

ADI 2012 SURVEY: THE PHILIPPINES

Preliminary Report

Our desired respondent profile

54 experts (twice that of the pilot test):

- ▶ 27 experts per ideological leaning (left–left leaning and right–right leaning).
 - ▶ 18 experts per area (politics, economy, and civil society)
 - ▶ 9 experts per ideological leaning per area
- 

Our respondent profile thus far

AFFILIATION	LEFT-LEFT LEANING	RIGHT-RIGHT LEANING
ACADEME POLITICS	3	3
NGO/CSO POLITICS	2	3
PRIVATE POLITICS	2	1
ACADEME ECONOMY	2	3
NGOS/CSO ECONOMY	3	1
PRIVATE ECONOMY	2	3
ACADEME CIVIL SOCIETY	3	2
NGO/CSO CIVIL SOCIETY	3	3
PRIVATE CIVIL SOCIETY	2	3

TOTAL: 45 (and counting)
About 40% – respondents from
last year's pilot test
Much better L-LL - R-RL distribution

Tentative index estimates

CORE PRINCIPLES	SUBPRINCIPLES	FIELDS			Subprinciple Indices	Core Principle Indices
		Politics	Economy	Civil Society		
Liberalization (L)	Autonomy	6.03	4.59	4.73	5.12	5.13
	Competition	4.71	4.38	6.32	5.13	
Equalization (E)	Pluralization	4.67	2.37	4.76	3.93	4.55
	Solidarity	5.88	4.23	5.38	5.16	
Democracy Indices		5.32	3.89	5.3	Philippine ADI – 4.84	
		L = 5.37 E = 5.28	L = 4.49 E = 3.3	L = 5.53 E = 5.07		

CORE PRINCIPLES	SUBPRINCIPLES	FIELDS			Subprinciple Indices	Core Principle Indices
		Politics	Economy	Civil Society		
Liberalization (L)	Autonomy	7.4	5.1	4.3	5.6	5.6
	Competition	4.9	4.6	6.9	5.5	
Equalization (E)	Pluralization	5.1	2.6	4.5	4.1	4.8
	Solidarity	6.4	4.8	5.4	5.5	
Democracy Indices		6.0	4.3	5.3	Philippine ADI – 5.2	
		L = 6.2 E = 5.8	L = 4.9 E = 3.7	L = 5.6 E = 5.0		

Politics (sample questions and answers)

- ▶ 1. How well do you think the citizens are free from undue violence in your country?
- ▶ Half of the left-left leaning respondents gave scores 3 and below, while all but one among the right-right leaning respondents gave a score of four and above. Nevertheless, with the highest scores being from those in the L-LL side, it appears that ideological leaning has little influence on scoring for this item.
- ▶ The experts say that They say that there are sufficient legal mechanisms to challenge those who commit human rights violations. There are experts who say that implementation of these protective laws is poor, and a “culture of impunity” reigns in the country

Politics

- ▶ **2. Overall, how well do you think the citizens' freedom is protected in your country?**
- ▶ The high scorers (rating: 7–8) who gave comments (6 out of 8) all agree that institutional guarantees, primarily in the form of the Constitution's Bill of Rights, exist. Nevertheless, these high scorers acknowledge that there are still violations of basic freedoms in places that the law is barely (if at all) respected (e.g., warlord-run localities) and of certain vulnerable groups (e.g., journalists). Only one respondent who gave a low score (a four) gave a comment, stating that rampant human rights violations make it difficult to believe that these freedoms are actually guaranteed.

Politics

- ▶ **10. How transparent do you think are the operations of government agencies in your country?**
- ▶ Ratings five and below are the scores given by the majority of the experts. A common complaint is the lack of a “Freedom of Information” law. The Internet and digitization of records are hailed by some experts on either side to be significant recent advances in making public documents more accessible to the public. However, loopholes both real and invented in the constitutional guarantee of freedom of access to public documents make any technological advances practically all for naught in helping the public know where their taxes go or how “pork barrels” are utilized. Each ideological group has one high scorer; both agree that certain new rules of certain “money-handling” agencies show there is at least an effort to improve transparency. However, the non-existence of a genuine comprehensive Freedom of Information law made many of the respondents give a lacklustre score for this item.

Politics

- ▶ **19. How much do you think the citizens believe that democracy is superior to any other political system?**
- ▶ Like last year, high marks were given by the majority of experts for this item. Many of the experts believe that Filipinos are a freedom-loving people, but a few experts expressed scepticism that Filipinos have a good understanding of what “democracy” really means. Moreover, experts on both sides noted that most Filipinos in the lower rungs of society are more concerned with getting what they need to get by, perhaps even preferring a paternalistic “benevolent dictator” over the government they currently have. Still, the experts seem to agree implicitly or explicitly that “democracy” is a (polysemous) word loaded with goodwill for most Filipinos.

Politics – Summary

- ▶ **Left–Left Leaning:**
 - ▶ Autonomy – 5.63
 - ▶ Competition – 4.27
 - ▶ Pluralization – 4.21
 - ▶ Solidarity – 5.58
 - ▶ **Right–Right Leaning:**
 - ▶ Autonomy – 6.43
 - ▶ Competition – 5.14
 - ▶ Pluralization – 5.12
 - ▶ Solidarity – 6.17
- 

Civil Society

- ▶ **Left-Left Leaning:**
- ▶ Autonomy - 4.07
- ▶ Competition - 6.21
- ▶ Pluralization - 4.21
- ▶ Solidarity - 4.62
- ▶ **Right-Right Leaning:**
- ▶ Autonomy - 5.39
- ▶ Competition - 6.42
- ▶ Pluralization - 5.31
- ▶ Solidarity - 6.13

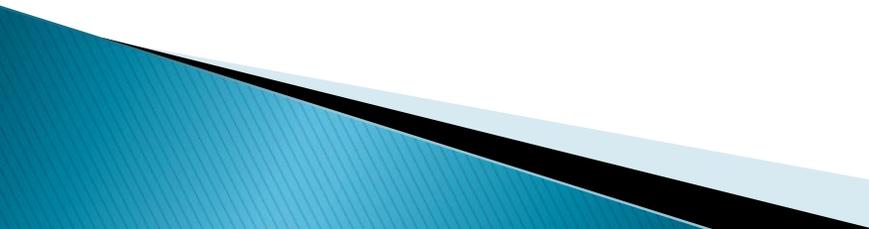
Civil Society (sample questions and answers)

- ▶ **1. How free do you think citizen's social activities are from the government interference in your country?**
- ▶ Experts, despite different political leanings, related the Q1 to similar or related parameters. Particularly, five experts (3 LLG; 2 RLG) connected the question to the constraints on media freedom. They attributed the said constraints to various factors such as the pressures imposed on media by various social groups and events such as extra-judicial killings committed by private citizens and/or informal actors such as private armies.

Civil Society

- ▶ **3. How much influence do you think private companies have on society in your country?**
- ▶ Five experts (3 LLG; 2 RLG) emphasized on how private corporations influence media or public opinion through their financial capacity to advertise and pay to communicate their interests and through the ownership of media outfits itself.
- ▶ NGO independence is also threatened by private companies. A left-leaning expert mentioned how most NGOs began to join the bandwagon due to funding constraints. A right-leaning expert noted the existence of NGO-private company tie-ups while another raised that private companies have their own NGOs . Despite these all experts qualified that independence still exists among NGOs as a whole. Another expert even claimed that companies' influence on media and the government are counterbalanced by NGOs and independent educational institutions.

Civil Society

- ▶ **Do you think NGOs are democratically operating in your country?**
 - ▶ The focus of expert comments differ. One expert noted NGOs' observance of basic requirements to assure transparency. Another mentioned the lack of oversight features in some NGOs in the context of expanding operations. Two experts credited the principled nature of NGOs in ensuring democratic operations.
- 

Civil Society

- ▶ 15. How equally do you think power is distributed among people in your country?
 - ▶ The experts generally agree that a wide gap exists between the rich and the poor in the country or at least that powerful few exists, in the form of political dynasties, business elites and the church, to name of a few mentioned. Aside from purely class-based differences, opportunities also differ between the rural and the urban.
- 

Thus far,

- ▶ Like last year, differences in scores among L-LL and R-RL politics and civil society experts seem to be influenced by something other than overt ideological leaning
 - ▶ What about in economics?
- 