

## CLOSING PROGRAM

# Synthesis



TERESA S. ENCARNACION TADEM

### PANEL 1: THE TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSION OF PHILIPPINE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. The panel discussed how Philippine civil-society organizations (CSOs) access, define, and reshape transnational linkages that undergird global civil-society movements.
2. Philippine civil-society organizations engage in transnational efforts to reach out for more resources to sustain their campaigns and exert more pressure on World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and Asian Development Bank.
3. Transnational linkages are formed as CSOs need to cross national boundaries in order to access and deliver funds, access information, and have solidarity.
4. These transnational linkages are characterized as power relations. Philippine social movements, however, are not mere implementers of projects devised by foreign organizations in the guise of global civil society.
5. One of the major reactions on the presentation was to elaborate on the concept of transnational linkages. The study, in particular, should trace the roots of social movements, distinguish the different types of movements, and examine groups that have transformed from donor agencies to advocacy organizations and from CSOs to transnational social movements and the problems they encountered in the process.
6. Another comment was to evaluate the framework used in the study which is still based on the old notion of how traditional spaces have evolved. More specifically, the study should examine the relationships among social actors and, in the process, clarify what 'power relations' mean.

7. The politics of funding also needs to be elucidated. One of the reactors suggested empirically evaluating the impact of foreign funding on social movements and its consequences (e.g., issues that emerged, possible sources of corruption).
8. Another dimension that should be looked into is the process in which social movements popularize issues.
9. Some of the suggestions to include in the study is to explore some reasons why movements go transnational (is the relationship with government a factor?) and to describe some learning experiences of movements in developing a transnational character.

## PANEL 2: STATE-SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DYNAMICS

1. The panel focused on the interaction between the state and movements, the means of interaction utilized by civil-society groups, the factors affecting such dynamics, and its outcomes.
2. Several factors affect state-civil society engagement: popularity of the issue, technical capability of civil society, and pressures from global institutions.
3. One of the panel reactors pointed out that the focus on only a few cases studies is a major limitation of the paper.
4. To better understand the nature of civil-society organizations, the paper should clarify the epistemological distinctions between civil-society organizations and social movements.
5. One of the reactors also noted that the paper should document changes in leadership dynamics of these coalitions to capture the changes that the organization has gone through, and to understand the capacity of the organization to engage the state.
6. To clearly illustrate state-social movement dynamics, it was suggested that the paper come up with clear indicators that account for the success or failure of state-civil society engagement; explain how movements popularize their issues; and explain the link between the popularity of an issue and how government addresses it.
7. The paper should factor in the nature of the regime which accounts for the character of the dynamics between state and social movements. This is crucial in explaining why the engagement could be empowering, transformative or otherwise for the civil-society groups.
8. Ideology is another dimension that needs to be looked into. The different, competing ideologies of civil-society groups may play up their dynamics.
9. It was also suggested that the paper closely examine the degree to which government policy choices tend to be dominated by donors, which in turn are highly influenced by the neoliberal or the Washington consensus tradition.
10. It would benefit readers if the paper suggest or propose specific strategies that must be adopted by civil-society groups in popularizing issues. The successful popularization of an issue may not be the offshoot of a single group's effort alone, but the result of a sustained, continued work of different groups.

### **PANEL 3: THE ACADEME AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: ENRICHING THEORY AND PRACTICE**

1. The focus of the panel is the involvement of academic activists in the emergence, development, and outcomes of social movements.
2. The presentation emphasized the importance of knowledge transfer from the academe to movements and vice-versa.
3. The relationship of academics and social-movement actors is often motivated by their common struggle to effectively engage state agencies and supranational institutions. Only when social-movement actors, who have practical experience, and academics who have theoretical know-how share their knowledge can the gap between theory and practice be bridged.
4. One of the panel reactors suggested looking into how major thinkers theorized the concept of the academic or the intellectual.
5. One of the major comments from the panel is that the paper should examine more carefully the role of the academic in developing, framing, and proposing alternatives to the movements they engage with; and conversely, how the academic's involvement influences his scholarship and pedagogical practice.
6. In engaging with social-movement actors, academics have to be credible experts to social movements. The capacity to translate and articulate movement causes in communicable language can establish such credibility.
7. During the open forum issues on the role of the academic was raised. It was suggested that the study examine the background and orientation of the academic, and how these influence social-movement engagement; and to expand the understanding of the academic by underscoring his/her involvement in social movements.
8. It was also suggested that the paper look into the different typologies of social movements. The engagement of the academic may vary according to the distinct organizational structure, dynamics, interests, and advocacies of the movement that s/he engages in.
9. The paper should also look into the dilemmas academics experience when dealing with different social movements. Possible sources of conflict would be balancing objectivity with the movement's beliefs, and the nuances of the organizational culture of Philippine social movements.
10. The study should try to explore other means and tools for academics and social movements in improving and sustaining their engagement with the state and other institutions.

### **PANEL 4: MEDIA FRAMING AND COVERAGE: COMPETING IMAGES AND COLLECTIVE ACTION**

1. The panel discussed the relationship between media and social movements, particularly how these social movements project themselves and how their issues are framed in the media.
2. Social movements do "double-framing"—they frame both the issues and themselves. Media framing includes activities such as press releases, press conferences, infomercials, and demonstrations.

3. Media coverage varies depending on what was highlighted about the issue (e.g. technical details, political and social questions, etc.). When covering the issue, media either dismiss the movement or place them in the margins.
4. Given the need to sustain the interest of the media on these issues and advocacies, social movements resort to using theatrics and popular images. They focus on form rather than substance.
5. One of the reactors commented on the changing global media landscape. For instance, television has overtaken print media in terms of scope and audience reach. This development should be included in the context of media framing.
6. One of the reactors suggested that social movements should master the media. They need to be creative in presenting their issues, combining both form and substance, if they aim to effectively push for their advocacies.
7. Media pose some challenges to social movement. The choice of news or issues, the cost of media coverage, and the interests of journalists are some things that movements have to study in order to forge a collaborative relationship with media.

## **PANEL 5: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE QUEST FOR VIABLE ALTERNATIVES**

1. The panel examines the proposals put forward by various Philippine social movements as documented by the study.
2. The study attempts to view these alternatives from the perspective of the state, supranational institutions, and the general public. It explores how alternatives resonate with movement stakeholders' interests, and how these movements pursue interrelated strategies.
3. The paper explored these alternatives in terms of: the conditions that spurred the development of these movements, the stakeholders and their interests, the strategies and concrete actions undertaken; and the modes and quality of engagement with state, supranational institutions, and the public.
4. The paper was commended for "hitting the jugular" by showing how social movements work towards their vision of justice, equality and fairness. In addition, the paper has shown that the alternatives offered resonate with the interests of the movements.
5. One of the major criticisms on the paper was that the actions and strategies presented are conventional and overwrought, although they are not necessarily useless or irrelevant. The paper should thus explore the innovations that these movements have taken up, given the contemporary situation of their advocacies or campaigns.
6. The framework of the study was also critiqued through the following questions: What do we mean by social movements? What can be considered viable alternatives?
7. Other questions regarding engagement of these movements were: What are explicit features, and limitations of the engagement of social movements with other actors?
8. It was suggested that the paper broaden the context of these social movements to include global realities. In particular, it should look into the political economy with its different dimensions, in which these advocacies filter into the legislative arena.

9. Another suggestion was to specify the reforms that each movement has been advocating and the factors that explain such outcomes.
10. The paper should capture the network of relationships particularly in relation to policy advocacy. With regards the substance of advocacies, the study should capture the situation and sentiments from the grassroots in framing these alternatives.
11. Finally, it was suggested that the paper explore more substantively the responses of the general public to these alternatives.

## Open Forum

### UNIDENTIFIED PARTICIPANT:

I have observed that we have missed some topics in our discussions in this conference. We did not discuss military authority and oppression, and the political killings involving members of mass movements.

### TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM :

One reason was the choice of case studies given to us by the project which specified a largely economic theme and involved particular groups like the Stop the New Round! Coalition and the fair trade movement. We actually raised this query when we had the opportunity to meet with other national project coordinators from Senegal, Turkey, and Argentina. UNRISD felt that other movements like those of human rights and women have been amply studied. We also argued against such claim. The other movement we felt that should have been included in the project instead of the Tobin tax was the anti-privatization movement in water and energy. The Tobin tax, in our view, was an initiative of the North, which probably accounts for its nonfamiliarity among social movements and ordinary citizens. Hence, with the exception of the anti-corruption movement, all the movements that were studied address economic issues and policies. Nevertheless, we hope this kind of project has given you some ideas on how to pursue similar interests and forge networks with institutions represented in our two-day workshop.

### JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:

Outcomes can be multidimensional, so a movement's outcome can be expressed through policy revision, adequate media coverage, heightened public awareness, or expanding membership of the movement.

Another dimension of these outcomes is the counterreaction initiated through countermovements by the state as well as by other players.

**UNIDENTIFIED PARTICIPANT:**

We have brought together many insights and observations in our discussions. I hope these ideas will be disseminated to the public, to the masses, and not remain in this conference room. The knowledge that we gain here is important if we are to mobilize the masses.

**TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

We have organized stakeholders' meetings and validation workshops for the dissemination of the findings of the case studies. The full papers on fair trade movement, the movement on debt relief, the anti-corruption movement, and the movement to change international trade rules are presented and discussed in these workshops.

I would like to share some positive feedback from one of the validation workshops. The participants in the Freedom from Debt Coalition stakeholders' meeting and validation workshop appreciated the study for looking not only at the transnational link, but also at the evolution, of the organization. The paper presented how the country's debt began to accumulate during the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, how the issue waned during the shift to structural adjustment loans, and how it developed into a new phase against which Jubilee South is campaigning. The participants said they appreciate the information presented, especially the shifts in policy that the case study highlighted.

**TERESITA BALTAZAR:**

I was wondering why the anti-corruption movement was not included as having an alternative as the case-writer presented in panel 5, despite also mentioning that the movement has mechanisms that *supplement* existing anti-corruption laws and policies.

If the movement is stuck with the laws, then they are working within the realm of prosecution, which is a traditional response.

In my opinion, the alternative of the social movement on anti-corruption is really a systems approach—systems reengineering. That is the alternative, not to supplement the laws.

**ROGER BIROSEL):**

If there will be a second round or extension of this research project, I think that research should employ a quantitative analysis. It would be interesting to find out the results of the Social Weather Stations (SWS) surveys before 1986 on the public awareness of the issues that civil-society organizations are advocating. A quantitative approach may also be employed, for instance, in analyzing media coverage of movement advocacies. Maybe the case studies can provide the actual number of news stories that featured the activities of that particular movement.

Second, I think these case studies will come full circle if they delve into the historical origins and the evolution of these movements, including the cooperatives and unions that have been part of the movements' development. Furthermore, the

studies can look into the politics among groups that are part of or working with the coalition.

### **TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

In the stakeholders' meeting and validation workshop of the anti-corruption case study, a question was raised as to why the study focused only on the Transparency and Accountability Network (TAN). We chose to focus on TAN because the size of the network was sufficient for the case study. At the same time, we also acknowledged the need to include the inputs of other groups within TAN for a more in-depth look at the case.

With regard to statistics and quantitative data, the case study writers of the anti-corruption movement and the movement for debt relief, respectively, used the SWS and Pulse Asia surveys.

### **JOEL ARIATE JR.:**

The earliest SWS survey that looks at the issue on debt dates back to 1988. According to the survey, 51 percent said that they were aware of the debt issue; of these, 75 percent said that the government was not doing enough to solve the issue. There was an annual score card that SWS devised to assess how different administrations handled the issue of corruption. Debt came out as the top issue that was least addressed or basically neglected by the government. This finding remained consistent year after year.

The SWS surveys are strong indicators of the sustainability of a social issue. Credit should go to the coalition for keeping the public aware of the issue through the different tactics and strategies they employ.

### **GLENDA LOPEZ WUI:**

For the anti-corruption movement case study, I cited the Transparency International survey on corruption among countries throughout the world. I was not able to cite SWS surveys in my original draft, but in the revised version I plan to include the opinions of Filipinos regarding corruption based on SWS surveys. In my original draft I mentioned an SWS survey on people's perception regarding the pervasiveness of corruption in the judiciary, but that was only a small portion.

### **JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

As I mentioned in the overview, the research design is really qualitative in nature. We wanted to get as many narratives as possible because one of our intentions is to really help social movements, or at least the organizations that we focused on in this research, come up with their own stories on how their organizations evolved through the years. We also wanted to look at their discourses, how these evolved over time, how they look at and analyze issues.

As you may have observed in this two-day conference, we were discussing several themes. This type of study would be complemented by a study that is more quantitative in design.

**SHARON QUINSAAT:**

I would like to cite some observations I had while gathering data for my case study on the movement to change international trade rules and barriers. I think the public opinion survey is just one source of data on the popularity of an issue, which to me has limitations.

The survey on the World Trade Organization (WTO) only started in 1994 when the international trade rules were ratified. A follow-up survey was done in 2002 to 2005 when preparations for the ministerials were ongoing. The survey in 2002 had questions like "Do you know the WTO?" and "Are you in favor of the WTO?" In my opinion, the way these questions are framed is not sufficient to capture public opinion. It does not give you information on how public opinion is shaped because it is not constructed within a time-series in the same way the issue developed. This is different from the surveys on the US bases or the debt issue, which were framed using a time-series analysis. A time-series approach allows you to see when the popularity of the issue reached its peak, and at which period the issue dipped into lull.

**UNIDENTIFIED PARTICIPANT:**

I would like to ask the researchers whether it is possible to include the recent policy pronouncement of the Arroyo government that has a direct impact on civil society. In my view, civil society now is really faced with the problem of a militarist state, which was sparked by Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's policy pronouncement about two weeks ago on the all-out war against insurgents and "enemies of the state."

In your research project the groups that were studied are not branded or strongly associated with the Left so in a way they are out of harm's way. But then, there is no telling what the government can do; it is easy for government to label any civil-society group as leftist. Therefore, I believe that the issue against leftist movements needs to be mentioned at least briefly in the case studies, as it is relevant to the continuing struggles of all the social movements.

**JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

The research design is explicit in its bias to locate social movements and their organizations in specific sociohistorical contexts. It is not only the specific, current context that is described and highlighted in each case study. Each study discusses the sociohistorical context of the administrations in which the social movement under study developed and engaged in collective action. Each case study documents the campaigns and calls that the movement has put forward over the years.

**TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

I would like to clarify that the movements which are part of the research project actually originated from the Left movement. The turning point of each movement is the period during the anti-dictatorship struggle and onward until the period of



democratization. During that span of time there was a shift in the issues that these movements focused on, but political issues are very much in their minds.

During the stakeholders' meeting and validation workshop on the FDC case, many participants came from political blocs. The representative also carried the position of the group regarding the debt issue. When I interviewed Princess Nemenzo during the "oust Erap Estrada" campaign, FDC became divided as a group. The rift certainly affected subsequent decisions of FDC.

As Professor Dionisio mentioned, the sociohistorical context or the political situation in which the movements are situated, is a highly important component of the case studies.

### **AMADO MENDOZA JR.:**

Is it not possible to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches for the case studies?

Let us take the case of the surveys. The issue of debt has antecedents such as the issue on the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant. There was a survey conducted on the nuclear power plant issue.

Quantitative data can actually be used to explain or at least track the developments with regard to the nature of the movement, particularly the issues they dealt with over time. Tracing the developments, the changes that happened to the movement, could be done qualitatively and quantitatively. I therefore suggest that the case studies utilize available quantitative data.

### **JOSEPHINE DIOINISIO:**

I would like to clarify that choosing a qualitative or quantitative approach is not an issue for us. We are not against the quantitative approach. Certainly the output of the research will include statistical data. But for this particular study, we chose a largely qualitative methodology—with well-stated justifications.

### **TINA PIMENTEL:**

I just want to make two comments specifically on the case study on the anti-corruption movement. TAN is a network and an operational team. An "ops" team-cum-secretariat. I think the case writer was confused and thus the paper did not give much weight to the network and its members as a whole. From the way it was written, one discussion paper looked at TAN more as a secretariat. That is one thing that needs to be changed.

Second, I would like to know how, in the absence of sufficient quantitative data, the case studies were able to arrive at conclusions. For example, in one of the discussion papers, I read a statement that says, "Corruption is widely perceived as a problem in this country." What is the basis for this generalization?

### **GLENDA LOPEZ WUI:**

In the discussion paper I presented yesterday, I cited People Power I and People Power II as bases for that claim. Corruption was the main issue that gave impetus to those two revolutions. In both cases, the support of the middle class was quite

evident; the rallies led by members of the middle class were a crucial factor to the ousting of presidents Marcos and Estrada, respectively. The perception of those two presidents as corrupt was initiated by the middle class, and that perception was embraced by the majority. These revolutions became possible primarily because of the middle class, although support also came from the lower class.

**JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

I think that statement is based on the review of literature, and not necessarily a key finding.

**TINA PIMENTEL:**

In the discussion, Professor Wui mentioned that according to a 2005 SWS survey, 53 percent of the respondents perceived corruption as a huge problem in the country. Do respondents coming from the middle class comprise majority of the 53 percent?

The ousting of presidents Marcos and Estrada can be interpreted as a representation of the power of the middle class to transform, to create a change in the perceived problem, which is corruption. However, I think that does not necessarily mean that other classes, particularly the lower class, do not perceive corruption as a huge problem. It may simply mean that the lower class is less powerful in the state and therefore cannot change things, much less have a voice in society.

**AMADO MENDOZA JR.:**

Issues have taken on different guises. The debt issue started even before 1986. But it was more of the controversies surrounding the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant. There was already a survey on that. What I am saying is that qualitative and quantitative methods can be employed in tracing the historical roots and explaining the evolution of the issues. If there are quantitative data available, they should be used.

**JOSEPHINE C. DIONISIO:**

We did that in many of the case studies. We cited statistics. But statistics do not necessarily make the whole study or our research design quantitative. We are not against the quantitative approach. It is just that the research team thinks that qualitative methodology better suits the research problem or topic.

**TINA PIMENTEL:**

On the case study on the anti-corruption, I think it is best if the researcher looked into the workings of the network as a whole and not just the secretariat. The dynamics among the members seem to be missing because the analysis centered on the operational team or the secretariat. Also, there was a certain statement in the paper that refers to the fact that "corruption is widely perceived as a problem in this country by those who wield power." What is the statement supposed to mean?

**GLENDALOPEZ-WUI:**

The main actors during the People Power I and II are the middle class. Both Marcos and Estrada were ousted because they were perceived as corrupt by this class and so, essentially, it wields power.

**JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

This is based on a review of literature and not necessarily a key finding in the study itself, right?

**TINA PIMENTEL:**

If you look at SWS surveys, as of 2005, 53 percent of those surveyed perceive that corruption is a huge problem in the country. In that 53 percent, is it mostly the middle class? On People Power I and II, maybe the middle class has the power to transform society. But this does not mean that corruption is not perceived as a huge problem by the lower class. It may just reflect the fact that the lower class is weaker and therefore cannot change things.

**JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

Maybe we should distinguish the middle class from the middle forces.

**TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

Actually during the stakeholders' meeting on the anti-corruption movement, there was the issue of consciousness. The sentiment of the lower class on the alleged corruption of Estrada was, "Okay, he was corrupt. But he is giving it back to us." The reaction, of course, of the middle class was, "How can these people be so dumb?" There is definitely a class divide on corruption. And this is not just in the Philippines. Bangkokians overthrew Thaksin, but if he ran for elections, he will definitely win in the rural poor areas.

**TERESITA BALTAZAR:**

To give a transnational aspect to the anti-corruption movement, I think we should look at the United Nations Convention on Corruption. Did the social movements have inputs there? Will it enhance the transnational links of national anti-corruption movements? Second, regarding TAN, I think its relationship with the state is unique. Because TAN is offering solutions, it does not really expect to be a victim of militarization and oppression.

**TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

The problem is, you also have radio commentators who hit local officials on corruption and they get killed. They may not be part of TAN, but they are being killed because they expose all of these. It is a reality, particularly when it comes to corruption. The anti-corruption campaign should really get a lot of people but it is

buried under bigger news. Because of this, the lower classes do not see the efforts of groups like the Procurement Watch, which is unfortunate. They will only see the bigger picture because it is being covered by the media.

### **PABLO ROSALES:**

The point I am about to raise has to do with how the academe can relate with the masses. Why do we speak in English? Is it because the documents are in English? I am glad that the experiences of peasants, fisherfolk, and other sectors have been documented, but I do not think they know that they have been written about extensively. I think language plays a very important role in the interaction among the various sectors. I hope that efforts to write about these experiences are not directed only to those coming from the academe and the middle class, and the international audience. I hope these writings will also be directed to the sources of these stories—the masses.

### **TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

For this project, unfortunately, we will be translating only the policy briefs in Filipino, Cebuano, and Ilocano. But I think that in forums like this, people should speak in the language that they are comfortable with, the language where they can best express themselves.

### **JOSEPHINE DIONISIO:**

I am a passionate advocate of the Filipino language. Not because this is a language that helps us better understand each other; in my personal opinion, what we consider as vernacular is actually borrowed from different languages or dialects. No matter what language we use, even if it is not Filipino, we still understand each other. I strongly advocate for the Filipino language to be used as a medium for intellectual discussion. I believe that the essence of communication is dialogue, the exchange of ideas. We use whatever language we feel can best express our ideas. We in the academe do not intend to diminish the efforts of other sectors to initiate their own storytelling. I think the task of telling or writing the story of peasants, fisherfolk, and other sectors should not be the role of the academe alone. Another challenge that this study seeks to highlight is that social-movement participants, especially those from the grassroots, should by now realize that it is important to document their experiences and to cull theory from this very rich practice. What the academe can do is to set an example how this may be done or how it should not be done.

### **ANGELITO MANALILI:**

I would like to respond to what one of our colleagues here had just said. I am the second recipient of the University of the Philippines' Lope K. Santos Award. The award is given to those who advocate the use of Filipino in teaching and research, and in improving people's lives in local communities. Much has been done to address that particular concern, especially by the University of the Philippines (UP).

UP has been exerting efforts to respond to the call that it should “theorize from below.” Experience has enriched “theorizing from below.” Then, academics would talk to the common people, the academics will write about their experiences in a language the common people understand, make the common people reflect on their experiences, and then, the academics will be the ones that will come up with the theory. Now, academics merely act as guides of the common people in theorizing social realities. The academics and the common people now work hand in hand. In fact, we have a program at the College of Social Work and Community Development that encourages fisherfolk associations to come and work together in preserving their fishing grounds. We encouraged and helped them write about their experiences in organizing and improving their communities. Later, we had a conference where they were the speakers and we, the academics whom they used to listen to, were the audience. We published their work in a book entitled *Almusal, Tanghalian, Hapunan: Bahaginan ng mga Buhay na Karanasan sa Samasamang Pagkilos ng mga Mangingisda* (Breakfast, Lunch, Dinner: Sharing the Life-Stories of the Fisherfolk’s Collective Struggle). They were delighted to read their stories. I also remember my dissertation which was eventually turned into a book entitled *Pag-oorganisa ng Pamayanan tungo sa Kaunlarang mula sa Pilipino para sa Pilipino* (Community Organizing Toward a People-Centered Development). One of the critics in my panel was a farmer. The farmer said that when he was reading the book, it was as if he was reading about his life. We academics, when we write about the people, must ensure that their voices be heard. Writing and talking in Filipino makes “theorizing from below” possible. The common people know that the Filipino language is a rich and powerful medium that expresses the heart, and the breadth and depth of our minds.

#### **TERESA ENCARNACION TADEM:**

So on that note, on behalf of the UNRISD-Philippine Research Team and the Third World Studies Center, we thank you very much, especially the participants, for sharing us your precious time for two days. Not only your precious time, but your insights, your views, patience, and the ideas that will certainly enrich our study.