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civil society organizations, ethnic-interfaith relations and democratization

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Also in this issue
IFP-PHILIPPINES' FIRST BATCH OF FELLOWS

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SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

VOLUME 31 NUMBER 2

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EDITORIAL

Jose C.J. Magadia, S.J.

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This issue of *PSSC Social Science Information* gathers some of the recent papers produced by the Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs (ACSPPA), an associate member of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC).

Since its founding in April 1986, the ACSPPA, a socio-political research institute of the Ateneo de Manila University, has been assisting many Filipino policy-makers and stakeholders in the effort to address the seemingly endless list of Philippine problems. Building on its strong academic base in one of the country's premier universities, the Center has worked consistently to contribute to the development of responsive government institutions and a conscientious citizenry, to promote political and economic reform in the Philippines, through solid policy research and advocacy.

This has taken place in the general areas of Economics and Politics, with a focus on social issues (e.g., labor, health, population, and education), as well as on elections and electoral change, civil society and state-society relations, church-state relations, political culture, institutional reform, international trade, the environment, macroeconomic analysis, local governance, and at times, globalization. Special interest has also been developed in addressing concerns with regard to one of the country's major trouble spots, Mindanao. In the pursuit of these objectives, ACSPPA has been aided by a vast network of contacts, which it has established from among sectors of Philippine society, including government (national and local), business, academe, religious groups, media, and most especially civil society.

Over time, the Center has sponsored activities in aid of policy research. These include the many conferences, fora, and roundtable discussions undertaken on key national issues. Moreover, ACSPPA has developed a specialized databank, participated in political advocacy, and occasionally provided capability-building programs.

Four research papers are brought together in this issue. These papers are working papers, aimed at developing further research. Thus, comments and suggestions will be most welcome. Two of the four works are focused on Mindanao, and the remaining ones on two critical areas of Philippine political development (local governance in the *barangay*, and state-society dynamics in national policy-making).

Rufa Cagoco-Guam, an adjunct fellow of ACSPPA, who is also a Professor at Mindanao State University in General Santos City and Director of its Center for Peace and Development Studies, writes a path-breaking piece on Muslim civil society. Professor Guam presents a survey and an analysis of ongoing initiatives in the development of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur, in recognition that such efforts go far in advancing development and democratization in Muslim Mindanao. At the end of her paper, Professor Guam makes some critical policy recommendations for more effective CSO development and involvement.

Rodelio Manacsa was teaching in the Ateneo de Manila's Department of Political Science when he wrote the literature survey on Mindanao that is reproduced in this volume. He was then also concurrently a research fellow of ACSPPA. Through this work, Professor Manacsa seeks to organize the understanding projected by the vast literature on Mindanao. In so doing, the paper reflects on the interrelations between the four major Muslim ethnic groups in Mindanao, and between Christians and Muslims in Mindanao.

It also makes an initial evaluation of the extent of the appropriation of a "Bangsa Moro" identity from a survey of literature. At present, Professor Manacsa is doing doctoral work in Political Science at Vanderbilt University in the USA.

Dr. Agustin Rodriguez of the Ateneo de Manila's Philosophy Department focuses on the general area of political culture. As a research fellow of ACSPPA, Dr. Rodriguez wrote this piece which uses the political culture optic to examine the viability of the barangay as a venue for effective governance. For this study, Dr. Rodriguez looked into the experiences of three urban barangays, and makes some tentative conclusions, which he hopes will lead to further research.

The fourth essay is my own paper which takes a closer look at the dynamics of the relationship between a democratic Philippine state, and the vibrant civil society which engage the state. This piece looks back to the initial democratic administration of President Corazón Aquino, and identifies the radical changes in disposition among state and society actors, that in turn facilitated the democratization of policy-making in the Philippines. This, in turn, contributed to the development of mechanisms for the democratic resolution of differences and conflicts between government and civil society. In the end, I emphasize the positive re-orientation towards a politics of interaction, that replaced the earlier paradigm of opposition between state and society.

It is our hope that these papers might help in advancing social science research in the Philippines, as well as make positive contributions to much needed reforms in Philippine policy-making and socio-political development.

José C.J. Magadia, S.J., Ph.D.

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an exploratory study of civil society organizations among muslim communities in two provinces in the autonomous region in muslim mindanao

RUFA CAGOCO-GUIAM

INTRODUCTION

Background and rationale

Civil society organizations (CSOs) or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have existed in the Philippine political landscape long before the dark years of Martial Law (1972–1985). Such formations were then considered “proto-NGOs” and existed as cooperatives, trade unions or as nationalist groups that opposed colonial rule (see Soledad 2002). However, it was only after the downfall of former President Ferdinand E. Marcos that these groups came to prominence. The post-Martial Law period opened democratic space in Philippine politics, thus paving the way for a wide variety of people’s movements and organizations.

Such nongovernment or private and voluntary organizations promoted the interests of sectors not considered main actors in Philippine politics like farmers, fisherfolk, the urban poor, women, indigenous and Bangsamoro peoples in areas dominated by Muslims in Mindanao. While the leadership and membership of these organizations are outside the orbit of Philippine mainstream politics, they are active in pressuring government to address problems arising from massive poverty, inequality and social exclusion, especially in the case of indigenous and Bangsamoro peoples. In this sense, these groups have tremendous

potentials in facilitating political participation of ordinary citizens (like the urban poor, farmers, etc) in both local and national governance.

The enactment of the Local Government Code of 1991 into law as Republic Act 7160 was an important milestone in Philippine local governance. For the first time in Philippine government history, a major legislative measure recognized the important role of NGOs and people’s organizations (POs) in local governance. In the past, these groups simply stayed away from the orbit of Philippine government operations since these groups challenged or protested a sitting government’s policies and decisions.

Despite this important provision in the Code, the participation of such groups (now currently lumped as civil society organizations, or CSOs) in governance, especially at regional and local government unit levels still leaves much to be desired. There are various factors at work that affect the levels of civil society organizations’ participation in local governance. In some areas, CSOs are more vibrant and dynamic and therefore more assertive of their rights to participate in local governance (see various papers cited in Silliman and Noble, eds. 1998). This is true especially in areas dominated by the majority Christian population, where there is a relatively high level of social and political consciousness among its community members. Another factor could be the proliferation of Christian-led CSO groups. These exist in almost all provinces in Mindanao.

But in Muslim-dominated provinces, cities and towns, such groups are still relatively few and mostly are in their initial or formative stage. Middle-class urban-based professionals usually initiate the formation of these groups, although leaders among basic sectors like farmers, fisherfolk and other urban poor groups also organize themselves in some Muslim communities. Among others are religious and missionary organizations especially those whose members go around to proselytize among non-Muslims who have expressed interest in Islam and those who help in the care of orphans of the armed conflict in Mindanao. The participation of these groups in local governance is nil in most areas even in the provinces included in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).

There is a need to look closely at these organizations in the ARMM to assess, albeit preliminarily, their potentials in widening democratic space in local governance, in promoting economic self-reliance and more importantly, in promoting sustainable peace and development in areas in the ARMM where Muslims are the predominant population. For the past several decades, the ARMM provinces have always been placed in the lowest rung of the country's socioeconomic development ladder. These provinces are in the country's Club 20, the collective euphemism for the 20 poorest provinces. Moreover, the ARMM provinces have borne the heaviest losses in terms of lives and property due to the protracted armed conflict in these areas. These have pushed the ARMM constituents further into abject poverty.

Objectives of the study

This preliminary study on civil society organizations in Muslim communities in two provinces in the ARMM aimed at the following:

- identification, description and profiling of ongoing civil society initiatives in the two provinces of the ARMM, namely, Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur;
- reviewing literature on civil society development in Mindanao in general and in the ARMM in particular;
- analysis of ongoing civil society initiatives in terms of whether these have potentials for

wider democratic participation of CSO groups in local governance and for promoting sustainable peace and development in the region; and

- formulating policy recommendations to enhance the development of CSO groups in order that they can become effective partners in the promotion of sustainable peace and development in the region.

Conceptual framework

Democratization processes require broad citizen participation in all aspects of local governance, especially in forging consensus on policies and concerns that could enhance citizens' roles in it. These include, but are not limited to, the promotion of economic self-reliance and sustainable peace and development among the communities in a local government unit's areas of responsibility. However, citizens' participation still remains minimal, despite lessons learned from the phenomenal EDSA People Power of 1986. The enactment of the Local Government Code in 1991 mandated wide people participation in local governance. Yet, meaningful participation of people's organizations and other civil society groups still remains an elusive goal. This situation is especially true in most of the areas belonging to the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.

Compared to other provinces and cities in Mindanao, those in the ARMM do not benefit from a vibrant and dynamic civil society. There are very few civil society organizations in the ARMM, and those that exist are mostly in their incipient or formative stage.

Like their counterparts in many Mindanao provinces and cities, civil society in the ARMM are quite varied, although the bulk of these organizations focus on pursuing the cause of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination. These groups range from purely religious, like those performing *daw'wah* (proselytization, i.e. *Tableegh* organizations) to secular-oriented service providers like the Kadtuntaya Foundation, Inc. (KFI). KFI is an NGO based in Cotabato City. One of its programs is providing livelihood assistance to depressed communities in some areas in the ARMM.

In this study, civil society organizations include all groups, associations and other formations that have the following characteristics:

- organized or formed outside of government operations, and do not receive direct assistance or funding from government, whether national, regional or local (local government units or LGUs) in their organizing activities. They may, however, be partners of government or provide technical assistance or consultancy services to some government agencies or offices;
- have their own organizational structure, policies and management systems;
- mostly funded by international nongovernment organizations or charitable institutions or by agencies channeling Overseas Development Assistance Grants;
- programs and projects are designed to alleviate poverty, promote social justice, peace and development, as well as to advocate for the recognition and attainment of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination;
- staff are recruited mainly on set qualifications standards, including commitment and dedication toward voluntary services rather than government-prescribed eligibility standards;
- are nonprofit-oriented although they could run some micro-enterprises as a way of promoting economic self-reliance;
- their existence as an organization is recognized by Philippine law or by appropriate bodies in the local government units where they operate in.

Scope and limitations

The present study used a purely descriptive research design, using key informant interviews and focus group discussions as its main sources of data. It also benefited from a review of the limited number of materials written on CSOs in Mindanao and in the Philippines in general, as well as from a directory of member-NGOs of the Mindanao Coalition of Development NGOs (MinCode).

Being exploratory in nature, the study was conducted within two months in key cities of two provinces in the ARMM. These are the cities of Cotabato (for Maguindanao province) and Marawi (for Lanao del Sur). While Cotabato City does fall under to the political jurisdiction of Maguindanao province, nor of the ARMM, it is the office location of many CSOs serving the needs of Muslim communities in the province.

In this study, the characteristics or indicators used to describe CSOs exclude two major nongovernment formations in the ARMM, namely the two major Moro rebel fronts, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and its breakaway faction, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Armed groups, though nongovernment, are not part of this study.

While the role of the two fronts, particularly the MNLF, is very significant in shaping the course of history in the region, the two groups are excluded mainly because they deserve to be carefully analyzed in a separate study. Be that as it may, their role in molding the present levels of political consciousness among the Muslims in the region will be recognized and be given appropriate treatment in the historical background of the areas covered in this study.

Furthermore, this study limits itself to CSOs or NGOs which are organized or led by Muslims and which also serve the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities in the two provinces in the ARMM. It does not include Christian-led NGOs or CSOs which extend services to Muslim communities although some of them are mentioned in the proceeding sections. Moreover, it does not include business organizations in the ARMM even if these are organized by Muslims. The study's definition of CSOs excludes organizations that aim at generating profits or monetary returns on investments of its members.

One of the difficulties faced by the research team was the timing of the data gathering phase. It was conducted during the month of fasting or *Ramadhan*, which, in year 2002 was within November 6 to December 5. All the key informants (KI) and participants in the focus group discussions (FGDs) are Muslims. *Ramadhan* is the holy month of sacrifice during which Muslims abstain from food and drink,

even from water or their own saliva, from sun up to sundown. It was quite difficult for the team members as the key informants and participants in the FGDs were quite tired, weak and unwilling to participate in the discussions during the day. As a consequence, the team members conducted KI interviews on "installment" basis, at least two parts for each KI.

Methodology

This research project is purely descriptive in design. Data were gathered using the following techniques:

- Key informant interviews. These were conducted with NGO/PO leaders in the two areas covered by the project. The interview schedule contains questions relating to the informants' involvement with NGO or PO organizing, as well as activities initiated by the NGOs or POs they have established. It also contains questions on the informants' views about the role of CSOs in socioeconomic development as well as in the promotion of peace and development in the areas their NGOs or POs operate in. In addition, it also contains a section on their policy recommendations for strengthening their respective organizations, especially in participatory governance and sustainable peace and development in the areas they work in. Twelve key CSO leaders were interviewed for this study. (Please refer to Annexes for the KI schedule and the FGD guide)
- Focus group discussions with NGO officers and members in their communities or offices using guide questions that elicited the following information: level of organization of the NGO or PO, profile of clients or partners, nature and scope of work as well as areas covered, achievements/accomplishments of their respective NGOs or POs, sources of funding (if informants are willing to share this information) on going initiatives or projects, suggested policy recommendations. A total of 23 CSO officials participated in the two FGDs conducted for this study.
- Review of secondary materials and unpublished materials on NGOs and POs in the areas covered.

The research team gathered pertinent resource materials on NGOs and POs not only in Mindanao, but also those operating nationwide. One of the main materials reviewed for this short-term study is the directory of NGOs and POs affiliated with the network of the Mindanao Coalition of Development NGOs or MinCode. This was published in 2001. Other materials include the book edited by G. Sidney Silliman and Lela Garner Noble, *Organizing for Democracy, NGOs, Civil Society and the Philippine State*, and various papers on civil society presented at the International Conference on Public Administration Plus Governance held on 21-14 October 2002 at the Manila Hotel. (Please refer to Bibliography and Reference sections of this report)

On the whole, there is a dearth of materials written on the establishment and development of civil society groups in Mindanao in general, and in the ARMM in particular. This does not mean there are very few of such groups here. On the contrary, based on the FGDs, there are numerous such formations in the ARMM. However, these groups have not been made subjects of papers or articles presented in regional or national forums or published in professional journals. In the papers presented at the International Conference on Public Administration, only NGOs and CSO groups in key cities in the Philippines were surveyed in the 1999 Philippine Nonprofit Sector Project. Another reason for the lack of documentation on the CSO groups in the ARMM is their being unregistered with the office of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the national office tasked to accredit or give legal identity to such nongovernment, voluntary groups. Being unregistered, these groups do not have a "legal" existence and are not present in the SEC records.

Areas covered by the study

The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao is composed of five provinces, namely Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Basilan, Tawi-tawi, and Sulu, and the city of Marawi in Lanao del Sur. For this two-month exploratory study, only the provinces of Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur were covered. Due to constraints in time and resources, the research team had to limit data gathering to two cities, in Marawi (for Lanao del Sur NGOs/CSOs) and Cotabato City (for Maguindanao

NGOs/CSOs). Some key informant interviews had to be conducted in Iligan City (for Marawi and Lanao del Sur-based NGOs), in the cities of Cotabato, Koronadal and General Santos for NGOs/CSOs serving Maguindanao Muslim communities. CSO leaders in the two research areas are quite busy and mobile, and the research team had to adjust to their very limited time for the KI interviews. So the team members had to be where they were holding meetings just to catch up with them.

Maguindanao Province: A brief profile

Maguindanao is one of the five provinces that are now included in the ARMM in a plebiscite conducted in Mindanao in the year 2001. It used to be a part of the once biggest province in the entire country, the Empire Province of Cotabato until its creation as a separate province on 23 November 1973. The late President Ferdinand E. Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 341 creating three separate provinces from the Empire Province, namely: Maguindanao, Sultan Kudarat and Cotabato. Two other provinces from the former Empire Province have been created. These are South Cotabato and Sarangani Provinces.

Maguindanao is bounded on the North by Lanao del Sur; on the east by Cotabato province; on the south by Sultan Kudarat, and on the west by the Moro Gulf. The province is accessible by air through the Awang Airport in the municipality of Datu Odin Sinsuat; and by sea through two ports in Parang town.

With a total land area of 547,410 hectares, Maguindanao province is one of the smallest provinces in the Central Mindanao geographic region. It has a predominantly flat terrain, with undulating hills and mountains. Its climate is suited highly for agriculture, and its main crops are rice, corn and coconuts.

As of the year 2000, the province has a total of 22 municipalities and more than 600 mostly rural barangays, with a total population of 801,102. Major dialects spoken in the province are Maguindanaon, Cebuano-Visayan, Tagalog and Teduray. Sixty eight percent of the population are Muslims, the rest are

Christians of different denominations. Small communities of indigenous peoples, the Teduray, are found in the mountain towns of Upi, South Upi and Ampatuan. The capital town of the province used to be Sultan Kudarat during the administration of its former governors. Currently, the provincial governor is completing the transfer of the provincial capitol to his hometown in Shariff Aguak.

Maguindanao is one of the 20 provinces included in the country's "Club 20," the popular euphemism for the country's poorest provinces. All of its 22 towns are classified rural, with very low revenues. The dominant political families in the province are members of the Maguindanaon royal families who trace their ancestry to the sultans who ruled the once glorious Maguindanaon and Buayan sultanates in Mindanao long before the coming of the Spaniards and the Americans. In the latest United Nations Development Programme's Philippine Human Development Report (PHDR 2000), Maguindanao province ranks 75th among 77 provinces in terms of its overall Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is a composite indicator that includes life expectancy rates, functional literacy, per capita income, primary and high school enrolment rates. Ranking is based on a total number of 77 provinces throughout the Philippines. The number of provinces has since then increased to 79 in the current year (2002), with the creation of Compostela Valley in 2000 and Zamboanga Sibuguey in 2001.

Table 1 shows a comparison of some selected socioeconomic indicators of Maguindanao province within the period of 1997 and 2000. Statistical data are culled from the 2002 PHDR.

Table 1 shows that within the three-year period, from 1997 to 2000, Maguindanao's HDI rank slid three places down the bottom. It ranked 75th among 77 provinces in the year 2000. Its poverty incidence increased 12 points, which means an increase in the number of people living below the poverty line. Life expectancy also decreased slightly from 53.2 years to 52.6 years, while its functional literacy increased. Its per capita income, however, decreased from PhP21,915.00 (US \$413.49) to PhP19,967.00 (US \$376.00).

Table 1. Selected socioeconomic indicators for Maguindanao

Year	HDI rank	Poverty incidence	Life expectancy at birth	Functional literacy	Per capita income
1997	72	24.0%	53.2 years	68.71	PhP 21,915.00
2000	75	36.2%	52.6 years	71.1(female) and 75.8 (male)	PhP 19,967.00

Maguindanao province was, and still is, one of the hardest hit by armed encounters between the forces of the Philippine military and the MILF. According to the Ecumenical Commission for Displaced Families and Communities Monitor, from January to April of 2000, a total of 10,398 families have been displaced from various upland towns in Maguindanao due to heavy fighting between the MILF and the Philippine military forces. At an average of six members per family, this number translates to roughly 62,388 individuals. But most Maguindanaon families are extended, i.e., they are composed not only of the members of the immediate or nuclear family, but also relatives from either the husband's or wife's families. This could mean up to more than 100,000 people affected by the sporadic, intermittent armed conflict in the province. Many of them have not gone back to their original places of residence; they are still with relatives in safer places, i.e. Cotabato City and nearby Cotabato province.

Lanao del Sur: a brief profile

Lanao del Sur is the traditional homeland of the Maranaw ethnolinguistic group. The famous Lake Lanao, which is the main source of Mindanao's hydroelectric power, nestles at the heart of the province. Like Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur is among the smallest provinces in Central Mindanao, with only 385,000 hectares as its land area. The seat of local government is the component city of Marawi. Both Lanao del Sur and Marawi City have opted to join the ARMM in the plebiscite conducted in 2001.

The province of Lanao del Sur is bounded on the north by its sister province, Lanao del Norte; on the east by Misamis Oriental; on the west by Illana Bay, and on the south by upland towns belonging to both

Maguindanao and Cotabato provinces. Generally, the province is mountainous and is blessed with even rainfall and temperature all throughout the year. It is naturally gifted with enormous rivers and lakes (with the famous Lake Lanao as its biggest and most scenic). Among its major crops are rice, corn and vegetables, especially those which thrive in cool climates. It boasts of rich natural resources like lake fishes, hydroelectric power and timber. In addition, the province is known to hold vast deposits of mineral resources including chromite, basalt, andenite, manganese, gold, copper, pyrite ore and coal deposits. Its people are also skilled in brassware and in handloom weaving.

As of the year 2000, Lanao del Sur has a population of 669,072 residing in 37 municipalities.

Despite the seeming abundance of its natural resources, Lanao del Sur has always been one of the poorest provinces in Mindanao and of the entire country. Like Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur is ranked among those with the lowest Human Development Index among 77 provinces all over the Philippines for the period 1997 to 2000. Table 2 shows some selected socioeconomic indicators for Lanao del Sur. These data are culled from the PHDR 2002.

Table 2 shows that there was not much change in the province's status from 1997 to 2000 except for the increase of more than eight points in poverty incidence. Its functional literacy rate also increased by almost five points. However, its per capita income decreased within the three-year period. The province had more poor people in the year 2000 with decreasing incomes.

The increase in poverty levels could be attributed to the deteriorating peace and order conditions in the province starting in the early part of 2000, after the declaration of an "all-out war" by former President Joseph Estrada against the MILF. Lanao del Sur, like Maguindanao, is the location of a significant number

Table 2. Selected socioeconomic indicators for Lanao del Sur

Year	HDI rank	Poverty incidence	Life expectancy at birth	Functional literacy	Per capita income
1997	73	40.8%	56 yrs.	59.31%	PhP16,145.00
2000	73	48.1%	56.9 yrs.	64.2%	PhP15,936.00

of important camps of the MILF. Many of its mountainous towns are known to be the lairs of the group, and these were the target of heavy shelling and bombardment by Philippine military forces. Consequently, thousands of families from the mountainous barangays and towns evacuated to “safer places,” in the cities of Marawi and Iligan (Lanao del Norte). Fighting between MILF and the Philippine military was heavy in the towns of Butig, Tubaran, Lumbayanague, Marogong, Kapatagan, Kalanogas and Balabagan (see Cagoco-Guiam et al. 2001).

The armed conflict in Mindanao: a brief history

With a population of about 18 million in 2000, (NSO *QuickStat*, 2000) Mindanao, the second largest island in the Philippines, is seen by many Filipinos as some kind of a frontier—a land of promise, but also a dangerous territory. Mindanao evokes contrasting images of abundant natural resources and extreme poverty; of war and peace, of development of some of its key cities and the increasing impoverishment of its

Figure 1. Map of Maguindanao showing newly created towns

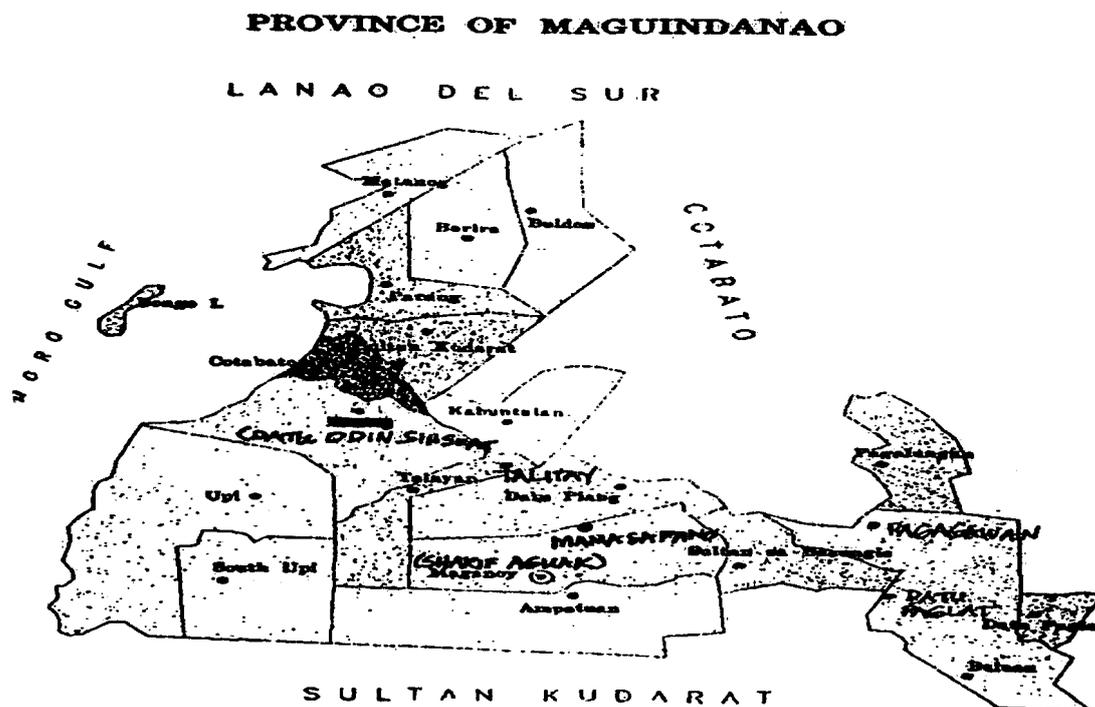
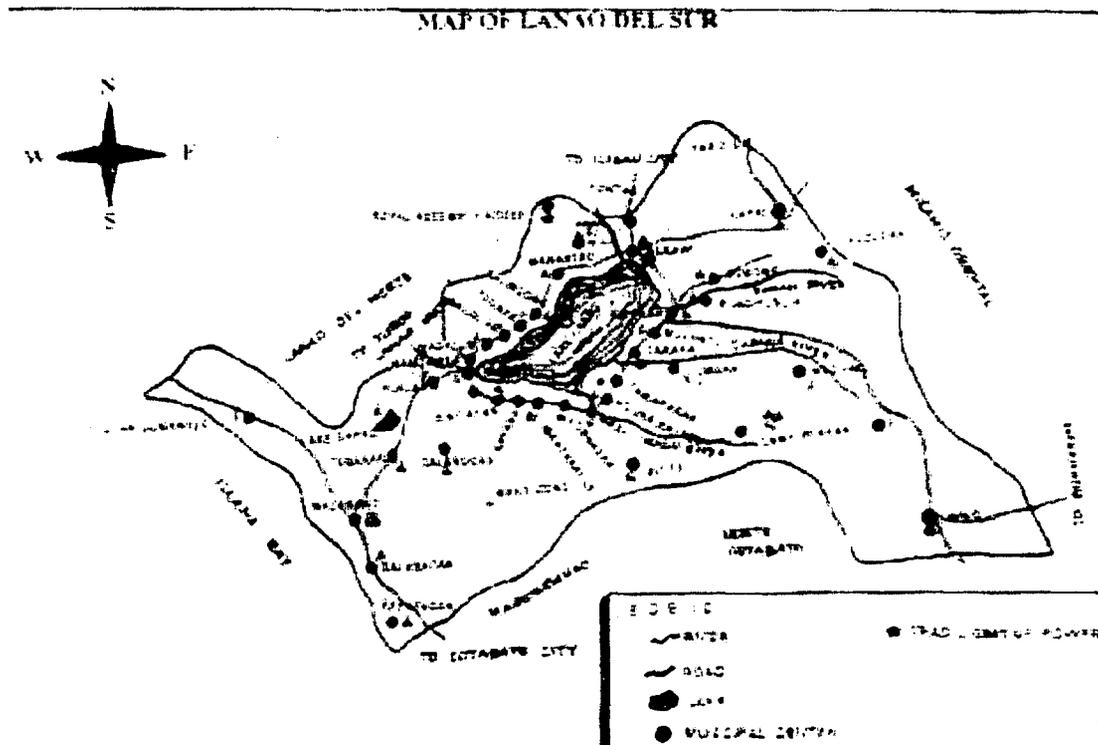


Figure 2. Map of Lanao del Sur



mountainous and landlocked provinces. Of the country's 77 provinces (as of 2000), the five component provinces in the ARMM are in the bottom ranks in terms of their over-all Human Development Index: Maguindanao (rank 73); Lanao del Sur (rank 74); Tawi-tawi (rank 75); Basilan (rank 76) and Sulu (rank 77) (see *PHDR 2002* for details).

Before the onset of colonial rule in the Philippines, Mindanao Muslims (referred to as "Moros" by the Spaniards) were already organized, socially, politically and economically, in sultanates. The sultanates evolved as quasi-nation segmentary states whose territories and areas of influence increased or decreased depending on the over-all leadership abilities of their sultans. In the sultanates, lineage and kinship combined with more elaborate organizations for production and defence. The wealth of the sultanates was based on their flourishing long distance bulk trade with China and Arabic countries in the Middle East, including Yemen. This long distance trade had brought in not only traders but also Arab Islamic missionaries to Mindanao, Sulu and Tawi-tawi. This paved the way for the Islamization of many areas in Mindanao as early as the 12th century. (Muslim and Cagoco-Guiam 1999).

It is important to note the role of the sultanates in Mindanao history. The sultanates, coupled with Islam as a way of life, provided the anchor for Mindanao Muslims upon which to base their distinctive identity as a people separate from the Christianized peoples in Luzon and the Visayas. Mindanao Muslims invariably invoked this distinctiveness in their centuries-old struggle against foreign domination, including the Philippine national government based in Manila.

For more than three centuries (late 1500s-1898), the Spanish colonial government in Manila used the Christianized peoples in Luzon and the Visayas to fight against the "Moros" of Mindanao in the Spanish government's pacification campaigns. Despite some Spanish footholds in northern, eastern and south-western Mindanao, the Spaniards failed to colonize the Muslim-dominated areas. The Moros put up a fierce defiance against Spanish colonial rule. Although Spain failed to establish political control over the Moros and the territories of the sultanates, it led to the eventual decline of the sultanates, undermining their economic base through trade blockades and relentless armed campaigns.

The United States of America defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War from 1896 to 1898 in Manila. Both the US and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, that ended the war and gave the US full possession of the Philippine archipelago, including Mindanao.

Both Spanish and US colonial rule started a process that has irreversibly altered the demographic composition in Mindanao. Where once they were numerous and dominant in numbers and political influence, the Muslim Moros soon became a minority in Mindanao. Through central government-sponsored migration, land-seeking and land-hungry Christians from Luzon and the Visayas came to Mindanao in droves. In the late 1960s, the heavy influx of migrants to Mindanao had reduced Muslims to around 25 percent of Mindanao's population, from about 75 percent at the turn of the century. Mindanao's most productive agricultural lands were taken over by settlers growing rice, corn and coconuts, or transnational corporations producing rubber (in Basilan), bananas and pineapples (Central and Southern Mindanao). Wealthy loggers from both Luzon and the Visayas who were influential with Manila-based national government officials grabbed giant concessions and started deforesting Mindanao.

These developments, coupled with colonially imposed land laws that did not recognize Moro customary law (*adat*) on land stewardship, gradually built up feelings of resentment among the Muslims against the central government in Manila. In addition, heightened tensions and animosities between progressive settler populations and the impoverished and minoritized Islamized groups gradually evolved into pocket wars and skirmishes in the 1960s and early 1970s. The first two years of the 1970s saw the birth of the Moro National Liberation Front, a revolutionary movement led by then University of the Philippines professor Nur Misuari.

The MNLF emerged in the wake of a resurgence of Islamic identity among Philippine Muslims who felt oppressed in the hands of a Christian-dominated government. They felt excluded and thereby margin-

alized in the Philippine body politic. A series of incidents convinced many Muslim intellectuals and even politicians that armed struggle was the only way to redress their grievances and to attain their right to self-determination. Foremost among these incidents was the Jabidah Massacre in March 1968 where more than 20 Muslim Tausug youth* were allegedly killed by Christian military forces under instructions from their chief of staff who worked under the command of former President Marcos.

After a series of fierce fighting between MNLF and the Philippine military forces in the early 70s, negotiations took place in various places both within and outside the country. A split within the MNLF also happened late in that decade (sometime in 1978). This split led to the formation of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

The MNLF became the rallying symbol of the Moro struggle for self-determination, the goal of which was to defend the Bangsamoro homeland and Islam as a way of life of its peoples. The MNLF made it clear that their target was the Philippine government rather than the Christian population. By 1975, the MNLF had become a popular revolutionary movement enjoying almost universal support from Muslims both in the country and abroad. Moreover, it was also instrumental in the formation of a collective consciousness among the Moro Muslims (or Bangsamoro, as both the MNLF and MILF refer to themselves and to the people in the ancestral homeland of the Islamized groups in Mindanao). In the past, many Muslims felt insulted whenever they are referred to as Moro/Moros. This was due to the pejorative or derogatory connotation of the word as used by the colonial administrations of both Spain and the US. With the rise of the collective consciousness of being historically distinct from the rest of the Christianized Filipino population, the Moro groups started to use the word as a badge of honor and considerable pride in not having been subjugated by foreign domination.

The negotiations that took place in the mid-1970s led to the signing of the Tripoli Agreement between the MNLF and the Philippine government. But no

*Investigations on the incident failed to establish the truth behind it and several versions of the story exist. But many Muslims believe that government under Marcos was solely responsible for the carnage, and it was enough to jumpstart the so-called "Moro" insurgency in Mindanao (see also Muslim 1990 and Cagoco-Guiam 2002).

sooner had the ink dried in the document, hostilities between the MNLF and Philippine army broke out in several places in Mindanao. Massacres of Muslim communities took place, and in retaliation, armed Muslim militias also staged their own gory rampage among hapless Christian civilians.

In 1986, after the historic EDSA People Power revolt, Corazon Aquino, assumed power as the first president after Martial Law. One of the first things Aquino did during her first year in office was to talk to Misuari and the MNLF leaders in Sulu. This led to another series of talks that culminated after the Aquino administration—during the term of Pres. Fidel V. Ramos.

On 2 September 1996, the Final Peace Agreement between the MNLF and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) was signed in the presence of the leaders of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). The signing was considered a benchmark in the checkered history of Mindanao, and was considered a “crucial step” in the long and arduous process of constructing peace in Mindanao (Stankovitch and Carl 1999).

Presently, post-conflict multi-donor development programs are put in place in the communities ravaged by the almost three decades of war. However, the first two years of the new millennium saw a violent resurgence of the war in Mindanao. This time, the fighting is between the breakaway MILF forces and the Philippine armed forces. Violent pocket skirmishes between the two forces in many upland areas in the ARMM have opened old wounds and resurrected feelings of resentment, hatred and prejudice between Christian and Muslim populations in the area.

Under the administration of Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the talks with the MILF have repeatedly been called off and there has been an exchange of accusations on both sides. Despite the appointment of Mindanao-based negotiators in the Philippine government panel, progress in the MILF-GRP talks seems to be at snail-pace and always overtaken by more controversial events that also tend to harden the stance of both parties. One of such events is the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Center towers in New York. The bombing was attributed to the global network of terrorism led by Osama Bin Laden, who had been reported to have close links

with the MILF. Such accusations have led to the suspension of the MILF-GRP talks in the middle of 2002.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section presents a review of both published and unpublished materials on civil society groups in the Philippines in general and in Mindanao and the ARMM in particular. As already mentioned earlier, there is a dearth of literature documenting various aspects of CSO work and activities in their respective areas of coverage. The present study will fill some gaps in the fund of knowledge on CSOs and their role in the processes related to democratization and in sustaining peace and development especially in the Mindanao context.

Overview of CSOs in the Philippines

The universe of NGOs or what is now referred to as CSOs in the Philippines is quite immense. One of the earliest estimates was done in June 1993. Using figures from the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) as basis, Gerard Clarke estimated that more than 58,000 NGOs were registered (Clarke as cited in Silliman and Noble 1998, 10). These groups were mostly composed of grassroots organizations of basic sectors like farmers, fisherfolk, taxi and jeepney drivers, market vendors and urban poor groups. Unfortunately, no recent estimates have been made. But given the current pervasiveness of citizen activism as shown in many mass actions against government policies, it would be safe to surmise that the 1993 estimates would have doubled or even tripled in the current year (2002).

Civil society organizations or its synonym, NGOs, have long been at the forefront of citizen activism in pressuring government to address various social problems, notably those that relate to endemic poverty, citizen participation in governance and currently, the search for lasting peace in Mindanao. This aspect of CSO work, however, is poorly documented and the scant materials available are found in various sources, as part of a collection of papers in a series on the Philippine Democracy Agenda, or lately as papers presented in an international conference on Public

Administration. One landmark book gathered such papers in 1998, in *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society and the Philippine State*, edited by G. Sidney Silliman and Lela Garner Noble.

Published by the Ateneo de Manila University Press, the book brings together research on NGOs, their programs and their political consequences in the early, mid until the latter part of the 1990s. This period was quite significant in Philippine NGO history. It opened windows of opportunities for wide citizen participation that started with the original People Power Revolution in 1986 along the now famous EDSA (Epifanio delos Santos) road in Metro Manila. In 1991, the Local Government Code was passed in the Philippine Congress. It was a landmark legislation in terms of granting NGOs recognition and participation in local governance through local special bodies like Local Development Councils.

In its introductory article, the book defines NGOs using John Clark's descriptions of an NGO as "any voluntary organization that is independent of both the government and the private business sectors..." The authors in the book also differentiate two key groups within the Philippine NGO community as grassroots organizations (often referred to as people's organizations—POs) and grassroots support organizations (referred to as NGOs).

Karina Constantino-David's history of Philippine NGOs (in Silliman and Noble 1998, 26–48) summarizes the range of groups lumped under the heading NGO and makes several classifications of groups that are considered NGOs. Constantino-David distinguishes the various NGO formations according to their basic units and higher level formations.

In mapping the terrain of civil society, Constantino-David distinguishes among individual, membership-based NGOs, ideological forces and institutions/agencies. Individuals whose work intersects with civil society issues are called Non-Government Individuals (NGIs), while membership-based groups include professional, academic, and civic organizations (PACOs), and grassroots POs. POs are further divided into government-run and initiated POs (GRIPOs), and genuine, autonomous people's organizations (GUAPOs.) GUAPOs have organized themselves beyond the community and/or workplace through sectoral and geographic alliances.

As for ideological forces, these include organizations or formations that propose alternative ideological or political paradigms, e.g. communism, national democracy, popular democracy, socialism, democratic socialism, social democracy and liberal democracy. According to Constantino-David, these ideological forces influence directly or indirectly a significant number of POs and civil society institutions. For institutions and agencies or development NGOs, there are five main groups:

- Development, justice, and advocacy NGOs (DJANGOs)—this group includes regional coalition of development NGOs like the Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODE-NGO), which has a Mindanao counterpart, the Mindanao Caucus of Development NGO networks (MINCODE); Women's Action Network for Development (WAND)
- Traditional NGOs (TANGOs)—these are composed of charitable, welfare and relief organizations like Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, and similar philanthropic organizations that helps in distributing relief goods to marginalized individuals and families.
- Funding Agency NGOs (FUNDANGOs)—include foundations and grant-giving organizations that are linked to grassroots organizations through the provision of financial and other forms of support.
- Mutant NGOs (MUNGOs) — these are groups or organizations created to take advantage of the "avalanche of funds from foreign donors" and government's decision to engage NGO services in the implementation of various government programs. This group can be further subdivided into four subgroups, namely,
 - √ Government-run and initiated NGOs (GRINGOs)—as the name implies, these are "extensions of the state and personal interests," and are set up by politicians and government officials;
 - √ Business-organized NGOs (BONGOs)—created by business persons as a way of dodging government taxes, and as vehicles for quelling labor unrest and for enhancing a business firm's public relations. Some of these are the foundations established by

big multinational companies or by media giants in order to project a benevolent company image and at the same time evade taxes;

- √ NGO entrepreneurs, which Constantino-David refers to as COME NGOs—these are fly-by-night organizations that package proposals and disappear immediately with the funds that donor agencies give them.

Aside from tracing the beginnings and evolution of civil society groups in the country, Constantino-David also described various challenges and issues confronting civil society actors in the Philippines. She noted that while there is inter-NGO unity as expressed in coalition building efforts, there are also tensions that grip the NGO community. These tensions could be the result of ideological differences, power dynamics between more powerful and resource-rich NGOs and the POs they have organized; and the dilemma between commitment and the aspiration toward professionalizing NGO work, making it a professional career. There are other issues related to the sustainability of NGOs, and there are a host of responses that the author has listed to answer this problem. Another more serious issue is dealing with an increasingly NGO-friendly state that opens spaces for advocacy, but still largely in control of the agenda for public discourse.

The book contains chapters on Philippine NGOs that confront specific problems like rural and urban poverty, environmental degradation, and those that serve the interests of the marginalized and impoverished indigenous peoples. The last part of the book documents various NGO initiatives toward participatory governance at the local level, in the provinces; and how citizen movements can enhance the type of democracy that the Philippines has.

Of particular interest to this study is the chapter on environmental activism, written by one of the editors, Lela Garner Noble. The chapter documents the initiatives of environmental activist organizations in four key Mindanao cities, namely Davao, Cagayan de Oro, Iligan and Marawi.

The organizations had one unifying goal: to raise awareness of, and eventually mobilize ordinary citizens to participate in mass actions to oppose environment-

ally destructive government projects and programs. Another similarity that Noble noted among the organizations in the four Mindanao cities was the tendency for the organizations to work actively for environmental activism not in the cities where they were based, but in nearby areas that are the locales of government development projects. Except for the Save Lake Lanao Movement in Marawi City, the organizations in the three other cities worked to make people aware of impending environmental disasters that could be caused by government projects in upland areas.

Noble concludes that even for alternative structures like NGOs, the significance of economic and political power, including access to weaponry, are demonstrated in many civil society efforts to block government projects that are perceived to be destructive to the citizenry. Environmental activism has demonstrated that Filipinos can change the course of history in terms of shifting the balance of power in local and national politics, although such changes may be temporary and not long lasting. But as Noble put it, quite optimistically, "...they provide basis for hope, for the environment, for the people and for the political system" (Noble in Silliman and Noble 1998, 216).

In 1999, the Ugnayan ng Pahinungod of the University of the Philippines and the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project of the Institute of Policy Studies of the Johns Hopkins University jointly conducted an organizational survey of the Philippine Nonprofit Sector Project in four key cities in the country—Baguio, Makati, Iloilo and Davao. The cities were chosen because each hosts a relatively large number and kind of nonprofit organizations (Barlis 2002, 1).

The project described the management of civil society and nonprofit organizations in the Philippines using survey data from the four cities mentioned earlier. The project came up with a structural definition of civil society and nonprofit organizations that had been developed by the JHU-Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. The following table shows basic elements of this definition.

Based on the parameters spelled out above, Barlis made a profile of all the NGOs/CSOs and nonprofit organizations that her team surveyed in the four cities. She concluded that all organizations satisfied the

Table 3. Structural-operational definition developed by the JHU-CNSP*

Criteria	Definition	Dimensions and manifestations
Organized	Institutionalized to some extent	Rules, internal organizational structure, legal incorporation; activities, organizational identity, organizational goals
Private	Institutionally and structurally separate from the government	No significant influence of government in decision-making, separate from the instrumentalities of government, does not exercise government authority
Self-governing	Equipped to control its own activities; independent of other organizations	Board of directors, constitution, internal governance procedures, meaningful degree of autonomy
Nonprofit distributing	Not distributing profits generated to its members and directors	No profit-sharing among members, founders or governing board; organization's primary goal is not to generate profits
Voluntary	Involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation; existence of organization not required by law	Volunteers engaged in operations and management; membership is non-compulsory; existence of organization, involvement or contribution is not required by law

*Refer to Barlis 2002, p. 2.

structural-operational definition they have developed and analyzed the management components of the surveyed organizations.

The surveyed organizations cited vision/missions that ranged from fostering camaraderie, unity and harmony to the promotion of unionism, advancement in education, training, rights and welfare of children and youth; values formation, provision of religious services, development of entrepreneurship, small-scale industries and addressing housing and land ownership issues. Barlis also noted that most of the surveyed organizations had simple, vertical organizational structures, and were in existence for at least more than ten years.

It is worth noting that while the surveyed organizations are all private and nongovernment, most of them considered government as a primary partner. This is true to the nonprofit organizations in three cities except in Makati which are mostly religious organizations, and therefore do not consider government as a primary partner.

In terms of revenues, respondent-organizations get their income from the following sources: government grants and contracts, private donations, transfers from parent organizations, churches and other institutions, economic enterprise-based fees, membership dues and endowment or investments. These incomes are also spent on the following items of expenditure: programs and projects, administrative expenses (for both regular

and project-based staff, staff training and development, utilities and office space rental), operating expenses and other minor expenses like capital expenditures, depreciation costs, and interest expense on loans payable (where applicable).

Among the most important issues and challenges facing the respondent organizations, funding related problems ranked first in all the cities covered by the study. Membership-related problems ranked second while staffing-management problems ranked third. Government policies-related problems ranked fourth.

Decision-making function in the nonprofit organizations is a management function shared by the board, the heads of the organizations and the general assembly.

The author recommends a deeper study into the structures, cultures and experiences of organizations in order to help us understand better the peculiar organizational dynamics of nonprofit organizations and CSOs.

In terms of the receptivity of CSOs and other voluntary organizations to work for the promotion of better local governance, a comparative study was done by Prof. Ladylyn Mangada in the provinces of Samar and Leyte in the Visayas. Data from the study was mainly through informal interviews with key leaders of voluntary groups in the two provinces especially in the 4th and 6th class municipalities there.

In both provinces, Mangada documented that community-based organizations there “positively responded to the new challenge of actively assisting the local government units toward the development of autonomous and sustainable communities” (Mangada 2002, 8). Many of the NGO key leaders in the two provinces sit in a number of mandated and non-mandated special bodies and “successfully dip their fingers into the rough-and-tumble world of politics as *konsehal* and *kapitan* in their locality” (*Ibid.*). Consequently, local government units in the two provinces have learned to treat voluntary groups not merely as beneficiaries, but also as active partners in planning, monitoring, implementation of projects and programs affecting their own lives.

The present study is an additional resource in terms of the various concerns on NGOs, CSOs, nonprofit and voluntary organizations. One of the contributions of the present study is its being the first exploratory study on these organizations in a region that has been considered as inhospitable to such organizations (refer back to the earlier section). Secondly, the literature on NGOs are largely focusing on similar organizations among the majority Christian communities in Luzon and the Visayas. There are only very few of such studies in provinces in Mindanao where the population is predominantly Muslim.

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARMM

This section presents a profile of civil society organizations in the two provinces in Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur. Data are culled from key informant interviews, focus group discussions and from the directory of Mindanao NGOs compiled by MINCODE in 2001–2002.

As noted earlier, only those CSOs or NGOs/POs that are established by Muslims for the benefit of their fellow Muslims or for other marginalized groups in the two provinces are part of the coverage of this study. Thus, this section does not include data on CSOs established by religious groups (various Christian sects and by the Catholic Church) although they may have benefited the Muslims in the areas of study.

CSOs in Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur

In this study, three main types of CSOs have been identified according to their vision/mission and objectives. These are: 1) resource and service centers and groups; 2) mutual benefit associations and cooperatives and 3) *daw'wah* groups.

Resource and service centers or groups include NGOs that claim to build capacities and skills of their beneficiaries to make them participate in the “development mainstream.” Generally, they act as providers of technical assistance and small grants to their beneficiary communities for small projects and programs that promote empowerment of member communities or individual members.

The second type of groups is composed mostly of cooperatives or federations of cooperatives which are organized mainly to uplift the living conditions of individual members or groups which are members of federated or bigger groups of cooperatives. These groups are also called mutual benefit associations because of their main goal of helping each member in the association to have sustainable income-generating projects. In this study, only three such groups were represented in the FGDs although the research team members are aware of several such groups in the ARMM. The listing on Table 4 only includes those that are registered either with the Securities and Exchange Commission or the Cooperative Development Authority (CDA). The two are government offices created by the national government in Manila that grant legal identity or status of nongovernment organizations (SEC) and to cooperatives or similar groups (CDA).

The third type of organizations considered in this study is the “*daw'wah*” (proselytization) groups. These are groups of Islamic religious functionaries, like *ustadz* (teachers), *imam* (religious preachers or leaders), and *ulama* (learned men in Islam). It is difficult to document such groups as most, if not all of them have not registered with either the SEC or the CDA. For this study, two participants in the FGDs are members of a group of *ustadz* that provide religious instructions to week-end *madrasah* (schools in Muslim communities that teach in Arabic) in various Maguindanao towns.

A more detailed discussion on these groups is found in subsequent sections.

According to the FGD participants, there are more than a thousand of such groups all over Muslim communities in the ARMM but they are loosely organized and are largely voluntary in nature. They are also poorly funded, as most of their honoraria as religious instructors are taken from voluntary contributions of their pupils' parents. In the depressed communities of Maguindanao, parents can hardly put up the minimum contribution (ranging from PhP 20.00 to 50.00) for each of their children every month. These groups rely largely on donations and other endowments from charitable religious groups from abroad or from local leaders or professionals. Some groups, like the Women's Islamic Foundation Assembly (WIFA) based in General Santos (but have beneficiaries in the ARMM), solicit used clothing and other useful items from professional Muslims to distribute to their less endowed and marginalized counterparts.

As shown in Table 4, all the 23 NGOs or CSOs included in the listing made for this study started their existence in the late 1980s: from 1987, 1988 to 1989. Some of them did not come into being until the early 1990s; others still were newly organized, like the Institute for Strategic Initiatives (2001) and the Social Services for Grassroots Community Development (December 2001). Both organizations hold office in Cotabato City, but serve Muslim communities in the provinces of Maguindanao and Sultan Kudarat. The latter province is part of another administrative region, Region 12, but adjacent to Maguindanao province which belongs to the ARMM.

The period from late 80s to the 90s coincided with the opening of the so-called democratic space that started during the assumption of Pres. Cory Aquino to office after the fall of former Pres. Marcos. The decade of the 90s also saw an intensification of civil society efforts to widen the participation of ordinary citizens in local governance. This was the reality not only in the Christian majority communities, but also among the communities of Bangsamoro Muslims in southern Philippines. This is an indication that the Bangsamoro Muslim communities at that time were also attuned to developments in the communities of their majority Christian counterparts. Such efforts led

to the passing and subsequent approval of the Local Government Code of 1991 in Philippine Congress.

CSOs in the ARMM are formed outside of government operations, although those included in this study admit that they need to interact with government in terms of SEC or CDA registration. They do not receive funding from government although some of them are partners of government or providers of technical assistance to either local government units or regional government line agencies. Moreover, CSOs have their own organizational structure, policies and management systems that do not necessarily conform to government systems of fiscal or resource management.

ARMM CSOs are characterized by the same indicators of nonprofit, voluntary nongovernment organizations as defined in the Philippine Non Profit Sector Project structural operational definition, as provided for by the Johns Hopkins University study on voluntary organizations in 1999.

1. Resource or service centers or groups

Of the 23 organizations in the list on Table 4, 21 are considered to be resource or service center type of CSOs. As resource or service center CSOs, the 21 groups/institutions have vision-mission statements that tend to converge on the theme of empowerment, capability and skills building, promotion of a just and humane society among ethnic Bangsamoro communities in the ARMM, for their beneficiary communities to join the "development mainstream." Such vision mission statements imply the commitment of the CSOs to uplift the marginalized status of their fellow Muslims in the ARMM in order to be at par with their majority Christian counterparts in terms of access to opportunities for development.

Like their counterparts in key cities in the country (refer back to Barlis' paper, the CSOs and NGOs in the two ARMM provinces claim to have been organized to address certain needs of marginalized and depressed communities. In an interview with one CSO leader, foremost among such needs is capability and skills building of marginalized communities. He believes this need cannot be addressed effectively by government, but rather through collective action among the members of such communities. Thus, it is important

Table 4. Some civil society organizations serving the ARMM*

Civil Society Organization	Address	Year organized/registered with SEC	Vision/Mission
Al Jumiah Al-Khairiah Bil Filipin, Inc. (Al-Khairiah, Inc)*	Al-Khairiah Offc., Inc. Sultan Kudarat Islamic Academy, Bulalo, Maguindanao, Cotabato City Email: kudarat@microweb.com.ph Tel no.: (064) 421-4386	March 1, 1988 SEC: August 30, 1988	To serve as the nucleus of an independent community effort to generate an Islamic progress movement that can propel people's renewal towards a wholesome family life
Al Muqsit Multi Purpose Cooperative **	c/o No. 7. Blk 14, Sta. Filomena Street, Notre Dame Village, Cotabato City	1994	To enhance the income of the members
Bangsamoro Women Foundation for Peace and Development, Inc. (BMWFPDI)*	Dr.1 Salic Apt. Rodrigo St. Cor. Espino St. Cotabato City Email: bmwf@microweb.com.ph Tel no: (064) 421-6156	November 15, 1996 SEC November 15, 1996	V: Empowered Bangsamoro women who are healthy, self-reliant, just, progressive and God-fearing in the environment that is democratic, culture friendly and life nourishing M: To harness the potentials of the Bangsamoro women; promoting and accelerating their participation through programs that will enhance their capabilities
Coordinating Council of Muslim Organizations of the Philippines**	Al-Borhan Church, Don E. Sero St., Cotabato City Tel no: (064) 421-3975	March 6, 1990 SEC July 10, 1991	V: To promote, conduct and encourage advancement of industrial technology, business, trading, health, social sciences as well as in humanities and other field of human endeavor through specific development project and activities M: To acquire, purchase, operate, develop, use mortgage pledge and exchange, sell, transfer, or other aim in any manner permitted by the law
Gender Advocates of Lanao del Sur	c/o Dipsy Maruhom, 11-A 8th Street, MSU Campus, Marawi City		V: Promote gender awareness among Bangsamoro women in Lanao del Sur
Institute for Strategic Initiatives**	2nd Floor, Uy Bldg., Magallanes St., Cotabato City		V: Provide options for just pacification and rapid development of Muslim Mindanao. Through policy activism, promote concrete understanding of the Mindanao conflict
Kabulnan Watershed Tree Growers Multi-Purpose Cooperative, Inc.	Bgys. Saniag and Salman, Ampatuan, Maguindanao	1997	
Kadtuntaya Foundation, Inc.8 (KFI)*	2-3F Demonteverde Bldg., Doña Pilar St., Poblacion 4, Cotabato City	1989	V: A politically empowered, economically sufficient and environmental sustainable and gender conscious communities peacefully co-existing in equality and respect and prosperity.

* This is not an exhaustive listing. This is synthesized from the Directory of NGOs prepared by the Mindanao Caucus of Development NGOs (MINCODE), 2002-2003 and from the KI interviews and FGDs. Those which are culled from the directory are marked with asterisks and those from the KI interviews and FGDs are marked with double asterisks.

Civil Society Organization	Address	Year organized/registered with SEC	Vision/Mission
KALIMUDAN, Inc.**	Marawi City, Lanao del Sur	1994	<p>M: To facilitate the empowerment of the people especially the grassroots so that collectively they can improve their sociocultural, economic and political well-being.</p> <p>V: An empowered self-determined Moro community, where men and women of various cultures have access to and are able to manage all their local resources in a sustainable fashion</p> <p>M: To be a center to raise awareness, mobilise and enable partners in development to take actions in issues, situations and events that affect the well-being of the Maranaw people</p>
Kristiyano at Muslim Para sa Tunay na Kalayaan at Demokrasya (KAMBAYABAYA, Inc.)*	1 Corner Quezon and J. Heras Sts., Cotabato City	October 26, 1986 SEC January 5, 1983	<p>V: KAMBAYABAYA will primarily cater to all existing urban poor communities, organized or unorganized, to educate them about their basic rights, their status and their role in nation-building and on some extent mobilize them for their demands and aspiration.</p> <p>M: To work for orderly peaceful living condition. To struggle for every possible peaceful means and principle. To unite and coordinate against any form of exploitation and oppression. To educate urban poor populace of their rights and privileges.</p>
Local Council for Social Development – Central Mindanao*	2-3F Demonte Verde Bldg., Doña Pilar St., Cotabato City Email: guiamel@microweb.com.ph	1989	<p>V: A politically empowered, economically sufficient and environmentally sustainable and gender-conscious communities peacefully co-existing in equality and respect and prosperity.</p> <p>M: To facilitate the empowerment of the people especially the grassroots so that collectively, they can improve their sociocultural, economic and political well-being.</p>
MA'ALJAMAH Development Foundation, Inc. **	Sheikul Qura Bldg., Bagua II P.O. Box 545 Cotabato City	1998	<p>V: To establish a Muslim community based on its cultural inheritance</p>
Maguindanaon Development Foundation, Inc. (MDFI)**	Odi Street, Pantua Village, Koronadal City	1987	<p>V: TRI-PEOPLE (Muslim, Lumad, & Christian) in SOCSKSARGEN and Maguindanao Provinces become self-sustaining communities and are empowered to effectively address social, political, cultural, economic, ecological, and spiritual needs and concerns. Able to fully participate in the pursuit of and benefit from a social environment where there is</p>

Civil Society Organization	Address	Year organized/registered with SEC	Vision/Mission
			equitable distribution of resources, genuine agrarian reform, social justice, and meaningful people participation in development activities.
MARADEKA**	Marawi City, Lanao del Sur	1999	M: To seek the social and economic development of the TRI-PEOPLE. V: Empowerment of Bangsa Moro Community especially the Maranaw communities
Nuron-Nisa Multi-purpose Cooperative**	Taviran, Datu Odin Sinsuat, Maguindanao	August 28, 1996 (registration with CDA and SEC) although organized in 1995	V: To build livelihood skills among Bangsamoro women in the Western Kutawatu State Revolutionary Committee of the MNLF in order to make them productive members of society. V: Empower women in the context of Islam and the Maranaw tradition M: All Maranaw women be empowered
Ompongana o mga Bae sa Ranao (OBAERA)**	Lanao del Sur	1999	M: To promote mutual understanding between Muslims and Christians
PAKIGDAIT, Inc**	Lanao del Sur	2000	V: Hope to reach a strong and viable women
SALAM Women's Group, Inc**	Lanao del Sur	2000 SEC: May 24, 2001	M: Create and enhance awareness, provide access and appropriate skills, promote women's spirituality
Sarung Bangun Foundation (SBF)*	2F CVF Bldg., Gov. Lim Ave., Zamboanga City Email: edlim@mozcon.com Tel no: (062) 993-1092/991-2237	September 7, 1997 SEC 1997	V: Development of Muslim Areas through the enhancement of the culture and history. M: Making the Muslim population capable of joining the development mainstream.
Social Services for Grassroots Community Development (SSGRCD)**	Bagua 2, Usman Subd., Cotabato City Tel. No. (064)421-9355	December 18, 2001 (SEC registration)	V: We envision a collective that will sustain its standards of innovativeness, progressive and participative leadership in addressing the social needs of the poor and marginalized communities. M: To empower grassroots communities in developing leadership and organizational management skills that are essential for the sustainability of any donor-assisted project
Women Indigenous Focus for Enhancement, Inc. (WIFE, Inc.)**	Odi St., Pantua Village, Koronadal City	1992	V: To be an effective and sustainable organization of Muslim/cultural community women committed to serve for the enhancement of cultural/indigenous communities through women initiatives and active participation/involvement in community developmental activities for social, political, education, economic, cultural, and health (SPEECH) development in the community.

Civil Society Organization	Address	Year organized/registered with SEC	Vision/Mission
Women Islamic Foundation Assembly, Inc. (WIFA)**	c/o Bai Amira Kusin, Lanzones St., General Santos City	1990	M: To see Moro people follow the mandates of the Holy Koran and the rules of Allah (s.w.t.)
Yakan Integrated Resources Development Foundation, Inc. (YIRDFI)*	Garcia Bldg., Rizal Ave., Lamitan Basilan Tel no: (062) 200-3280 local 308	January 21, 1987 SEC October 19, 1987	V: The establishment and buildup of a socio-economic resource for service delivery to client, technology transfer for client, and agency work directed towards the expansion of opportunities for economic sufficiency, managerial capabilities and social enhancement of the disadvantaged sector of Basilan Province. M: YIRDFI aims to develop programs which will provide for the productive client; the dignity to earn, to share, to participate in community development and be a continuing member of community.

that these communities should be organized and later on, institutionalized so that they will be sustainable.

As resource center-type of CSOs, these organizations are able to initiate activities that they believe will lead to the empowerment of their beneficiary communities. Among the activities mentioned are the following: community organizing skills trainings, conflict resolution trainings, functional literacy and numeracy, barangay development planning, strategic planning, gender awareness trainings, health programs, livelihood skills trainings, leadership skills trainings, basic management trainings, cooperative building, project management trainings, peace advocacy trainings. Most, if not all of the organizations listed on Table 4 had undergone community organizing skills trainers' training. Their trainers are then deployed to the communities where the CSOs are working. For many of them, community organizing is basic in CSO work. Without this phase in their programs, the CSO leaders believe that they will not succeed in achieving their vision/mission and their objectives.

Conflict resolution skills and peace advocacy trainings are usually conducted by CSOs primarily aimed at fostering a peaceful and just society among their beneficiary communities. For instance, *Pakigdait*, *Maradeka* and *Obaera* which are all based in Lanao del Sur mentioned such activities as among their core concerns.

Pakigdait is a Cebuano-Visayan term that means "mutual understanding." It was organized at the height of the "all-out war" policy declared by Pres. Estrada in the year 2000. Many communities in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte had to flee to safer places after their houses and other precious belongings were destroyed during heavy bombardment and exchange of gunfire between MILF rebels and Philippine military soldiers. As a result of the resurgence of the armed conflict in this part of Mindanao, both Christian and Muslim communities experienced casualties. This led to a resurfacing of the old wounds brought about by the war in previous years. Old animosities and prejudices resurfaced. Both Maranaw and Christian CSO leaders in the province thought that the strained relations that resulted from a resurgence of the war in Mindanao could be addressed through the organization of a group that would help facilitate the healing process. This gave rise to the formalization of *Pakigdait, Inc.*

On the other hand, functional literacy and numeracy trainings are among the main concerns of service centers that assist marginalized women in the communities they are working in. Among the CSOs that specialize in this type of trainings are *Kadtuntaya*, *WIFE, Inc.*, and the *Maguindanaon Development Foundation, Inc. (MDFI)*. The latter two are based in *Marbel City, South Cotabato*, while *Kadtuntaya, Inc.*

Table 5. Most frequently cited missions of CSOs in Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao

Province	Most Frequently cited Missions of Respondent Organizations
Lanao del Sur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • empowerment of Bangsamoro community (men and women, young and old) • promote gender awareness among Bangsamoro women • promote mutual understanding between Muslims and Christians • work toward the development of communities with strong and "viable" women promoting self-determination of Bangsamoro society • to harness the potentials of the Bangsamoro women; promoting and accelerating their participation through programs that will enhance their capabilities.
Maguindanao	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • facilitate the empowerment of the people especially at the grassroots level • empowerment of the Bangsamoro women thru skills acquisition, capability building • making the Muslim population capable of joining the development stream • establish a Muslim community based on its cultural inheritance • to empower grassroots communities in developing leadership and organizational management skills that are essential for the sustainability of any donor-assisted project • facilitate institutionalization of grassroots communities • promote participative leadership • work for orderly peaceful living conditions • provide options for a just pacification and rapid development of Muslim Mindanao • promote cultural understanding through policy activism • to serve for the enhancement of cultural/indigenous communities through women initiatives and active participation/involvement in community developmental activities for social, political, education, economic, cultural, and health (SPEECH) development in the community. • to harness the potentials of the Bangsamoro women; promoting and accelerating their participation through programs that will enhance their capabilities.

is based in Cotabato City. While these CSOs are not located in the ARMM, their major clients or partners are marginalized communities in the ARMM, especially Maguindanaon Muslims in Maguindanao province. One of the resource center CSOs that has been serving Muslim communities not only in the ARMM, but also in other provinces in Central Mindanao received an award for being an outstanding functional literacy provider in 2000 from the Department of Education, Culture and Sports National Office for its national nonformal education program. This is the WIFE, Inc.

In addition to functional literacy, the three CSOs just mentioned are also engaged in livelihood skills trainings as well as provision of small livelihood grants to its clients. This is part of the economic components of their organizations, in order to promote economic self-reliance and enhance the income-generating capacities of their development partners. Usually, the livelihood component is part of the package of services that the CSOs provide to their clientele. The package

starts with a community organizing component, after which organized communities or groups undertake training in business planning and conceptualization of micro-income generating projects that are usually family-based. In the case of WIFE, Inc., they engage women members of households as the holders of the micro-income generating projects.

Some of these CSOs also organize people's organizations or cooperatives in the communities they work in. As such, they help facilitate the sourcing of funds for these groups and connect these groups with funding agencies both in the country and abroad. They therefore act as conduits of the flow of funding from the fund source to the beneficiary NGOs.

Still another activity done by CSOs in the ARMM is the provision of technical support for some government agencies or marginalized groups that are the beneficiaries of Official Development Aid (ODA) projects. These are being done by the Institute for Strategic Initiatives (ISI), Kalimudan, Inc., Social

Services for Grassroots Community Development, Inc., Kadtuntaya, Inc., MDFI, WIFE, Inc., and practically all of those identified as resource or service center CSOs.

Most of the leaders of the resource or service center type of CSOs in the ARMM are highly educated. The lowest educational achievement of the heads of these institutions is being a college undergraduate (See Table 6 for details).

Table 6. Educational profile of CSO leaders

Educational level	No.	%
Undergraduate	2	9.5
Bachelor's degree	9	42.9
Bachelor's degree, with professional status (government licensure exam passer, e.g. MD, ATTY., CPA, Engr., etc)	3	14.29
Graduate level	5	23.81
Post graduate level, w/PhD units	2	9.5
TOTAL	21	100

As Table 4 shows, the majority of the CSO leaders interviewed for this study are college graduates (nine or 42.9%). Two of the CSO leaders interviewed are civil engineers by profession, but chose not to practice their professions and instead organized their own CSOs together with some trusted friends and colleagues in the local NGO community. Another one is a JD (*Juris Doctor*, or Doctor of Laws) and a practicing lawyer. He used to be the provincial election officer of one province in Region 12 (Central Mindanao), but decided to resign to devote his spare time directing a "forward-looking" CSO, the ISI. ISI is based in Cotabato City. Its clients, however, are local government units in the ARMM and some ARMM-specific line government agencies, like the Regional Commission for Bangsamoro Women.

It is also interesting to note that a significant number of the interviewed leaders are with graduate degrees, (five or 23.81%). These degrees include Master's in Public Administration (4) and Master's in Rural Extension and Development (1). Two interviewees have earned units for a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree. This implies that CSO leaders are able to put their theoretical knowledge to practice in their respective

training and capability building programs. This is a good example of blending theory with praxis.

Perhaps because they are highly educated and exposed to national coalitions and networks of national and international NGOs, many of the CSO leaders have conceptualized various ways at forming a larger network of CSOs and other voluntary organizations in the ARMM, especially among their fellow Muslim CSO leaders. In Cotabato City, for example, the Bangsamoro Civil Society Consortium has been organized in the early part of 2002. While the organization is still in its formative stage, it holds a lot of promise for the unification of CSO efforts in the ARMM, especially among an ethnically diverse group like the Bangsamoro Muslims in southern Philippines.

2. Mutual benefit organizations or cooperatives

As the name implies, CSOs classified as mutual benefit associations or cooperatives are aimed at benefiting the members. According to one key informant, there are numerous mutual benefit associations and cooperatives in the two provinces covered in the study. However, it is difficult to make an enumeration of all of them because many of them have no legal status, i. e. they have not been registered with either the SEC or the CDA. For this study, only three cooperatives were covered, mainly because they are registered and their representatives were able to attend the FGDs conducted by the research team.

After the signing of the Final Peace Agreement between the Philippine government and the MNLF leadership, several cooperatives were organized among the 20 MNLF "state revolutionary committees" in various parts of what was then called the Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD). The SZOPAD comprised of 14 provinces and 10 cities in Central, Western, and Southern Mindanao, including Palawan. This special area was specified in Executive Order 371 signed by former President Fidel V. Ramos after the signing of the Peace Agreement with the MNLF (see Muslim and Cagoco-Guiam 1999). In MNLF "jargon," a state could be composed of several towns, cities or provinces where a commander holds the loyalty and respect of communities that have supported the MNLF ever since the war in the 1970s. Such communities may

or may not be contiguous or adjacent, as long as the members pledge loyalty to one member. So it is possible that one "state" straddles two or three provinces that do not belong to the same region or different towns that do not belong to the same province (see Cagoco-Guiam 2001).

At an average of at least three cooperatives per "state," there would have been 60 of such organizations in the SZOPAD. These cooperatives were organized by the commanders of the MNLF in their respective states, with the technical assistance and funding support from the United Nations multi-donor program that was put in place starting 1997. There has been no assessment so far on the status of these cooperatives, but one key informant claims that many of these have disbanded after the funds for their projects were depleted. This information is corroborated by another informant who used to be the subcenter manager of one component in the UN-multi-donor program of assistance. He also organized a cooperative in Cotabato City and is now a member of its Board of Directors.

The activities of cooperatives and mutual benefit associations are limited to pre-membership orientation and a series of organizational meetings to formalize the group. Then, members who are more knowledgeable on the process of registration are tasked to facilitate this process for the benefit of the organization. In many cases, however, the members are either too busy or ignorant of the registration process that members will no longer be motivated to have their group registered. In the case of the tree growers cooperative in Ampatuan, it had to register with CDA in order to attain a legal status. This was a requirement for any organization that will become a project holder of a Social Forestry contract awarded by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). At present, the cooperative is engaged in tree planting in the areas included in the Kabulnan watershed (two barangays in Ampatuan, Maguindanao, namely, Saniag and Salman). The cooperative has planted various species of hard wood and fruit trees in more than 2,000 hectares of reforested areas in Bgys. Saniag and Salman.

In the case of Al Muqsit Cooperative, the members have so far been implementing the usual credit extension to themselves. A member is allowed to apply for either a cash or rice loan in the amount of their share capital. The members rely on their own

contributions for their share capital and other monthly dues in order to continue operations.

One cooperative that has shown a good track record in implementing projects and activities aside from the normal or usual coop operations is the all-women Nuron-Nisa Multipurpose Cooperative based in Bgy. Taviran, Datu Odin Sinsuat, Maguindanao. A former member of the MNLF women committee, together with some of her MNLF women comrades, organized the cooperative long before the signing of the Final Peace Agreement. However, it was not until after the signing of the agreement that the cooperative registered itself with the CDA.

For the past six years, the Nuron-Nisa MPC has conducted various livelihood skills trainings among its members ranging from sewing, food processing, embroidery, poultry production, agricultural production (backyard garden vegetables), jewelry making, and handicraft making (especially bag making using Maguindanaon handwoven cloth as accent or main material of the bags). The members also avail of micro-credit from the cooperative for their micro-business ventures like sari-sari (variety) store, and other family-based income generating projects. The cooperative is one of the most successful in the Federation of Bangsamoro Women Cooperatives that was organized through the UN-multi-donor program of assistance in the SZOPAD. Its office cum workshop in Bgy. Taviran is often showcased to foreign donors as a successful output of the UN-funded ODA.

Another mutual benefit association is the newly organized group of former Overseas Contract Women Workers (OCWs) in the town of Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao province. After they returned from their overseas work in other countries (usually in the Middle East like Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Dubai, Kuwait), these women decided to band together to help each other in various ways. They have started meeting in small groups to come up with ways to increase their incomes. According to the FGD participants, they have so far started with a handloom weaving project using their own money (from their savings) as capital. They are not yet registered with either the CDA or the SEC. However, they have started joining coalitions and have attended several meetings called for by the Consortium of Bangsamoro CSOs spearheaded by the Kadtuntaya Foundation, Inc. and the Ma-Aljammaah Foundation,

Inc., both based in Cotabato City. They have also participated in skills training for promoting participation in local governance conducted by the two resource centers in Cotabato City. The women members believe that they need to interact and become members of bigger CSOs, especially resource centers in order to avail of some financial assistance to their group.

3. *Daw'wah* or proselytization groups

"*Daw'wah*" or proselytization groups are composed of Islamic religious functionaries, like *ustadz* (teachers), *imam* (religious preachers or leaders), and *ulama* (learned men in Islam). As mentioned earlier, there is difficulty in documenting these groups as many of them are not registered with either the SEC or the CDA.

Three participants in the FGDs and one key informant in the interviews are the main source of this discussion on this type of CSOs in the ARMM.

First, these groups, as their name implies, are aimed at proselytization in the Islamic way of life. One group is named Women's Islamic Foundation Assembly. The members promote a better understanding of Islamic precepts among its members as well as with Muslim women they interact with. One of the requirements in Islam is the prescribed mode of dressing among Muslim women. While there is a range of variation in the way the *hijab* (veil) is worn among Muslim women in different parts of the world, there is a common understanding among them on what is proper and what is not. Among the WIFA members, they wear the *hijab* in a way that closely resembles the Middle Eastern, specifically Saudi Arabian style. This is the use of long, loose and usually thick dress coupled with either a black or white (or neutrally colored) veils worn around the head, covering the hair and ears. Attractive colors like bright reds and greens are usually shunned, while muted browns and greys in addition to either black or white are usually preferred.

Part of the tasks of these groups of CSOs is to distribute relief goods to depressed communities especially during the time of Ramadhan, or during periods of calamities and natural disasters. The WIFA also spearheads the solicitation of financial assistance for the benefit of fasting communities during Ramadhan, during the *buka* (breaking of the fast).

In other parts of Maguindanao province, several *ustadz*, *aleem* and *imam* band together to promote the teachings of Islam, not only to non-Muslims (for their conversion), but also among the children and the youth in their respective communities. These groups are largely voluntary and the members who engage in teaching Arabic and the *Qurán* to children during the week-ends in the community madrasah are not paid regularly for their services. In some communities, the parents of the children also make voluntary contributions to help the *ustadz* or *ulama* maintain the week-end classes regularly. They also solicit contributions from more wealthy Muslims, either from the professional sector or from local politicians who are Muslims.

Some of the more successful of these groups have formed spin-off groups of Muslim converts from among the settler communities in different parts of Mindanao. The members of these groups call themselves "Balik-Islam" based on their perception that they have "returned" to the fold of Islam, implying that originally, everyone in the world was oriented in Islam. They are usually former Christians of varying denominations and have adopted the Islamic way of life. Many of these converts have Arabic first names but with Hispanized family names, like Santos, de la Cruz, etc. Some of these converts also volunteer to proselytize in the name of Islam in their home provinces either in the Visayas or in Luzon. They are usually distinguishable with their religious garb, long white gowns matched with a fez or a small white hat.

CSOs AND THEIR ROLE IN DEMOCRATIZATION AND SUSTAINING PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES OF ARMM-CSO LEADERS

This section discusses the views and opinions of the CSO leaders interviewed for this study as well as those of the participants in the two focus group discussions. It also includes the issues and challenges that confront the CSOs as they continue their efforts toward promoting a better society for their beneficiary communities.

Civil society and the state

In the Philippines, as in many developing countries in the Third World, state mechanisms to address social ills and inequities have largely been weak and inadequate. Such a situation calls for citizen activism and initiatives that are developed and nurtured through the organization of voluntary groups in civil society. Coronel-Ferrer writes that in the Philippines, "societal ills, poverty, oppression, inadequate policies and programs, natural and man-made disasters, have been instrumental in the growth of civil society..." (Coronel-Ferrer 1997).

John Clark, a fellow at the Institute of Civil Society, London School of Economics agrees. In a paper presented at the 1st International Conference on Public Administration Plus Governance, Clark noted that "...today's political systems...have failed to keep up with the pace of economic and technical change." He observes there is a "democracy deficit" in many countries in the world today, and that this is due in part, to "...issues affecting the lives of ordinary citizens being made increasingly in political forums or corporations where their voices are not heard..." (Clark 2002, 4). This "failure of national governments to wrestle effectively with global challenges has exposed the deficiencies of democracy and created a vacancy for new policy actors..." (Ibid, 1).

As also discussed in Constantino-David's paper on the historical background of NGOs or civil society in the Philippines, the impetus for the rise and growth of these voluntary, nongovernment, nonprofit organizations in the country has been the instability of the Philippine political processes. Philippine society is credited to be a strong civil society type, thanks to the instability and weaknesses of government policies and programs.

Given this backdrop, CSOs are largely adversarial to government. In some cases, they contest government actions, as in the case of the environmental NGOs in Mindanao that questioned government programs that were perceived and proven to be environmentally unsound.

The CSO leaders interviewed for this study recognize the need for a SEC or CDA registration. This indicates that while many of them are quite critical of

the weaknesses and inadequacies of government, they still need government mechanisms to grant them "legal" status. All participants in the two FGDs recognize the difficulty of operating without a registration. For instance, for mutual benefit associations or cooperatives that enter into a contract with government to access ODA funds, a CDA registration is a requisite. Without it, the group cannot submit a bid for any project that is to be facilitated through a government line agency.

One cause for the existence of CSOs is government's inadequacies, says one CSO leader. "We fill the gaps that government functionaries cannot perform efficiently. We become service providers for their capability building needs," says a young lawyer who now heads a CSO that was given a government contract to formulate a Sustainable Integrated Area Development Plan for a major portion of Maguindanao province. In addition, he is the consultant of various local chief executives or mayors of towns in Maguindanao. He and his staff of equally young Maguindanaon professionals provide technical assistance to the mayors and their staff on how to run their respective local government units efficiently. Their latest government contract was to assist a regional line government agency during its strategic planning conference. Their office organized the program, made arrangements for the venue, speakers and facilitators as well as the documentation of the entire duration of the ARMM Regional Commission for Bangsamoro Women Strategic Planning Conference.

Still another collaborative activity with government that ARMM CSOs engage in is the implementation of ODA funded projects that require NGO participation. For instance, projects under the World Bank-funded Social Fund are publicized so that NGOs with solid and unblemished track records that fulfill criteria set forth by the WB-SF project management committee can bid for them. Again, a SEC registration is a requirement to be able to bid for ODA-funded projects. In this case, the NGO chosen to implement the project has to coordinate closely with government functionaries tasked to oversee it. The NGO that gets the contract has to deal with the local government bureaucracy, with all its concomitant red tape. In some cases, NGO leaders also have to contend with the

predilection for bribery among some government officials, which most NGO and CSO members call euphemistically as “standard operating procedures.”

As mentioned in the earlier section, the passage of the Local Government Code of 1991 was a significant break-through for civil society actors. The Code provided for a regular government mechanism in which NGO representatives can sit as a voting member. This is the Local Development Council. The NGO community in a certain town, city, province or barangay can elect its representative to the Council. The Local Development Council acts as a clearing house for local development projects and also gives the stamp of approval for such projects to be implemented in the town, city, province or barangay.

Not all CSO leaders are convinced that they can make a difference in the deliberation of such projects. Many of them believe that whatever participation they have in the local development councils is only at best a gesture of tokenism on the part of government. They consider it tokenism or lip service because in many instances, the NGO representative in the council gets to know about a new project only on the day of the council meeting. A key informant explains that there has been no serious attempt on the part of the LGU to inform the NGO representative several days ahead so that he or she is able to study a development proposal and to make counter-arguments if the proposal is quite inimical to the interests of the community in general. “Our representative there sits as a token of government recognition,” says one key informant.

Civil society and their role in the democratization process

As previously noted, the democratization process requires broad citizen participation in local governance. Civil society leaders in the ARMM believe that what the government promotes through the Local Government Code of 1991 still leaves much to be desired. First, as shown in the preceding section, the participation of an NGO representative in the local development council is still considered a gesture of “tokenism” on the part of government officials. Secondly, the prevalence of the phenomenon of “warlordism” in some towns in both Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao tends to deter citizen activism.

One participant in the FGD recalls what happened to one Maguindanao CSO leader in the mid 1990s in Cotabato City. This leader as well as some of his followers was quite active in the promotion of just and fair elections. He became one of the first Muslim NGO leaders who joined the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). Through the local media, the leader exposed the irregularities in one provincial election in the mid 1990s. He was about to go to the office of the local print media establishment to present the files of evidence he has gathered during his monitoring activities as part of the NAMFREL. While he was coming out of his residence, a lone gunman in a motorcycle shot him dead. To this day, nobody knows who ordered the assassination and what the motive was. But media practitioners allude to the leader’s crusade against electoral irregularities as the prime motive for the shooting.

The fear of becoming a “dead hero” is enough to deter any well-meaning citizen to work actively for democratic reforms. However, CSO leaders are aware that they need to “turn the tide,” so to speak, in terms of what is currently happening in the depressed towns and barangays in the two ARMM provinces covered by this study. But they believe this will take some time. Old traditions and habits that are inimical to the promotion of citizen participation in local governance, i.e. warlordism and political patronage, are difficult to discard in places where such traditions have given rise to political “dynasties.”

CSO leaders further believe that they are still able to work for the promotion of broad citizen participation in local governance through capacitating their marginalized beneficiary communities. Thus they conduct various trainings aimed at ultimately empowering their beneficiaries economically and politically. They believe that the latter type of empowerment will follow after their development partners become economically self-reliant. If ordinary citizens are contented and have sustainable sources of livelihood, they are able to perform their duties and responsibilities as constituents in a democracy. Such duties include voting in both local and national elections, paying taxes and respecting the rule of law in their day-to-day transactions. However, in many places in the two provinces, these duties are not exercised by ordinary citizens mainly because of the intervention of warlord and/or traditional “trapo” politicians.

CSOs and their role in promoting and sustaining peace and development

Majority of the CSOs in the ARMM are not solely aimed at promoting and sustaining peace and development in their areas of coverage. However, because many of their activities are geared toward empowerment of their beneficiaries or partners in both the economic and political aspects, the cumulative effects of their efforts can be considered as generating the necessary conditions to promote peace and development.

For instance, resource or service centers among the CSOs in the ARMM provide micro-credit facilities for their partners or beneficiaries. While very small scale, this facility can generate a sustainable livelihood for marginalized families in the areas where the CSOs work. Since members of these families are preoccupied with their livelihood projects, they will be among those who would shun activities that can disrupt peace and order in their communities. Among the activities that can be avoided by CSO beneficiaries are petty crime, social disturbance, and even joining the rebel group in inciting communities to rise up in arms against the established government.

Among the ARMM CSOs that provide this type of service are: Kadtuntaya Foundation, MDFI, Kalimudan, Inc., Nuron-Nisa MPC, Bangsamoro Federation of Women's Cooperatives, and the WIFE, Inc.

Some CSOs in the ARMM are geared toward better cultural understanding between and among the diverse peoples in the region, i.e. Muslims, Christians and the indigenous communities (popularly called *Lumad*). As such, they conduct educational forums and other seminar workshops where lectures on the historical background of the conflict in Mindanao are given by Mindanao-based historians and resource persons. Through these forums, beneficiaries learn about the historical roots of the conflict and go through workshops to formulate steps toward lessening the levels of animosities between groups that have been at war in southern Philippines. The CSOs that extend services like these are also those who provide small-scale or micro-credit to its beneficiaries, like the ones mentioned above.

Still other CSOs are primarily organized for purposes of interfaith dialogue. One of the forerunners of this type of dialogue in southern Philippines is the Silsilah Movement based in Zamboanga City.

The Silsilah Movement was formed out of a series of initiatives from both Muslim and Christian CSO leaders in Mindanao that responded to the call of Vatican II encouraging Christians to participate in dialogues between different ways of life or cultures. Such initiatives were vigorously pursued by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP), the umbrella organization of Christian denominations other than the Roman Catholic Church. From the early 80s up to the end of that decade, NCCP put up several programs to introduce the concept of dialoguing between Muslims and Christians. One of such programs was the Duyog Ramadhan (literally accompanying Ramadhan), where Christians, notably those belonging to the Protestant denominations, stay with their Muslim friends throughout the period of fasting. One of the aims of this immersion program is to understand the practice of fasting of the Muslims and gain insights on this type of sacrifice. This way, Christians will understand the Muslims better as they go through one of the most challenging times of their lives.

In addition to the Duyog Ramadhan program, the NCCP also launched Muslim-Christian summer institutes at the Dansalan Research Center in Marawi City. Dr. Peter Gordon Gowing, an American Lutheran missionary and scholar on Mindanao history, founded this summer institute in Marawi. Several peace forums were conducted as outputs of these summer institutes.

In 1984, a group of Muslims and Christians decided to meet for prayers and discussions as a way of going deeper into their own faith. In the following year, the 1st Silsilah (Dialogue) Center opened at San Jose Road, Zamboanga City with initial programs of research and small seminars for interreligious and intercultural dialogue. By 1989, the first summer course for Muslim-Christian dialogue was conducted for professionals, seminarians, priests, nuns, lay people and potential leaders. It was aimed at fostering a better understanding of current issues confronting the two faiths in Mindanao. Since then, Silsilah has been inviting

Muslims and Christians from Mindanao and other parts of the country to participate in their programs that foster deeper understanding of the two faiths.

The Roman Catholic Church, through its Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines, (CBCP) later on caught up with the interreligious dialogue movement. In 1990, the CBCP organized the Commission of Interreligious Dialogue.

Programs conducted by dialogue movements are intended to foster understanding between the Muslim and Christian ways of life. Through seminars, workshops and immersion programs, CSOs like the Silsilah are able to make the participants of the dialogue correct past misunderstandings between and among the two cultures, draw out commonalities between and among them, but at the same time, giving them opportunities to appreciate the differences between the two cultures. In addition, the movement could also become a venue for ironing out conflicting issues and concerns between the two cultures thus leading to the avoidance of future conflict (for details on the Silsilah Movement, see Abubakar in Coronel-Ferrer 1997, 187-204).

The objectives of intercultural or interreligious dialogue are also shared by more recently organized CSOs in the ARMM. Among these are two CSOs organized in Marawi City and in some towns in Lanao del Sur in 1999 and in the year 2000. These are the Maradeka (1999) and Pakigdait, Inc (2000).

Understanding the roots of the conflict in Mindanao is seen as a precondition for fostering dialogue between Muslims and Christians. Toward this end, some CSOs in the ARMM conduct series of lectures, seminars and workshops among their beneficiary communities on the history of the conflict and on what ordinary citizens can do to eliminate prejudices and stereotypes of both groups. This they do even if this is not the primary mission of their organization. For instance, the Maguindanaon Development Foundation, Inc. has launched several of these types of seminars because they serve not only Muslims but also marginalized groups of indigenous peoples and settler Christian families within their areas of coverage. MDFI executive director Dausay Daulog believes that lasting peace should start with a deep understanding of the roots of the conflict in Mindanao.

Of course, the peace should be nurtured with adequate programs that address the economic and social needs of the beneficiary or partner development communities.

Peace advocacy trainings also form a part of the whole package of promoting peace in the communities that CSOs work in. For instance, the Kadtuntaya and the Ma Al'jamaah Foundation in Cotabato City through the Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society organizations conduct such trainings in addition to capability building, management training, and promoting citizens' participation in local governance.

Issues and challenges confronting CSOs in Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao

Constantino-David (1997) enumerated a list of issues and challenges confronting intra-civil society relations in the country. Most of these issues are also true to the CSOs in the ARMM. Among these issues are the following:

- Inter-NGO unity and tensions—these include competition for scarce resources, interpersonal tensions among NGO leaders and members, sectarian tendencies and the phenomenon called “turving” (competition for areas of coverage or areas of work).
- Differences in structures and operations—these differences, according to Constantino-David, are identified strains that have already been fully or partially resolved through the years. This relates to problems related to the differences in the way CSOs or NGOs are structured, as well as how they do their development work. In addition, there are also problems related to the perceived ascendancy of CSOs or NGOs based in Metro Manila over those in the regions or in the provinces. In Mindanao, most CSOs look at Manila-based CSOs as getting the upper hand in accessing development funds or projects and in forging bilateral ties with international funding agencies that are relatively financially stable and generous in granting development funds.
- Ideological differences among networks—not all CSOs are organized by the same ideological

groups or forces; those that have opposing ideologies tend to have strained relationships, eventually leading to intra-CSO conflicts and tensions.

- Professionalization of development work—in the past, when NGOs or CSOs were small and had limited operations, staff members were recruited on the basis of their high levels of commitment and dedication to development work. But as NGO operations expanded and external support poured in new demands emerged. Among these are: the demand for better fiscal management, and financial and administrative systems that must come in place realizing the need for more institutionalized mechanisms. Moreover, as NGOs expanded their operations, they also realize that there is a need to sustain funding for their expanded needs.
- Dealing with an NGO-friendly state—while the Philippine government has passed a law formalizing the participation of NGO representatives in local development councils, NGOs have to contend with the reality that government still dictate the development agenda.
- Dealing with large and influential social institutions like the Church, the Academe, the Media and Business groups (the private sector, in current CSO jargon)—aside from government, NGOs or CSOs have to deal with these formidable and largely influential social institutions. Though nongovernment, these institutions have been known to be pro-government in their agenda, vision-mission and objectives.

The CSO leaders interviewed for this study agreed that many of the issues and challenges that confront them are similar to those enumerated by Constantino-David. However, they believe that there are issues they have to contend with that are not true with their Luzon and Visayas counterparts; or these issues may not have the same degree of urgency or importance as they are to Metro Manila or Metro-Cebu-based NGOs/CSOs.

For instance, in terms of intra-NGO unity and tensions, the CSOs included in this study have more grounds for unity rather than tensions. For one thing, many of them are convinced of the need for the

Bangsamoro Muslim communities to work together for the common welfare of their fellow Muslims. The ARMM CSO leaders interviewed for this study and those that participated in the FGDs all expressed the need to be united in common efforts to promote empowerment of themselves and their fellow marginalized Muslims. They even expressed the need for some kind of an umbrella organization, similar to MINCODE, that will gather together all the CSO leaders and representatives so they can formulate ways and mechanisms for collaboration. They believe that the problems confronting marginalized communities among Muslims and indigenous peoples are so immense that everyone's cooperation is needed. "There is no oversupply of CSO-type of development initiatives," says one key informant.

One aspect that the ARMM CSOs may differ from their Luzon and Visayas counterparts is the fact that Muslims have institutionalized the concept of *ummah*, or community of believers in Islam. This concept is often invoked when Muslims react to attacks on Muslim communities in other parts of the world.

In the *ummah*, each practicing Muslim is enjoined not only to empathize with suffering Muslims in other parts of the world, but also to help in the fight against whoever is perceived to be the "oppressors" of the attacked Muslim community. However, there are also other realities that impinge on various Muslim communities in the ARMM in other parts of the world. This can give rise to tensions among the members of the CSO or NGO community. One of these is the conflict between "traditional" or "fundamentalist" tendencies or orientations and those of the "secularists" or "modernists" in Islam. Many of those who organized service or resource center type of CSOs in the ARMM are those of the latter rather than the former. Those that tend to belong to the former tend to organize *daw'wah* or proselytization groups.

Another challenge facing ARMM CSOs is financial sustainability of their organizations. Of the 14 CSO leaders in this study, only two expressed that their respective organizations are relatively stable financially. One factor for their high level of financial confidence, so to speak, is their longer track record than all the others. MDFI, WIFE, Inc.; and Kalimudan, Inc., for instance, claim they have various funding sources. Each

of their program or project has a corresponding funding agency. In addition, the programs and projects run for medium (3–5 years) to long term (6 years and longer). This is also true for Kadtuntaya Foundation, Inc. in Cotabato City.

Ideological forces do not pose a serious challenge to the CSOs in the ARMM as much as it does to their Luzon or Visayas counterparts. In Luzon and the Visayas, ideological forces like the National Democrats (NatDems) and the Social Democrats (SocDem) compete for hearts and minds, so to speak, among the NGO community. Each of these ideological forces also organizes its own NGO. Ideological forces—organized NGOs promote the causes and principles espoused by these forces. In the ARMM, Muslim-organized CSOs are aimed at empowerment of marginalized Muslim communities, not at espousing certain ideological principles like national or social democracy.

One seemingly insurmountable challenge among ARMM CSOs is that presented by local government units that have leaders who are warlords or traditional politicians. While the national government passed a legislation on the participation of NGO representatives in the local development councils, this is observed more in the breach than in performance in the ARMM provinces and municipalities. This is because of the fear of CSO leaders to antagonize local chief executives who are powerful warlords or traditional politicians. Even if the local chief executives will invite NGO leaders, it will at best be a token participation, especially if the local chief executive is bent on implementing a development program that will be destructive to the welfare of his or her constituents. To deal with this challenge, one CSO leader has offered to become the technical consultant of several local chief executives in Maguindanao province. He believes that with friendly persuasion, he can influence these executives to adopt a more participative approach in local governance. In his case, it helps that he happens to be a bright young lawyer who also belongs to a royal family in Maguindanao.

In Muslim communities, there is no equivalent of a hierarchical Church comparable to Christian communities. Moreover, there is no priesthood in Islam. However, Muslims consider the community's *ulama* (council of learned men in Islam) as quite influential

among the *ummah* (community of believers in Islam). Members of the *ulama* are called on to make judgments on certain issues that confront the Islamic community. Among these are prescriptions on the proper mode of dressing for Muslim men and women, on the negative influence of Philippine, but American or Western-oriented mass media; Philippine politics; the impending war between the US and Iraq; the evils of drug addiction, etc.

The media in Cotabato City and Lanao del Sur do not consider CSOs as a source of news; nor do they regard them as influential in forging public opinion. This has been the finding of a 1997 case study on Media and NGO-PO relations in the context of the peace process (Cagoco-Guiam 1997). While the media do not also pose a serious challenge to the ARMM-based CSOs, they also do not foster public appreciation of CSO efforts, especially in assisting communities that have been displaced by war. One key informant believes that a positive relationship should be developed between CSOs and the media in order to help the former in publicizing their efforts. Presently, CSOs and their leaders get media exposure through alternative media outlets, like the newsletters that the CSOs publish or with international development agencies that document the work of their partners.

Still another challenge confronting CSOs in the ARMM is the lack of technical capacity among some of its staff and leaders. Among the technical skills that many CSO representatives mentioned during the FGDs are: project proposal writing, technical writing, doing impact assessment and evaluation research, monitoring and financial management skills. Many CSO leaders and staff members, while they have at least a college degree, have not been trained in these skills. Many CSO staff members are fresh graduates and lack the necessary work experience.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents a summary of the findings as well as the conclusions derived from the findings. The part on recommendations is a synthesis of the recommendations proposed by the key informants, participants in the FGDs, as well as those of the research team.

Summary of findings

This study describes CSOs in the ARMM and their roles in the democratization process as well as in promoting and sustaining peace and development in the region. It is limited to CSOs organized by Muslims for the benefit of their fellow Muslims in the two ARMM provinces of Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao. Primary data for this study were collected through key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. These data are triangulated with several published data from MINCODE's directory of NGOs in Mindanao and other related literature that are reviewed in the second section of this report. In addition, the research team leader's experience as a former NGO social development worker provided additional inputs to the discussions in earlier sections.

CSOs in the ARMM: a profile

Nature of organization

As earlier discussed, there are three main types of CSOs in the two provinces in the ARMM, namely: 1) resource or service centers, 2) mutual benefit associations or cooperatives and 3) *daw'wah* or proselytization groups.

Majority of the 23 groups included in this study- 21 out of 23- (refer back to Table 4) belong to the 1st group. They claim to be providing services or resources to assist their beneficiary communities in various projects. Among their main activities are capability building training courses like livelihood skills, management, leadership, facilitation skills and other similar seminars or workshops where their partners or beneficiaries are given practical education on various aspects of social development work. Their vision-mission converge on the theme of empowering their beneficiary communities so they are able to participate in the so-called "development mainstream."

The second type of CSOs in the ARMM is associations formed to benefit its individual members. Among these are cooperatives and an association of women former Overseas Contract Workers in the Middle East. As their name implies, these organizations

are aimed at uplifting the economic or living conditions of each member (and eventually their respective families) through the grant of micro-credit, either in cash or in kind (like a sack of rice, for example). Of the three groups, the Nuron-Nisa MPC in Bgy. Taviran, Datu Odin Sinsuat seems to be the most successful in terms of generating various livelihood projects for its members and their families.

The third type of organizations in the ARMM are the *daw'wah* or proselytization groups. Only one group belonging to this type is included in this study although the research team was able to get information from two members of a *daw'wah* group in Maguindanao province. These members participated in the FGD in Cotabato City.

CSOs in the ARMM are formed outside of government operations, although those included in this study admit they need to interact with government in terms of SEC or CDA registration. They do not receive funding from government, but some of them are partners of government or providers of technical assistance to either LGUs or regional government line agencies. Moreover, CSOs have their own organizational structure, policies and management systems that do not necessarily conform to government systems of fiscal or resource management.

Bulk of the activities of these CSOs revolve around poverty alleviation, promotion of social justice, peace and development, participatory governance, peace advocacy, and advocacy for the recognition and attainment of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination.

Educational profile of CSO leaders

CSO leaders in the ARMM are highly educated. Nine of the 12 key informants have advanced degrees (MPA, MA in rural extension and development), while five have acquired PhD units. One even has completed the academic requirements for a PhD in developmental management. One is a practicing lawyer. Others are bachelor's degree holders.

In addition, staff members of CSOs in the ARMM are recruited mainly for their qualifications, and the potential for social development work.

Sources of funding

Majority of the CSOs in the ARMM are funded by international funding agencies like Novib (KFI, Kalimudan, etc) or through international charities like the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO). Kalimudan, Maradeka, Obaera and Pakigdait are among the Lanao del Sur based CSOs that have been the beneficiaries of both technical and financial support accessed through VSO as an intermediary. Some are beneficiaries of funding agencies that channel Overseas Development Assistance grants like the World Bank, United Nations multi-donor programme and the Japan Bank of International Cooperation.

In terms of funding, Kalimudan, KFI, WIFE, and MDFI are considered successful since they have been able to access various grants from other international agencies mostly in Europe. This could be attributed to the networking skills and efforts, as well as good track record of their leaders.

While these organizations are nonprofit oriented, some of them run micro-enterprises as a way of promoting self-reliance. This is especially true for the Nuron-Nisa MPC. It has a thriving handicraft business dealing mainly in manufacturing seminar bags or kits ordered by other CSOs that conduct seminar-workshops or trainings.

CSOs and their role in democratization and in promoting peace and development

By their very nature, CSOs are not directly involved in the promotion and in sustaining efforts toward democratization. However, because they encourage broad citizen participation in local governance, they are virtually aiding government efforts in the promotion of a democratic bureaucracy.

CSOs in the ARMM are organized outside of government bureaucracy, as earlier indicated. However, they have to interact with government in order to attain legal status, and also because they need government recognition or accreditation to participate in projects funded through ODA but are managed by either the local government units or through government line agencies.

Some CSOs in the ARMM are organized in order to foster better understanding of the history of the

conflict in Mindanao, and in so doing foster a culture of dialogue among the diverse populations in the region. Among these CSOs are the Pakigdait, Maradeka, MDFI, Kalimudan and KFI. Since the time of their formation, these groups have conducted various seminars and workshops aimed at peace advocacy, conflict resolution and management trainings and the like. While the efforts of resource or service center type of CSOs are not directly aimed at promoting peace and development, the cumulative efforts of some of their livelihood skills and microfinancing programs can be considered as promoting the necessary conditions for peace and, eventually development.

Issues and challenges confronting CSOs in the ARMM

CSOs in the ARMM have a lot of common characteristics with their counterparts in Luzon or the Visayas. Among these are issues and challenges that are similar or identical to those that the ARMM CSOs are confronted with. These are the following:

- *Inter-CSO unity and tensions.* For the ARMM CSOs, there are more opportunities than challenges in terms of forging unity because of the concept of *ummah*.
- *Dealing with LGUs that are led by either warlords or traditional politicians.* This is quite an insurmountable challenge, but could be addressed through a long and arduous process of providing technical assistance or advice to younger local chief executives, just like what one CSO leader is currently doing.
- *Unstable financial resources.* Most CSOs not only in the ARMM, but also in other parts of the country are entirely dependent on donor agencies. The challenge for these organizations is to become self-reliant eventually and be sustainable in the long term. In this study, three CSOs claim to be quite financially stable.
- *Lack of technical capacity/skills among CSO staff.* While many CSO staff members are college graduates, they lack the experience in doing or managing projects run by voluntary organizations or CSOs.
- *Dealing with influential social institutions like the media, academe, religious leaders and business or the private sector.* The CSOs in the ARMM

do not consider dealing with these institutions as problematic although in the case of media, they would have liked to forge better relationships with media practitioners.

Conclusions

CSOs in this study include groups, associations and other formations that have the following characteristics:

- Organized and formed outside of government operations, and do not receive direct assistance or funding from government, whether national, regional or local in their organizing activities. They may, however, be partners of government or provide technical assistance or consultancy services to some government agencies or offices;
- Have their own organizational structure, policies and management systems;
- Mostly funded by international nongovernment organizations or charitable institutions or by agencies channeling Overseas Development Assistance Grants;
- Programs and projects are designed to alleviate poverty, promote social justice, peace and development, as well as to advocate for the recognition and attainment of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination;
- Staff are recruited mainly on set qualifications standards, including commitment and dedication toward voluntary services rather than government-prescribed eligibility standards;
- Are nonprofit-oriented although they could run some micro-enterprises as a way for promoting economic self-reliance; and
- Their existence as an organization is recognized by Philippine law or by appropriate bodies in the local government units where they operate in.

CSOs occupy a unique niche in society in that they are conducting activities and performing duties that are supposed to be the concern of government. They exist outside the orbit of the government's bureaucratic process, yet they have to participate in the process of forging citizen participation in governance. This is what

one key informant referred to as a situation that calls for CSOs' "critical collaboration" with government. They need government recognition in the form of a SEC or CDA registration to be conferred a legal identity. At the same time, there are various government bureaucratic processes they need to implement in their offices, especially as these relate to CSO employee's benefits and privileges as mandated by Philippine law. While government and CSOs may be worlds apart, they need to interact with each other to promote broad participation in democratic governance, sustainable peace and development in the areas they cover. This realization is quite appropriate to both Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao, where poverty levels are quite high and the overall human development indices are quite low. CSOs can fill the gaps in governance, peace and development efforts, other goals that the local government units in the ARMM provinces cannot address because of inadequacy of government funds, gross government inefficiency and the prevalence of traditional and warlord type of politics. This is the niche that CSOs occupy, and government should also realize that without the former, constituents might have heightened levels of discontent that could probably lead to the formation of anti-government or rebel groups.

Recommendations

The research team synthesized the following recommendations from FGD participants, key informants and in the validation session held in General Santos City. In addition, the research team also provided some inputs which were concurred by the CSO leaders present in the validation session. These are the following:

For Lanao del Sur

- Conduct networking—build trust and confidence as well as unity of CSOs. CSO leaders are convinced that they still need to do more networking among themselves. This includes fostering of a give and take relationship among the members of the CSO community so they are able to speak in one voice. A consortium of CSOs in Lanao is recommended along this line. This consortium

could link up with government and other development partners in order to sustain CSO funding for their various programs and projects. Moreover, the consortium could link up with their counterpart networks in Metro Manila and Davao or Cebu.

- Skills sharing among CSOs especially on community organizing and community development that foster empowerment among their beneficiary communities.
- CSO leaders and staff must learn to speak the language of the grassroots even if they are highly educated and come from middle class families. Operationally, this means that CSO men and women must speak in the local dialect, i.e. Maranaw in the case of CSOs operating in Lanao del Sur.
- Women must be the top priority of CSOs for capacity building, advocacy for women's rights and to encourage them to be active in local governance, starting from the barangay level.

For Maguindanao

- There should be a regular forum to provide for opportunities for the CSOs to meet and discuss issues and concerns; to have a regular coordination and collaboration among these groups. While a Bangsamoro civil society consortium has been initiated by two Maguindanaon CSO leaders, the organizations which were represented in its initial meetings are still unsure whether they will be formalized beyond a mere strategic alliance. As of this writing, the consortium is still a loose aggrupation of like-minded CSO individuals. But it certainly holds a lot of potentials for forging unity among diverse CSOs and groups and individuals.

- CSOs must strengthen their programs for local governance, especially in widening community participation in local government processes, like elections, monitoring of government projects, in public hearings on impending government projects, etc.
- Capacity and skills building among CSO leaders and staff in order to enhance their capability for sustaining their programs and projects as well as in expanding their operations to address current issues and concerns, i. e. disaster management or conflict management and resolution, peace and conflict impact assessments.
- Provision of assistance to groups not yet accredited and registered with government so they will attain legal status. In this way, these groups will be given the right to participate in public bidding for projects managed by government and funded by ODA or other international funding agencies.
- Needs and capacity assessment of local CSOs to determine what type of assistance they would be provided. This is also important to assess whether a CSO is capable of sustaining different programs and projects.
- Conduct more educational seminars that will promote better understanding of Bangsamoro Muslims and their diverse cultures and ethnicities. This will lead to mutual respect and peace among the ethnolinguistically diverse peoples in the region.
- Teaching of values education in the Islamic way of life. Some CSO leaders believe that this is needed among Muslim communities that are already widely influenced by Western-oriented media.

Key Informant Interview Schedule

I. Profile of Informant

1. Name (Optional)
2. Name of organization and position
3. How long has informant been in this post? What was previous position and how long he or she stayed in that position?
4. Civil status
5. Educational background, major field of study, special trainings
6. Ethnolinguistic group
7. Involvement in any other nongovernment organization or volunteer group or professional organization, cite what these organizations are and where they are based

II. Organizational framework, objectives, strategies and activities

1. Describe the nature of your organization.
2. Organizational vision, mission and goals/objectives and underlying principles or rationale of the organization (describe briefly how and why organization was established)
3. Strategies for implementation
4. Projects, activities and beneficiaries profile (fill up matrix attached for this)
5. areas of coverage and sectors served
6. sources of funding or logistical support

III. Organizational involvement

Describe your role in the organization in terms of the following:

- a. How the group was organized
- b. Services extended to members/partners/clients
- c. Networking with other similar organizations/relationship with other organizations
- d. Organization's projects and activities

IV. Describe with some details ongoing projects and initiatives in terms of the following:

1. promoting economic self-reliance or generating livelihood projects for clients or partners
2. capability building, please elaborate which types of capability building
3. advocacy for peace and development or peacebuilding initiatives
4. advocating for more active NGO participation in local governance
5. advocating for political empowerment
6. advocating for the right to self-determination of the Bangsamoro peoples
7. others, please describe briefly

- V. What has been the organization's accomplishments or achievements so far? Please describe these. Why do you consider these as achievements or accomplishments?
- VI. Do you think your organization and similar groups like yours have potentials for widening the participation of ordinary citizens in local governance? Please explain.
- VII. Do you think your organization and similar groups like yours have potentials for sustaining peace and development in your areas of coverage? In what ways? Please explain.
- VIII. What can you recommend to enhance or strengthen civil society organizations like yours in order to
 - 1. widen your participation in local governance;
 - 2. to promote sustainable peace and development in your areas of coverage

ANNEX 2

Activity: Focus Group Discussion with NGO leaders in Gensan with services extended to Muslim communities in the ARMM
 Saturday, 28 December 2002
 General Santos City

Program of Activities

- Part I Registration
- Part II Opening ceremonies
 Invocation
 Introduction of participants and staff
- Part III Background and rationale of the study and FGD
 Objectives of the study and of the FGD
 Leveling off of participants' expectations
 FGD—participants are grouped (according to color codes of their name tags)
 Mechanics (to be explained by facilitator)
 Group Discussion—45 minutes to 1 hour
- Part IV Plenary Session
 Reporting of Group Outputs
 Synthesis and wrap up of activity
 Closing Remarks

ANNEX 3

Activity: Key Informant Interview with Marawi City-Lanao del Sur based NGO/PO leaders
20-21 November 2002
General Santos City

Program of Activities

1. Introduction of the study, its rationale and background
2. Interview starts with the Key Informant/s
3. Closing statements

Note: *there were two days for this key informant interviews because the people who were interviewed have their own activities lined up and they were available on that day/s that they agreed on.*

Staff involved in the interview: Jane V. Siao and Karla D. Sechong, researchers; and Valeriano Lauren, driver

ANNEX 4

Activity: Key Informant Interview with Maguindanao-based NGO/PO leaders
18-19 December 2002
General Santos City

Program of Activities

1. Introduction of the study, its rationale and background
2. Interview starts with the Key Informant/s
3. Closing statements

Note: *there were two days for this key informant interviews because the people who were interviewed have their own activities lined up and they were available on that day/s that they agreed on.*

Staff involved in the interview: Jane V. Siao and Karla D. Sechong, researchers; and Valeriano Lauren, driver

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grassroots governance: a preliminary study of barangay governance

AGUSTIN MARTIN G. RODRIGUEZ

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to articulate the possibilities and limitations of barangay governance as defined by the local government code (LGC) of 1991.¹ It will look at barangay governance as a venue for democratic participation from the perspective of a researcher of social philosophy and an advocate of local autonomy and good local governance. Since the passage of the LGC, the barangay has been transformed into an autonomous unit of government. Perhaps, it is not as autonomous as the cities, municipalities, or provinces. In a way, it exists to strengthen the governance of the municipal and city local government unit (LGU). However, because of a measure of fiscal autonomy and because of a measure of autonomy in its executive and legislative functions, one can say that the barangay has become freer and more able to determine its own course of development and its own manner of governance. With the LGC, the barangay has also been defined as the "basic political unit" which "serves as the primary planning and implementing unit of government policies, plans, programs, projects, and activities and a forum wherein collective views of the people in the community may be expressed, crystallized, and considered and where disputes may be amicably settled" (Sec. 364). As such, the barangay was also made the primary avenue for participation in local governance. Thus, the barangay has become the forefront of participatory democracy and as such warrants study by students who aim to understand the possibility of establishing a genuine democracy in the Philippines.

With the recent redefinition of the barangay, the capacity of the citizens at the grassroots to affect governance, to participate in it and redefine it, was significantly increased. Section 384 of the LGC states that the barangay is "a forum wherein the collective views of the people may be expressed, crystallized and considered." Thus, the barangay is formally recognized as the main venue where the most basic communities are able to express their views on vital issues. Yet, despite the vital role the barangay plays in governance, there are no formal studies that look into it as a venue for citizen's participation.

The task of studying barangay governance is daunting because there are hardly any published precedents. Thus, we say that this is a preliminary study that attempts to understand barangay governance in order to contribute a possible framework for understanding the potential of barangay governance. Three Quezon City barangays, whose identities will be withheld for reasons of privacy, are the focus of our study. They are the case studies on which reflections in this paper are based. However, this paper is not only about the case studies. It is more an attempt to lay a theoretical foundation for understanding grassroots democracy from the practices of these three barangays.

The study does not accomplish an investigative study of the practices of these three barangays. Through a series of interviews and focus group discussions, it studies the workings of grassroots governance through the perception of its protagonists. The data obtained through these interviews should deepen our articulation of the value of local democracy from the theoretical perspective.

We also take a cursory look at local democracy, as it has been practiced since the promulgation of the Local Government Code. Although the studies are focused more on the municipal and city level, their experiences can illuminate for us the facilitating factors as well as the pitfalls to the successful implementation of local democratization.

Theoretically, this paper owes much to the philosopher Jürgen Habermas whose writings on democracy give us a new perspective for understanding the role of the community in democratic governance. His works will help to understand why grassroots governance must be promoted. But other Filipino scholars whose works have focused on Filipino political culture will deepen even further these insights we will draw from Habermas. Thus, this attempt to formulate a framework for understanding barangay governance will draw from many sources and the result will hopefully inspire more studies on grassroots governance.

THE MEANING OF LOCAL DEMOCRACY

The institution of the Local Government Code was a great boost for democratic reform in the Philippines. The attempt to strengthen, rather institute, local democracy was beneficial because with local autonomy came the devolution of powers and the decentralization of governance. Since the passage of the LGC, local government units have become the frontlines in the provision of basic services and the catalysts for local development. Today, local government units have become genuine centers of local governance because they are expected to take care of the well being and the state of development of their communities. As such, they not only provide basic services, they are also entrusted to formulate and implement local development plans.

Along with these responsibilities came powers that allowed local governments to fashion themselves as genuinely autonomous government units. Firstly, they were given fiscal independence. This is because they have a guaranteed share of the yearly income tax collection of the national government. An amount of 40 percent of the "national internal revenue based on the collection of the third fiscal year preceding the current fiscal year" (LGC Sec. 284) is considered a just

share of local governments of national taxes. The allocation of this forty percent is determined this way: provinces = 23%, cities = 23%, municipalities = 34% and barangays = 20%. Population (50%), land area (25%), and equal sharing (25%) further determine the share of each LGU (LGC 285). The Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) should be automatically released without lien or holdback. Of course, the reality is that national government has always tried to cut the IRA.² Despite attempts at illegal cutbacks, the IRA is a steady source of income for local government units and it allows them to provide for basic services, spend for local development projects, and spend for overhead. Thus, local government units are theoretically able to function without any dependence on the national government.

LGUs also have fiscal autonomy. They do not depend on the national government to determine their expenditures nor the sources of their income. The LGC allows LGUs to raise their own revenue through taxation. They can raise tax rate ceilings. They are allowed to tax the income of banks, forest concessions, mines and mineral products. They are allowed to withdraw tax exemption privileges of Government Owned and Controlled Corporations (GOCCs). As corporate bodies, they can enter into debt, enter into cooperative agreements with the private sector, and receive funding. In fact, there are many ways for LGUs to raise funds in relation to the private sector³ and they need not be IRA dependent.

Given their fiscal autonomy, LGUs clearly have a leading role in the design and implementation of local development programs. They are no longer just administrative units of local government, but they are centers of governance that could plan and direct the development of their communities. Thus, we see why the institution of people's participation is integral to local autonomy. Given their devolved powers and responsibilities as well as their relative fiscal independence, LGUs can play a genuine role in shaping a locality into a progressive polity. But no LGU can achieve such progress without the active participation of the citizenry. This is because of several reasons.

The first and most important reason is that with autonomy comes the possibility of creating or strengthening local warlordism or bossism. On the whole, it seems autonomy works because many local

government officials are able to administer their localities more competently with their newfound powers. However, in some cases, local autonomy was used as a tool for the consolidation of the local elite's power in such a way that runs counter to the LGC's democratic intent. A study by Emmanuel de Guzman shows how, in a provincial municipality, the local chief executive used decentralization to consolidate his forces and his family's interests.⁴ This is indeed possible with the president and higher government units exercising only supervision over the LGU directly under their supervision. People's participation in governance should be a corrective against such abuses.

Secondly, it is necessary for people to take a direct hand in governance because an active citizenry is a safeguard against corruption and the wasting of government resources due to incompetence. People's participation in governance allows the people a direct hand in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of local government plans, projects and the delivery of basic services. Being the direct beneficiaries of good local governance, the people should be able to direct government efforts to areas that will genuinely bring about progress. The LGC allows for the inherent wisdom of the populace to define the shape and direction of local progress. It even allows for this wisdom and local capacities to help in the delivery of basic services.

Thirdly, people's participation allows for more effective governance overall. In her paper "An Overview of Filipino Perspective on Democracy and Citizenship," author Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila demonstrates how groups are the margins of society; i.e. the poor and members of minority cultures have a difficulty identifying themselves as part of the nation because the reality of the nation is alien to their lives.⁵ The success of the projects of many local governments relies on the acceptance and cooperation of the people. In fact, the delivery of basic services can be augmented by the participation of local groups in governance. However, the talents of the people cannot be harnessed or mobilized unless they feel some sense of being stakeholders in the task of governance. Unless they feel they have a stake in successful implementation of projects, unless they feel they have a stake in the success of the community, they will not care to take part in the governance of a community. Thus, people's participation is desirable in localities, especially those

with limited funds, because it ensures that local talents and capabilities are mobilized for governance.

Lastly, active citizenship in local governance ensures that the systems and policies that define the community are justified and acceptable to all because they have passed through a process of justification discourse. We live in a polity of various lifeworlds. One cannot say that there is a single worldview or systems of belief that bind us. One can say that our various worlds are separated from each other. One can say that marginalized peoples, like the urban poor and the indigenous people, and even the middle-class, tend to look to their immediate community for their identity and support and they do not identify with the nation as such.⁶ Consequently, Filipinos have a weak sense of the common good beyond their immediate families. They work to preserve their homes and families but cannot conceive of a broader common good.⁷

It seems that our lifeworlds, the worlds we inhabit to find our fulfillment as human beings, are alien to each other. One must only see how disparate the worldviews of residents in exclusive villages are from those of their neighbors in urban poor communities. They share a geographic location but their own sense of space and time, their values and lifestyles betray a world between them. The Philippines is a nation composed of communities with disparate worldviews and lifeworlds. Their main point of intersection happens in the realm of systems.

Systems are rationalized relations that function according to the dictates of purposive rationality.⁸ These systems that bind us, us who are mainly strangers that do not have a reason to care for each other's well being, occur within the frame of an administrative state and the economic/market system.⁹ What binds us is the frame of impersonal systems that determine the interaction between persons, and control even the conduct of their lives. Our encounters as a polity occur mainly within the systems that govern our social order. The encounters between the Payatas lifeworld and the Ayala Alabang lifeworld occur only in the context of a household where the poor serve as helpers, or in Makati buildings where they serve as utility personnel. Although they share a defined geographical territory, these lifeworlds only truly encounter each other in the instrumental systems that determine their survival. Thus, one cannot expect a natural affinity between

these communities, especially when their only means of interaction are instrumental and often exploitative. This is especially true of a nation with such disparate cultures and lifeworlds without a single, national culture to bind its peoples.

In a nation of disparate lifeworlds, especially one with marginalized communities, where an elite class has almost total control of the economy, politics and culture, elite-defined systems are bound to emerge. These systems are supposed to work to determine the national life of all citizens, however, they are crafted according to the rationality of a dominant class that is often only answerable to themselves and their investors in the world economic order. This situation leaves a whole underclass that is bound by political and economic systems that they themselves do not comprehend or control. The participation of the marginalized in such a system is limited because they themselves have not participated in the shaping of these systems. They find themselves enlisted as participants in a game they did not choose. The most that the marginalized can do is take advantage of the system as best they can, as far as they can comprehend it. Small wonder then that many of the poor are not cooperative in development programs and projects imposed by the government. Often, they are asked to participate in endeavors defined by a system that is not justified to them but one they have to accept to survive. Thus, they will take part in this system according to the minimum needs of survival.

If we want to motivate people to take part in governance, to have them become active citizens, they must be shown that the systems that govern them are reasonable and therefore something they can allow to define our collective existence. Habermas says this:

To the extent that the continued existence of an action system or an order of life depends on its legitimacy, it rests in fact on 'consensual validity' [*Einverständnisgeltung*]. The consensual character of social action consists in the fact that the members of a group recognize the binding force of their norms of action and know about one another that they feel mutually obliged to observe these norms. For the rationalization problematic, what is first of all important in this concept of a legitimate order is that while ideas are joined together with interests

in a very incomplete way, they do nevertheless lend *factual efficacy* to *reasons and validity claims* through this integration.¹⁰

From this we see that there is a need to build our nation state, to strengthen it by opening the governing system to the discourse of the margins. At heart, the people do not recognize the validity of our systems. They recognize the system's *de facto* existence, but they may not recognize its legitimacy for they were not part of a process of discourse that allowed them to shape the systems that shape the shared world of the nation state.

Ours is almost like a European Union. With barely a shared history beyond the official national history, each community of our peoples are not bound by a common language, or a common lifeworld with common symbols and values to draw us to common action. However, our common survival demands a coming together in achieving a discursively defined nation that we want to achieve. If we want a more progressive nation with an active citizenry we must consider this:

For nation-states with their own national histories, a politics that seeks the coexistence of different ethnic communities, language groups, religious faiths, etc. under equal rights naturally entails a process as precarious as it is painful. The majority culture, supposing itself to be identical with the national culture as such, has to free itself from its historical identification with a *general* political culture, if all citizens are to be able to identify with equal terms with the political culture of their own country. To the degree that his decoupling of political culture from majority culture succeeds, the solidarity of citizens is shifted onto the more abstract foundation of a 'constitutional patriot-ism.' If it fails, then the collective collapses into subcultures that seal themselves off from one another. But in either case it has the effect of undermining the substantial commonalities of the nation understood as a community of shared descent.¹¹

The national polity must therefore become more inclusive by opening the political culture to the discourse of those who are 'other' in the system. Only

in this way will we come together in any form of genuine solidarity for building the nation we share. In such solidarity, people are awakened in their citizenship and are mobilized to take their "political destiny in their own hands."¹² But the building of a genuine national solidarity is only possible if each citizen is engaged in genuine discourse that allows their own rationality to demand justification from existing systems. This discourse must allow for the discourse of justification which will lead to the shaping of systems that are more just and responsive to the needs of those in the margins.

Local autonomy and decentralization bring the promise that a government brought close to the lifeworlds of the marginalized citizens will be able to bring about a more participatory system of governance. This governance that is brought to the localities is meant to bring policy-making, legislation and administration closer to the influence of the people. If they can be mobilized to engage the local governments in order to influence the shaping of their polities, a citizenry of persons who feel a stake in the governmental system may emerge. These may be the first steps to building a nation-state.

CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The Local Government Code makes several provisions for people's participation in governance. One area is in mandatory consultations. Section 2 (c) states:

It is likewise the policy of the state to require all national agencies and offices to conduct periodic consultations with appropriate local government units, nongovernmental and people's organizations, and other concerned sectors of the community before any project or program is implemented in their respective jurisdictions.

It states also in Sec. 26 the following:

It shall be the duty of the national agencies or GOCCs authorizing or involved in the planning

and implementation of any project and program that may cause pollution, climatic change, depletion of non-renewable resources, loss of cropland, rangeland or forest cover and extinction of animal or plant species, to consult with local government units, nongovernmental organizations, and other sectors concerned and explain the goals and objectives of the project or program, its impact upon the people and the community in terms of environmental or ecological balance, and the measures that will be undertaken to prevent or minimize the adverse effects thereof.

Sec. 27 reiterates this need for consultation:

No project or program shall be implemented by government authorities unless the consultations mentioned in Section 2(c) and 26 hereof are complied with, and proper approval of the Sanggunian concerned is obtained; provided, that occupants in areas where such projects are to be implemented shall not be evicted unless appropriate relocation sites have been provided, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

With these LGC provisions, we see that the voice of organized local groups is respected. These provisions call for an active discourse with the local people so that their wisdom may influence the shape of projects that may encroach on their communities.

The LGC also calls for local governments to involve nongovernmental organizations and people's organization in the delivery of basic services and in project implementation. The LGC mandates that LGUs shall promote the building up of NGOs and private sector as partners in local autonomy. This partnership often comes into the delivery of basic services, in joint ventures and cooperative programs and in financing, construction and maintenance of infrastructure projects. Being a mandate of the LGC, LGUs are called on to actively engage civil society groups in its governance work. This mandate also challenges local civil society groups to engage their local governments to ensure that governance is responsive to the basic and development needs. This is seen in the following provisions:

Sec. 34. Role of People's and Non-governmental Organizations

Local government units shall promote the establishment and operation of people's and nongovernment organization to become active partners in the pursuit of local autonomy.

Sec. 35. Linkages with People's and Non-government organizations

Local government units may enter into joint ventures and such other cooperative arrangements with people's and nongovernment organizations to engage in the delivery of certain basic services, capability-building and livelihood projects, and to develop local enterprises designed to improve productivity and income, diversify agriculture, spur rural industrialization, promote ecological balance, and enhance the economic and social well-being of the people.

Sec. 36. Assistance to People's and Non-governmental Organizations

A local organization unit may, through its local government units and with the concurrence of the Sanggunian concerned, provide assistance, financial or otherwise, to such people's and nongovernmental organizations for economic, socially-oriented, environmental, or cultural projects to be implemented within its territorial jurisdiction.

Sec. 3 (1). The participation of the private sector in local governance, particularly in the delivery of basic services, shall be encouraged to ensure the viability of local autonomy as an alternative strategy for sustainable development.

Implementing Rules and Regulations of the LGC
Art. 62. Role of People's Organizations, Non-governmental organizations and the Private Sector.

Local government units shall promote the establishment and operation of people's and non-governmental organizations and the private sector to become active partners in the pursuit of local autonomy. For this purpose, people's organizations, nongovernmental organizations, NGOs and the private sector shall be directly involved in

the following plans, programs, projects or activities of the LGUs:

- (a) Local special bodies
- (b) Delivery of basic services and facilities
- (c) Joint ventures and cooperative programs and undertakings
- (d) Preferential treatment for organizations or cooperatives of marginal fishermen
- (e) Preferential treatment for cooperatives development
- (f) Financial and other forms of assistance
- (g) Financing, construction, maintenance, operation, and management of infrastructure projects

Aside from the LGC's legitimization of people's participation in the delivery of basic services, it also provides for avenues for people's participation in governance and policy-making. For instance, it mandates people's participation in local special bodies such as the Local Development Council (LDC).

Sec. 106:

Each government unit shall have a comprehensive multi-sectoral development plan to be initiated by its development council and approved by its Sanggunian. For this purpose, the development council at the provincial, city, municipal, or barangay level shall assist the corresponding Sanggunian in setting the direction of economic and social development, and coordinating the development efforts within its territorial jurisdiction.

Thus, the LDC is the main planning and advisory body of LGUs which sets the direction of economic and social development. It must have civil society representation that does not go below 1/4 of the total membership of the organized council.

The LGC also establishes a Local Pre-qualification, Bids and Awards Committee with these functions:

Sec. 37: Local Pre-qualification, Bids and Awards Committee (Local PBAC)

There is hereby created a local pre-qualification, bids and awards committee in every province, city, municipality, which shall be primarily responsible

for the conduct of pre-qualifications of contractors, bidding, evaluation of bids, and the recommendation of awards concerning local infrastructure projects.

This body is responsible for the pre-qualification of contracts, evaluation of bids, and the recommendation of awards regarding local infrastructure projects. It requires two representatives from POs or NGOs that are represented in the Local Development Council concerned, and a practicing CPA from the private sector designated by the local chapter of the Philippine Institute of Certified Public Accountants. This body is meant to be a deterrent to corruption in local infrastructure projects.

Local School Boards (LSBs) were set up in Sec. 98-99 to determine the annual supplementary budgetary fund for the operation and maintenance of public schools within the LGU. It allocates the share of the LGU in the Special Education Fund and other sources and serves as an advisory committee to the local Sanggunian. For its composition, it requires one representative from the elected president of the local federation of parent-teachers association, one representative from the local teachers' organization and one representative from the non-academic personnel of public schools.

Similarly, the Local Health Board (LHB) in Sec. 102-105 serves as an advisory committee to the Sanggunian on health matters, and proposes to the Sanggunian the annual budgetary allocations from the operation and the maintenance of health services and facilities. It must have one representative from the NGO or the private sector involved in health services.

Sec. 116 establishes a Local Peace and Order Council (POC) that monitors peace and order programs and projects, formulates plans, and recommends measures for peace and order. It is composed of three representatives from the private sector and representative from the veterans in municipalities.

Aside from being assured of representation in these special bodies, representatives from marginalized sectors are reserved three seats in the local legislative councils (LGC Sec. 41 c). These representatives will come from the women, labor and any other sector determined by the local Sanggunian. They will be elected to the provincial, city and municipal

Sanggunian. This provision of the LGC is not in effect because Congress has repeatedly failed to pass an enabling law that will set the date and manner of the election. If elected though, these sectoral representatives will have a stronger voice in the local government units because they will be elected officials.

People's participation in local governance is enacted through the systems of initiative, referendum (Sec. 120-126) and recall (Sec. 69-75). Initiative allows voters to directly propose, enact or amend any ordinance through election. Referendum allows voters to approve, amend, or reject ordinance enacted by local legislation. Recall allows electorate to remove from office any elected official by a vote of no confidence. The referendum and plebiscite mechanisms have not been successfully tested to date because their processes are tedious and demand much commitment and resources from the community. Only the recall processes have been successfully tested due mainly to the fact that those who initiate the process are political rivals of the incumbents.

I enumerate these areas of people's participation in local governance because they offer lessons for those who wish to understand the pitfalls and successes of people's participation in governance. Although most of the literature deals with municipal and provincial LGUs, the areas where much of the governance funding has been allocated, those who wish to understand barangay processes can glean from the experiences of civil society groups on how effective participation can be instituted.

If one sifts through the published studies on people's participation in local governance,¹³ one can realize that much progress has been made in local democratization a decade after the passage of the LGC. Although participation is uneven, there is the growing awareness among LGUs and civil society organizations (CSOs) of the importance of cooperative endeavors between them. NGOs and LGUs throughout the country have actively sought each other's cooperation in many areas of governance. Examples of this are the joint efforts of LGUs and NGOs in marine preservation, forest conservation, basic services delivery and livelihood programs. However, participation in the more formal policy-making and governance bodies mandated by the Code, i.e. local special bodies, leaves much to be desired. One study on effective civil society

participation in local development councils estimates that only a third or half of LDCs in the country are functioning "and many of these are simply rubber stamps for plans prepared by the local planning office or by consultants."¹⁴ A recent survey by DILG of LGUs nationwide confirms that compliance to LSB reconstitution after the 2001 elections is just a little more than 50 percent. Many of those interviewed for the DILG study note that the LDC is not the most effective venue for participation in local planning. This is due to many factors, which keep cropping up when one looks into the functioning of most LSBs.¹⁵ They are the following:

- Effective people's participation relies too heavily on the willingness of local chief executives to engage NGOs and POs in governance work. However, local executives do not often see the value of civil society participation. Local chief executives believe that many groups have nothing substantial to contribute to LSBs and that people's participation slows down decision-making processes. Local executives believe cooperation revolves around activities where CSOs are merely implementing LGU projects.
- Local civil society organizations lack the capacity to engage LGUs either in the advocacy of issues or in planning processes which are developmental and far reaching. Many are not clear about their governance or long term development agenda. Many do not have secretariat and research capabilities to engage LSBs, especially the LDC. Many local and national NGO in fact still do not understand LGU functions and responsibilities enough to meaningfully engage them.
- There seems to be a lack of clarity on the functions of LSBs. Despite the fact that the Code spells out their functions quite clearly, LGU and CSO representatives are not clear about what LSBs can and should do. Perhaps these functions could still be better fleshed out, or the whole concept of development planning and other such functions should be better explained to potential participants.

- There is a lack of secretariat support from the LGUs so that these bodies do not function properly.
- There is also no effective monitoring of LGU constitution of LSBs. No agency seems to be in charge of this. DILG, which could be fulfilling a more significant role in this area as arbiter and catalyst for LGU-CSO cooperation, seems to be remiss in its duties.

What is worth noting in the studies on CSO participation in local governance is that local civil society groups are often not effective in LSB participation because they are not trained in mediation, meeting facilitation, long-term planning, policy research and advocacy.¹⁶ Thus, these bodies become ineffective and neither CSOs nor LGUs care to make them work.

Other areas of cooperation have become more effective. Concerns like environmental protections, agriculture and fisheries modernization, program/project monitoring and evaluation, health, sustainable development and cooperative development are the areas where cooperation have become effective. This is because both CSOs and LGUs realize that cooperation in these areas is beneficial for them. This is especially true if cooperation brings in funds and skills from either party that will ensure the success of projects of programs (e.g. participatory processes, community organizing skills). Cooperation is also encouraged by the fact that it can help each party fulfill their mandated programs or projects (e.g. basic service provision and the localization of national projects).

Successful CSO-LGU partnerships have also produced concrete and immediate effects and are concerned with projects that have a tangible output, e.g. livelihood programs and water systems. It is also important that projects have a direct benefit to the community. Clear parameters for partnership must also be defined. Each partner must know its roles and responsibilities in the cooperative endeavor, must agree on goals and strategies; and must understand the limitations and possibilities of each other's systems and processes. Of course, an important skill that LGU and

CSO personnel have to work on is the building of skills for partnership. This means developing secretariat skill; having the attitudes and structures for effective consultation with grassroots constituencies; being able to market their ideas, and to work with each other's processes; and CSOs being able to credibly present the agenda of their members to the LGUs.

In many Cases, it helped that local chief executives were open, even desirous, of CSO and community participation, either because they had an NGO background or they understood the value of community participation. NGOs that had a leadership that could coordinate with LGUs, whether because of personal connection or mutual trust built through a history of cooperation, also facilitated people's participation. Local chief executives were also open to cooperation in areas where multi-sectoral cooperation was needed.

For these reasons, engagements on the project implementation level were really the avenues for people's participation in local governance. From governance training to waste management, cooperation in particular projects with specific outputs seemed more fruitful for CSO-LGU cooperation. LSBs were less attractive avenues because they had no clear effect and participation was too difficult, aside from the fact that the structures of engagement were not organic to many local CSOs. However, as Dan Songco notes, we should cultivate integrated policy decision-making on substantive local issues and needs.¹⁷ After all, it is in this area that we will define long-term development.

We went through this excursus through findings of studies on people's participation in local governance because their conclusions will help us understand how participation works in the barangays chosen for this study. But before we begin to discuss the barangays, we have to understand the idea of the barangay.

THE BARANGAY AND THE CODE: AUTONOMY AND PARTICIPATION

The barangay is a relatively autonomous unit of the government. It has police powers, powers of taxation and the power of eminent domain within the limits specified and conferred by Congress. As a local government unit, it exercises "its powers as a corporate entity representing the inhabitants of its territory

(LGC Sec. 15). The barangay has two kinds of "general powers or functions, namely: (1) governmental and (2) proprietary."¹⁸ As a primary planning and implementing unit of government, it is called on to manage its locality in such a way that it can ensure the well-being and development of its citizens. The barangay, as an autonomous governmental unit, is called on to shape its locality in a way that it becomes a site of possible growth and development for its people.

The barangay is mandated to carry out the delivery of these basic services (LGC Sec. 17b):

- Agricultural support services which include planting materials distribution system and operation of farm produce collection and buying stations;
- Health and social welfare services which include maintenance of barangay health center and day-care center;
- Services and facilities related to general hygiene and sanitation, beautification, and solid waste collection;
- Maintenance of *katarungang pambarangay* (barangay justice);
- Maintenance of barangay roads and bridges and water supply systems;
- Infrastructure facilities such as multi-purpose hall, multipurpose pavement, plaza, sports center, and other similar facilities;
- Information and reading center; and
- Satellite or public market, where viable.

On top of these, they have to maintain the Barangay Agrarian Reform Committee (BARC) and barangay day-care centers. They are also involved in housing concerns. Other mandated tasks for the barangay are often found in laws regarding solid-waste management and clean air. Many of these tasks are supposed to be funded by the barangay itself. Theoretically, the barangay is financially autonomous enough to fulfill this task.

The barangay has financial resources guaranteed from its IRA and its share of the municipal or city collection of real property taxes. A barangays with no less than one hundred inhabitants is guaranteed at least Php 80, 000 IRA. However, in cities, their share can amount to millions. They can also engage in business

endeavors and other fund-raising activities in order to support their projects. Barangay taxing powers have also been expanded thus:

Sec. 152. Scope of Taxing Powers. The barangays may levy taxes, fees, and charges, as provided in this Article, which shall exclusively accrue to them:

- a. Taxes—On stores or retailers with fixed business establishments with gross sales of receipts of the preceding calendar year of Fifty thousand pesos (P50, 000.00) or less, in the case of cities and thirty thousand pesos (P30, 000.00) or less, in the case of municipalities, at a rate not exceeding one percent (1%) on such gross sales or receipts.
- b. Service Fees or Charges—Barangays may collect reasonable fees or charges for services rendered in connection with the regulations or the use of barangay-owned properties or service facilities such as palay, copra, or tobacco dryers.
- c. Barangay Clearance—No city or municipality may issue any license or permit for any business or activity unless a clearance is first obtained from the barangay where such business or activity is located or conducted. For such clearance, the Sangguniang barangay may impose a reasonable fee. The application for clearance shall be acted upon within seven (7) working days from the filing thereof. In the event that the clearance is not issued within the said period, the city or municipality may issue the said license or permit.
- d. Other Fees and Charges—The barangay may levy reasonable fees and charges:
 1. On commercial breeding of fighting cocks, cockfights and cockpits;
 2. On places of recreation which charge admission fees; and
 3. On billboards, signboards, neon signs, and outdoor advertisements.

On top of this, barangays get a percentage of the taxes collected through the community tax certificate.

Such powers allow the barangay a degree of fiscal autonomy. They can, if they are truly imaginative, raise funds not only from the IRA and their share of the real property tax but also from their own business or fund-raising endeavors. If they are dynamic and imaginative, they can raise the resources needed for effective governance. Thus, one can truly say that barangays are well equipped to become centers of governance. They are autonomous enough to be able to act in a limited way on what they determined to be the best path for their development.

Barangay governments are also able to effectively shape city and municipal development plans because their captains have a seat in these planning bodies. They can also lobby with their Congressmen to direct their pork barrel funds toward their projects. As more foreign development funds are being channeled to governance work, they can even avail of donor funds for their particular projects. However, it seems that most barangays are still mainly IRA-dependent. This is certainly true of those communities that have little resources from which the local governments can draw. This is no wonder since in the Philippines, most LGUs are more than 90 percent IRA dependent. Not many local government officials at any level are imaginatively or effectively exercising their fiscal powers.

If one looks at the duties of the Sangguniang barangay, one will understand what barangay governments are capable of doing:

Sec. 391. Powers, Duties, and Functions

- (a) The Sangguniang barangay, as the legislative body of the barangay, shall:
 1. Enact ordinances as may be necessary to discharge the responsibilities conferred upon it by law or ordinance and to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants therein;
 2. Enact tax revenue ordinances, subject to the limitations imposed in this Code;
 3. Enact annual and supplemental budgets in accordance with the provisions of this Code;

4. Provide for the construction and maintenance of barangay facilities and other public works projects chargeable to the general fund of the barangay or such other funds actually available for the purpose;
5. Submit to the Sangguniang panlungsod or Sangguniang bayan such suggestions or recommendations as it may see fit for the improvement of the barangay or for the welfare of the inhabitants thereof;
6. Assist in the establishment, organization, and promotion of cooperative enterprises that will improve the economic condition and well-being of the residents;
7. Regulate the use of multi-purpose halls, multi-purpose pavements, grain or copra dryers, patios and other post-harvest facilities, barangay waterworks, barangay markets, parking areas or other similar facilities constructed with government funds within the jurisdiction of the barangay and charge reasonable fees for the use thereof;
8. Solicit or accept monies, materials and voluntary labor for specific public works and cooperative enterprises of the barangay from residents, land owners, producers and merchants in the barangay; monies from grants-in-aid, subsidies, contributions, and revenues made available to the barangays from national, provincial, city or municipal funds; and monies from other private agencies and individuals: provided, however, that monies or properties donated by private agencies and individuals for specific purposes shall accrue to the barangay as trust fund;
9. Solicit or accept, in any or all the foregoing public works and cooperative enterprises, such cooperation as is made available by national, provincial, city, or municipal agencies established by law to render financial, technical, and advisory assistance to barangays and to barangay residents: provided, however, that in soliciting or accepting such cooperation, the Sangguniang barangay need not pledge any sum of money for expenditure in excess of amounts currently in the barangay treasury or encumbered for other purposes;
11. Hold fund-raising activities for barangay projects without the need of securing permits from any national or local office or agency. The proceeds from such activities shall be tax-exempt and shall accrue to the general fund of the barangay: provided, that in the appropriation thereof, the specific purpose for which such fund-raising activity has been held shall be first satisfied: provided, further, that no fund-raising activities shall be held within a period of sixty (60) days immediately preceding and after a national or local election, recall, referendum, or plebiscite: Provided, finally, That said fund-raising activities shall comply with national policy standards and regulations on morals, health, and safety of the persons participating therein. The Sangguniang barangay, through the punong barangay, shall render a public accounting of the funds raised at the completion of the project for which the fund-raising activity was undertaken;
12. Authorize the punong barangay to enter into contracts in behalf of the barangay, subject to the provisions of this Code;
13. Provide for the organization of community brigades, barangay tanod, or community service units as may be necessary;
14. Organize regular lectures, programs, or fora on community problems such as sanitation, nutrition, literacy, and drug abuse, and convene assemblies to encourage citizen participation in government;
15. Adopt measures to prevent and control the proliferation of squatters and mendicants in the barangay;
16. Provide for the proper development and welfare of children in the barangay by promoting and supporting activities for the protection and total development of children, particularly those below seven (7) years of age;

17. Adapt measures towards the prevention and eradication of drug abuse, child abuse, and juvenile delinquency;
18. Initiate the establishment of a barangay high school, whenever feasible, in accordance with law;
19. Provide for the establishment of a non-formal education center in the barangay whenever feasible, in coordination with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports;
20. Provide for the delivery of basic services; and
21. Exercise such other powers and perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed by law or ordinance.

Here we see how the Sangguniang barangay is empowered to raise funds and negotiate for funds. It is also empowered to regulate activities in the community for public safety and the public welfare.

On paper, one can see how the barangay is a potentially effective instrument for development. Being on the ground and with the depth of engagement it has with its citizens, the barangay should be the unit of government closest to the people and best able to gather consensus and bring about effective discourse on the collective vision they have of their community. And having the power to plan and implement these plans, it is an effective body for participatory local governance. It should be the primary venue for local democracy, especially since the LGC has instituted very clear systems of people's participation. One of the most important bodies of people's participation is the barangay development council. The LGC defines it such:

Sec. 106. Local Development Councils

- (a) Each local government unit shall have a comprehensive multi-sectoral development plan to be initiated by its development council and approved by its sanggunian. For this purpose, the development council at the provincial, city, municipal, or barangay level, shall assist the corresponding sanggunian in

setting the direction of economic and social development, and coordinating development efforts within its territorial jurisdiction.

The Barangay Development Council shall be composed thus (LGC Sec. 107):

1. Members of the Sangguniang barangay;
2. Representatives of nongovernmental organizations operating in the barangay who shall constitute not less than one fourth ($\frac{1}{4}$) of the members of the fully organized council;
3. A representative of the congressman.

The NGOs accredited by the local Sanggunian will choose among themselves their representatives in the council.

The Barangay Development Council shall exercise the following functions:

1. Mobilize people's participation in local development efforts;
2. Prepare barangay development plans based on local requirements;
3. Monitor and evaluate the implementation of national or local programs and projects; and
4. Perform such other functions as may be provided by law or competent authority.

As we can see, the development council has very important functions. They are to prepare the development plan, which is really 20 percent of the total barangay budget. These plans are supposed to be the blueprint for development of their locality. The fact that the plans are supposed to be comprehensive and forward looking is important because it forces local government units to think beyond the immediate needs of their citizens, thus, hopefully, building a culture of forward looking planning. This is also an important task because barangay development plans are supposed to feed into the municipal and city development plans. Since this plan is required for all LGUs, they have no choice but to accomplish them. The Barangay Development Council is also supposed to help the punong barangay prepare the annual executive and supplemental budgets. Thus, no budget is made without the participation of the local development council.

The council is also supposed to be a body that is able to mobilize genuine citizens' participation in governance. It is mandated to mobilize the community for development efforts and monitor the implementation of government projects. Thus, it fulfills the barangay's role as a mobilizing unit for the local citizenry. What is important to note here is that CSOs have a substantial representation in this body, taking one fourth of the total seats. Through its composition alone, the Barangay Development Council is supposed to assure citizen's participation in governance. However, beyond that, it is also called on to engage its citizenry in development and monitoring work. If they function as they were envisioned, Barangay Development Councils would be able to effect far-reaching governance reform by way of instilling the value of participatory, development planning. This idea is truly a radical idea, especially for barangay governance since most budgeting at this level has traditionally been focused on administration and the response to immediate needs. Through Barangay Development Councils, barangay LGUs are pushed to engage their people in collective planning for genuine progress. Here, they can engage each sector and allow them to contribute to the development of the barangay's actual potentials.

Another area for citizen's participation is the Barangay Assembly. It is defined by the Code thus:

Sec. 397. Composition; Meetings.

- a. There shall be a barangay assembly composed of all persons who are actual residents of the barangay for at least six (6) months, fifteen (15) years of age or over, citizens of the Philippines, and duly registered in the list of barangay assembly members.
- b. The barangay assembly shall meet at least twice a year to hear and discuss the semestral report of the Sangguniang barangay concerning its activities and finances as well as problems affecting the barangay. Its meetings shall be held upon call of the *punong* barangay or of at least four (4) members of the Sangguniang barangay, or upon written petition of at least five percent (5%) of the assembly members.

- c. No meeting of the barangay assembly shall take place unless a written notice is given one (1) week prior to the meeting except on matters involving public safety or security, in which case notice within a reasonable time shall be sufficient. The *punong* barangay, or in his absence, the Sangguniang barangay member acting as *punong* barangay, or any assembly member selected during the meeting, shall act as presiding officer in all the meetings of the assembly. The barangay secretary, or in his absence, any member designated by the presiding officer to act as secretary, shall discharge the duties of secretary of the barangay assembly.

Sec. 398. Powers of the Barangay Assembly.—The barangay assembly shall:

- a. Initiate legislative processes by recommending to the Sangguniang barangay the adoption of measures for the welfare of the barangay and the city or municipality concerned;
- b. Decide on the adoption of initiative as a legal process whereby the registered voters of the barangay may directly propose, enact, or amend any ordinance; and
- c. Hear and pass upon the semestral report of the Sangguniang barangay concerning its activities and finances.

The Barangay Assembly is supposed to be the occasion for the citizens, as a collective, to come together in discourse to both hear the barangay's report and to discuss and propose possible measures based on community needs and plans. It is the time when people can come together in free discourse with government officials so that they can understand what must be done for the community. With the mandate of the LGC, the assembly is also a chance for the people of the barangay to propose or amend legislation. The assembly allows for direct participation of the people in policy making.

The other feature of barangay governance that is worth noting is the barangay justice system. This system allows for the barangay government to arbitrate conflicts between members of the community without

going through court proceedings. This system recognizes the possibility of settling disputes with the help of persons in the community, i.e. the barangay captain and members of the *lupon ng tagapamayapa*. Though seemingly informal, it has jurisdiction over these cases:

Sec. 408. Subject Matter for Amicable Settlement; Exception Thereto. The lupon of each barangay shall have authority to bring together the parties actually residing in the same city or municipality for amicable settlement of all disputes except:

- a. Where one party is the government, or any subdivision or instrumentality thereof;
- b. Where one party is a public officer or employee, and the dispute relates to the performance of his official functions;
- c. Offenses punishable by imprisonment exceeding one (1) year or a fine exceeding five thousand pesos (P5,000.00);
- d. Offenses where there is no private offended party;
- e. Where the dispute involves real properties located in different cities or municipalities unless the parties thereto agree to submit their differences to amicable settlement by an appropriate lupon;
- f. Disputes involving parties who actually reside in barangays of different cities or municipalities, except where such barangay units adjoin each other and the parties thereto agree to submit their differences to amicable settlement by an appropriate lupon;
- g. Such other classes of disputes which the President may determine in the interest of justice or upon the recommendation of the Secretary of Justice.

The court in which noncriminal cases not falling within the authority of the lupon under this Code are filed may, at any time before trial *motu proprio* refer the case to the lupon concerned for amicable settlement.

Here, we see that the courts have to recognize the prior jurisdiction of the *lupon* over some cases. They in fact cannot act on these cases until the lupon secretary

certifies that the case passed through their process and no settlement was arrived at. The settlements arrived at in this venue have the weight of court decisions.

Here, we see that the barangay justice system represents a form of conflict management that recognizes the capacities of the community to resolve its own conflicts. After all, the lupon members are appointed from among the members of the community. Being of the same barangay, they hopefully share a familiar lifeworld that is less alienating than the formal court systems. Through the barangay justice system, the disputing members of the community can communicate in their lived language and argue in lifeworld discourses. Thus, the possibility of coming to agreements that are just and acceptable is probably higher than if the people of the community had to argue their cases in the more traditional courts. With barangay justice, the people in the community are empowered to exercise some judiciary powers. This is especially beneficiary for indigenous communities and other communities that are populated by the marginalized citizens.

The Sanggunian Kabataan is also potentially an avenue of participation for the youth. The Sangguniang Kabataan is mandated to mobilize the youth:

Sec. 426. Powers and Functions of the Sangguniang Kabataan. The Sangguniang Kabataan shall:

- a. Promulgate resolutions necessary to carry out the objectives of the youth in the barangay in accordance with the applicable provisions of this Code;
- b. Initiate programs designed to enhance the social, political, economic, cultural, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and physical development of the members;
- c. Hold fund-raising activities, the proceeds of which shall be tax-exempt and shall accrue to the general fund of the sangguniang kabataan: provided, however, that in the appropriation thereof, the specific purpose for which such activity has been held shall be first satisfied;
- d. Create such bodies or committees as it may deem necessary to effectively carry out its programs and activities;

- e. Submit annual and end-of-term reports to the Sangguniang barangay on their projects and activities for the survival and development of the youth in the barangay;
- f. Consult and coordinate with all youth organizations in the barangay for policy formulation and program implementation;
- g. Coordinate with the appropriate national agency for the implementation of youth development projects and programs at the national level;
- h. Exercise such other powers and perform such other duties and functions as the sangguniang barangay may determine or delegate; and
- i. Exercise such other powers and perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed by law or ordinance.

With the Sangguniang Kabataan, the youth are allowed to formulate policy, implement project and raise funds for their own projects. They are also called on to convene the youth assembly, which comprises all the youth between the ages of 15 to 21, so that they can be consulted on youth affairs. Utilized well, the Sangguniang Kabataan could be an effective school of governance and citizen's participation for the youth. And since the Sangguniang Kabataan sits in the barangay council, its members can be an effective advocate for youth concerns.

Given these mandated avenues for people's participation, this study sought at first to focus on barangay development planning and the process that led to the formulation of a barangay development plan. The main idea was to understand who influenced the formulation of the barangay development plan, the role of the Barangay Development Council and how the community was able to participate in the planning process, if at all. Understanding how important these provisions for people's participation are for effective governance at the community level, we hoped to show how participation works given the formal structure of participation in local planning. However, after our initial interviews, it is clear that these formal processes of participation are not actually effective in shaping actual planning processes. In the end, it is still the captain and sometimes the council who formulate the

budget and the development plans. People's participation is limited if present at all. Still, our study revealed that there exists less formal and effective processes of participation. In the three barangays studied, we discovered processes that explain how the lifeworld processes work, why the well-intended systems failed, and how they could be made to work.

GOVERNANCE IN THREE QUEZON CITY BARANGAYS

To gain some understanding of how these principles are put to work in urban barangays, we studied three barangays in the second district of Quezon City. These barangays are located in the area of Quezon City with the highest concentration of the urban poor. This area it also the area of the city where many NGOs have focused their organizing work since the late 70s. These areas were studied mainly because they are potential frontiers of good barangay governance. Their barangay officials have undergone governance training or are knowledgeable of the LGC, their urban poor have had some organizing, they have a good mix of urban poor communities, businesses and subdivisions, and they are in need of effective governance given the sizeable urban poor population they host. We also looked into at the operations of one barangay in the third district, which hosts the most upscale neighborhoods, for contrast. This fourth barangay was only taken to help the researchers understand if more affluent neighborhoods would have different views and practices.

The three barangays chosen for study are interesting because they have fairly new barangay officials. Two of these officials replaced longstanding barangay captains and are mostly open to new practices although they are still more comfortable with what some governance advocates would call traditional, patronage political methods. We chose these barangays because of their proximity in geographical location and their demographic variations. We looked into the variation in governance style and local politics that the presence of subdivisions, business establishments and industries would make. Mainly the difference in these barangays would lie in the presence of businesses and

industries, the predominance of subdivisions and the size of the urban poor population. For reasons of privacy we will refrain from mentioning the names of the barangays. Let us refer to them as Barangays I, II and III.

Barangay I was created in March 26, 1962. It has a land area of 199.6644 has., with a total population of 49,639 and 10,824 households (NSO, May 2000). It is made up of three sitios. There are approximately 650 business establishments in the barangay, one health center, 7 churches (of the Catholic, Christian and Muslim faiths) and 9 educational establishments servicing primary and secondary schooling needs. Approximately 7,310 urban poor families reside in the barangay, but presently, there are only three Community Mortgage Program (CMP) projects being undertaken, with only 61 family/beneficiaries. The CMP is a system by which the urban poor communities are organized and assisted in purchasing the land they dwell in.

Barangay I's punong barangay moved up the ladder of barangay politics, from lupon tagapamayapa to his current position. On the whole, he is open to consultations, but not proactive in instituting formal consultation mechanisms. The same can be said of his Sanggunian. The barangay has a strong Iglesia ni Kristo influence that determines who will win the local elections.

Barangay II was created in June 25, 1975. Subdivided into 6 sitios, it has a total land area of 181.5910 has., with a population of 30,018 and approximately 6,671 households (NSO, May 2000). The Barangay has approximately 723 business establishments with 1 health center and 3 playgrounds. There is no official documentation concerning the urban poor, but there are 15 depressed areas. Currently, there are only 2 CMP take out projects, with 42 family/beneficiaries sharing 2,042 sq. meters.

Some of the problems that currently plague the barangay are the proliferation of illegal substances and gambling (jueteng, video karera). Though there are approximately 23 factories in the barangay, the management prefers employing those residing outside of the barangay, usually workers coming in from the provinces. At present though, the barangay is initiating measures for better cooperation with the factories.

Its punong barangay is more comfortable in practices of traditional politics, but is open to new practices and innovations. Some of his Sanggunian members are open to the institutionalization of people's participation. It has an Iglesia ni Krsito presence, but it is not that significant in determining the officials.

Barangay III is the more prosperous of the three. Created in 25 June 1975, the barangay has the total land area of 317.9857 has. and a population of 27,354, with 5,791 households (NSO, May 2000). Currently, there are approximately 306 business establishments, with 5 markets/supermarkets, 5 parks/playgrounds, 4 hospitals, and 7 educational institutions that serve primary, secondary and tertiary educational needs. There are approximately 4,320 urban poor families in the barangay, with 15 CMP take out projects serving 518 family/beneficiaries.

Its punong barangay is more comfortable with traditional practices but is open to new progressive practices and people's participation. Some of her *kagawads* come from the people's organizations and are involved in housing issues. There is a strong Iglesia ni Kristo presence in this barangay and it has an influence in local electoral politics. However, this captain won despite the lack of Iglesia support.

After a series of focus group discussions and dozens of interviews with key persons from the barangay government and community, we realized that the differences among these barangays are not significant. On the whole, these three barangays are almost identical in the areas of our inquiry. Thus, our discussion will not segregate the data from these three barangays. Special mention will just be made when there are notable differences in their characteristics.

BARANGAY POLITICS

All three barangay captains are from middle to upper middle class backgrounds. Each one began his/her barangay involvement through some sort of civic organization, such as the Catholic Women's League, or through barangay governance service, such as service as barangay *tanod* or as *lupon*. Through their service, the barangay captains involved themselves in barangay affairs and became known to the urban poor

constituency. This is true also for most of the *kagawads*.

It seems that the key to barangay leadership is to serve in some kind of work that allows one to be known to the urban poor constituency of the barangay. One would think that leader selection would come from the local political elite. After all, it is common knowledge to political operators that the most basic component of one's electoral machinery is the barangay captain. The barangay captain is able to harness a command vote from her constituency and thus it is essential that the political party has effective control of these local leaders. One would then think that barangay captains are handpicked by the party despite the nonpartisan character of barangay elections. This is not the case, however. There is an informal and organic process of barangay political leadership selection. This is a process that works in each level of barangay leadership.

When interviewing different barangay leaders, i.e. Sanggunian Kabataan members, area leaders, kagawads, lupon members and barangay captains, it was clear that they were chosen through an informal process of community consultation. Often, leaders are identified by their communities when incumbent leaders come looking for potential community leaders. For instance, most *purok* leaders (i.e. leaders from the communities, however they are defined) are identified to the barangay captain by their own communities from among their own ranks. It seems that when barangay captains are looking for potential candidates for the Sangguniang Kabataan, the barangay Sanggunian or for lupon and purok leaders, they informally consult the people of the community and look for potential or actual leaders from among them. These leaders are most often the pool from which barangay officials are drawn.

One variation to this system is in Barangay III where there is a strong confederation of urban poor residents whose leaders have had some community organizing training from a national NGO. The leaders of this group came together to decide among themselves who they should campaign for. This group is actually a powerful political force in their barangay because they are able to get their candidates elected. In fact, they were able to successfully field their own candidate for *kagawad*. As such, there was a more formal process in choosing local leaders. But it still illustrates how officials

are chosen among the leaders of the community. This stands in sharp contrast with the national and local processes of candidate selection which is an activity reserved for the members of the elite. In the barangay leadership selection process, the community seems involved in the process.

Acceptability to the urban poor communities is the key to leadership in the barangay. In all three barangays studied, despite the strong presence of subdivisions belonging to upper middle class and wealthy families, the urban poor are the kingmakers. The subdivision residents who are known as the *may-kaya*, the well-off or well-to-do, stay away from barangay elections and do not involve themselves in barangay affairs. Although all the barangay captains try to maintain good working relations with the officials of homeowner associations, other barangay officials and local leaders perceive them to be snobbish towards the barangay government. This perception may have basis because the officials of the homeowners associations we interviewed feel that the urban poor are consulted too much and have little to contribute to governance. They feel that the people in the subdivisions should be consulted more because they are professionals and have skills. In Barangay III, homeowners in fact feel some resentment toward the barangay government for catering to the needs of the urban poor more.

The case of Barangay III is an interesting case that illustrates the power of the urban poor vote. The scion of a subdivision building family challenged the incumbent captain. This candidate had all the advantages that should have assured electoral victory: wealth, a relative who was a councilor, use of local police for election day maneuverings, and Catholic and Iglesia church's support. These factors should actually have sealed victory. But the incumbent still won. This is because the organized urban poor communities were behind her. Even the mighty Iglesia ni Kristo's vote did not succeed in unseating this captain. This is no mean feat for both the urban poor communities and the barangay captain because all the candidates in the barangays studied say that one of the major factors to election victory is the support of the Iglesia ni Kristo. As everyone knows, the Iglesia ni Kristo has a command vote like no other and has a very strong presence in at least two of these communities. The story of our

contrasting Barangay in District 3 is similar. The incumbent barangay captain was challenged by a prominent entertainment personality who was very visible in the first EDSA uprising. The politics of the affluent residents in the barangay were supposedly progressive and supportive of the challenger's program of government. But, despite the strong presence of very affluent residents of subdivisions in this barangay, he was defeated by the incumbent who was able to project himself as the champion of the cause of the urban poor against the affluent homeowners.

The kagawads in Barangay I noted that it is difficult for a subdivision owner to win any barangay election because they are not known or liked by the urban poor communities. In Barangay I, there is even a sense of enmity because the poor are not allowed to access subdivision roads, which makes life difficult for them. Thus, to win barangay elections and gain leadership, one must be able to win the hearts of the urban poor by involving oneself in their concerns. One barangay captain rose to prominence in fact because as kagawad, he championed the cause of the urban poor who faced demolition. The urban poor are the key to barangay leadership because they are the ones who need the barangay government most and they are the ones who vote.

THE URBAN POOR AND THE BARANGAY

In these three barangays, officials are in agreement that the subdivision residents do not have many dealings with the local government. They only come to the barangay to get permits and perhaps to have their roads lit and the grass in vacant lots cut. Thus, voter turnout from subdivisions is low for barangay elections. In fact, it can drop to less than 10 percent. Voter turnout for the urban poor is another story. They dominate barangay elections and are seen as the very base of one's electoral victory. Thus, the winners in barangay elections are those who are known to the depressed communities.

To be known, one has to be active in responding to urban poor issues. For instance, one barangay captain won his place in the hearts of the electorates when he worked to stop the demolition of the urban poor

communities in their locality. Another kagawad became known because, as a local leader, she worked to implement the community mortgage program. To gain prominence in barangay politics, one must become visible in the community by getting involved in some urban poor issue such as housing, peace and order, and especially issues regarding youth and drugs, and livelihood. Of all these issues, housing seems to be the most effective way to the voter's hearts. This is perhaps because housing is such a dramatic issue, especially during demolitions.

Just to stand by the side of those threatened with demolition means much and can translate to sure votes. One barangay captain who lost in the last election seems to have lost some of his constituency because he was never around during demolitions and he seemed to do nothing to stop these. It is particularly useful to take on the housing issue as a cause because the most organized urban poor groups in the community are those that faced the possibility of eviction. In Barangay I, where a large population of the urban poor face possible eviction because of the construction of a highway, the urban poor have organized themselves into very active groups that began as community resistance to eviction. Eventually, this became active in pushing for other community concerns within the barangay. This organized group was able to bring their present barangay captain to his post because they organized themselves as his electoral campaign group.

Barangay officials then have a clear prioritization for the poor. They have no choice since the poor are their main constituency. Sometimes the well-to-do members of the community resent this preferential treatment for the poor. However, their resentment never really translates into anything that can threaten the position of the barangay officials. In Barangay III, where the village residents supported the challenger to the incumbent captain, and where hostility translated in their efforts to evict the barangay government from their property, the barangay captain was able to retain her seat. This is mainly because she has a loyal core group of urban poor groups that support her. In such a situation, it is imperative that an elected official does not show favor for the subdivisions over the urban poor. One barangay captain lost because, among other things of course, he was perceived to be concerned only

with the subdivision residents. He was not available to the poor residents and did not care about their plight nor did he consult them about their needs.

In Barangay II, it was made clear that no resident from the subdivisions would win since they have no sympathy for the poor. In fact, because they refuse to grant right-of-way to urban poor residents, they are perceived as elitist and incapable of responding to the poor. This availability for response and understanding of the plight of the urban poor is an important qualification for a barangay official because the barangay government is really seen as some kind of provider for the needs of the poor. In fact, it seems that policy-making and development planning are the least concerns of the barangay officials.

For barangay officials whose tenure is very dependent on the favor of the urban poor constituency, their main concerns are to respond to the felt needs of the depressed communities. This means providing basic services and emergency succor that are really not the responsibility of the local government. Often, they are faced with requests for burial funds, for emergency hospitalization, etc. Not to be able to respond sympathetically, even if not successfully, to these requests is tantamount to political suicide. This is because the urban poor see the barangay as a *takbuhán* or a kind of provider that compensates for social inequities. As a barangay official, one is swamped with requests from the communities. These requests range from the personal to the communal. And as politicians, barangay officials must prioritize these requests based on their official and personal budgets.

Often, barangay officials act as brokers. As the captain of Barangay II says, one has to have access to those with resources to be able to respond to the needs of the people. This means being able to request projects from the city councilors, the mayor, different government agencies, the congressman, and the senators. These resources are especially important for infrastructure projects such as streets and streetlights. Barangay officials must also know where to send their constituencies with their problems. Officials must be able to refer their constituency to the different agencies of government for their problems. Thus, officials are seen as members of the community who understand the system and can access the resources that are not available to the poor. These officials serve as a bridge

between the marginalized and the system with its resources. Thus, systems of consultation are necessary.

CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The LGC defines two particular mechanisms of people's participation in policy-making, i.e. the Barangay Assembly and the Barangay Development Council. Of course, people's organizations are encouraged to take part in project implementation and monitoring. But the general population and their organization's representatives are called to the task of defining their collective society in these two assemblies where they have the authority and right to shape barangay policy. This is why the formal constitution of the Barangay Assemblies and Barangay Development Council is essential. The Barangay Assembly is supposed to be a consultative body where the barangay government makes its formal progress report and the citizens can present their own proposals. This is the arena for filtering barangay concerns and proposing matters that the Sangguniang Barangay should take up. The Barangay Development Council, on the other hand, is a policy-making body responsible for 20 percent of the barangay budget. They should be able to directly define policy regarding the development of the barangay. They are a direction-setting body that can direct barangay spending toward projects that will benefit the barangay in a more fundamental way. It is also supposed to be rallying the people to work for the development of the barangay. The Barangay Development Council is supposed to be the body that sees the whole picture of the barangay and determine its potential. That is why it is a deliberative body that demands a substantial membership from civil society and the citizenry.

When asked, the three barangays say that they have complied with the LGC provisions regarding the Barangay Development Council and the Barangay Assembly. They have constituted their Barangay Development Council and they hold barangay assemblies twice a year. However, neither body seems to be effective. Barangay I and II's development councils, although constituted, seem not to be functioning and have nothing to do with the formulation of a barangay development plan. No one among our interviewees was

very clear about the composition of the Barangay Development Council, or about their scheduled meetings. The only barangay that seemed to have a functioning development council was Barangay III, which has a barangay captain that had strong ties with the urban poor organizations. These organizations are actually confederated and are rather influential in the barangay because they helped the barangay captain win the elections. Because of their support, the barangay captain was able to win a third term despite the opposition of the subdivision owners, local, upper class Catholic Church groups, the Iglesia ni Kristo and the challenge of a very wealthy and influential opposition candidate. Thus, they have the ear of the local officials. Because of their electoral strength, they have been given a seat in Barangay III's development council and take part in formulating the development plan. The other barangays only seem to have development councils on paper, despite their expressed desire to make them more functional. However, for all these barangays, there is no clear process of barangay development plan formulation. It seems that the barangay development plan was either formulated by the barangay captain or Sanggunian and was only later submitted for approval to either the Barangay Assembly or the Barangay Development Council. Clearly, these barangays do not have development councils as envisioned by the Code and no barangay development plan that was formulated through a process that involved communal deliberation.

In fact, budgets are mostly the domain of the barangay captain. On the whole, they prepare these based on prior consultation or else they consult after preparing the budget. However the budget gets prepared, it is the captain's call based on what they understand to be priorities. Consultations for the regular budget and the development budget involve kagawads and sometimes representatives from people's organizations, depending on how close the people's organization is to the barangay captain or how capable they are in getting themselves heard. But clearly, the urban poor's capacity to have themselves heard has much to do with their capacity to influence the outcome of elections. Their vote, after all, is source of any officials' mandate. And this urban poor vote is also the source of the barangay official's influence with city and national elective officials since the barangay official is often seen as the local ward leader who can deliver

the crucial votes during elections. The officials interviewed hinted at this. Although they say that national and local officials allow them their autonomy, they do support barangay officials with projects and funds because they know that barangay officials are the most basic component of their vote delivering machinery. For this reason, an organized urban poor group that can bring substantial votes will be heard and will gain representation in the barangay development council or any consultative body for that matter.

Interestingly, it seems that men referred to as "contractors" significantly determine barangay budgets. We are not sure if these men are actual construction contractors, but they are described as men who know the workings of budgeting and project funds release in City Hall. These men apparently can influence the city bureaucracy to include their pet projects in the official budget. Some of these contractors are even able to influence national agencies to bring projects to the barangays. All they ask in exchange for their services is 20 percent of the project cost. It seems this is standard practice because we hear as much from other captains from other cities. In some barangays, these men, more than anyone in the barangay, are able to prioritize barangay projects. This is because they can tell barangay captains how and where they can access funds. They can also tell barangay captains how they can spend their budgets beneficially. Residents in some barangays believe that "contractors" are influential because they also earn from these deals.

An interesting anecdote to illustrate the middleman system came from an interview with one of the more progressive and innocent the Sangguniang Kabataan chairs. He wants to institute a new kind of Sangguniang Kabataan governance; one that is less infrastructure-oriented and more oriented toward skills training and consultations to involve the youth in community concerns. Unfortunately, the Sangguniang Kabataan has no budget items for training and youth consultations. Therefore, the boy was advised by his elders to be more creative in fund raising. This basically meant dealing with the "contractor" or in his words, "*yung marunong sa City Hall*," by allowing him to work out their requests for projects. Through this method, some money would apparently be given to the SK-officials who could use this money for their projects. The SK-official thought that there was nothing illegal with this

method of fund raising because it was standard practice. It was *abilidad*.

This method really subverts any hope for people's participation in development planning and budgeting. In one barangay, the kagawads main issue against the former barangay captain centered around his being too closely dictated to by the contractor.

Barangay assemblies are also clearly only as effective as the quality of participation of those who attend them. For most of the barangays interviewed, the assemblies are fairly well attended with something like 40 percent of the community estimated to participate. This is either because they have these assemblies together with their Christmas party or they have raffles for this affair. One barangay admitted though that they do not bother to convene the assemblies and submit only a fabricated report because the assemblies are not an effective consultation mechanism. On the whole, the assemblies are seen as reporting sessions where a progress report is made by barangay officials and the people express their own concerns. However, there is no systematic way that this assembly affects policy-making and administration. There exists no real system by which the concerns of the people and their own comments regarding the barangay report are expressed and turned into concrete policy suggestions. It seems clear though that what is said in these assemblies is a direct way by which the people can express their concerns to the barangay officials. This is important since it guarantees a venue for the expression of immediate needs. However, there are no processes of processing what is expressed in the assembly into long-term developmental policy. And this is what seems to be lacking in barangay governance, or any level of local governance for that matter.

It is understandable that long-term or even medium-term policy-making is the last things on the minds of local officials. This is even more understandable for barangay officials. Everyday, they are swamped with their constituency's requests, which revolve around the lack of money for food, medicine, wakes and other such basic necessities. For a barangay official not to meet these requests would be tantamount to committing political suicide. Thus, the accessing of resources to respond to these pressing requests is important. After all, the barangay official is the bridge of the marginalized to the resources of a system that is

unsympathetic to the poor. Thus, the barangay official often use his/her own money to respond to the most pressing and immediate requests. On the whole, a barangay official's preoccupation is to find ways to respond to immediate needs. Many barangay officials seem also to be occupied with infrastructure projects that seem to be the community's main indication that the barangay officials are working. Thus, legislation and policy-formulation that looks toward longer- or more medium-term development is beyond the immediate concerns of the barangay officials swamped with requests from their constituents.

This is an understandable situation but still unfortunate. The barangay has a potential to be the front line for relevant planning for sustainable and just development. Despite the seeming failure of the LGC participation mechanisms, barangay governance has built-in consultation mechanisms. A barangay is in touch with the pulse of its constituents because it has purok leaders, i.e. local community leaders who are the intermediaries between the barangay officials and the communities. Sanggunian members are assigned different areas of responsibility and, if they do their work, which most claim to do, they visit the different areas regularly. Thus, barangay leaders are always up to date with the needs of the urban poor. However, they are not really equipped to understand how these needs demand long-term development planning that may provide better responses to the problems that beset their communities. None of the barangays mentioned spoke of development plans that addressed the barangays' potential for growth.

Barangay officials also see consultation as an activity focused on understanding what the constituents want from the barangay. They seem not to see the urban poor as having a the potential to engage in the kind of public discourse that could help formulate effective development plans. Certainly, if barangay leaders consulted their urban poor constituents to understand their needs, regular visits and consultations with *purok* leaders are enough. And most officials, even the subdivision owners and the urban poor themselves, understand the consultations to have this function. The constituents most often consulted for planning and budgeting are the subdivision residents who are professionals. Otherwise, the urban poor are consulted for their complaints and needs. This situation is not

empowering given that the role of the majority of the constituents is to express their needs and vote for barangay officials. They are not given a chance to think developmentally for the barangay government. The Barangay Assembly and Barangay Development Council could be empowering for them in this way. However, they have to be constituted with these objectives in mind. Especially since the urban poor have wisdom that could certainly contribute to sustainable and equitable development plans. Perhaps, the barangay could work with NGOs who have skills in participatory resource appraisal and planning.

This will of course mean more work and expenditure for the barangay officials. More formal consultations with proper facilitation methods demand more groundwork in order to prepare local leaders and citizens to engage in the public use of reason. It will mean teaching them participatory resource appraisal techniques and will demand more facilitation skills that the barangay officials have for fruitful and meaningful discourse. This means having the capacity to direct discourse from merely immediate concerns toward a more global and long-term view of community development concerns. For such tasks, it would be helpful to have local government officials who respect the fact that the urban poor constituencies have more to share than their problems. Communities need barangay officials who understand that the people of the community have a wisdom that can be applied to developmental thinking and planning. Given that they have a deeper understanding of their lifeworld and how these are marginalized by systems that may be irrelevant to them, they may have remedies to allow for a less brutal systematization of the society. More importantly, they may have innovative and grounded understanding to what kind of local and national development will allow the poor to feel that they are stakeholders in the task of development. It seems that the key to just and equitable development is the formulation of development plans in which the people feel they have a stake and thus must involve themselves in its successful implementation.

This is where barangay governance holds a key role. The LGC itself states that the barangay is the "basic political unit, the barangay serves as the primary planning and implementing unit of government

policies, plans, programs, projects, and activities in the community, and as a forum wherein the collective views of the people may be expressed, crystallized and considered... (Sec. 384)." Thus, barangay governance should work toward the fulfillment of genuine participatory consultation and planning institutions. But in order to do this, some investment by way of training must be made. Barangay officials should gain the skills in facilitating meetings so that they become productive planning and consultation mechanisms. They should also learn how to translate the inputs from such large meetings into development policy. Local POs should also learn to engage in the discourse of local planning and they should be able to do participatory research and resource appraisal.

As they stand though, it is clear that there are existing consultation mechanisms despite the apparent irregularity of these area visits and the lack of a clear system. However, these mechanisms are only adequate for finding out what the people's needs are by way of daily survival. Genuine governance should have a longer-term development objective and thus aside from discovering immediate needs, consultations should be able to draw a vision for development from their constituents. This is not to belittle the actual system of consultation implemented by Sanggunian members. However, it must be noted that these efforts should be complemented by these other systems. And this means a reconsideration of how the barangay assembly is conducted and the actual and effective constitution of the barangay development council.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study of these three urban barangays at the heart of Quezon City gives us a glimpse of what barangay governance is about. Through this brief excursion into barangay governance, it is hoped that we get a picture of what it means to be a barangay official. In this study our focus has been the barangay captain and the Sanggunian. The Sangguniang Kabataan and the lupong tagapamayapa are also worth studying because they play potentially crucial roles in barangay governance. Unfortunately, time and resources did not permit this. But in our study of the barangay captain

and kagawads, with our focus on avenues of people's participation, we have seen a glimpse of the workings of barangay governance.

We see here that barangay officials primarily serve the urban poor. They are the barangay officials' main constituents given that subdivision residents and business proprietors have little to do with the barangay government. These barangay citizens are rather self-sufficient and come to the barangay government for less substantial needs. For instance, they come for beautification, permits and such concerns. The people of the depressed areas are more dependent on the barangay. They come to barangay officials for the least things like food, cooking implements, and medicines that spell their survival. They also come to the barangay to provide for basic services such as water, access roads, livelihood, and shelter. Given this work, barangay officials are supposed to be adept both at accessing resources available at the national government and at being able to draw from the people their needs and views. This is because they are supposed to be able to respond to the needs of the people or they will not be re-elected. Thus being the "parents" of the constituency, meaning the urban poor community, is the main task of the barangay officials. The barangay captains of two of these barangays refer to themselves as fathers of the barangay. Such an attitude toward the urban poor and such a relationship between the constituents and the barangay officials do not facilitate for more meaningful participation beyond their consultations on the needs of the urban poor.

However, if local governments, specifically the barangay, are meant to play a more meaningful role in defining sustainable development for their communities and their nation, they must take people's participation mechanisms more seriously. This means that they must be engaged meaningfully in processes that empower the people, i.e. processes that allow them to participate in development planning processes. Their participation in processes of discourse are empowering because they allow everyone to enter into processes of justification where the people of the community are forced to think past their limited world of needs by opening to the needs of others and justify their needs to others. These processes also allow them to understand their needs within the horizon of the needs of others and the need of the community. This would draw people beyond

their private concerns into the concerns of citizenship. Thus, we see the importance of the mechanisms instituted by the Code for people's participation. These are not only mechanisms for development and growth. They are also mechanisms for empowering the marginalized to become active citizens in their communities.

What we see in our barangay communities is their participation in governance defined by their needs. They see the barangay government as a bridge to resources that are unavailable to the marginalized. And thus, they come to the barangay as a dispenser of needs that they have no access to at the moment. Thus, some barangay officials also look at the urban poor citizens as "children" who have to be supported. They have to be catered to because if they are offended, they can withdraw their support from the officials. This situation creates a situation where citizens, even in the most basic unit of government, are indifferent to governance issues. The urban poor only participate in governance because they see that engaging the barangay government gains them access to resources they have no access to. The well-to-do on the other hand, do not take part in barangay governance unless they need something from the barangay government, i.e. permits, environmental maintenance, or peace and order. In fact, because of their lack of need, the subdivision residents could have a condescending attitude toward the barangay government. If such a situation remains, then citizen participation in governance will remain underdeveloped. People's participation in governance will remain on the level of the accessing of needs. The other important area of participation, i.e. participation in the discourse and activities that define the collective development of the community, will not be developed.

However, there are real difficulties in the implementation of people's participation mechanisms. First, there is the lack of inherent interest on the part of the local citizenry. Other than the accessing of resources, there is no motivation for the people to engage local government. Firstly, most of the barangay's citizens do not have the time or resources to take part in governance activities. Secondly, most of the barangay citizens do not have the inclination to take part in governance activities. There is really no apparent reason for the people to take part in governance. Even if barangay officials are enthusiastic with the implementation of participation mechanisms, they

are faced with a relatively indifferent population. Thus they have to think up of all sorts of gimmicks to entice the people to take part in the Barangay Assembly. However, the key to people's participation in governance seems to lie in community organization. An organized community, which understands the long-term benefits of participation and is trained in the mechanisms of participation, is more able to and interested in participation. Effective participation could also be born from effective training in participation for both citizens and barangay officials. In the barangays we studied, there are already groups calling for the effective convening of the Barangay Development Councils and there are also officials who are enthusiastic about convening these councils and engaging in development planning. This can be attributed to the presence of an NGO that has engaged both local government officials and local people's organizations in barangay governance training. Being aware of the value of people's participation and effective governance, the people and their officials are more open to engaging in participatory governance. We also observed that through our focus group discussions, barangay officials were allowed to reflect on their own experiences and examine their governance styles. Simple things like group discussions could awaken the officials and citizens to what they could do to genuinely implement good barangay governance.

The credibility of the participation processes is also wont to encourage participation. The citizens of the barangays we studied were more open to participation

if they see that their officials are open to participation and it will have concrete results. Perhaps, the effectiveness of the people's participation mechanisms is also tied to the ability of officials to facilitate participation. Local government officials should invest in training in facilitation techniques or they should even invest in hiring facilitators who will be able to design methods by which the people can be drawn into effective participation.

More interdisciplinary studies have to be made in the field of barangay governance. It would be interesting to see what sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists would end. What we have seen in this preliminary study is that barangay governance holds much potential in initiating sustainable and just development. It is not only the frontline for the delivery of basic services, it is also the frontline for participatory governance. However, much has to be done to awaken this potential. The people of the community and their officials have to realize the potential they have. This potential has already been defined and legitimated by law, and they already have mechanisms of informal consultation that will allow effective participation. What they need is a paradigm shift in their consultation mechanisms. They have to rethink governance so that it is more developmental and participatory. They have to realize that the local people should be able to take part in government in ways that go beyond the mere airing of concerns and needs. How this will come about is a real question. It clearly demands much experimentation and training in urban governance.

NOTES

¹All subsequent references to the Local Government Code shall be the "Code."

²Refer to Vincent Edward Festing and Marlon Manuel, "The IRA Cut: Threat to Local Governance and Autonomy," and Agustin Martin G. Rodriguez, "A Just Share of the National Pie: Restoring the IRA Cut," in Local Governance Policy Forum, *Our Just Share*. (Quezon City: Local Governance Policy Forum, 2000).

³Alex B. Brilliantes, Jr., "Essay on the Local Government Code of 1991 and NGOs." *CSC Paper No. 1* (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, 1992), 5.

⁴Emmanuel C. de Guzman, "The Local Government Code and the Reconstitution of Power in a Philippine Municipality," *Loyola Schools Review*, School of Social Sciences, Vol. 1, 2001.

⁵Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila, "An Overview of Filipino Perspective on Democracy and Citizenship." In *Democracy and Citizenship in Filipino Political Culture*. (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1997), 69-112.

⁶Maria Serena I. Diokno, "Becoming a Filipino Citizen: Perspectives on Citizenship and Democracy," *Democracy and Citizenship in Filipino Political Culture*. (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1997), 33.

⁷Fernando N. Zialcita, "Barriers and Bridges to a Democratic Culture," *Democracy and Citizenship in Filipino Political Culture*. (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1997), 47.

⁸Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* Vol. 1 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 169-169.

⁹Jürgen Habermas, "Conceptions of Modernity: A Look Back at Two Traditions," *The Postnational Constellation*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 138.

¹⁰Habermas, *Theory*, 190.

¹¹Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 75.

¹²*Ibid.*, 64.

¹³Cf. Agustin Martin G. Rodriguez, "Legislated Participation: Ten Years After the Code," a study commissioned by the Philippine Governance Forum, 2001. Also refer to the annotated bibliography of this study.

¹⁴Department of Interior and Local Government, *A Study on People's Participation in the Local Development Councils*. (Manila: Department of Interior and Local Government, 2001), 85.

¹⁵Cf. Rodriguez, Legislated Participation or the works cited in the annotated bibliography.

¹⁶DILG, A Study, 85.

¹⁷Danilo A. Songco, "Strategic Partnerships through People's Participation in Local Governance." *GOLD Occasional Papers* 97-05.

¹⁸Reynaldo B. Aralar, *Barangay Government*. (Quezon City: Reynaldo B. Aralar and Associates, 2002), 3.

bosses, neighbors, and friends: exploring muslim-christian relations in the south

RODELIO CRUZ MANACSA

How does one live in Mindanao? Buried beneath the news of ceasefires and crimes, ceremonies and calamities, is the fact that the two main groups in Mindanao, the Muslims and Christians, have to daily renegotiate their relations with each other. Relating with one another wearing the lenses of the past, their daily interaction becomes meaningful only upon insertion into a bigger story reeling in their minds. If we are to understand the complexities of the situation that exists in the South, it is of most import that we inquire into the way Muslims and Christians perceive each other and how they desire to relate with one another.

The population of Mindanao is comprised of indigenous peoples and migrants. Among the indigenous peoples are the Muslims, tribal Filipinos (also called *lumads* meaning "highlanders"), Cebuano-speaking peoples of northern and eastern Mindanao and the *Chavacanos* of Zamboanga. The migrant peoples are those who arrived throughout the 1900's from Visayas and Luzon. Together with indigenous Christians, they now comprise the majority of the Mindanao population.

The Christians can be divided into two groups. The first group is composed of the descendants of the early inhabitants who were converted by the Spanish missionaries, and those who were born of the Spanish settlers who have intermarried (*mestizos*). These families are well established and rich, like the Cabili, Lluch, Badelles, and Andrada clans. The descendants of the migrants from Visayas and Luzon comprise the second group. This group includes those families that have

gained prominence due to their success in the logging or agricultural industries, like the Almendras, Florendo, Antonino, Plaza, and Real families. Cebuano is the primary language of the Christians in Mindanao.

There are 13 Islamic ethnic communities in Mindanao.¹ The historian Samuel Tan contended that they can be categorized into five major groups: Maguindanao, Maranao, Sama, Tausug and Yakan. Most of them are in the western and southern part of Mindanao, the Sulu archipelago and the southern tip of Palawan. There is no single language that is intelligible to all Mindanao Muslims.

Muslims in Mindanao have also been called "Moros." The latter was the term used by the Spaniards to refer to the Muslims in Manila, and later to the Islamic peoples in the south. "Moro" was derived from the term "Moors" which was applied by the Spaniards to the Berbers of North Africa who conquered Spain in 711.² *Bangsa Moro* was the nation envisioned by Muslim leaders in the 1960s to unite the different Islamic communities. Their claim was that, despite the diversity among them, they shared a common past: a history of defiance and resistance that dated as far back as the Spanish period. They transfigured the negative epithet bestowed by colonizers into a symbol of pride and freedom. It was a powerful counterpoint to the *Bangsa Filipino*. The Moro historian Salah Jubair remarked that "if Filipino was the child of colonialism, the Moro was the offspring of anticolonialism."

Their perceptions of one another are rooted in their interpretations of history. The Christians were bitter about the slave raids by Islamic brigands on their

communities and were thus susceptible to the Spanish incitement against the Muslims. The colonizers meanwhile, utilized native manpower, mostly Christians, in their campaigns in the south fostering enmity between the two faith groups. The unfortunate result was that long after the Spaniards have left, the scars and mistrust left by the violence of the so-called *Moro* wars have remained among the Christians and Muslims.

Three American policies further complicated the relations of the Mindanao Muslims and Christians. The first was the **resettlement policy** that brought droves of Christians into Mindanao. The Americans saw the population transfer as the solution to the land pressures in Luzon and the Visayas. The policy had the effect of eventually "minoritizing" the Muslims in their own homeland.

The second policy concerned **land ownership**. The official intent of the Americans for titling the lands was to declare all unregistered lands as public lands and thereafter give them to tenants and small agricultural workers. But this system was in direct opposition to the traditional way of land ownership that prevailed among the Muslim communities. In the Moros' traditional worldview, their lands are *pusaka*, a collective inheritance. No one "owned" the land itself. Only the produce of land can be truly possessed. Thus, most Muslim families did not register their landholdings and lost them to the state.

For the Christians, the marriage of the title system and the Muslim land view brought confusion. No sooner have they paid a family for a parcel of land than another two, three or four families would come demanding payment. The bitter disputes about lands have produced armed gangs (e.g. the "Muslim" *Barracudas* and "Christian" *Ilagas*) whose intent was to protect or reclaim real estate properties. They would further wound the already scarred relations between the two faith groups.

The last contentious policy of the Americans involved **public school education**. The official American aim for the establishment of these schools was to develop a civic consciousness among the different peoples in the Philippines. The Christians saw it as an attempt to bring literacy and development to Mindanao, but the Muslim communities perceived the schools as a threat to their Islamic religion and culture.

These three policies were continued by the post-colonial administrations under the general policy theme of "integrating" the Muslims. From Quezon to Marcos, the idea was that in reality no essential difference exists between Muslims and Christians except that the latter have developed and the former was left behind. The "culprit" was identified to be the Muslim communities' rigid social beliefs and practices. The proper development strategy therefore was to raise their consciousness and welfare by providing the Muslims with more schools, industries, housing, and scholarships for higher education. In time, the Muslims would be "integrated" to the mainstream, which for the historian Peter Gowing, meant that "they would look and think like Christian Filipinos."

Given their different historical experiences, how does each side perceive each other? Hilario Gomez made the pioneering study in 1970, which sought to examine the relationship among Muslims and Christians in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte. The study revealed Christians, generally, are unwilling to work with the Muslims. This negative perception of Muslims by Christians was validated by the study of Luis Lacar and Chester Hunt among Filipino Christian college students in 1972.³

Two studies sought to determine Muslim attitudes toward Christians. In 1979, Bienvenido Ongkiko and Franklin Inocencio sought to study the attitudes of Muslim college students in Metro Manila, and Restituto Banico conducted a similar study among Muslim college students in Mindanao. Both studies showed that Muslims have a very positive view of Christians. They showed a great willingness to work with and be led by Christians. A sizable majority also stated that they have a lot of Christian friends.⁴

This pattern of behavior was validated in 1997 by a study conducted by Rosalinda Tolibas-Nuñez.⁵ In her study, Muslims described Christians generally in a positive light, attributing ten commendable traits: very intelligent, very strong, very industrious, very clean, very progressive, very industrious, slightly friendly, slightly peaceful, slightly warm, and slightly rich. They ascribed only three negative traits to Christians: slightly extravagant and proud, and very weak.

Meanwhile, Christians perceived Muslims negatively, attributing nine negative traits and only five

positive traits. Muslims were described as slightly intelligent, strong, humble, warm, and rich. The nine negative attributions were slightly extravagant, slightly dirty, slightly traditional, slightly easygoing, slightly stingy, slightly hostile, slightly bad, slightly troublesome, and slightly lazy.

It can be inferred from the Tolibas-Nuñez study that Muslim perception of Christians is more positive than the other way around. It validated a long line of studies that began with Gomez's pioneering work. Muslims have a more positive and open attitude towards Christians, which the latter do not reciprocate.

Tolibas-Nuñez's study also sought to discover how Christians and Muslims desire to relate with one another. The Muslim respondents replied that they want to relate with a Christian mostly as a best friend and government official, but not as a daughter/son-in-law or a neighbor. Moreover, Muslim are willing to relate with and be led by a Christian as long as it will not lead to a kinship relation. They do not like to have a Christian living on the same street even as a distant neighbor because of Christians predilection for pig raising.

Christians mostly would like to relate with a Muslim as an associate in an organization and as a best friend, but not as a government official, employer, or daughter/son-in-law. Similar to Muslims, Christians do not want to enter into any relationship with a Muslim that will produce or result in kinship. Christians have no problem living near Muslims, but do not like to work under them.

In summary, Muslims find it acceptable to work under Christian leadership either as a boss or public official, but find it undesirable to reside near them. Christians, on the other hand, find it acceptable to live near Muslims, but find it undesirable to be led by them as bosses or public officials. The two groups do not have problems being best friends, but do not expect that to lead to wedding bells.

With different historical experiences, the two groups also sharply differed on what they perceived to be the causes of the Mindanao conflict, as well as how to solve it. In her study, Tolibas-Nuñez revealed that for the Muslims, the primary cause of the conflict in Mindanao was the government's failure to be fair to

Muslims. This was followed by land disputes. Christians had a different view. For them, the main cause of the tension was the Muslim's desire to control Mindanao even if they no longer possessed numerical majority. They also considered the differences in customs, beliefs, and practices as primary causes of rancor.

Muslim Perspective. It can be inferred from these results that for Muslims, solving the Mindanao problem entails getting bad treatment from government. In the past, Muslims disenchantment with state policies has produced demands for their own state. But support for secessionist initiatives among the Muslims has dwindled over the years. While in 1984, a clear majority among the major Muslim groups supported establishing their own state, the number has dwindled to 12 percent in 1994, with the majority believing that better policies, not separation, is the appropriate solution to the Mindanao conflict.⁶

Christian Perspective. On the other hand, Christians believe that the key to the problem lies with the Muslims' acceptance of the implications of their minority status. Christians believe that Mindanao demography has changed and with it, the balance of political power. Thus, Muslims should accept the fact that in a democratic society where much is determined by majority rule, minorities like them must learn to bargain from a position of numerical disadvantage.

Historically, state policies produced different effects on Christians and Muslims, with the latter receiving usually the shorter end of the bargain. But surprisingly, it is the Muslims, who are more open and accepting of Christians and their beliefs rather than the other way around. In fact, their only demand is for government to treat them better, and are willing to have Christians as leaders. Christians view Muslims in a more negative manner, even predicating the cause of the Mindanao conflict on what they perceived as the desire of the Muslims to dominate Mindanao despite their minority status. If this is true, then, the sociologist Robert McAmis was indeed right when he wrote in 1976 that Christians are the bigger obstacles to peace than Muslims. It is indeed peculiar that, in the very people who have suffered more in history, now lies the greater hope for peace in Mindanao.

NOTES

¹These are the *Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Sama, Yakan, Sangil, Badjao, Kolibugan, Jama Mapun, Iranun, Palawanon, Kalagan and Molbog*.

²Both "Moors" and "Moros" were derivatives of the epithet "Mauri" which referred to the inhabitants of Mauritania, an ancient Roman province, now modern Algeria and Morocco. When the Spaniards re-conquered their lands in 1492, they called the Muslim Spaniards as "Moriscos" to distinguish them from the "Moors".

³Hilario Gomez, "Christian Approach to Muslims," *Church and Community* 10, 4 (1970):13-23; and Luis Lacar and Chester Hunt, "Attitudes of Filipino Christian College Students Toward Filipino Muslims and Their Implications for National Integration." *Solidarity* 7, 7 (1972):3-9.

⁴Bienvenido Ongkiko and Franklin Inocencio, "Perception of Male Muslim College Students in Metro Manila." MA Thesis, De la Salle University, 1979; and Restituto Banico, "The Catholic Church and Christians from the Point of View of Muslims: A Preliminary Survey," *Kinaadman* 2 (1980):148-154.

⁵Rosalita Tolibas-Nuñez, *Roots of Conflict: Muslims, Christians, and the Mindanao Struggle*. Makati: AIM, 1997.

⁶Abdulsikkik Abbahil, "The Bangsa Moro: Their Self-Image and Inter-Group Ethnic Attitudes," *Dansalan Quarterly* 5/4 (1984):197-250.; and Luis Lacar, "Culture Contact and National Identification Among Philippine Muslims," *Philippine Studies* 42 (1994):431-451.

state and civil society in the process of democratization: lessons in policy-making from the philippines¹

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After the 1983 assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino, it did not take long for the authoritarian regime of President Ferdinand Marcos to crumble.² From 1983 to 1986, political protest was brought to the streets in rallies and demonstrations, as the Aquino "martyrdom" became the rallying point for the formerly disjoint factions of opposition from left to right. The build-up to the snap elections of 1986 was gradual, until it peaked in the four eventful days of February that became known as the "People Power" uprising. At the end of that dramatic upheaval, the Marcos government and its cronies went into exile, and the new democratic government of Corazón Aquino took over.³

What followed was a swift process of democratic restoration. A constitutional regime was set up, with all the trappings of conventional democracies—a libertarian constitution, basic human rights for all, uncensored mass media, demilitarization and full civilian takeover, and unrestrained institutions for adjudication and legislation. Some saw wisdom in the Aquino restoration of the old institutions. But critics faulted the Aquino administration as being minimalist. All she did was dismantle the processes the former dictator established, and then bring back in most of the same structures that were there before the authoritarian order, without providing the necessary correctives to the weaknesses that precisely contributed to the democratic breakdown of 1972 in the first place.⁴

Valid as this criticism might be, what cannot be denied is that experiences during the dictatorship did produce significant new developments that the re-democratizing dispensation had to reckon with. These developments were more clearly manifested in the area of policy-making.

After the downfall of Ferdinand Marcos' authoritarian regime in 1986, there were important changes in the conduct of politics, aside from and beyond the reinstatement of conventional democratic institutions (e.g. the Constitution, civilian rule, civil rights, the Congress, political parties, etc.). The continued proliferation of and key roles assumed by new civil society actors (e.g. nongovernmental organizations or NGOs, people's organizations or POs, citizens' associations, sectoral or multisectoral alliances or federations) which acted autonomously of political parties or state powers, and the recognition of and continued support for their autonomy by both state and party leaders were indications of development in the system of representation.⁵ In sharp contrast with the experience in the pre-martial law period, government leaders now had to contend with the challenge of different societal organizations in many issues of national concern. These organizations persistently asserted their rights and defended their positions, as they actively participated in the policy process, in the reinvigorated liberal context of a restored democracy—way beyond the confines of merely electoral politics.

The questions that this paper now addresses are: How did the new democratic government contend with these new realities? How did civil society actors participate in the new democratic processes? What dynamics came into play in the resolution of differences and conflicts between state and civil society? What elements helped in a democratic resolution of differences and conflicts? To answer these questions, this essay reviews some of the events that transpired in the initial democratic administration of Corazón Aquino, and identifies the main elements involved in the democratic resolution of differences between state and civil society. The discussion falls into three parts. First, it will look at the changes in the state and in the conduct of politics in policy-making, with the advent of the new democratic dispensation. Second, it will focus on civil society organizations and how they have contributed to the resolution of its differences with those who came to power in the state. Finally, it will highlight some lessons learned from this initial experience of democratization.

THE STATE AND THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE (POS)

In trying to explain what brings about the mobilization of social movement organizations, Sidney Tarrow (1988, 1994) extends resource mobilization theory (Tilly et al. 1975, Oberschall 1973, Klandermans et al. 1988) by going beyond the consideration of just the organization and mobilization of these organizations. Looking within democratic polities, Tarrow tries to explain the success of societal organizations in political mobilization and influence, by concentrating on political context and process.⁶ Here, the concept of *political opportunity structure* (POS) is brought to the fore: the “consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political environment.” In Tarrow’s work, it is this structure that provides incentives or disincentives for agents to undertake collective action, as expectations for success or failure shift.⁷

The POS is composed of both relatively stable as well as changing elements.⁸ Among the stable elements are political cleavage structures, formal state institutions, and the prevailing set of informal procedures

and practices used by political authorities. The fourth, and the more variable and relatively shorter-term component of the POS, has been termed “alliance structures”—which shift, so that openings are made and the current political conditions are determined, that societal groups respond to through mobilization. Moreover, Tarrow specifies four conditions that determine shifts in the alliance structure, and that in turn affect both the organization *and success* of societal mobilization (1994, 86–89)—increasing access to participation in political institutions (e.g. elections, national crises), unstable and shifting political alignments, the presence or absence of influential strategic allies, and the presence or absence of serious divisions within and among elites. These facilitate success in societal attempts to influence policy-making, by producing external resources for societal organizations that lack internal ones. In turn, the presentation of their demands leads to state responses that produce new opportunity structures.

The Philippine political opportunity structure was altered immediately with the change in regimes in 1986. The new trend of liberalization of Philippine political processes was set in the euphoric days of the early Aquino period, when the “people power” battlecry called for the dismantling of all authoritarian structures from the former regime.

Paralleling the reinstatement of formal democratic processes was the other significant component of liberalization—an additional and new element in the state’s prevailing strategies for governance: the direct consultation of organized popular constituencies and their leaders. This was done initially in the context of a transitional and provisional “freedom constitution” which abolished the Marcos legislature and granted Aquino virtual dictatorial powers, until a new constitution could be set in place. In the absence of such an officially ratified and promulgated charter, the President firmed up her claim to legitimate rule through her populist approach to policy-making during this interim period. Aquino herself made it a regular practice to meet the ordinary folk, for instance in semi-formal dialogues with groups, or in informal small talk on the streets, on various provincial tours. There were also more formal meetings and dialogues with different groups by sectors (e.g., labor, fishermen, farmers, businessmen, indigenous communities).

Aside from Aquino herself, many of the key figures in her government were likewise consultation champions and advocates. It was no coincidence that many of these figures were themselves NGO leaders and sympathizers, since they were Aquino's allies in the protest movement against Marcos. Thus, the presence of recognizable allies in executive line agencies facilitated the spirit of dialogue with and openness towards civil society. Among such Aquino appointments to top government posts for instance were: Augusto Sánchez (Minister of Labor and Employment), Mita Pardo de Tavera (Minister of Social Welfare and Development), José Diokno (Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights), Joker Arroyo (Executive Secretary), Alfredo Bengzon (Minister of Health), and Fulgencio Factoran (Minister of Environment and Natural Resources). Many others were appointed to second-level positions. Of the 48 Aquino appointed to the Constitutional Commission of 1986, nine were identified with various grassroots organizations and NGOs.⁹ In the subsequent elections to the first post-authoritarian Philippine Congress, the victories of many new legislators who were likewise seen as allies of grassroots organizations and cause-oriented movements were a further boost to the trend of government openness. Among the key figures in the Senate were: René Saguisag, Wigberto Tañada, Agapito Aquino, Teofisto Guingona, and Aquilino Pimentel. Among those in the lower house were: Florencio Abad, Edcel Lagman, Rogaciano Mercado, Venacio Garduce, Gregorio Andolana, and Lorna Yap.

Even more crucial to longer-term democratic consolidation than these *ad hoc* agent factors was the fuller integration of such consultative strategies in formal institutional structures introduced after 1986. This afforded societal organizations greater leverage and bargaining space in policy-making and implementation.

The most foundational expression of the new orientation was the enshrinement in the new Philippine Constitution of 1987 itself of various provisions that required government to incorporate inputs from autonomous organized societal sectors. Included in its declaration of basic principles and state policies was the provision that the state should "encourage nongovernmental, community-based, or sectoral organizations that promote the welfare of the nation;" it

should respect their independence and allow them to participate effectively in all levels of policy-making and implementation.¹⁰ Moreover, the state was given the mandate to "facilitate the establishment of adequate consultation mechanisms."¹¹

In another section, the President was obliged to provide for the creation of regional development councils and other such bodies that would bring together local government and nongovernment representatives "for purposes of administrative decentralization to strengthen the autonomy of the units therein and to accelerate the economic and social growth and developments of the units in the region."¹² These many provisions alone in the basic law of the land set a precedent in Philippine constitutional history which for the first time effectively and explicitly opened spaces for nongovernment participation in regular politics. More importantly, these provisions institutionalized the principles on which to build structures that provide the means by which conflicts and differences between state and civil society might be resolved in a democratic context.

In this, the Constitution mirrored and reinforced the openness to societal organizations that had already earlier been initiated in many of the government's executive offices. One major effort, for example, was in the preparation of the "Policy Agenda for People-Powered Development" (1986) and the "Philippine Medium-Term Development Plan, 1987-1992" (1987), where government's National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) made consultation with the organized basic sectors an imperative (NEDA 1987, 38-40). Similar efforts of bringing in nongovernment actors into government deliberations or activities were carried out in other line agencies, notably the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council, the Presidential Management Staff, the Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor, and the cabinet-rank Departments of Health, Environment and Natural Resources, Agriculture, Social Services and Development, Trade and Industry, Labor and Employment, and Agrarian Reform. These agencies have provided for: the creation of consultative mechanisms with NGOs; the establishment of liaison bureaus, offices or desks for civil society organizations; the design of special programs that have a civil society participation

component; and the provision of financial assistance programs for specific projects Quizon 1989, 7-16).

The other explicit provision in the Constitution that institutionalized the integration of societal actors and interests in policy-making was in the novel introduction of functional representation in the legislature. The 1987 Constitution explicitly mandated that 20 percent of the Lower House of Congress shall come from such marginalized sectors as labor, peasants, disabled, women, youth and others. This was a recognition that the distinct interests of these sectors are best addressed through spokespersons who themselves come from these groups. Moreover, this provision was an acknowledgment of the basic inequalities in the prevailing socioeconomic and political structure of the Philippines, and of the reality that it could not be undone in the near future. As a consequence, and as a further expression of the strong social justice bent among its drafters, the Constitution stipulated that marginalized sectors and groups that would ordinarily not have been able to enter into the oligarchy-dominated Congress through just a territory-based electoral exercise, should then be afforded functional representation.

Two mechanisms were instituted by the Constitution to implement functional representation: the party-list system and sectoral representation. The party-list system was envisioned to allow for the direct representation of sectoral, regional, or cause-oriented organizations and interests in policy-setting, and thus provide for their greater empowerment. The first party-list representatives were scheduled to be integrated into the House of Representatives by 1998. Transitorily from 1987 to 1998, the Constitution granted the President the power to appoint sectoral representatives. It was hoped that during this interim period, the alternative groups would begin organizing and strategizing in order to effectively take their posts in the legislature in 1998. Thus, pursuant to the constitutional mandate, Aquino proceeded to nominate sectoral representatives from labor, peasants, urban poor, women, youth, disabled, veterans, elderly, and fisherfolk. Of the 900 names submitted by societal organizations in the course of the Aquino administration, 26 were nominated, and 14 were accepted and confirmed by Congress.¹³

Significantly, the openness of Congress in actual praxis was recognized by societal organizations themselves. In a national conference sponsored by the University of the Philippines in 1995 called "Philippines State-Civil Society Relations in Policy-Making," some 50 participants from NGOs, POs, academe and government identified several crucial channels through which societal organizations have *de facto* been able to successfully influence Congress. These were: bill- or motion-drafting and sponsorship; membership or participation in consultative or technical bodies in Congress; participation in public hearings and committee meetings; lobbying through petitions, signature campaigns, submission of position papers; participation in fora, dialogues, and consultations with legislators or candidates present; and dialogues with individual legislators (Wui and López 1997, 7-9).

Finally, critical laws were subsequently passed by Congress that further concretized constitutional principles calling for greater participation by societal actors and organizations. In 1991, the Local Government Code (RA 7160) was a major watershed. It legislated civil society penetration to the smallest local government unit, providing for sectoral representation and promoting projects of partnership and mutual assistance between government and nongovernment actors.¹⁴ Earlier in 1989, the Initiative and Referendum Act (RA 6735) gave teeth to the constitutional provision that allowed citizens and citizen organizations to directly propose, enact, or reject legislative acts from the national to the local levels. Though important, this latter legislation has proven inadequate, due to many loopholes and unclear procedures. Needless to say, its orientation represented the liberalizing trend during the Aquino administration.

In summary, from the developments in the regime after the demise of authoritarianism, what one sees in the Philippines is a state sector that provided more than ample space for the movement of societal actors and the expression of societal interests by groups seeking to be heard. In particular, the orientation towards and praxis of consultation has allowed for the insertion of societal organizations in the crafting of policy. This is where the dichotomy mentioned earlier in this work becomes manifest. While the reinstatement of the more

formal democratic institutions has merely restored the pre-authoritarian oligarchy-based top-down processes, more recent shifts in orientations have produced spaces for bottom-up influences. As a result, one sees a policy decision-making structure that is still dominated by the more powerful economic interests that have controlled the conduct of Philippine politics, co-existing with much more liberalized policy deliberation institutions.

CIVIL SOCIETY: COMPLETING THE PICTURE

Critics never cease to point out that underneath the political changes of 1986 was the unaltered basic structure of Philippine society, characterized by a strongly dominant socioeconomic elite minority that controlled the country's resources and that shared a token percentage with the poor majority, largely still through patronage systems. Simply put, the main social cleavage in the Philippines continued to be class-based. But just as in pre-martial law days, this reality did not find itself reflected in the formal political structures. Thus, conventional institutions were built by the rich elite, and competing elite interests were divided into camps whose distinctions were based, not on class, but on conflicting ambitions and turfs. Thus, as many analysts have observed, the political restoration that came with the Aquino takeover was severely restricted by this substructure, such that all it could really do was reinstate many of the pre-authoritarian institutions.¹⁵

Yet, there were significant changes. On the one hand, the political democratic restoration that Aquino initiated merely reproduced the political set-up of pre-martial law days.¹⁶ But on the other hand, the new societal actors and organizations that emerged and consolidated during the dictatorship as an opposition force have not only persisted, but even expanded immensely. These societal actors—grassroots groups popularly called “people’s organizations” or “POs,” along with grassroots support organizations (non-governmental organizations, NGOs)—have been accepted as new players in public policy, and to this day continue to exert significant influence over the conduct of Philippine politics through their issue- or sector-based demand-making. Considering just the grassroots support organizations, for instance, the

Aquino period saw a proliferation never seen before in Philippine history: government figures show that the number of registered NGOs rose by 96 percent, from 27,100 in January 1986 to 53,000 in September 1992.¹⁷

But more important than proliferation and continuously growing numbers are some of the significant characteristics of civil society that were consolidated in this era. First, civil society groups appeared at all the different levels of politics and society, from the small neighborhoods and barrios, to towns, cities, provinces, and regions, and to the national government. Secondly, its reach in terms of the range of issues tackled continued to diversify as new situations and crises arose. Thirdly, government overthrow ceased to be on the agenda of these societal organizations; instead, they emphasized alternative proposals, not incompatible with the state's objectives. Among these were organizations involved with relief and welfare provision, technology transfer, human development (self-help, education, income-generation), and community organizing (co-operatives, cause-oriented and/or sector-based advocacy groups). Fourthly, the groups also expanded their repertoire of strategies for addressing issues, going beyond just mobilization or community organization to more sophisticated activities like policy research, network-building, and the utilization of media made more accessible in the re-opened democratic space. On the level of local government and subnational bureaucracy, moreover, many societal organizations even co-operated with the state in implementing various developmental projects.

Following Tarrow, the level of interaction between civil society organizations and the state can be partly explained by a shifting POS, as mediated by the strategies of state actors. This is to say that state actors effectively send signals of openness and willingness to engage; at the same time, they lay their stake into a process of negotiation with societal agents. In response to more favorable general conditions created by the shifting POS, societal actors are mobilized and they likewise begin to move towards positive engagement, employing the corresponding strategies. But the reality was that not all civil society actors engaged the state, and that the experience of engagement was uneven; some policy issues saw more interaction than others.¹⁸ Thus, POS alone cannot explain civil society

participation in policy-making during the maiden Aquino administration, as the existence of a hospitable POS alone did not necessarily lead to the mobilization of civil society organizations.

Rather, in those policy areas that saw mutual engagement, a likewise important factor was the basic disposition of specific civil society organizations. As civil society organizations are more disposed to engage an equally disposed hospitable state, "political catalysis" is set in motion, mediated not just by the strategies of state actors (which shift the POS), but also by the actions of the organized entities of civil society—each side reacting positively and favorably to the other, seeking to arrive at a point of compromise and agreement. Thus **political catalysis**, as used in this study, can be tentatively defined as that process of accelerating state-society interaction, as both state actors and societal actors send signals of willingness to engage each other in the development of policy. It is constituted by the effective openness, one to the other, of political actors in the state and in the society. "Openness" in turn refers to the particular strategies each side employs in expressing its concerns.

In this framework, while the POS is still considered critical, what eventually determines interaction and the participation of societal organizations in policy-making is the more expanded notion of the degree of political catalysis, which includes the shifting POS. Through this notion, the policy making results cease to be just unidimensionally determined; rather, they are seen as the products of the positive strategies of engagement of the agents of both state and society. This aspect is not missed by Tarrow, who does point out that once societal groups are mobilized, there will also be a feedback effect on the strategies used by the state. Consequently, an interactive dynamic is set in place, which could, in the long-run even modify the more stable elements of Tarrow's original idea as regards POS as well.

In the Philippine case, the transitional character of the Aquino administration generated major shifts and openings in the structure of political opportunities (POS) at the overall national level. To these openings, the various societal organizations of civil society responded, not just by mobilizing, but also more specifically by moving towards positive engagement. Clearly, their presence alone as pressure agents on the

state did not automatically lead to their participation and inclusion in policy processes. More critical, rather, were the concrete strategies these organizations employed in relating to government, which mediated a degree of openness. The degrees of openness, one to the other, of government agencies and societal organizations in one or another policy issue, constituted the different levels of political catalysis. These, in turn, were positively correlated to the levels of interaction that eventually took place.

In particular, organized groups that used a key strategy called "**programmatic demand-making**" (PDM) were the ones included in policy-making. Here, programmatic demand-making is defined as the presentation and communication to government of an articulated position regarding a policy issue, wherein societal concerns are expressed comprehensively, as to include general principles, particular provisions, and even some implementing guidelines. The most developed form of PDM is a proposal in actual legislative format. Thus, participation by societal organizations in the policy process is conditioned by the degree of political catalysis, that is constituted and mediated by both the strategies used by government, and the presence and activities of societal organizations that are able to make programmatic demands on the state.

LESSONS LEARNED: POLITICS OF INTERACTION

Bringing together the experiences of elements that are highlighted by the Philippine experience in policy-making, two sets of lessons can be gleaned, one on the side of the state and the other on the side of society. On the side of the state, the most necessary foundation is a liberalized setting, concretized in the establishment and acceptance of macropolitical structures that work. Among these are a constitution, democratic laws and law-making procedures, systems of contestation and conflict resolution, a bureaucracy that allows for dialogue with and interventions from societal actors. Within these institutions, individual agents further fortify democratic processes for the resolution of differences and conflicts between state and civil society. Among these are leaders with a clear democratic ideological orientation. Of specific value are those incorporated into government who came from civil

society as NGO practitioners, allies or sympathizers.

On the societal side, an indispensable element is the continued existence of organized civil society groups in the first place, that can address an ever-widening range of socioeconomic, political, and governance issues. These organizations, moreover, must be able to function on various levels of society, and empowered to both work with and challenge state bodies in different areas and at various levels. In addition to a clear democratic ideological preference, civil society organizations must also sustain a basic reformist attitude that seeks to effect significant change without coercive means or violent political takeover. In the Philippine experience, programmatic demand-making in its various forms signals such reformism. Finally, the organization of civil society groups that are efficient contribute significantly to the sustainability of efforts in the engagement of the state towards development and social transformation. When democratic state institutions and agents come together with reform-oriented and efficient civil society organizations around critical policy issues, the state of political catalysis intensifies, and a democratic resolution to differences and conflicts becomes more likely.

The Philippine policy experience is not unique in the developing world. They are empirical manifestations of the recent global phenomenon of the encounter between reinvigorated civil societies in both transitioning and consolidating polities, and struggling governments trying to re-order political institutions in a more liberalized ambit. On the one hand, the breakdown of many authoritarian regimes in the 80s led to the resurgence of democratic rule, in one or another of many versions that varied in their degrees of openness to a range of strategies for societal demand articulation and participation. On the other hand, the various types of civilian mass movements and organizations that accompanied or facilitated the transitions, have had to reconstitute themselves in the aftermath, and discover new ways of relating with the state in the more liberalized political setting. As these two elements come into play in the democracies that have recently emerged or re-emerged, new and often creative modes of state-society relations have arisen.

In particular, state and society actors have come together to form and implement policy, lay out plans for contingencies, bargain for redistribution of

resources, provide auxiliary services, run programs for education, agree on terms of negotiation, and negotiate for the settlement of disputes, and others. One finds societal organizations participating at various stages of policy-making and in distinct policy areas.¹⁹

These experiences point to the pervasiveness of a new politics of interaction that has developed, indicated in this paper in the narrower terms of societal participation or expanding state-society interaction in policy-making. For governments, this has led to a widening of perspectives in the integration of societal actors as participants in extra-electoral political activities, and a shifting from a politics of co-optation to one of devolution. For societal organizations, this has entailed an expansion of repertoires of demand-making, moving from a politics of protest and contention, to one of influence and reform.

Significantly, the participation and influence of societal organizations are more manifest on the level of local government and at the implementation phase of policy-making. This is understandable since in many developing countries, subnational levels of government, and of the bureaucracy in particular, enjoy less access to resources and welcome all forms of external help. Complementarily, societal organizations at this level have emphasized parallel alternative project-based activities, often not incompatible with local government objectives. These have included organizations for relief and welfare provision, technology transfer, human development (self-help, education, income-generation), and community organizing (cooperatives, cause-oriented and/or sector-based advocacy groups). In some cases, societal organizations have even cooperated with local governments and subnational bureaucratic offices in implementing various developmental projects.

Yet, as the Philippine experience shows, it is possible for societal organizations to expand their influence up to the level of national policy-making, even in a context of elite domination. Indeed, even as experiences of consolidation differ, the inescapable reality of glaring and continuing socioeconomic and political inequalities in many of these countries casts serious doubts on representativity within political institutions. Worse still for the poorer sectors that together constitute the vast majorities in these countries, the hegemony of the neo-liberal orientation

has produced policies that have failed to adequately address basic human needs, even as they are rationalized by classical long-term trickle-down economics. While the failures of extensive state interventionism and the challenges of a more liberalized economic and political environment have taught politicians to survive, the right policy mix still has to be found, to balance the free market with social responsibility.

In the political arena, inequality is manifest in the lack of access of societal organizations to policy decision-making, in the Philippines and in many of the new democracies in the developing world. Thus, if one were to just analyze policy decision-making, it would seem adequate to focus mainly on the decisions and orientations of policy elite actors. These elite actors would be those who could afford to launch expensive campaigns to win seats in national policy-making bodies, who jealously hold on to these powers, who enjoy a high degree of autonomy as they are largely unaccountable to any grassroots interest, and who negotiate and bargain with each other to maximize their gains within conventional political institutions. To break into this elite domain, societal outsiders still often resort to various strategies of protest, which continue to be a valid, effective and even necessary means of articulating alternative demands.

What the Philippine cases highlight is that new modes of state-society relations are possible, even on the highest level of national policy-making, and even in political settings dominated by structural inequality. On the one hand, the informal consensus of recent times as to the minimum features of democracy, has provided the impetus for governments to make ample room for the organization of citizens' groups which act autonomously of conventional political institutions like political parties, and which are given voice, short

of voting power, in national policy-making bodies. Hence, alternative arenas for state-society interaction have arisen. On the other hand, societal organizations have correspondingly been able to employ new skills, media, and technology (management, information, communications) to express their ideas, concerns and preferences, to explore new avenues of dialogue and networking, and to negotiate with government agencies and representatives. Characterized by rhetorical and communicative rationality in both substance and strategy, the new approach to government by such societal organizations has given them greater leverage in bargaining with powerholders. It is the further variation in the activities of state and society actors with regard to specific issues that create the political context for interaction.

Philippine experiences suggest that for similar cases of national policy-making in other emerging democracies, the extent of societal participation can be explained precisely by this conjunction of factors. Moreover, the cases also suggest the fundamental contours of the institutionalization of civil society, not so much in terms of the consolidation of societal organizations, but more in terms of the regularization of their input into political processes. Thus, even while accepting that societal organizations have not as yet become more influential in terms of substantial policy output, their acceptance within conventional political institutions as autonomous dialogue partners provides the condition for the possibility of more substantial influence in policy-making in the future. Needless to say, more needs to be done to realize a more authentic democracy, as signaled by the new politics of interaction. To further nurture this more positive politics of interaction, developments have to be ensured on both sides, state and society.

NOTES

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²Though direct government involvement in this affair has not, to this day, been proven definitively, Marcos, his wife Imelda, and top military honchos have, in the popular eye, been held responsible for this crime, which further undermined the already questioned legitimacy of the regime. This problem of legitimacy was compounded by severe economic crises, brought about in no minor way by crony capitalism hiding behind a statist ideology that saw government buying up costly private enterprises that burdened the national budget immensely, and chalking up an enormous external debt that the Philippine government is still servicing to this day. See De Dios (1988), Almendral (1988), Wurfel (1988: 206ff), Thompson (1995).

³Accounts and explanations abound of the 1983–1986 “parliament of the streets,” and the climactic four-day “people’s power revolution.” For example, see Landé (1986), Mercado (1986), Mackenzie (1987), Johnson (1987), Buss (1987:7–41), Diokno (1988), Almendral (1988), Wurfel (1988: 275ff), Lane (1990:4–20).

⁴Wurfel (1988: 326, 339–40) points out the general restoration that Aquino set in place. A thorough evaluation was done by Bautista et al. (1992), which was published in a series of feature articles in *The Manila Chronicle*. Detailed assessments by academics, social analysts, journalists, foreign correspondents, and government officials themselves, of both Aquino’s overall performance and those of the major offices under her supervision, are well-chronicled in the two-volume work edited by Abueva and Roman (1993).

⁵This point is made clear in the essays found in the volume by Quizon and Reyes (1989), in the case of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Also, Clarke (1998:95) notes that “the great strides made in the period since 1986 suggest a new, durable, tradition of collective

action and of intermediate institutional linkages between state and society that help consolidate the quasi-democratic character of the Philippine polity.”

⁶Cohen and Arato (1995) presents an excellent review of this literature, as well as of the European identity-oriented school of social movements.

⁷Clearly, Tarrow draws from the work of both his predecessors and contemporaries in the use of this concept: Lipsky (1970), Eisinger (1973), Brand (1985), Kitschelt (1986), and Kriesi (1991).

⁸Hanspieter Kriesi (1991) distinguishes between the “formal institutional structure” of a political system and the “informal procedures and prevailing strategies with regard to challengers.”

⁹On these appointments, see McCoy (1987:17), and Silliman and Noble (1998:297).

¹⁰*The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines*, 1987, Article II, Section 23. Also, see Article XIII, Section 15.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Article XIII, Section 16.

¹²*Ibid.*, Article X, Section 14.

¹³*Ibid.*, Article VI, Section 5 (2). See Corral (1993: 21ff) for more details on Aquino’s appointments and appointees. Corral notes, further, some of the very serious problems which became obstacles to the greater success of sectoral representation during Aquino’s time (pp.86ff). This, however, does not preclude the novelty of the experience, and the improved accessibility to policy-making that this institution has provided. Corral, and others, have already begun the initial evaluation of sectoral representation. Initial evaluations of the party-list experience since 1998 have also been done. A review of these works, while important to give a better view of the status of representation in the Philippine political system, is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁴For a full discussion of the potentials and effects of this law, see George (1998). This article also includes significant local cases. See also Pimentel (1993).

¹⁵This was the tenor of the critique by faculty members of the Department of Economics of the Ateneo de Manila University (Bautista et al.) published in 1992. See also Nemenzo (1988).

¹⁶See Noble (1992), for instance. Examples abound, of those features of the pre-authoritarian democracy that have been restored by Aquino: a very similar Constitution, a presidential form of government, an independent judiciary, a bicameral legislature with the same basic internal structure. This reproduction of the old set-up can be seen not only in the formal existence and organization of the institutions themselves, but also in their internal mechanisms and in their ways of dealing with societal actors: the top-down approach to governance.

¹⁷This data from the Securities and Exchange Commission of the Philippines is cited in Clarke (1998: 70). See Alegre (1996:27), for a more focused view on the basic features of NGOs, and the variation in the types of NGOs. Also see Constantino-David (1998: 37). Both Alegre and Constantino-David point out that the quality of NGOs has been uneven. Despite this, the evidence is that there is also greater number and involvement of authentic NGOs.

¹⁸While it might be said that representation in policy-making has expanded in this post-authoritarian democracy, actual experience would indicate greater unevenness and subtle inconsistencies. During the Aquino administration, for instance, discussions regarding agrarian reform and the foreign debt certainly involved many sectors, and extended negotiations were

carried on in a great variety of fora. On the other hand, the debate on privatization and decentralization had a smaller narrower audience, limited to some government officials, some businessmen, and some academics. Thus, while there was more extended societal participation and state-society interaction in policy-making in some areas, others saw only the same old top-down political processes.

¹⁹Colombia's *Centro de Cooperación al Indígena* (CECOIN), for instance, an NGO, has facilitated communication between indigenous communities and public agencies, for such tasks as land titling, administration of natural resources, and the provision of technical resources. (Ritchey-Vance 1991:71ff). In Argentina, the *Movimiento Comunitario* was formed in 1987, bringing together into a national federation community cooperatives from several cities, to further a governmental housing policy for self-construction and to access public funds for this purpose (Silva and Schuurman 1989:58). In Peru, the *Centro de Estudios Para el Desarrollo y la Participación* (CEDEP) which is a large organization with projects on the national and local level, in a vast array of development policy areas, has coordinated with government in organizing rural projects for farmers in the Cajatambo region (Theunis 1992:97). Other cases presented in the 1997 volume edited by Chalmers et al. likewise present a similar picture.

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REGULAR PROGRAMS

Forms of government, coconut levy fund tackled in PSSC fora

Regular and associate members of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) engaged the academe, government and civil society in discussions of current-day concerns in 2003. In mid-February, PSSC organized a forum to discuss the suitability of federalism, and of a parliamentary vs. presidential form of government to Philippine society and culture. This is in view of renewed campaigns of some policymakers to alter the present form of government. Prominent political scientists and governance and law experts served as forum speakers such as Datu Michael Mastura of the Sultan Kudarat Islamic Academy; Atty. Ma. Lourdes Sereno of Access Law; Atty. Froilan Bacungan of Participatory Research Organization of Communities and Education Struggle for Self-Reliance (PROCESS); and Dr. Proserpina Tapales of the University of the Philippines-National College of Public Administration and Governance (UP-NCPAG). Dr. Joel Mangahas of UP-NCPAG and Dr. Maria Mangahas of the UP Department of Anthropology who comprise the 2002 Social Issues Committee spearheaded the forum preparations.

In August 2003, another forum was convened to revisit the controversial coconut levy fund issue. The forum came at the heels of the Sandiganbayan's milestone decision upholding the claim of the national government over coconut levy fund-acquired assets. Leading the discussions were key players in the issue as Atty. Ruben Carranza, Commissioner of the Presidential Commission on Good Government; Gen. Virgilio David, former Administrator of the Philippine

Coconut Authority; and Mr. Joey Faustino, Executive Director of the Coconut Industry Reform Movement. The forum was put together by the 2003 Social Issues Committee composed of Dr. Joel Mangahas, Fr. Jojo Magadia of the Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs, Ms. Luisa Fernan of UGAT, and Dr. Ernesto Gonzales of the University of Sto. Tomas-Social Research Center.

Fifth National Social Science Congress on the Filipino youth draws huge crowd

PSSC successfully held the Fifth National Social Science Congress (NSSC V) last 15–17 May at the PSSCenter. Titled *What's with the Filipino Youth: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*, the congress drew close to 400 participants from government agencies, youth organizations, research institutions, advertising and media companies, and the academe.

Dr. Reynaldo Veja, President of the Mapua Institute of Technology, delivered the keynote address at the congress' opening plenary session. More than 80 papers were featured on an array of youth topics such as the use of ICTs, risks and vulnerabilities, language of the youth, and work and employment, among others. On a rare feat, PSSC and the Philippine Society for Public Administration brought together Mr. Gary Olivar, Atty. Fernando Barrican, Dr. Jimmy Galvez-Tan, Dr. Reynaldo Veja and Dr. Carol Pagaduan-Arullo—five of the most outstanding youth leaders of their time—in a special panel called *Youth Revisited: Reflections of Past Student Leaders* to talk about their life as a student leader and share their views on the youth of today. The event was capped by a synthesis of conference panels and papers prepared by Profs. Joseph Puyat and Gerardo Lanuza of the University of the Philippines.

PSSC is publishing in 2004 some of the papers from the conference. In the meantime, PSSC has made available the three background papers on the youth at PSSC's Book Center: *A Guide to Studies on the Filipino Youth: 1960-2003*, *The Filipino Youth: Some Findings from Research*, and *The Filipino Youth: A Statistical Profile*.

PSSC member-associations hold annual conferences

Upholding their commitment to contribute to social science scholarship and expand their disciplinary network, PSSC's regular member-associations carried out their respective annual conventions/conferences this year.

The Philippine Society for Public Administration was the first to hold an activity with its forum on *Good Urban Governance Initiatives* at the PSSCenter on 20 February 2003. This was closely followed by the Philippine Geographical Society's Annual General Assembly on 1 March 2003 at PSSCenter, and the Philippine Economic Society's 40th Annual Meeting on *Revitalizing Investments Towards Sustained Economic Growth* on 10 April 2003 at Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas.

In September, two associations held their conferences. The Psychological Association of the Philippines held its 40th Annual Convention with the theme *Breaking Walls that Divide Us* on 11-12 September at Manila Peninsula. The Philippine Sociological Society, meanwhile, mounted a mini-conference with the theme *Towards a Hundred Years of Doing Sociology in the Philippines* at the PSSCenter on 28 September.

Six other associations carried out their conferences towards the last quarter of the year. The Philippine Political Science Association chose the topic *Strengthening Society, the State and the Discipline* for its annual conference last 23-25 October in Davao City. The Ugnayang Pang-AghamTao tackled *Writing Philippine Ethnography: Voices and Vantage Points* in its 25th Annual Conference on 22-24 October at University of San Carlos, Cebu City. The Philippine Statistical Association held a discussion on *Understanding Opinion Polls and Statistics* on 12 November at Sulo Hotel. The Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc. reflected on *Social Work in a*

Globalized World in its 3rd Regional Convention on 27-28 November at Bayview Park Hotel. The Philippine National Historical Society took on the theme *Philippine Cultural History and Ethno-history of Mindanao and Sulu* in its 24th National Conference on 20-22 November in Surigao City. Finally, the Linguistics Society of the Philippines held an Annual Convention on *Language Across Disciplines* on 12-13 December 2003 at the University of Santo Tomas.

The conferences were carried out with assistance from PSSC's annual conference award grants for regular members.

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

PSSC takes part in the 15th Biennial General Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils

After two years of preparation, the 15th Biennial General Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) was mounted with resounding success on 9-14 November 2003 in Canberra, Australia. PSSC actively participated in the conference, sending a 5-person delegation led by PSSC Chair Ronald Holmes and Executive Director Virginia Miralao.

The conference was attended by representatives of AASSREC member-organizations including the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia; Indian Council of Social Science Research; National Center for Social and Human Sciences-Vietnam; Malaysian Social Science Association; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Science Council of Japan; Social Science Research Council-Bangladesh; Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan-Indonesia; Korean Social Science Research Council; National Science Foundation-Sri Lanka; and National Research Council of Thailand. Leading social scientists in Australia also participated in the event.

Former UNESCO Regional Adviser for the Social Sciences and AASSREC founder Yogesh Atal graced the occasion and delivered the keynote address during the welcome dinner. In his keynote address, he reflected on the history and development of AASSREC and the

roles played by each member-organization. Dr. Atal also shared his insights on the theme of the conference *Asian Youth in Transition* at the conference's opening plenary.

In the succeeding sessions, each member-organization proceeded to present a state-of-the-art paper on its country's youth. The Philippine country report was prepared and delivered by UP Assistant Professor and Psychological Association of the Philippines member Joseph Puyat.

The conference culminated with the AASSREC Business Meeting. In the meeting, ICSSR was chosen as AASSREC President for the year 2004–2005, while PSSC was asked to continue to serve as AASSREC Secretariat, a position it has held since 1994. In the same meeting, AASSREC welcomed its 2nd associate member, the International Academy of Dialogue among Cultures and Civilisations based in Warsaw, Poland.

Filipinists gather at the 3rd National Philippine Studies Conference

One hundred sixty scholars and researchers from different regions of the country, the United States, Japan and Australia gathered together for the 3rd National Philippine Studies Conference last 5–6 December at the PSSCenter. The two-day conference, which had the theme *The Philippines: Changing Landscapes, Humanscapes and Mindscales in a Globalizing World*, was organized by the Philippine Studies Association (PSA) with assistance from PSSC.

Opening the conference was Ramon Magsaysay Awardee for Literature and retired University of the Philippines professor Bienvenido Lumbera. Eighty-one papers were presented at the conference along a wide-range of topics as Philippine literature and media; demographic changes; indigenous communities and resource management; urban geography; migration and diaspora; identity-construction; biodiversity; and government-civil society relations.

A special panel reviewed the state and direction of Philippine studies. The panel featured four Filipino intellectuals—Dr. Bienvenido Lumbera; Dr. Florentino Hornedo of the University of Sto. Tomas; Dr.

Priscelina Legasto of the University of the Philippines; and Dr. Raul Pertierra of De La Salle University—who discussed the evolution of Philippine studies in the country, and shared their thoughts on the definition, scope, achievements and future trends of Philippine studies.

The conference was intended as a preparatory activity to the forthcoming International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL) scheduled in June 2004 in The Netherlands. The forthcoming event is expected to draw Filipinists from all over the world.

100 Years of Philippine-American relations commemorated at Sangandaan 2003

More than 200 arts and media scholars from the Philippines and the United States marked 100 years of Philippine-American relations during the *Sangandaan 2003* international conference on 7–11 July at the PSSCenter. The event was organized by the University of the Philippines and the Filipino American National Historical Society, in collaboration with the Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University, San Francisco State University, New York University, and PSSC.

UP President Francisco Nemenzo delivered the welcome address, with Profs. Nicanor Tiongson and Helen Toribio of the organizing committee giving the opening remarks. Dr. Reynaldo Ileta of the National University of Singapore, Dr. Resil Mojares of the University of San Carlos, Ms. Evangeline Buell of the Filipino-American National Historical Society-East Bay and Dr. Soledad Reyes of the Ateneo de Manila University set the tone of the conference by reflecting on arts and media in Philippine-American relations from 1899 to date. Paper presentations from 123 scholars ensued along such themes as performing arts, identity-construction, visual arts, architecture, literature, food and fashion, and the mass media.

To bring to life the commemoration, a cultural festival was held side by side with the conference. Festival activities included art exhibits, theater productions, dance performances, concerts, film viewing, literary events, and a culinary fest held at various locations as the Cultural Center of the Philippines,

National Museum of the Filipino People, and the Metropolitan Museum. The activities drew varied audiences including the literati, art enthusiasts, critics, scholars and students.

Three Filipino researchers bag the 2003-2004 ASIA Fellows Awards

Filipinos once again proved their ability to compete with the best in the Asian region with the selection of three Filipino academics as ASIA Fellows Awards research fellows for 2003-2004. The new AFA fellows are Alden Lauzon of the UP Department of Art Studies, Ma. Theresa Rivera of Xavier University-Department of Development Communication, and Czarina Saloma of the Ateneo de Manila University-Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The three were selected together with 31 other researchers from across Asia after a competitive process that included a review of their proposed research and panel interview.

The AFA gives its fellows an opportunity to stay in another Asian country to conduct research for a period of six to nine months. This year's Filipino AFA fellows will be heading to Thailand and Malaysia to conduct their study—Lauzon will be focusing on Thailand's tourism industry and local culture, Rivera will be studying governance in Malaysia, and Saloma will be looking at Malaysia's automotive industry.

Since it was offered in 1999, the AFA has benefited 14 Filipino researchers. The AFA is run by the Bangkok-based Asian Scholarship Foundation and administered in the Philippines by PSSC. Its stated aim is to "establish a multinational network of Asian specialists in Asia who will foster the development of Asian Studies within existing area studies."

PSSC celebrates 2nd anniversary of The Ford Foundation-International Fellowships Program and launching of the 2004-2005 ASIA Fellows Awards

In a modest ceremony last 17 October, PSSC celebrated the 2nd anniversary of The Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP), and simultaneously launched the 2004-2005 round of the ASIA Fellows Awards.

Opened by PSSC Executive Director Virginia Miralao, the back-to-back event was attended by representatives of PSSC member-associations; IFP fellows from the Philippines, Vietnam and China; past and present AFA grantees; international students from the Ateneo de Manila University; special guests from the academe such as Ms. Edel Guiza of the Asian Institute of Management and Ms. Rizalee Imao of The Ford Foundation Liaison Officer in Manila.

PSSC Vice Chair Ma. Cynthia Rose Bautista provided a brief overview of the two programs. Afterward, IFP-Philippines Program Director Luisa Fernan and Program Officer Dada Doble provided an update on the university placements of the first batch of Filipino fellows, and the information dissemination activities for the second round of IFP. Past AFA grantees Diwata Reyes, Flaudette May Datuin, Danton Remoto also shared their experiences as AFA fellows, while current grantees, Czarina Saloma and Alden Lauzon, described their proposed research.

Under a festive air, Filipino IFP fellow Carlos Gadapan and a Vietnamese student were persuaded to render songs for the audience. The gathering ended with a brief message from PSSC Chair Ronald Holmes followed by a small *salon-salon*.

NCSSH staff visit PSSC

PSSC's ties with the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities-Vietnam (NCSSH-V) received another boost with the 5-day visit of six NCSSH staff in September 2003. The visiting delegation was headed by Ms. Tran Thi Lan Anh, Deputy Director of the NCSSH International Cooperation Department.

On an official tour to study varying research management styles, the Vietnamese delegation was hosted by PSSC and given a briefing on its operations. The delegation was also received and briefed by two of PSSC's associate members, the Development Academy of the Philippines and the Institute of Philippine Culture of the Ateneo de Manila University. As it was the first visit of the six-member delegation to the Philippines, PSSC also arranged a sightseeing of Metro Manila for the visitors, including a trip to the National Museum.

PSSC and UNACOM spearhead study on the Filipino youth

Veering away from the trend of new studies on the Filipino youth which have focused mainly on the youth's sexual/pubertal transitions, their exposure to media, or emerging values as consumers of various products, the PSSC and a multidisciplinary team of social scientists from UP embarked on a limited but more holistic, in-depth and systematic survey of a sample of Filipino youth. The survey solicited information on many aspects of youth life frequently overlooked by the present crop of studies including family background, peer group influences, media and ICT usage and role models, educational orientation, career aspirations, value priorities, self-esteem, and self-construal.

Seven schools participated in the survey, namely, the Ramon Magsaysay High School, Pasig Catholic High School, Angeles University Foundation High School, Angeles City High School, Philippine Science High School, Philippine High School for the Arts and the OB Montessori High School. The results of the study will be published in a forthcoming book tentatively titled "Filipino Youth in Transition." The research project was undertaken with the support of the Social and Human Sciences Committee of the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines (UNACOM).

Sourcebook on Philippine-Japanese relations completed

Researchers interested in Philippine-Japan relations can now look forward to a sourcebook containing annotated works and studies on Philippine-Japan relations and exchanges. The manuscript for the sourcebook was completed in June by Dr. Sylvano Mahiwo of the UP Asian Center, Dr. Joel Mangahas

of the UP-NCPAG, and former Editor-in-Chief of the *Manila Times* Jose Galang who were commissioned by PSSC to undertake the inventory and annotation. The sourcebook is due to come out this year. PSSC worked in partnership with Japan Foundation for the research project.

Philippine Migration Research Network conducts study of transnational communities in the Philippines

Under the Management of Social Transformation (MOST) Program of UNESCO, the Philippine Migration Research Network has embarked on a study of different transnational communities in the Philippines. The members of the research team include Drs. Oscar Evangelista and Susan Evangelista who will be studying the thriving Vietnamese community in Palawan; Dr. Virginia Miralao and Ms. Lorna Makil who will be looking at Korean diaspora in Quezon City and Dumaguete City, respectively; and Prof. Stella Go who will be examining the profile and circumstances of foreign nationals studying in different universities in the Philippines. The study will also include an initial assessment of the absentee voting and dual citizenship laws to be undertaken by Dr. Ben Cariño.

Philippine Migration Research Network publishes 5th book on migration

The Philippine Migration Research Network published its fifth book entitled *Filipino Diaspora: Demography, Social Networks, Empowerment and Culture*. The publication is a collection of papers and research reports which were first presented at the Fifth PMRN General Assembly at the PSSCenter on 23 March 2001. Dr. Mamoru Tsuda of Osaka Gaidai University edited the volume.



Delegates of the 15th Biennial General Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) with Australia's Governor General, His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery.



AASSREC member-council representatives at the AASSREC Business Meeting in Canberra, Australia.



PSA officers at the opening session of the 3rd National Philippine Studies Conference. From left to right: Dr. Bernardita Churchill, Dr. Cynthia Bautista, Dr. Isagani Cruz, Dr. Bienvenido Lumbea, Fr. Joey Cruz, S.J.



Participants at the opening plenary session of the 3rd National Philippine Studies Conference at the PSSCenter.



Panel session on the evolution and transformation of Islamic and Butuanon culture and communities at the 3rd National Philippine Studies Conference.

Science Council



Resource speakers at the forum
"Revisiting the Debate on
Federalism, Presidential, and
Parliamentary Forms of
Government: Implications for
Philippine Culture and Society."
From left to right: Dr. Alex
Brillantes, Atty. Froilan
Bacungan, Atty. Ma. Lourdes
Sereno, Datu Michael Mastura,
and Dr. Proserpina Tapales.

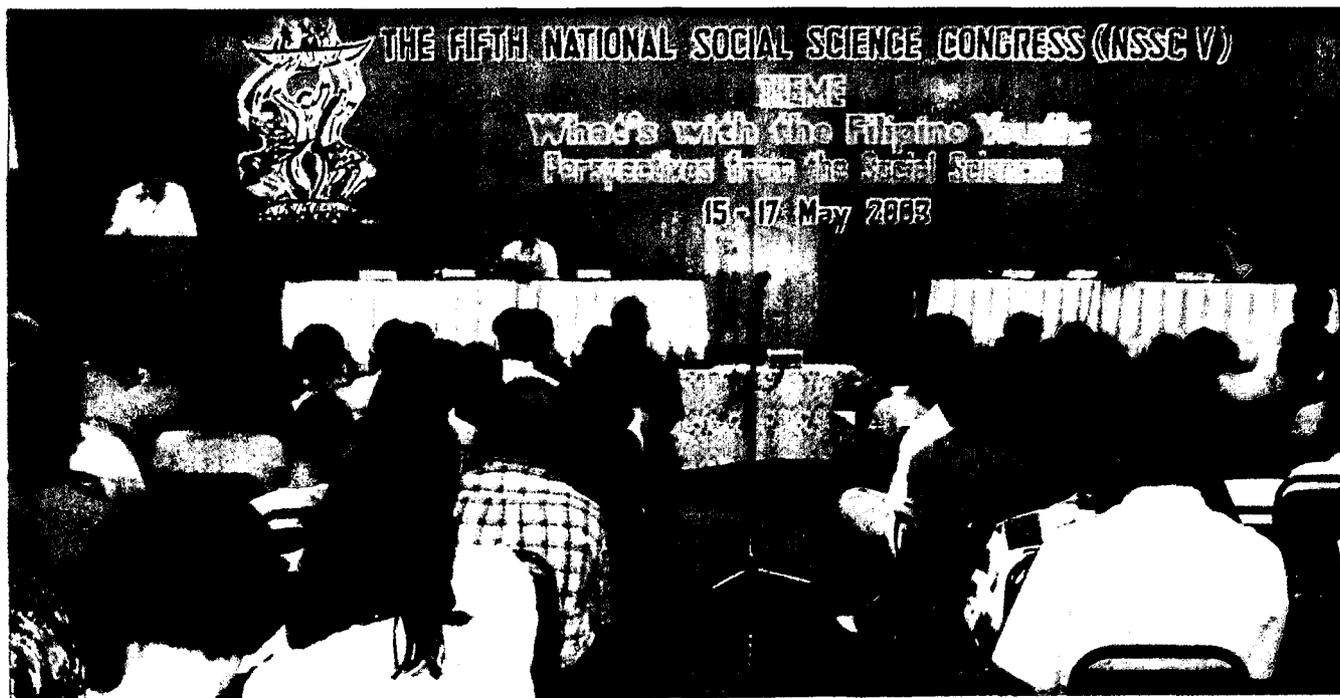


Ford Foundation-International
Fellowships Program (IFP) fellows
at the IFP-Philippines
anniversary celebration. From
left to right: The Ford
Foundation's Rizalee Imao, IFP-
Philippines Program Director
Luisa Fernan, Rose Dumelod,
Mila Espinosa, Yasmin
Arquiza, Carlos Gadapan, and
Noel Cunanan.

ASIA Fellows Awards (AFA)
fellows at the anniversary
celebration of IFP-Philippines and
launching of the 2004 AFA. From
left to right: Alden Lauzon,
Flaudette May Datuin, PSSC's
Monette Jimenez, NEDA's Nap
Imperial, Czarina Saloma,
Danton Remoto, and Diwata
Reyes.



Speakers and guests at the opening session of the Fifth National Social Science Congress.



NEW BOOKS AND JOURNALS

A Guide to Studies on the Filipino Youth: 1960-2003

PSSC Technical Services and Information Section
140 pp, PhP165

Includes 191 annotated entries comprised of books, journal articles, periodicals, and theses and dissertations gathered from the libraries of major universities and research institutions. It also contains a listing of theses/dissertations from different schools.

The Filipino Youth: Some Findings from Research

PSSC Technical Services and Information Section
30 pp, PhP100

Cites and discusses the most significant research findings on the Filipino youth. It draws from various materials on the youth, including published statistics from the censuses, special surveys on the youth, national reports, and review papers on the topic.

The Filipino Youth: A Statistical Profile

PSSC Technical Services and Information Section and
Philippine Statistical Association
12 pp, PhP50

Profiles today's Filipino youth based on youth statistics generated by the National Statistics Office.

Filipino Diaspora: Demography, Social Networks, Empowerment and Culture

Mamoru Tsuda (ed.), Philippine Migration Research
Network, Quezon City,
212 pp, PhP285

Contains eight papers that were presented at the Fifth
Philippine Migration Research Network General

Assembly in March 2003. The papers include a discussion on the concept of transnational community and diasporic connections of overseas Filipinos; demographic characteristics of overseas Filipinos; experiences of Filipino workers in Japan, Hong Kong, Korea and Singapore; Filipino-Japanese cross-cultural marriages; and Filipino migrants' construction of their homeland through the use of popular cultural forms.

Philippine Journal of Psychology

Vol 36 No 1, Jan-June 2003

Psychological Association of the Philippines
153 pp, PhP260

Contains seven articles on homosexuality, daughters' perception of their fathers, technology-mediated communication, attitude-change through print advertisement, practice and status of psychotherapy, and perceptual grouping.

Philippine Political Science Journal

Vol 24 No 47, 2003

Philippine Political Science Association
194 pp, PhP350

Includes five articles on political practices and events in the Visayas and Mindanao regions, role of cellular phone in Philippine politics, and the politics of urban poor housing. The volume also contains three book reviews.

Social Work Vol 32, 2003

Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc.
56 pp, PhP200

Contains five papers presented during PASWI's 2002
Annual Convention which has the theme
"Opportunities and Challenges for Social Workers."

The Philippine Review of Economics

Vol 39 No 1, June 2002

Philippine Economics Society and University of the Philippines-School of Economics

178 pp, PhP350

Includes seven articles on the strong-state and nationalist provisions in the 1935 Philippine Constitution; boom-bust cycles and crisis periods in the Philippines; the economic freedom index; inter-linked credit and relational contracting in garment and metalcraft industries; results of the capital asset pricing model on Philippine common stocks; and the Ateneo macro-economic and forecasting model.

The Philippine Population Review

Vol 1 No 1, Jan-Dec 2002

Philippine Population Association

134 pp, PhP150

Contains seven papers from the 2002 Regional Population Conference on the theme "Southeast Asia's Population in a Changing Asian Context."

The Journal of History

Vol 48 Nos 1-2, Jan-Dec 2002

Philippine National Historical Society

171 pp, PhP286

Includes seven selected papers from the 22nd National Conference on Local and National History of the

Philippine National Historical Society, which dwelled on the theme "A Century of Education in the Philippines."

Philippine Journal of Linguistics

Vol 33 No 2, Dec 2002

Linguistic Society of the Philippines

87 pp, PhP 250

Contains articles on cohesive devices employed in the speech communities of Singapore, the Philippines and the US; different politeness strategies used in letters to the editor; cognitive structuring of criminal appeal cases in Philippine English and American English; analysis of American English and Philippine English news leads; and presentation of self and self-disclosure in Philippine advice columns.

Philippine Sociological Review

Vol 48, Jan-Dec 2000

Philippine Sociological Society

159 pp, PhP600

Contains seven articles on the experiences of Filipinos living temporarily as contract workers or permanently as migrants in Japan, Canada and the US.

FORD FOUNDATION INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM

The Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP) announces the availability of graduate fellowships for deserving men and women coming from social groups and sectors that have traditionally lacked opportunities for higher or advanced education. The IFP enables a successful applicant to pursue a Master's or a Ph. D. degree in almost any field of study related to *Asset Building and Community Development* (development finance and economic security, workforce development, environment and development, community development, sexuality and reproductive health); *Knowledge, Creativity and Freedom* (sexuality and reproductive health, religion, society and culture, education and scholarship, the arts); and *Peace and Social Justice* (human rights, governance and civil society). The PHILIPPINE SOCIAL SCIENCE COUNCIL administers this program in the Philippines in cooperation with regional and provincial universities and civil society organizations.

What is the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP)

The International Fellowships Program (IFP) provides opportunities for postgraduate study to exceptional individuals who will use this education to become leaders in their respective fields, furthering development in their own countries and greater economic and social justice worldwide. To ensure that fellows are drawn from diverse backgrounds, IFP actively recruits candidates from social groups and communities with limited access to higher education.

Who may apply

Applicants must:

- be Filipino citizens or residents of the Philippines. Priority will be given to those currently residing or working in a 4th, 5th or 6th class municipality, or 4th or 5th class city.

Women, members of indigenous cultural communities, persons who work in civil society social development organizations, and those physically disabled are particularly encouraged to apply;

- have graduated with a baccalaureate degree with above average grades;
- have had at least three years of work experience related to his or her proposed field of study and to the kind of work or community service that he or she plans to pursue after completing graduate studies;
- show commitment to community and national service;
- exhibit academic and leadership potential; and
- have been systematically denied access to higher education opportunities.

What's in store for IFP Fellows

Successful applicants will be able to pursue their program of study in their choice of school. IFP will cover the cost of up to three years of graduate study, including

- full tuition and other university fees;
- travel allowances;
- living allowances;
- health insurance coverage; and
- pre-academic training in English language proficiency, social research conceptualization and methodologies, and basic computer operations and programs.

How to apply

Prospective applicants may visit the IFP-Philippines website and access the pre-application form online at www.ifpphil.net, or contact the IFP-Philippines National Office or Regional Offices:

Philippine Social Science Council
PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue
Diliman 1104, Quezon City
Tel: (02) 922-9630
Fax: (02) 922-9621
E-mail: ifp.phil@pssc.org.ph
Website: www.ifpphil.net

Guidance Center
St. Louis University
Bonifacio Street, Baguio City 2600
Tel: (074) 442-3043/442-2793
Fax: (074) 442-2842
Email: guidance@slu.edu.ph

Ateneo Social Science Research Center
Ateneo de Naga University
Naga City 4400
Tel: (054) 472-3178/472-2368 loc. 2550 or 2551
Fax: (054) 473-9253
E-mail: ssrc@sili.adnu.edu.ph

Office of the Dean
College of Arts and Sciences
Central Luzon State University
Science City of Muñoz
Nueva Ecija 3120
Tel: (044) 456-5192
Fax: (044) 456-5254

Office for International Linkages
University of San Carlos
P. del Rosario Street, Cebu City 6000
Tel: (032) 253-1000 loc. 150
Fax: (032) 253-7183
E-mail: int.linkages@usc.edu.ph

Office of the Dean
College of Arts and Sciences
Silliman University, Dumaguete City 6200
Tel: (035) 422-7193 to 96/422-6002
Fax: (035) 422-7194

Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs
Notre Dame of Dadiangas College
Marist Avenue, Gen. Santos City 9500
Tel: (083) 552-3252
Fax: (083) 552-5400
E-mail: brbm@nddc.edu.ph

Office of the President
Andres Bonifacio College
College Park, Dipolog City 7100
Tel: (065) 212-4645
Fax: (065) 212-4884

Office of the Director
Peter Gowing Memorial Research Center
Dansalan College Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 5430, Iligan City 9200
Tel: (063) 223-9582

Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs
Mindanao State University
Marawi City 9700
Tel: (063) 352-0372

Only eligible applicants will receive a detailed IFP Application Form for completion. Completed application forms should be received by the IFP National or Regional Offices by **30 January 2004**. The fellowships for successful applicants will begin in **Spring 2005/Fall 2005**.

RESEARCH AWARD PROGRAM

The PSSC announces the start of applications for the 2004 Research Award Program (RAP). The RAP provides modest financial grants to Filipino graduate students in the social sciences to enable them to complete their thesis/dissertation work in any of the following disciplines: Anthropology, Communication, Demography, Economics, Geography, History, Linguistics, Political Science, Psychology, Public Administration, Social Work, Sociology and Statistics.

Graduate students in other fields (e.g., Education, Home Economics & Nutrition, Theology, Philosophy, Guidance Counseling and Philippine Studies) whose thesis/dissertation topics are related to the social sciences are accorded lower priority in the RAP grants.

Eligibility

Graduate students who have successfully defended their thesis/dissertation proposals in social sciences fields may apply for a RAP grant. Hence, at the time of application, applicants are expected to be either preparing for field work, collecting or analyzing their data or writing and finalizing their thesis/dissertation for defense. Applicants should also note that in order to qualify, the schedule of their thesis/dissertation defense should not fall during the period for reviewing RAP applications which is from April to June each year. Applicants moreover, are expected to complete their thesis/dissertation and degree requirements within one year after receiving a RAP grant, although this may be extended by another year upon a written request and on justifiable grounds.

Review Procedures

RAP applications are reviewed by the PSSC Research Committee beginning April each year and the results of the Committee's review are announced during the first week of June. All applications must be received by the PSSC-RAP Secretariat no later than 15 March in time for successful applicants to begin using the grant in June at the start of the Academic Year.

Application Procedures

Applicants must submit two copies of the following documents to the PSSC-RAP Secretariat:

- > Accomplished RAP application form;
- > Proof of approval of thesis/dissertation proposal;
- > The approved thesis/dissertation proposal;
- > A one-page abstract of the approved proposal;
- > Recommendation from the thesis/dissertation adviser; and
- > Recommendation from the Department Chair or Dean of the College.

No application will be reviewed unless all requirements have been received by PSSC, and no application will be returned to the applicant. Further queries may be addressed to the PSSC-RAP Secretariat at PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City with telephone numbers 929-2671 and 922-9627.

THE PSSCENTER

The PSSCenter, located along Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City, has a commodious 350-person capacity auditorium; a seminar room that can accommodate 80 people; a training room for 50; and two conference rooms for smaller functions. All function rooms are air conditioned and each is equipped with a public address system, a slide projector and an

overhead projector. Photocopying, tape recorders, and typewriter and computer services are also available at the PSSCenter. Food requirements for function rooms are provided by the PSSCenter Canteen concessionaire and a security complement ensures orderly and safe parking.

Room Rates

Function Room	5-8 hours	1-4 hours	Hourly Rate (excess of 8 hrs)
Auditorium (whole)*	10,825.00	7,050.00	1,400.00
Auditorium (half)	7,540.00	4,900.00	950.00
Seminar Room	3,100.00	2,010.00	400.00
Training Room	2,400.00	1,600.00	300.00
Board Room	3,400.00	1,850.00	450.00
Conference Room A	2,300.00	1,500.00	285.00
Conference Room B	2,400.00	1,600.00	300.00
Conference Room C	2,710.00	1,800.00	350.00
Cafeteria	4,250.00	2,300.00	500.00

*Includes the following amenities: public address system with 2 microphones, slide projector, overhead projector, preparation of the venue

Equipment/Furniture Rental Rates (charged separately)

Equipment Rental	Rates (unit/day)	Power Charges	Rates (unit/day)
Microphone	70.00	Disco Mobile	250.00
Overhead Projector	300.00	Spotlight	150.00
Slide Projector	300.00	Computer	100.00
Screen	100.00	Photocopier	150.00
TV/VHS	1,500.00	Mimeo Machine	50.00
Karaoke	200.00	Electric Typewriter	50.00
Electric Fan	100.00		

Others

Others	Rates (unit/day)
Additional Chairs	10.00
Table	60.00
Divider	25.00
Whiteboard	50.00

For reservation and inquiries, please contact the PSSC Center Management and Administrative Section (CMAS) at telephone numbers: (632) 926-2061 and (632) 922-9621.

in focus: ifp-philippines' 1st batch of fellows

Thirty-four applicants successfully hurdled the review and selection process of the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP) in the Philippines in August 2002 and became the first batch of fellows in the country to be awarded full scholarships to pursue graduate study programs in fields of their choice. Of the 34, three have now finished their master's degrees, while the rest have begun graduate studies in different universities here and abroad. Nine of the 31 fellows are in graduate schools in the US, 12 headed to Europe, 1 went to Australia, and 9 chose to study in the Philippines. Briefly, the fellows are:

EBRAHIM ABO

Reared in a small town in the province of Lanao del Sur, Ebrahim earned his BS Nursing degree from Notre Dame University in Cotabato City. Since passing the nursing licensure exam, Ebrahim has been employed as a public school nurse at the Department of Education in Maguindanao. His position calls for him to tend to the health and medical needs of public school children, and to be part of medical outreach programs for remote and destitute communities in the province. During the outbreak of armed conflict in Mindanao, Ebrahim provided emergency medical assistance to displaced families for which he received a commendation from the Office of the Provincial Governor of Maguindanao. Determined to become a better rural health worker, Ebrahim is currently enrolled at the Davao Medical School Foundation where he hopes to earn his MA in Community Health by March 2005.



ALIH AIYUB



Alih completed his BA Mass Communications at Western Mindanao State University (WMSU) in Zamboanga City. The ethnic and religious tensions he witnessed while growing up in Mindanao kindled his desire to promote

peace and harmony in the region. He co-founded and is now the Executive Director of Salam Peace Foundation, a Muslim-Christian organization engaged in peace education. He works likewise with the Ulama League of the Philippines and has been tapped to serve in the Secretariat of the Bishops-Ulama Forum, a group that spearheads interfaith dialogues in the country. Noting that poverty exacerbates existing conflicts in Mindanao, Alih has also participated in efforts to extend socioeconomic assistance to the poor. Enriched by his many community services, Alih joined WMSU to teach community development. He is enrolled at the College of Social Work and Community Development at the University of the Philippines (UP) in Diliman for an MA in Community Development.

BUENAFE ALINIO

Buenafe obtained her Liberal Arts degree from St. Paul's College in Vigan, Ilocos Sur. She entered government service right after college, initially joining the Philippine National Red Cross then later moving on to the Civil Service Com-



mission. As testament to her perseverance and hard work, Buenafe spent 23 years with the Commission, working her way up from Senior Clerk to her present position as Assistant Regional Director for the Cordillera Administrative Region. Not content resting on her laurels, she pursued a Master's degree in Public Administration at the University of Northern Philippines as a working student. Buenafe is currently enrolled at George Washington University in the US for a Ph.D. in Public Administration.

CAROL AMPER

The second child of Higaunon farmers, Carol completed her Bachelor's degree in Agriculture from Central Mindanao University (CMU) in Musuan, Bukidnon. She joined the university after graduation where she assumed various tasks from teaching to research to extension work. The latter brought her in regular contact with farmers in the community with whom she shared her knowledge of organic farming and pest control. Carol was able to obtain her Master's degree in Plant Pathology at UP Los Baños through a scholarship with the Commission on Higher Education's Mindanao Advancement for Education Program. Choosing service over monetary rewards, she resumed her work at CMU after getting her MS degree. Carol is enrolled as a Ph.D. student in Agriculture and Rural Development at UP-Los Baños. Through research, she intends to help advance knowledge on pest control and assist in increasing farm productivity and the income of farmers in Mindanao.



GASPAR ANGIHAN

Of Ayangan Ifugao parentage, Gaspar calls the famed Banaue, Ifugao his hometown. Because of poverty, he barely made it through school and had to take on a series of menial jobs



to finish secondary and tertiary education. He finally completed college at Feabias Bible College after intermittent schooling, and with a degree in Theology under his belt, became a literacy teacher and bible translator. As he was among the few in the community to have earned a college degree, Gaspar heeded the call of his people and ran for (and was twice elected as) Barangay Captain of Batad. He immediately threw himself into the role of a public servant and sought to address the many needs of his community. Gaspar is now taking up his MA in International Development Studies at Wageningen University in The Netherlands.

YASMIN ARQUIZA



Yasmin, the 7th of 11 children, was raised in Davao City. After graduating from UP Diliman with a BA degree in Communication, she worked briefly as a reporter of Agence France Press and the Associated Press before

finding her niche as an environmental journalist. Yasmin's exposés on wildlife trade, illegal fishing practices, the Mt. Apo geothermal plant controversy, the Tubbataha Reefs National Park, and the Philippine environmental movement had been published in local and foreign publications and had garnered numerous awards. She founded an environmental magazine called *Bandillo ng Palawan* with the aim of raising people's consciousness on environment and development issues in the province. Yasmin is one of the three IFP-Philippines Fellows who has now completed her Master's in Development Management at the Asian Institute of Management (AIM). With her new degree, Yasmin hopes to establish the Palawan Heritage Center which she envisions to be a "living repository of Palawan's natural and cultural heritage."

SALVACION BARNEDO

Salvacion is a community worker at La Consolacion College in Daet, Camarines Norte, the same school where she completed her Liberal Arts degree (major in Psychology). Before assuming her post at La Consolacion, Salvacion worked as a guidance counselor at St. Francis Parochial School also in Daet, and provided free counseling services to members of her parish and inmates of the provincial jail. Inspired by her exposure to different cases as a volunteer counselor, she is now pursuing a Master's in Community Counseling at De La Salle University. She hopes to further develop her knowledge of interpersonal communication and enhance her problem-solving skills to become an effective counselor.



JOSEPHINE BARRANCO

The fourth of five children, Josephine was reared in a small farm in Bugasong, Antique. She earned her degree in Secondary Education (major in Social Studies) from the West Visayas State University in Iloilo City. After a brief stint

at the John Lacson Colleges Foundation and the Colegio de las Hijas de Jesus in Iloilo City, she transferred to Metro Manila and began teaching Asian Studies and World History at the Philippine Science High School. She is doing an MA in Social Sciences at the State University of New York-Buffalo to expand her knowledge of the disciplines and broaden her teaching techniques. Upon her return, she plans to resume her work as a social science teacher and develop too, a learning program for special children in her hometown of Antique.



ASSAD BAUNTO

Assad finished college at UP Diliman with a BS in Business Economics. A Maranao Muslim, he received a well-rounded education from a curious mix of Chinese, Catholic and Madrasa schools while growing up in Zamboanga City. This cultivated his appreciation for multi-culturalism, and motivated him to participate in peace and development initiatives in Mindanao. He became active in the Muslim-Christian Student Movement for enhanced interfaith cooperation, and the Kalumbayan group in Marawi City which coordinates dialogues and other activities for Muslim youth. Assad now counts among few Filipinos to have been admitted at Oxford University, UK, for an MPhil in Economics. On his return, he plans to teach in a university and set up a foundation dedicated to conducting relevant research for improving the lives of indigenous people in Mindanao.



PEDRO BELLEN

Pedro grew up in a large and humble home in Bacacay, Albay. It was through the benevolence of an American priest that he was able to continue secondary school, and to complete a Bachelor's degree in Philosophy at St. Vincent Ferrer Seminary in

Jaro, Iloilo City. After realizing that he was not destined for priesthood, Pedro left the seminary and went into community work. His involvement in developing livelihood projects for depressed communities in the Bicol region became the turning point in his career. Pedro now heads his own NGO called the Bicol Center for Community Development based in Legaspi City,



which is involved in enterprise development and technical training for low-skilled workers and indigents. Pedro is enrolled at the Institute of Social Studies in The Netherlands taking up his Master's in Human Resources and Development. He is hopeful that his graduate study program will help him design and implement more effective programs for local communities.

PROSPERO CALAGAN

One of three children, Prospero was born and raised in a poor municipality, in Barlig, Mountain Province. He completed his Bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering from St. Louis University in Baguio City. Shortly after getting his professional license, he entered government service as an environment management specialist of the Environment Management Bureau of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) in the Cordillera Administrative Region. His work entails facilitating the implementation of environmental laws in coordination with local government units, and helping put together pollution cases for prosecution. Prospero's 12-year assignment at DENR made him realize the urgency of addressing many of the country's environmental problems. With an eye toward expanding his knowledge on environmental preservation, he is currently enrolled in the MA Environmental Resource Management Program of Cranfield University, UK.



RIALYNN CHENG

With the help of a scholarship, Rialynn studied and completed her degree in BS Geology at UP Diliman. Even as a child growing up in Manila, she has dreamt of becoming an earth scientist,



finding peculiar fascination for earthquakes and eruptions. Shortly after she passed the government licensure exam, Rialynn was accepted as Engineering Geologist at Geotecnica Corporation, a Filipino-owned company that does geological research and studies for engineering works and infrastructure projects. She also taught geology part time at Adamson University in downtown Manila. At present, Rialynn is completing a degree in MA Earth and Geoscience at the University of Manchester, UK. She plans to resume teaching after earning her degree since she believes that this is the best way of sharing the knowledge that she gained in graduate school.

AMBROSIO CULTURA



Raised in Misamis Oriental, Ambrosio obtained his BS Electrical Engineering degree from the Mindanao Polytechnic State College (MPSC) in Cagayan de Oro City, and joined the faculty of the Department of Electrical Engineering full-time after passing the licensure exam. Due to his leadership abilities and dedication, he was later selected to become the Dean of the School of Engineering and Architecture, besting older and more experienced candidates. On top of his work at the university, Ambrosio has lent his expertise in electrical wiring and installation to various community projects, the most notable of which was the Habitat for Humanity project in Cagayan de Oro City. He is now enrolled at the University of Massachusetts at Lowell, USA, pursuing an MS in Energy Engineering. On his return, he wants to contribute his know-how to complete the electrification of all barangays in the Philippines.

ARTURO CUNANAN

With his grandparents and great-aunt struck with leprosy, Arturo aspired early on to become a medical doctor to help control leprosy. He thus pursued BS Medical Technology at the University of Santo Tomas, and with the help of a scholarship, continued on to earn a Doctor of Medicine from the same university. After passing the Board and taking post-graduate studies in infectious and tropical medicine (specializing in leprosy), Arturo returned to Culion in Palawan and joined the Culion Sanitarium as a resident physician, gradually rising to become the head of the hospital's technical division and in-charge of the Culion Leprosy Control and Rehabilitation Program. Under Arturo's leadership and direction, the leprosy program was revitalized and achieved tremendous success—over a period of 16 years, the number of active patients drastically declined from 600 to 2. Arturo completed his Master's in Public Health at UP Manila, and is now pursuing a Ph.D. degree in Tropical Medicine and Infectious Diseases at the University of Leeds, UK.



NOEL CUNANAN



The youngest of four children, Noel finished a BS degree in Military Leadership and Strategy at the Philippine Military Academy. He began his career as a naval pilot with the Philippine Navy and now assumes the position of Chief of Manpower and Organization of the Naval Operations Office. As part of his work at the Philippine Navy, he has been involved in relief missions, search and rescue operations, and even efforts to protect the environment and natural resources, many of which merited recognitions and awards. In 2003, Noel completed his Master's in Development Management at the Asian Institute of Management. He has since

resumed his duties at the Philippine Navy where he intends to apply his education to effect positive changes and improve the dynamism of the organization.

EMANUEL DE GUZMAN

Emanuel is a native of Quezon, Nueva Ecija. He obtained his Bachelor's degree in Sociology from the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP). The editor-in-chief of PUP's campus paper "The Catalyst," Emanuel caught the eye of school officials with his excellent writing and even before graduating, was asked to join the faculty of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He was able to secure a scholarship to further his studies in sociology at Ateneo de Manila University, where he also began teaching part time. An active community worker as well as teacher, Emanuel has participated in adult literacy and numeracy campaign programs, lectured on international trade issues for teachers, and helped organize a teachers' association in Nueva Ecija. He is now pursuing a Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Manchester, UK. He hopes to expand his knowledge of sociological theories and contribute to the intellectual life of the social sciences in the country.



ROSARIO DUMELOD



Rosario is the third of nine children born of an Ifugao couple. She finished her Bachelor's degree in Sociology from Our Lady of Pillars Institute in Cauayan, Isabela. After college, Rosario worked as a librarian at the Santa Maria National High School for a year before transferring to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, and later to the Department of the Interior and Local Government. She availed of the national government's Local Scholarship Program,

which allowed her to pursue a Master's degree in Public Administration at Northeastern College in Santiago City, Isabela. Rosario is now taking up doctoral studies in Cosmic Applied Anthropology at the Asian Social Institute (ASI). Fiercely proud of her Ifugao heritage, Rosario hopes to use her education to help her community find sustainable sources of livelihood without eroding their way of life.

EVELIO ESCLETO

Evelio, one of four children, was reared in a small village in Bohol province. He had to move to Mindanao and take on blue-collar jobs to support his family and education. He nevertheless managed to complete college with honors. With a BS Education (major in English) degree from Butuan City Colleges, he was employed as an English teacher in a number of schools before joining the Cagayan de Oro School of Arts and Trade as English and Music teacher. His exceptional performance as a teacher earned him seven outstanding teacher awards, and qualified him to the preliminary finals of the Metrobank Outstanding Teacher Awards. Through a local scholarship, he was able to complete a Master's degree in Education at UP-Diliman. To expand his area of expertise, Evelio is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Sociology at Xavier University, which he hopes will further enrich his teaching and understanding of Philippine social trends and developments.



Baler, Aurora: one in Sociology and another in Education. After obtaining her degrees, she worked on development projects under the Department of Agriculture as well as the Department of Agrarian Reform. She also indulged her passion for teaching, first as a high school teacher at Baler Institute, then as assistant professor at Aurora State College of Technology, and later, as instructor at the Technological University of the Philippines (TUP) in Manila. At TUP, she also served as extension worker and helped mobilize people and resources for micro-enterprise activities. Mila was able to finish a Master's degree in Community Development at UP Diliman through her own efforts. She is now enrolled at UP Los Baños, working on a Ph.D. in Community Development.

CARLOTA FRANCISCO

Carlota obtained her undergraduate degree in Sociology from UP-Diliman. She taught social science and sociology courses for four years at various universities including UP before moving on to teach Filipino at Ateneo de Manila University. Carlota's love of teaching is only exceeded by her commitment to serve others. Up until she left for graduate school, she worked as a volunteer of Unang Hakbang Foundation, a drop-in center for street children and other children in difficult circumstances. She was also an active member of her community at Krus na Ligas, Quezon City, serving as lector/commentator in church and writer/contributor for a community-based newspaper. Carlota is now pursuing an MPhil in Sociology (specializing in childhood, family and poverty) at University of Wales, Bangor, UK. Carlota hopes to resume her work as an educator and community worker upon her return from graduate school.



MILA ESPINOSA

Mila spent her early years in her mother's hometown in Aurora. While raising her children, she completed two undergraduate degrees in Mount Carmel College in



CARLOS GADAPAN



Carlos completed college at the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio City, with a degree in BS Military Science. Intending to be a doctor, Carlos initially took up BS Medical Technology at Far Eastern University, but had to give up this dream so

his younger siblings could go to college. Assigned with the Philippine Constabulary (now Philippine National Police or PNP), he was deployed to various areas in Mindano—Bukidnon, Misamis Occidental and Misamis Oriental. He had twice volunteered to peacekeeping missions abroad: first, to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and second, to the United Nations Mission in Haiti. He is currently holding the rank of Police Chief Inspector and assigned at the PNP Headquarters. In 2003, Carlos completed his Master's in Development Management at the Asian Institute of Management (AIM). He has resumed his duties at PNP where he intends to use his education to bolster the community-building thrust of the organization.

PANCHITO LABAY

Panchito was raised by his school teacher-father and dressmaker-mother in a remote barrio in Boac, Marinduque. He earned his BS Chemistry degree from Adamson University in Manila. After college, he worked in a chemical laboratory in Manila, but later decided to go back to his hometown to teach Chemistry and Environmental Science at the Marinduque School of Arts and Trade. There, Chito became involved in butterfly farming and in efforts to protect the environment. He would often give free lectures to upland dwellers on environmental preservation. Chito is now pursuing International Development Studies at Wageningen University in The Netherlands. With his degree, he hopes to go back to



teaching and at the same time, mobilize his community to protect the forests of Boac.

RONALD LACHICA



Born to a fisherman-father and a fish vendor-mother in Sto. Tomas, La Union, Ronald completed his education with the help of relatives. He completed his Bachelor of Science in Fisheries at the Don Mariano Marcos Memorial State

University (DMMMSU) through a scholarship grant from the Rotary Club of La Union. After graduation, he worked as a research assistant at DMMMSU. He later joined Haribon Foundation as a resource specialist and became its program assistant, responsible for evaluating and monitoring environmental projects. Ronald is proud to have been instrumental in the formation of an organization of local fisherfolks in Sta. Rosa, Camarines Sur whose aim is to preserve the fast-disappearing capiz resource and finding alternative sources of livelihood. He is now pursuing an MS in Estuarine Science at Louisiana State University in the US.

JAIME LEAL

Jaime is a medico-legal officer assigned with the Women's Crisis and Child Protection Center of the Philippine National Police Crime Laboratory in Camp Crame, Quezon City. He earned his Bachelor of Science degree in Biology at UP-Diliman, and his Doctor of Medicine at West Visayas State University in Iloilo City. His long years of experience at the Center made him a favorite speaker in conferences and seminars on domestic violence, child maltreatment and abuse, and sexual abuse. He has also written several articles on these topics. In his personal testimony, Jaime said he chose the field of forensic medicine because he believes that through his



work he can give a voice to the voiceless, and ensure battered women and rape victims' stories are heard and their attackers brought to justice. Jaime has gained admission at The University of Western Australia where he will pursue a Master's in Forensic Science.

CHARLES BENJAMIN MAMOLO



Charles took up BS Secondary Education major in Physics at the Don Bosco College Seminary in Laguna. Encouraged by the seminary to reflect and find his true calling after graduation, Charles left the seminary and

returned to Cebu where he taught physics in his high school alma mater, the Don Bosco Technology Center. Here, he also got involved in curriculum development, and in his spare time, in parochial work for the youth. Seeking to widen his horizons, Charles pursued a Master's degree in Business Administration at the University of San Carlos (USC) in Cebu. Soon, he joined the Physics Department of USC as a full time instructor, and actively participated in training high school physics and elementary science teachers. To update his knowledge and refine his craft, Charles is now working on an MA in Physics Education at Kansas State University in the US.

OLIVER MAQUILING

Oliver graduated from the Philippine Military Academy with a degree in BS General Engineering and Management. He entered the Philippine Army after graduation and now serves as Chief of Current and Near Future Studies of the Armed Forces of the Philippines' Doctrine Center. In the military, he is often at the frontline of delivering services to depressed and conflict areas. He also had



extensive contact with the communities where he had been deployed, playing a nontraditional role of teacher to ethnic minorities and high school students. Oliver is now taking up MA in Peace and Conflict Resolution at Columbia University in the US, which he hopes will further his understanding of the causes of conflict in the country and of ways to prevent and resolve this.

GLENN MAS



Glenn completed his Bachelor's degree in Mass Communications at West Visayas State University in Iloilo City. He found work as an in-house theater actor at the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the Metropolitan Theater before

heading to the Philippine High School for the Arts in Makiling to teach playwriting to gifted students. On the side, Glenn wrote one-act plays and other literary pieces, often drawing inspiration from people, events and traditions of his native Antique and Iloilo where he spent his early years. Glenn's exemplary writing did not go unrecognized. Three of his one-act plays—*Feline Curse*, *In the Dark* and *The Birth of Flight*—have won the prestigious Palanca award, and one (*In the Dark*) was performed at the Kennedy Center in Washington D.C. Glenn is now pursuing an MFA in Playwriting at the Catholic University in the US. He hopes to contribute to the country's cultural enrichment by continually writing stories that connect people to their roots, and mentoring young playwrights and other aspiring artists.

JAIME PANTALETA

Jaime presently serves as chair of the Social Science Department of Basilan State College, and teaches part-time at Claret College of Isabela in Basilan. He finds fulfillment in nurturing young minds on



the social sciences, philosophy, ethics and values education. Devoted as he is to teaching, Jaime also actively participates in the advancement of peace and social development in the region. He is a member of the Basilan Muslim-Christian Movement for Peace and Development, and the Silsilah Movement which is engaged in Muslim-Christian Dialogue. Jaime has an undergraduate degree in history from Claret College of Isabela and a Master's degree in Education (major in Social Studies) from Ateneo de Zamboanga. He counts completing school as a major triumph in his life, having had interrupted primary and secondary schooling because of extreme poverty. He is now pursuing a Ph.D. in Development Studies, specializing in Peace Studies, at Ateneo de Davao University.

WILFREDO PRILLES JR.



Reared in a farming community in Pili, Camarines Sur, Wilfredo graduated from the University of Nueva Caceres with a BS Mathematics degree. His outstanding performance as editor-in-chief of the campus paper *Nueva Caceres Bulletin*

led him to his first job as proofreader in *Vox Bikol*, a local newspaper. He also landed a job as staff writer in the official publication of the provincial government of Camarines Sur. From there, he joined public service as a staff of Naga City Mayor Jesse Robredo where he learned the preparation of feasibility studies, local planning, and preparation of policy papers. Before leaving for graduate school, he was designated coordinator of the City government's project to strengthen the local school board. With the help of Civil Service Commission's Local Scholarship Program, Wilfredo managed to complete a masteral degree in Management from Bicol University. He is now working on a doctoral degree in Development Studies (major in Public Planning) at the prestigious University of Cambridge, UK, aiming to become a better agent of change in local governance.

JASPER ROM



Rising above his physical disability, Jasper graduated from the University of San Carlos Technological Center in Cebu City with a degree in Electronics and Communications Engineering. His avowed mission is to help other persons-with-disabilities recognize and develop their potential as productive members of society. This led him to join the Cebu-based Handicapped Anchored in Christ, Inc, an NGO that produces and distributes enabling tools to persons-with-disabilities, and gets them involved in livelihood and environmental projects. A Chess National Master, Jasper also sought to share his interest and skill in chess by organizing the Mabini Chess Club which looks for and develops promising young chess players in his community. He is now at Georgetown University in Virginia, USA pursuing a Master's degree in Public Policy. He hopes to develop policies and programs that will protect and advance the rights of the underprivileged, particularly persons-with-disabilities.

RITCHIE RUBIO



Raised by a single mother who is a teacher by profession, Ritchie developed at an early age the discipline and proper study habits that made him consistently top his class from elementary to college. He graduated Summa

Cum Laude with a degree in Bachelor of Science in Psychology from Saint Louis University (SLU), Baguio City. Upon graduation, he was hired by SLU as a Guidance Counselor and part-time Psychology Instructor. In addition to his student counseling and teaching load, Ritchie served as volunteer counselor and group dynamics facilitator for Child and Family Services Philippines, Inc. and was also active in the

activities of the SLU Parish. Not one to be complacent with his achievements, Ritchie completed an MS in Psychology at SLU. He is now pursuing a Ph.D. degree in Clinical Psychology at Alliant University in California, USA. He plans to rejoin the SLU College of Human Sciences and continue his counseling and volunteer work in his parish after his graduation.

ARNEL SANCHEZ

Arnel was born and raised in Naga City. As part of his father's privilege as an employee of Ateneo de Naga University, Arnel was able to study and finish a BS Biology degree at the university. With his vast experience in catechizing during his college years, he enlisted as a volunteer of Jesuit Volunteers Philippines where he worked as training facilitator and catechist for community children. This experience led him to his next job at the Caceres Social Action Foundation, Inc. where he stayed for 12 years. Arnel worked in various capacities at the Foundation—from community development worker, to head of research and development, to program manager. After his 13-year experience in community work, Arnel decided to pursue a Master of Science degree in Forest and Nature Conservation at Wageningen University in The Netherlands, intending to help address the problem of forest denudation in his province.



ALIMEN SENCIL

Alimen was born to Maguindanaon parents from Aringay, Kabacan, Cotabato. Through a grant-in-aid scholarship from the University of Southern Mindanao (USM) for members of cultural com-



munities, he was able to attend college at USM and graduate with a BS degree in Agriculture, major in Agricultural Extension. Immediately after graduation, he worked as research aide at USM until he reached his current position as training specialist—implementing literacy-based community programs with the Office of the Director for Extension Services of the university. He designed a nonformal education program for USM that was twice given national recognition by the Philippine Literacy Coordinating Council as most outstanding literacy program in the Philippines. Through a USM scholarship, Alimen was able to complete his MS in Extension Education. At present, he is enrolled at the Ateneo de Davao University, taking up Ph.D. Development Studies-Nonformal Education, which he hopes to apply in his advocacy and development work.

CELSO VALMONTE

The youngest of 15 children, Celso graduated from Saint Mary's University of Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya with a BS degree in Mathematics. He was immediately taken in as faculty of Saint Mary's University High School after graduating from college. Displaying aptitude for teaching complex math concepts and processes, Celso was asked to coach teams for interschool competitions on top of his regular tasks. He was also asked to train math and science teachers in the region under the Regular Training Program of the Department Education, Culture and Sports-Region II as well as the Rescue Initiative in Science Education project of the Department of Science and Technology. During his spare time, he also provides free tutorials to elementary and high school students. Celso has gained admission to the MPhil Mathematics Program of the University of Manchester, UK. Celso wants to make his mark by cultivating student interest in this subject and improving the quality of math teaching in the country.



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