

FINAL NARRATIVE REPORT

EXAMINING GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS

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This narrative report highlights the accomplishments from October 2005 to October 2006 of the Philippine Research Team (PRT) in conducting the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)-initiated research project on global civil society movements. The research project aims to produce case studies on the following global civil society movements in the Philippines: 1) debt relief; 2) changing international trade rules and regulation; 3) global taxation; 4) fair trade; and 5) anti-corruption. In the period covered by this report, the UNRISD-PRT accomplished the following: completion of the case studies, conduct of the national stakeholders' meeting, publication of the third and fourth issues of *Anib*, and publication of policy papers derived from the case studies.

COMPLETION OF THE CASE STUDIES: MEETING THE STANDARDS OF ACADEMIC PUBLISHING

Aside from conducting key informant interviews and focus group discussions, the case study writers also attended various activities which were initiated by their focus social movement organizations. These gave them the opportunity to briefly engage in participant observation. The case study writers also collected and examined various organizational documents and archival resources. In the last quarter of 2005, the case study writers were ready to sift through their accumulated case materials and on writing the first draft of their respective case studies. They plumbed volumes of documents and transcriptions to come up with a coherent account of each movement.

It is important to note at this point that although the young scholars who are directly involved in the writing of the case studies for this project are experienced researchers in their own right, this research project was quite challenging to them in many ways. One of the challenges that they had to face was to stay focused on the objectives of the over-all research project, without necessarily losing the richness of the narratives that they have collected from the field. Another challenge was to seamlessly weave the theoretical framework that informs this study into 'thick descriptions' of their respective cases. While their previously published works include completed case studies on the Philippines' debacle in development and democratization, and on the multi-dimensions of Philippine

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state-civil society relations in the context of globalization, this research project constitutes their first attempt to focus on social movement analysis.

By the first quarter of 2006, the case study writers were ready to submit their first drafts to the first round of review. Leading scholars and public intellectuals on the issue-focus of each movement and on social movement research were requested to review these drafts. This first round of review called the attention of the case writers to issue-specific concepts, and to a few methodological concerns. For instance, the consultant on methodology required the case writers to distinguish between data, findings, and analysis in their presentations.

The writers revised their drafts based on the comments of the academic reviewers for each of the five case studies. By the third quarter of 2006, these revised drafts were submitted to academic reviewers who examined the collection as a whole, namely, Dr. Vincent Boudreau, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, City University of New York and Dr. Saturnino Borrás, Jr. of the Institute for Social Studies, the Hague, Netherlands. Dr. Boudreau and Dr. Borrás were chosen as manuscript reviewers because of their extensive work on social movements in the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

The main concern of the manuscript reviewers is the extent to which the case studies were able to address the objectives of the overall research project, specifically in their ability to highlight the comparative value of each case. The reviewers suggested revisions that would provide a more analytically sophisticated characterization of the individual movements. They also suggested a more systematic discussion of the specific dynamics that operate in the Philippine setting and of the emerging variations from the case studies.

The reviewers called attention to the important dimensions of the theoretical framework that informs this study, and required a more systematic and focused discussion and reiteration of this analytical frame in the introductory and concluding chapters of the whole collection. Dr. Boudreau, for instance, suggested that in order to highlight the distinctiveness of the Philippine case, and the comparative analysis of the different movements, the distinct interplay of these three factors should be adequately discussed. He also suggested a more analytical discussion of the stable socio-political and cultural features of the Philippines so that this may serve as additional analytical resource for each of the case study. Specifically, he suggested a more systematic presentation of how the structuring of the Philippine government provides opportunities, as well as a discussion of the shifts in this structuring that may have differential impact on movement campaigns and outcomes.

Appropriate revisions were made by the PRT based on all these comments and suggestions. The final manuscript entitled "Localizing and Transnationalizing Contentious Politics: Global Civil Society Movements in the Philippines" contains the following chapters:

"Introduction: Towards Understanding Transnational Social Movements"
By: Josephine C. Dionisio

"More than Debt Relief: Two Decades of Freedom From Debt Coalition"
By: Joel F. Ariate Jr. and Ronald C. Molmisa

"Global Issues, Local Target: The Campaign against a New WTO Round in the Philippines" By: Sharon M. Quinsaat

"A Movement Whose Time Has Not Come: Philippine Civil Society and the Tobin Tax Agenda" By: Ronald C. Molmisa

"From North to South: Campaigning for Fair Trade in the Philippines" By: Zuraida Mae C. Cabilo

"Campaigning Against Corruption: The Case of the Transparency and Accountability Network" By: Ma. Glenda S. Lopez Wui

"Localizing and Globalizing Advocacies and Alternatives: A comparative analysis of five global civil society movements (A Synthesis) By: Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem

"Conclusion: Realities and Challenges for Philippine Global Civil Society Movements" By: Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem

CONDUCT OF VALIDATION MEETINGS AND THE NATIONAL STAKEHOLDERS' MEETING: ACHIEVING INTERSUBJECTIVE VALIDITY

By the end of the second quarter of 2006, preliminary findings on each of the five case studies have already been presented for validation by their respective stakeholders in a series of stakeholders' meetings. Each of these stakeholders' meetings was attended by academics, movement actors, and policymakers who were involved in the study as key informants. A copy of the preliminary report was disseminated among the stakeholders for their evaluation. In the actual stakeholders' meeting, the case writers presented their account of the movement's emergence, strategies, and outcome.

As a whole, the stakeholders appreciated the fact that this research project gave them the opportunity to construct a collective memory, and to reflect upon the trajectory of their movement. Comments from the stakeholders helped the case writers to clarify crucial movement-related 'events' and 'periods'. These validation meetings form part of the participatory research process, which the PRT adopted. The stakeholders participated in the entire research process by providing feedback on its design, by becoming key informants, and by giving comments on the final analytical report. Thus, while the PRT takes full responsibility for the interpretations that are contained in each of the case studies, the PRT also subjected itself to the tests of intersubjective validity.

While the validation meetings allowed a richer description of each case, the national stakeholders' meeting allowed the PRT to have a better sense of the movements' commonalities and variations. A two-day national stakeholders' meeting was also held on themes that cut across the five case studies. The case study writers were able to read and examine each other's work as they prepared their respective thematic papers. These themes included the following: 1) The

Transnational Dimension of Philippine Social Movements; 2) State-Movement Dynamics: Opposition, Cooperation and Cooptation; 3) The Academe and Social Movements: Enriching Theory and Practice; and 4) Media Framing and Coverage: Competing Images and Collective Action; and 5) The Role of Social Movements in the Quest for Alternatives. Each of the five thematic panel generated lively discussions and passionate debates among the participants. While the thematic presentations tended to generalize for all of the five movements, comments from the participants called attention to the more subtle variations among the movements, especially in terms of their strategies and outcomes.

Regarding the transnational dimension of the movements, it was pointed out that the movements may be characterized as transnational because of the nature and root causes of the problems that the movements are addressing. But in terms of constituency and advocacy focus, these movements cannot afford to prioritize the global at the expense of the local. What is of paramount importance is to strike a balance between international networking, especially within similarly situated constituencies in other countries in the South, and national organizing and mobilization efforts. It was also pointed out that the millions of Filipinos working or living overseas increasingly becomes an important impetus for the transnationalization of these movements. Another important point that was raised was the need to acknowledge the role of the radical left movement in pioneering the earliest efforts to mobilize, both domestically and internationally, around issues that are closely related to the issue-focus of these movements. This acknowledgement becomes highly relevant in the present context of the Philippines when the radically left is continuously being de-legitimized and brutally assaulted by the ruling political bloc.

In discussing the dynamics of state and civil society relations in the Philippines, it was pointed out that the case studies should explicitly characterize as coalitions the social movement organizations that are at the forefront of the issue-focused movements. This will highlight the shifting political dynamics in the country, and how this political volatility has placed the burden of exercising consistency in policy advocacy on social movement organizations. The consensus was that it becomes necessary for social movement organizations to intervene in the policymaking process given the inherent weakness of the Philippine state institution. Still, there was also recognition that state institutions in the Philippines are not monolithic because they are peopled by individuals who may become allies of social movements on the basis of specific advocacies.

In analyzing the linkages between the academe and social movement organizations, the inherently conservative nature of the academe as an institution was highlighted by one of the panel discussants. The challenge therefore was on how social movement organizations can continuously mobilize academics to transcend the boundaries of their institutional locations and to help social movement organizations in coming out with well-crafted policy proposals and alternatives. Another panel discussant suggested a reconceptualization of the popular tri-sector model into the revolving door model to highlight the very porous boundaries between the state, business, and civil society sectors. Through this reconceptualization, social movement organizations could better appreciate the relevance of network analysis in mapping out their advocacies.

The engaging discussion that was generated by the panel on media and social movements highlighted the need of social movement organizations in the Philippines to catch the attention of media. The need for social movement organizations to balance their approaches in terms of maximizing the medium and in terms of reorienting the medium was raised. To do this, social movement actors and media practitioners need to look at media establishments as evolving institutions that should also be considered as targets for the advocacy efforts of social movement organizations. Thus, social movement actors should strive to improve their capability to become expert sources or authority on specific issues. Still, the various media remain simply as conduits to mobilization, they should not be considered as the end-point of advocacy.

The PRT successfully gathered in this two-day meeting the most prominent academics, public intellectuals, social movement personalities, media practitioners, and policymakers. It is important to note that for this event, the PRT was also able to mobilize the support of the Department of Political Science, and the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines. Faculty members in these two institutions graciously granted the request of the PRT to handle different tasks in the two-day activity, such as acting as panel discussant, panel moderator, master of ceremonies, documenter, or as event specialist.

PUBLICATION AND DISSEMINATION OF ANIB: REPORTING TO A WIDER PUBLIC

In the period covered by this report, two more issues of the UNRISD-*Anib* Newsletter have been published and disseminated. Copies of these issues were sent to the research project's various stakeholders. Hundreds of copies were disseminated both locally and internationally. *Anib 2* contained the PRT's first narrative report, and reports on the validation meetings for the movement to change international trade rules, movement on fair trade, and the Tobin Tax movement. It also contained a reprint of the synoptic chapter in the recently published TWSC-UNDP book on state-civil society relations in the context of globalization. *Anib 3* contained the reports on the validation meetings of the anti-corruption movement and the debt relief movement. It also contained the conference design and proceedings of the National Stakeholders' Meeting. The thematic papers which were presented in that national meeting were also included in *Anib 3*.

Aside from the regular publication of *Anib*, the PRT also used other venues through which they could disseminate their research findings to a wider public and gather important feedback from them. For instance, updates on the research project are regularly posted on-line at <http://www.upd.edu.ph/~twsc/research-GCSM.html>. Issues of *Anib: The Official Newsletter of the UNRISD-Philippine Research Team on Global Civil Society Movements* is also available on-line (in PDF format) at <http://www.upd.edu.ph/~twsc/research-GCSM.newsletter.html>. Links to these sites are also posted at the weblog of the University of the Philippines Third World Studies Center at <http://uptwsc.blogspot.com/>.

The case study writers also took every opportunity to present their findings to other audiences by participating in various academic conferences. Their participation in these conferences allowed them to reflect upon a more systematic

presentation of their arguments. They were also able to gather fresh insights from the conference participants. For instance, the findings of the case study on the movement to change international trade rules were presented at the Third International Conference of the Globalization Studies Network held at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia on 21-23 August 2006. The final drafts of the research were also presented by the paper writers during the 2006 Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) International Conference in Zamboanga City, Southern Philippines on October 27-28, 2006. With the theme of "Alternatives", the international conference was participated in by academics from state and private universities from all over the country, particularly from Mindanao.

PUBLICATION OF POLICY PAPERS: TRANSLATING INSIGHT INTO ACTION

Each case writer selected the most prominent concern of each movement at the moment. Based on their analysis of these concerns, they formulated a policy proposal that may serve as the movement's advocacy direction in the future. These policy papers were given to two of the country's finest policy analysts, namely, Filomeno Sta. Ana III, Coordinator of the Action for Economic Reform (AER) and Dr. J. Prospero de Vera, Associate Professor, National College of Public Administration and Governance (NCPAG) and Senior Consultant of Senator Aquilino Pimentel Jr. for comments and suggestions.

The comments of the reviewers enabled the case writers to revise, refocus, or reformulate their respective policy papers. The case study on the movement to change international trade rules proposed the creation of a trade representative office for the Philippines. The case study on the anti-corruption movement proposed the adoption of the UN Convention on Corruption (which as of this writing has already been ratified by the Philippine Senate). The case study on the Tobin Tax movement proposed the pursuit of advocacy for the regulation of short-term capital flows. The final policy papers, therefore, carried the following themes: 1) "Strengthening Freedom from Debt Coalitions' Role in the Proposed Congressional Commission on Debt"; 2) Transparency and Civil-Society Participation in International Trade Negotiations: Will a Philippine Trade Representative Office Pave the Way?"; 3) Regulating Short-term Capital Flows;" 4) "Penetrating Policy Spaces for Fair Trade in the Philippines: Strengthening the Philippine Fair Trade Forum as a Quasi-Government Commission on Fair Trade," 5) "Optimizing the United Nations Convention against Corruption."

These policy papers were translated into three major languages in the Philippines, namely, Filipino (for provinces in Luzon and the rest of the country since Filipino is the country's national language), Ilokano (for the northern Philippine provinces), and Bisaya (for the southern Philippine provinces).