments made by the Cabinet members and highest officials of the Aquino government. An abridged edition which combines volumes 1 and 2 is Corazon C. Aquino: Early Assessments of Her Presidential Leadership and Administration and Her Place in History, International Edition (1993).

Likewise, the LCDP published the memoirs of Jovito Salonga on the Military Bases issue entitled, *The Senate That Said No: A Four-Year Record of the First Post-EDSA Senate* (1995). Salonga discusses in detail the climactic and historic rejection in 1991 by the Senate of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Security between the Philippines and the United States, thus ending over 400 years of foreign military presence in the Islands.

On business leaders, the LCDP has published the work of W. Sycip of the SGV and Co., entitled, Asian Perspectives in Business Management, Economic Success, and Governance: East Asia, Oceania, the Philippines, and SGV (1996). This is a collection of the ideas and views of Washington Sycip, founder of the SGV & Co., the biggest auditing and consulting firm in the country with companies in other Asian countries.

A major undertaking of the LCDP is the *PAMANA*: The U.P. Anthology of Socio-Political Thought Since 1872 which is a 19-volume anthology of ideas and opinion concerning the Filipino people and their nation, society, polity, economy, culture, and national development as articulated by Filipinos in various walks of life. Book 18 of the *PAMANA* is The Book on Leadership.

The LCDP continues to pursue its work on leadership through its UP Public Lecture Series, and Memoirs Writing Project with government and private sector leaders. It is collaborating with Cecilia Muñoz Palma and David M. Consunji from the construction industry for the writing of their respective memoirs. It is also involved in the biography projects of Tomas Cloma, pioneer in maritime industry, and Eugenio Lopez, Sr., business leader. Further, it has supported research projects that explore and analyze the dynamics of leader-citizen interaction in government programs.

# Leadership Studies in Community Settings

This portion of the paper reviews works of scholars and practitioners from various disciplines on community leadership. While there is an effort to broaden the scope of the review, it cannot be exhaustive. Materials included in this review can be indicative of the range and the content of what exists in this subfield of leadership studies. They may be used for mapping out elements of potential research agenda on multidisciplinary studies on community leadership.

The study of community leadership may be viewed from various perspectives. One perspective views community leadership as closely intertwined with national power structures and relations and as an appendage of the national body politics. The leadership culture at the macro level manifests itself at the village or community and therefore, an understanding and explanation of the dynamics of leadership at the community level must be seen in the context of the national political formation. Factions, patron-client, elite, and power are among the basic explanatory variables of leadership. In this regard, the electoral process and system of representation in formal political and institutional structures at the local level serve as the arena of leaders.

Another perspective of community leadership centers on leaders who derive their position of power and influence from an organized group in the community through internal processes and mechanisms of the organization to which the leader belongs. Until recently, these leaders were marginalized and had to work beyond the formal boundaries of local political and institutional structures. As a result of the redemocratization processes, opportunities for participation in governance were opened up to nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs).

An understanding of community leadership as a social phenomenon must be viewed from the context of the social setting within which it operates. If this community is a barrio or a rural village, an analysis and description of the leadership process must include the physical characteristics of the geographical area. Other equally important dimensions to be included are the social, cultural, political and religious norms, which invariably influence the rules, processes and structures that determine the nature and character of local leadership and the exercise of authority in this community.

# Socio-Ethnographic Studies on Community Leadership

Socio-ethnographic studies on community leadership posit conformity to cultural norms and values such as the kinship system and religious beliefs in leadership behavior and selection. In "Elements of Filipino Social Organization," F. Landa Jocano (1989) stresses the two main sources of leadership and authority— the legal which is defined and supported by the laws of the land, and the traditional, which is legitimized by existing local beliefs and practices, and exercised through the application of socially accepted norms of behavior. Oftentimes, these two sources are combined by the local leader in the execution of his responsibilities. The leader's skill in reconciling his legal responsibilities with traditional practices underlies his effectiveness in the community.

Earlier studies on community leadership point to the key role of social and cultural factors. Vicente Encarnacion, Jr.'s study on "Leadership in a Benguet Village" (1961) compared the degree to which the three leaders, the formal/legal, the traditional, and the "nonformal" leaders conform to norms valued by a village in Benguet. The formal/legal leaders are the local elected and appointed officials. The traditional leaders are considered as the most important and influential, a recognition acknowledged by the formal leaders themselves. The "nonformal" leaders are heads of families whose children have gone to local school but eventually stopped before reaching the sixth grade. Findings from the research show that both formal and traditional leaders conform more closely than nonformal leaders to the norms or activities deemed desirable by the community. A number of these norms are: attending

or giving kanyaw, participating in the pakde (a religious gathering/ceremony), possessing the traditional qualifications for office (e.g., not widower, not divorced, etc.; undergoing cane ritual, if elected to office) venerating the pakedlan (site of the ceremony), and respect for wealth and old age. Kinship is critical to the election of formal leaders. Consanguinal or affinal relations with influential old men and leaders provide the reservoir of leaders. With familial ties, the formal and traditional leaders are expected to continue the line of leadership. Innovations in lifestyle and improvements in education are more associated with formal leaders than with the traditional leaders.

In "Leadership and Powerholders Among the Sulod of Central Panay," F. Landa Jocano (1968) describes the Sulod community as highly cohesive and attributes such cohesiveness to the dyadic or person-to-person ties that bind the leaders, powerholders and other members of the community. Powerholders are made up of the baylan, mirku (herb doctor), parungkutan (advisor) and the husay (arbiter). Their influence is delimited by community membership. They represent the traditional leaders who are consulted by the formal leaders on major decisions which concern the welfare of the community.

Buenaventura M. Villanueva's study on "Rural Leadership Patterns" (1960) inquires into the bases of leadership selection by rural people. It posits that the "individuals formally occupying positions in local government setup may or may not be the (real) leaders locally." There is a need to get insights into rural leadership patterns through an analysis of the rural value systems and attitudes relative to leadership determination. Specifically, it asks: "On what bases do rural people select their leaders?" The values which are given high premium in leadership determination are: (1) formal education, (2) close and extended family ties, (3) utang na loob or gratitude, (4) hiya or shame, (5) age and ascribed experience, (6) pakikisama or smooth interpersonal relations, (7) relative economic security, (8) disdain for pulitika, and (9) harmony and conformity.

The difficulty of identifying the leaders who form part of the community power structure, where they come from and how they are selected could be discerned from Vivienne S.N. Angeles' (1965) study on "The Search for Community Leadership in Morong, Rizal." Her methodology includes: (1) reputational method which assumes the covertness of power — that power is exercised behind the scenes and therefore difficult to assess or measure; (2) positional method which assumes that power is acquired by virtue of the person's formal position in society; in effect, formal authority is equated with leadership; and (3) decisionmaking approach which assumes that active participation in the community decisionmaking constitutes leadership. For the first method, reputed leaders were drawn from those generally perceived as influentials and knowledgeables in the community and those involved in community activities: politics, business and socio-civic work. For the second method, the nominees of leaders by virtue of their positions are the heads of

major organizations in socio-civic and religious organizations, in government or those occupying political positions, and in business and economic organizations. For the third method, the nominees are officers of socio-civic organizations, local political executives and the reputed leaders themselves. Findings of the research show that the concepts of leadership brought out by the three methods tend to overlap but at the same time, converge towards specialization. The reputational technique brought out the ruling elite or those who are reputed to be powerful and who exercise influence and power. The positional technique brought out persons in position of authority in the community. Finally, the decisionmaking technique brought out competing elites representing varied interests in the community.

## Formal and Informal Leaders as the Dominant Authority Structure

The community leadership structure comprises mainly of formal and informal leaders performing different roles in managing community development projects. Rowe V. Cadelina compares types of leaders in "Types of Leadership and Community Development: A Case Study of a Lower Class Cebuano Urban Community" (1974). Two types of leadership structure exist in this community: the formal leaders whose stature and position is acquired by virtue of election or appointment to an office; and the informal leaders "who are perceived by the community members as influential despite their being neither elected nor appointed to an office." Both perform complementary roles in community undertakings. The study reveals that formal leaders tend to be important in the conceptualization and initial planning of community development projects while the informal leaders are indispensable for the operationalization of the project in terms of project advertising, generating community support for the project and project administration. Further, community projects are less likely to succeed without the active support and cooperation of the informal leaders. A fundamental reason for this is that informal leaders are closer to the people who tend to trust them more. Informal leaders are also perceived to have greater economic stability than formal leaders and are relatively independent from political parties and similar organizations. Thus, informal leaders are not identified with vested interest and are less suspect to seeking personal enrichment through community development projects.

In "Local Leaders: Status, Attitudes and Behavior" by Gelia T. Castillo et al. (1969), formal leaders and nonformal/informal leaders were compared in terms of status characteristics, and their perceptions, attitudes and behavior with regard to political, civic consciousness and other community matters. Formal leaders tend to stress the need for public health projects and the promotion of the general welfare of the community. Nonformal leaders are concerned with peace and order, unemployment, high prices, and adult

education. This was explained in terms of the tendency of leaders to take a more holistic and impersonal view of government's role while nonformal leaders view government as the institution which attends to everyday situations.

# Political and Economic Context of Community-based Leadership

Community-based organizations must be viewed in the context of political and economic conditions which created the opportunities for the emergence of informal/ nontraditional leaders. Alegre's account of the formation of NGOs in the Philippines traces their beginnings immediately after WWII (Alegre 1996: 2-10). Privately-initiated welfare and civic organizations started as far back as the American colonial period but their efforts were redirected to relief and reconstruction work. These organizations supported the government's social amelioration program. In like manner, cooperativism in the Philippines which existed as early as during the Spanish period gained institutional support through the enactment of laws on cooperatives. This was followed by the creation in the 1960s of private foundations which operate up to the present (e.g., Filipinas/Ayala, EDF, etc.). The perceived communist threat shifted the attention and efforts of the private sector, the Catholic Church and the government to responding to the problems of the countryside. "Rural reconstruction" and "community development" became the strategic alternatives to communism. An offshoot of this strategy was the setting up of the Institute of Social Order (ISO) as a pioneer NGO in the country and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM). The latter promoted a package of health, education and socioeconomic services. On the government side, the Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD) was set up to spur development in the barrios toward modernization.

Another impetus which propelled the emergence of community leadership may have been the emergence of cooperatives in rural areas. Cooperatives were initiated by the private sector, welfare agencies and even from the Church social action efforts. All had stakes in cooperative formation.

From 1965 to 1972, the worsening social, political and economic conditions of the country and the inadequacy of community development strategy and of economic self-help projects led the Church sector to reexamine and analyze the structural roots of the country's problems. As a result of its analysis of the country's situation, the Church began to embark on the training of countless leaders who would form the core of the Basic Christian Communities (BCCs) and parallel social organizations nationwide.

## Formation of Progressive Leaders

The patron-client discourse which gained prominence in the early 1960s as analytic framework for the Philippine nation-state, evolved into a political

machine under the Marcos regime which had a consequence of integrating and consolidating community leadership structure, both formal and, to a certain extent, informal into the huge political machinery. Those from the informal/nontraditional leadership structure who stayed away from the martial law political machine were drawn to or joined the so-called progressive sector.

"The NGO Experience in Negros" by Nanette Dungo-Garcia (1993) documents the penetration of forms of social relations into the local political structures and processes and the efforts of NGOs and POs to break these exploitative relations. The hacienda culture is dominated by a well-entrenched relation of patronage between sugar landlords and workers. This relation could have gone on, having started way back in the mid 18th century if not for the sugar crises and severe landlessness in the province. The hacendero serves as the patron, the supposed provider of the necessities of the planter and families in exchange for worker's/planter's very cheap labor in the hacienda. Values such as gratitude, unquestioned loyalty and dependency characterize the hacendero-worker relations. In this context, two forms of NGOs evolved: development NGO and nondevelopmental NGO. Development NGOs direct their work towards transformation, self-reliance and the formation of selfdetermining communities while the nondevelopmental NGOs are engaged in doleouts/welfare activities. Patron-client relations are reproduced by the nondevelopmental NGOs. Support given by the hacendero to CO workers and other staff of NGOs tends to recreate patron-client relationships in their work with communities. Religion plays a critical force in influencing NGO activity in Negros. The charismatic Basic Christian Community (BCC) undertakes churchinitiated type of community organizing and its approaches proved to be most effective in building self-propelled communities. BCCs are actually POs with members drawn from peasants in the interior upland communities of Negros. On the other hand, the evangelical BCC is committed to living as closely as possible to Bible formulations. Much of the transformation in some parts of Negros to being self-propelled communities may be partly due to the efforts of BCC which served as a countervailing force against the age-old system of patronage.

Rocamora (1993) traces the emergence of progressive NGOs within the context of the struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. The NGOs' primary role then was to provide support services to POs in defending themselves against the dictatorship. These services were in the form of training and organizing work, research and publications, and assistance for health and human rights work. Even as NGOs' projects were focused at the village level because of their orientation, they worked mainly among the poor in rural areas and in urban communities. With their community organizing and advocacy efforts, NGOs evolved as catalysts stimulating greater attention to the need to develop local leaders as critical components of organized communities (Rocamora 1993).

## Involvement of POs and NGOs in the Redemocratization Process

Redemocratization implies the opening up of political and institutional structures to NGO and PO representation and participation in local legislative processes. This is facilitated by the policy of promoting autonomy of local government units through the decentralization of political power. The 1991 Local Government Code has provided the legal framework for NGOs/POs participation in local governance. Rocamora (1993) contends that NGOs/POs view this development as consistent with, and supportive of, their notion that there must be a process of building from the ground up, from the barrio to the town centers. NGOs/POs also viewed the electoral process as a means through which they can convert their support into political votes which can change the character, processes, and structures of local governance (Rocamora 1993).

Another consequence of the redemocratization process is a reexamination and rethinking of the power configuration and relations between the state and civil society. NGOs/POs and other popular organizations including the Church are at the forefront of the civil society which is emerging as one of the countervailing forces to state power. In this context, NGOs/POs must reexamine their relations with the state and with the other organized sectors as they assume crucial roles in the process of societal transformation.

# POs and NGOs as Reservoir of Alternative Leaders

NGOs and POs provide the reservoir of alternative leaders who come from the ranks of the sectors. These leaders are able to articulate the problems and difficulties faced by the sector which they represent and, with their capabilities, confront and resolve these problems. They are willing to make sacrifices for the welfare of the members, and able to maintain close ties with members of the sector.

How does an NGO look at the avenues for participation and empowerment? Abad presents an NGO perspective in his "People's Participation in Governance: Limits and Possibilities - The Philippine Case" (1993, in Garcia et al. 1993: 151-160). Two streams of response from the NGOs are noted. One is partnership and collaboration among NGOs, POs and government. The NGOs/POs' role is to provide institution-building, education and technical support while the government focuses on creating the necessary policy environment and provides logistics and technical assistance to POs and NGOs. The other response is for NGOs and POs to stay outside of the legal framework and continue to challenge political and economic structures and processes. On the whole, NGOs and POs continue to view elections as the preferred way of changing political leaders and addressing basic social problems. They see the electoral process as an opportunity for them to mainstream their respective

political, economic and social agenda. Abad contends that NGOs and POs "cannot just simply avoid politics nor leave it totally in the hands of the traditional politicians." While the NGOs/POs' strength does not lie in their size or resources, the NGOs/POs have the ability to coordinate, mobilize and unite the actions of a large number of citizenry. They also have the capacity to mobilize a critical mass of citizenry who can significantly influence or cause changes in policy directions and decisions.

Experiences of NGOs/POs in various sectors are documented in *Lider*, *Pamumunong Bayan: Karanasan, Katarungan at Kinabukasan* (de la Torre 1997), recalling proceedings of the *Tatsulok na Kumperensiya sa Pamumuno sa Komunidad* held on 22-24 February 1996 under the initiative of the Education for Life Foundation, an NGO involved in training and education for grassroots leadership. This document presents an interesting mix of materials on contemporary Filipino leadership and brings together a historical perspective, accounts of leadership experiences in basic sectors, and an agenda for leadership research and training.

Perceived requirements of and challenges to leadership among sectoral NGOs and POs from the members themselves emphasize the bondage that connects the leaders and members together. This is not through the exploitative patron-client relations or through the system of traditional elite acting as leaders but through a system of social relations based on equality, self-reliance, sacrifice, and readiness to extend assistance in whatever form. The Pamumuno sa Sektor ng Magsasakang Nasa Ilalim ng Pederasyon (de la Torre 1997) which is a testimony of the experiences of the farmers-members of a farmers' organization stresses leadership qualities such as: the capability to assist members in times of difficulties, initiative to lead, perceptive of the depth and range of problems, tactful and can articulate the sector's problems to officials in government. A person's appreciation of the magnitude of the problem reflects in her/his being one with the sector she/he represents.

Among the fisherfolk the *Pamumuno sa Sektor ng Mangingisda* (de la Torre 1997) is their testimony of the difficulty of performing leadership roles where the fisherfolk's situation becomes the crucial challenge which draws the leader to emerge. A contingency situation, as in the case of natural resource sharing of Lake Naujan in Batangas, provided some members from among the fisherfolk the opportunity to act and serve as leaders. Leadership is something that can be learned as experienced by the fisherfolk.

The Pamumuno sa mga Aeta ng Zambales (de la Torre 1997) shows the breakdown of indigenous leadership in the face of a natural disaster. The Aetas' relocation to lowland areas and their having to live with the lowlanders had partly resulted, out of necessity, in their acculturation, which, in turn, facilitated their adapting to the conditions of the lowlanders. While before, the

Aetas were isolated from the larger community, they now have to link with local formal leaders and the private sector for assistance. Given this changed condition, leadership roles for the Aetas would have to take on new forms, e.g., relating to the formal political and economic structures at the local level.

For the women's sector, leadership has to transcend gender bias and preconceived structural and cultural limitations on women's capacity for leadership. The *Pamumuno sa Sektor ng Kababaihan* (de la Torre 1997) details these preconceived notions of the role of women in society and poses the challenges to women to become leaders themselves.

Testimonies were also given by leaders from the following groups: workers' sector, urban sector, overseas migrant workers, and religious sector as well as in the ecology movement, in peace zones and in cooperatives. NGOs/POs played prominent leadership roles in these sectors, either as support group and/or facilitator. The requisites for leadership to be effective, as quoted, are (de la Torre 1997: 96):

- 1. Tulad ng katangian sa pagkatao: marunong makipagkapwa, bukas sa pagbabago, may paninindigan, may paglalaan ng sarili, matapang humarap sa isyu at suliranin, matalas ang paggagap sa isyu, at matalinghaga sa pagsasalita (Personal Attributes: knows how to relate with people, is open to change, has conviction and is a principled person, is selfless, has courage to confront issues and problems, has full grasp of issues, has ability to talk intelligently [translation supplied]);
- 2. Tulad sa pagtumbok sa angkop na estratehiya: paglulunsad ng konsultasyon, pag-uugat sa sektor, paggamit ng layunin upang mapabuti ang kalagayan ng sektor (Has ability to use appropriate stategies: consultation, sector analysis, effectiveness in attaining goals of uplifting the sector's conditions [translation supplied]); at
- 3. Tulad sa pagsisinop sa mga kakayahan: mga bagay na pinansyal, oras, suporta mula sa pamayanan at pamilya, pagbubuo ng malawak na network sa ibang samahan (Has ability to ensure effective use of capabilities in the management of resources, securing community and family support, and in mobilizing and consolidating coalitions/alliances [translation supplied]).

For NGOs and POs, the aforementioned requirements have served not only as guides to reflect on their leadership effectiveness but also as a means of assessing leader-member relationships in an organization and in the community.

# Towards a Research Agenda for Leadership Studies

What patterns do we see in these studies?

The studies reviewed in this paper support the following trends:

- (1) They tend to focus on the selection of political and administrative elite and their traits, and social, economic and political backgrounds. Where followers are asked, they are still to identify the traits, characteristics that they expect leaders to develop or inculcate, or behavior patterns which these leaders are expected to observe in their dealing with their constituencies.
- (2) Leadership tends to be viewed within the organizational context. It is associated with developing managerial skills.
- (3) With democratization, there is an emerging effort to look more closely into local community or grassroots participation in defining what they want in a leader and how they can develop leadership roles.
- (4) Aside from political and administrative leaders, the importance of developing responsible and accountable leadership in other sectors of the society is increasingly recognized.
- (5) Concepts of traditional and nontraditional leaders introduced a sense of dissatisfaction with highly politicized campaigns which focus on the personality of political leaders and not on issues affecting public interest.

Lodged in the ongoing social transformation (economic changes, decentralization, growing community of NGOs/POs) that is currently taking place in Philippine society is the seed of perhaps a yet inchoate but emerging leader-follower relationship which may usher in a new breed of local leaders.

From the foregoing studies, potential areas of inquiry which can form part of a research agenda for leadership studies are presented below:

(1) More studies have to be conducted in the area of leader-citizens' relations; the roles, responsibilities and requirements that characterize and govern this relationship. A wealth of studies already exists insofar as administrative/organizational leadership is concerned but citizens' relations with leaders (from the perspective of citizens) have yet to be systematically explored.

- (2) There is a need to do studies directed towards analyzing the opportunities, conditions and circumstances that give rise to effective leadership in organizational, political and community settings.
- (3) Research can also determine what the roles of NGOs and POs would be in developing the communities' capabilities for producing effective, committed and accountable leaders.
- (4) Leaders of NGOs and POs based in empowered communities bear the responsibility of sustaining the gains achieved by these communities. Researches can help identify what kind of leader-follower relationship can strengthen the foundations of Philippine democracy at the grassroots level.
- (5) Indigenous culture can be a strong and potent social force that leaders can direct to serve as integrative and unifying mechanism which can move leaders and the community towards solidarity and growth. Studies can be done to develop an indigenous framework that can help explain the nature and character of leader-follower relationship based on our indigenous values and practices.

# Endnote

<sup>1</sup>Distinction is made between NGOs and POs. Alegre (1996: 87) defines POs as primary organizations "composed of grassroots sectors such as urban poor associations, peasant associations, labor unions and other community- or sector-based organizations through which the poor majority exercise the prerogative to participate in the processes and systems of development work." Whereas, the Council for People's Development defines "NGOs as intermediary organizations that facilitate support for the expansion and strengthening of POs' capacities for engaging in development work." NGOs provide various support services to POs, including access to resources (organizational, technical, logistical and managerial), linkages and advocacy (Alegre 1996: 87).

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