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#### 1. Filipino government after Edsa revolution

At first, I will show the history of the Filipino government. Especially, how did they develop their own society after the collapse of Marcos regime. During the twenty-five years, there are four presidents in the Philippine, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Gloria Arroyo. And in 2010, they elected Benigno Aquino as a new president. He is a son of Corazon Aquino and Ninoy Aquino. Edsa Revolution is very famous as event which demonstrated the potential of "people power". After the Edsa Revolution, what did it give to the Philippines? Did they get honest government and means to solve the poverty? I summarized how the people power influences to Philippine after Edsa Revolution.

#### **Edsa Revolution and Corazon Aquino Regime**

In 1986, advancing presidential election was held. There were two candidates, Marcos and Corazon Aquino. In this election, Marcos made many election frauds. At the time, Catholic Church, U.S. government, election monitoring committee which was organized by the citizens, computer stuffs of the Election Commission and Corazon Aquino admitted it. Marcos declared his presidency but he had few ally. Corazon Aquino made her victory speech and started a disobedience movement. In February 22, Hundreds of insurgents in the military revolted. Fidel Ramos who was deputy chief of staff at the time was supported

them<sup>1</sup>. Marcos tried to crush it but, he was inhibited by the several hundreds of thousand f people. They gathered by calling of Cardinal Sin who is the top of Filipino Catholic Church. In the wake of this incident, the military left from Marcos. He fled to the United States and, Corazon Aquino was appointed of President of the eleventh.

She positioned her regime as a revolutionary regime which was given the legitimacy by people power. She had to remove Marcos faction. Because of the material law from 1972, there were many Marcos factions in the government. So that she needed the innovative force as the revolutionary regime. Promotion of democratization is her most important policy issues because she was elected by people who want to get back the political power from Marcos and his entourage.

Her regime is gathered under the slogan of anti-Marcos. But they are divided into three main groups except this slogan. First group is composed of landowners and the ruling class. They were mainly from the opposition parties at the time of material law. They didn't hope reform of the social system like a large land ownership. They only wanted to crush the Marcos dictatorship to protect their interests. The second is armed forces. They were composed of the leaders of the revolt. Fidel Ramos belonged to this group. Strong anticommunism was their main claim. Poor people can be an enemy for them. The third is the group of human right principle and nationalism. They are mainstream faction of her regime. Most of them are from the political parties which supported Aquino directory in the election. They expressed the people power. Corazon Regime is influenced strongly by the power relationship of these three groups<sup>2</sup>. Corazon Aquino herself is an amateur of the politics. She has the belief and integrity as a means to fight with Marcos. But it's not enough to serve the president. So she needed advisors. They were from the people who supported her from the time Ninoy Aquino was alive. They were university officials, lawyers, church. The biggest group which supported Corazon Aquino is an Aquino-Cojuangco family. They are one of the influential families in the Philippine<sup>3</sup>.

People power is the origin of Corazon Regime but, it has only small influence to decision-making after the revolution. Because they gathered by the calling of Cardinal Sin through radio. They didn't have their leaders who complain their requests in the government. Additionally, army got the power in the government because of suppression of the rebellion some of the military<sup>4</sup>. Corazon Aquino didn't control the army because most of them were involved in the Marcos dictatorship. On the other hand, Corazon Aquino was determined people to organize the people power and establish it into the new location

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<sup>1</sup> 『現代フィリピンの政治と社会』 デイビッドフーフエル 422 ページ

<sup>2</sup> 『フィリピンの権威主義体制と民主化』 田巻松雄 237 ページ

<sup>3</sup> 『フィリピン マルコスからアキノへ』 浅野幸穂 229 ページ

<sup>4</sup> 『フィリピンの権威主義体制と民主化』 田巻松雄 244 ページ

outside the government. In the medium-term Philippine Development Plan from 1988 to 1992, NGO was recognized as the partner of government and this relationship is not only for the development<sup>5</sup>. People power was given the role of agents of development and democratization as NGO. Some of the ministers in the government were from NGOs but their power was small. And NGOs also had small power to the government.

It was proven by the committee on constitutional in 1986 and the enactment of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program in 1988. Most of the member of committee is from conservative. And two representatives of farmers opposed the result of this meeting<sup>6</sup>. In order to solve the poverty and eliminate the digital divide, agrarian reform has very important role. In fact many Filipino presidents including Marcos tried to promote it. As noted above, Corazon regime used big power as revolutionary regime in order to Marcos entourage. But Corazon Aquino left it to the congress to decide important matters of agrarian reform. And the congress added it many constraints in order to protect conservative forces. She didn't use the big power as revolutionary regime in order to promote the agrarian reform<sup>7</sup>. In summary, people power crushed Marcos dictatorship but, it has no influence to the next government. They failed to promote substantive democratization like the poverty reduction and ubiquity of wealth. Corazon Aquino got back the formal democracy from Marcos. It was for the traditional ruling class which survived at Marcos dictatorship. In the election of 1987, 164 people in 200 members of Parliament were from traditional ruling class<sup>8</sup>. But people power became many NGO and PO to get the substantive democracy.

## Fidel Ramos

In Corazon Regime, some revolts of the military were happen, August in 1987, December in 1989, October in 1990. Some terrorism also happened<sup>9</sup>. Corazon Aquino tried to continue the peace talks with communist forces at first. But she changed her policy to the armed suppression by the pressure of military. In fact, the number of deaths in the election of 1988 was higher than others. In the Filipino election, some candidates hired private army and interfered with the others. So many people died in the election.

Table1. The number of deaths in the Filipino election

1967	75	1987	87
1980	69	1998	149

<sup>5</sup> 『政府・NGO 間の相互作用』ブライアン・アスキー 第四章

<sup>6</sup> 『フィリピン マルコスからアキノへ』浅野幸穂 233 ページ

<sup>7</sup> 『フィリピンの権威主義体制と民主化』田巻松雄 247 ページ

<sup>8</sup> 『フィリピンの民主化と市民社会』五十嵐誠一 113 ページ

<sup>9</sup> 『民主化と軍部 タイとフィリピン』伊藤述史

1984	348	1992	63
1986	150	1995	83

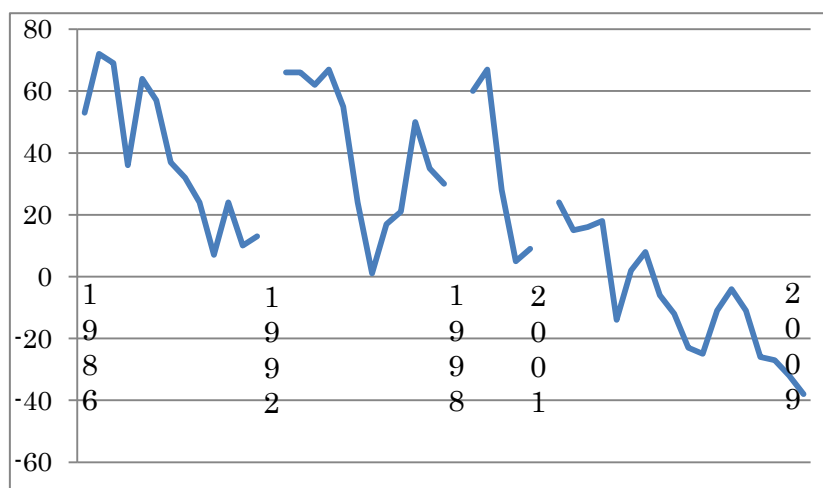
Source: 『フィリピンの民主化と市民社会』五十嵐誠一 table 6-1

After Corazon Aquino, it was needed the new president who can control the military and improve the security. So that Fidel Ramos who was top of the military was elected in the election of 1992. He persuaded the military and resumed the peace talk with communist forces<sup>10</sup>. Fidel Ramos also promoted the relationship with NGOs. He appointed three NGO activists to the secretaries of Department of Agrarian Reform, Department of Environment and Department of Health. He established the organization which helps the relationship of government, NGOs, POs, and private sectors, “Presidential Council for Countryside Development” in 1992. He promoted the discussion of NGO and government.

### Joseph Estrada and Gloria Arroyo

These two presidents symbolizes the Filipino weak government. Joseph Estrada was Movie star. He was elected in 1998. He said his main goal is to solve the poor. But his regime stopped by his corruption in 2001. After him, Gloria Arroyo was elected but, her regime also stopped in 2010. In same time, the chief judge lost the impeachment trial. He helped Gloria Arroyo to avoid the guilt. This is a net satisfaction rating of Filipino presidents from 1986 to 2009. From the right, these are Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada and Gloria Arroyo. This figure said the satisfaction was decreasing from 1986. By the two corruption, Filipino people became to distrust their president and government.

Figure.1: Net Satisfaction Rating of Presidents<sup>11</sup>



<sup>10</sup> 『民主化と軍部』伊藤述史 145ページ

<sup>11</sup> Social Weather Stations: <http://www.sws.org.ph/>

% satisfied minus % dissatisfied Source: Social Weather Stations: <http://www.sws.org.ph/>

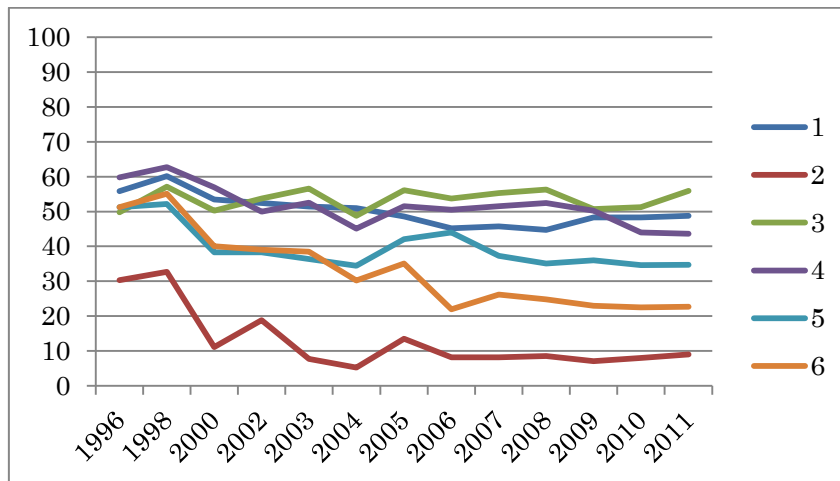
According to the World Bank, Filipino government became worse in the all of indicators, Voice and Accountability, Political Stability / Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of law, Control of Corruption. Especially it's noticeable in the field of "Control of corruption", "Political Stability / Absence of Violence" and "Rule of law". It shows the weakness of government. After the EDSA revolution, Philippines cannot get substantive democracy. They got back the election and procedural democracy but, it doesn't work well until now.

Table.2: Government Indicator by World Bank (Rank in percentage)<sup>12</sup>

年代	1	2	3	4	5	6
2011	48.8	9	55.9	43.6	34.7	22.7
2010	48.3	8	51.2	44	34.6	22.5
2009	48.3	7.1	50.7	50.2	36	23
2008	44.7	8.6	56.3	52.4	35.1	24.8
2007	45.7	8.2	55.3	51.5	37.3	26.2
2006	45.2	8.2	53.7	50.5	44	22
2005	48.6	13.5	56.1	51.5	42.1	35.1
2004	51	5.3	48.8	45.1	34.4	30.2
2003	51.4	7.7	56.6	52.5	36.4	38.5
2002	52.4	18.8	53.7	50	38.3	39
2000	53.4	11.1	50.2	56.9	38.3	40
1998	60.1	32.7	57.1	62.7	52.2	55.1
1996	55.8	30.3	49.8	59.8	51.2	51.2

Figure.2: Government Indicator by World Bank (Rank in percentage)

<sup>12</sup>World Wide Government Indicators: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/>



World Wide Government Indicators: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/>

1. Voice and Accountability
2. Political Stability / Absence of Violence
3. Government Effectiveness
4. Regulatory Quality
5. Rule of law
6. Control of Corruption

These data show us that Filipino government failed to entrench the good democracy. After Edsa revolution, we saw four Filipino presidents, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Gloria Arroyo. Half of them did corruption and the others didn't stand on the side of poor people. This data show it.

Table.3: Population below national poverty line, total percentage<sup>13</sup>

2009	26.51
2006	26.41
2003	24.91
2000	33.02
1997	36.82
1994	40.62

Table.4: Poverty Incidence<sup>14</sup>

	Poverty Incidence among families	Annual Per Capita Poverty Threshold
2009	20.9	16,841
2006	21.2	14,405
2003	20.0	12,475
1991	28.3	5,776

1. Poverty threshold: the minimum income/expenditure required for a family/individual to meet the basic food and

<sup>13</sup> UNDATA: <http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=MDG&f=seriesRowID%3A581#MDG>

<sup>14</sup> National Statistical Coordination Board: [http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/2009/table\\_1.asp](http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/2009/table_1.asp)

non-food requirements.

2. Magnitude of poor families: 2003: 3,293,096    2006: 3,670,791    2009: 3,855,730

These data said that the number of poor people increased from 2003. Poor family is bigger than rich family in general. So, the rate of poor people is bigger than the rate of poor family. In 2009, Filipino families consisting of five members should be earning on the average a combined monthly income of PhP 7,017 in order to meet their most basic food and non-food needs for their year. In NCR (National Region Capital), it's difficult to bring the entire family above the poverty line if a sole breadwinner earns less than PhP317 per day. Annual per capita poverty threshold for the Philippines in 2009 stood at PhP16, 841.

We can see the annual per capita poverty threshold was increasing at the high growth rate. It's because they have a high inflation rate especially in urban area. Of course from 1991, it decreased but one of four people is poor until now. Their income increased but, the commodity prices also increased. This data shows the growth rate of income and commodity prices.

Table.5: Annual Per Capita Poverty Threshold<sup>15</sup>

	All areas	Urban	Rural	NCR
2009	16,841	17,996	16,462	19,802
2007	14,866	16,936	14,103	19,345
2006	14,405	16,429	13,659	19,067
2005	14,196	15,992	13,241	18,859
2004	13,113	15,001	12,431	17,737
2003	12,475	14,178	11,589	16,796
2002	11,906	13,313	11,130	15,975
2001	11,786	13,235	11,255	16,173
2000	11,620	12,933	11,390	15,678
1997	9,843			13,201

National Statistical Coordination Board

From 1997, they experience the high rate inflation and, they have to pay about twice for their living. In NCR (National capital Region), people have to pay much money to buy something than the rural area. But poor people gathered to the urban area in order to get their jobs.

<sup>15</sup> National Statistical Coordination Board : <http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/default.asp>

Table.6: Consumer Price Index<sup>16</sup>

2011	126.13	2003	84.88
2010	120.45	2002	83.00
2009	116.04	2001	80.80
2008	111.36	2000	76.66
2007	102.94	1999	71.93
2006	100.00	1998	67.76
2005	94.82	1997	61.96
2004	88.95	1996	58.64

International Monetary Fund Standard of 2006

This map shows us which is poor region. In NCR, there are few poor families. In Mindanao, there are many poor families. In Mindanao, there are some conflicts still now. So that people is poor. In the city, there are few poor people. Based on the 2009 small area estimates (SAE) of poverty, almost half or 795 of the 1,643 cities/municipalities in the Philippines have poverty incidences ranging from 32.1 to 60.0 %<sup>17</sup>

Table.7: Top of the poor region

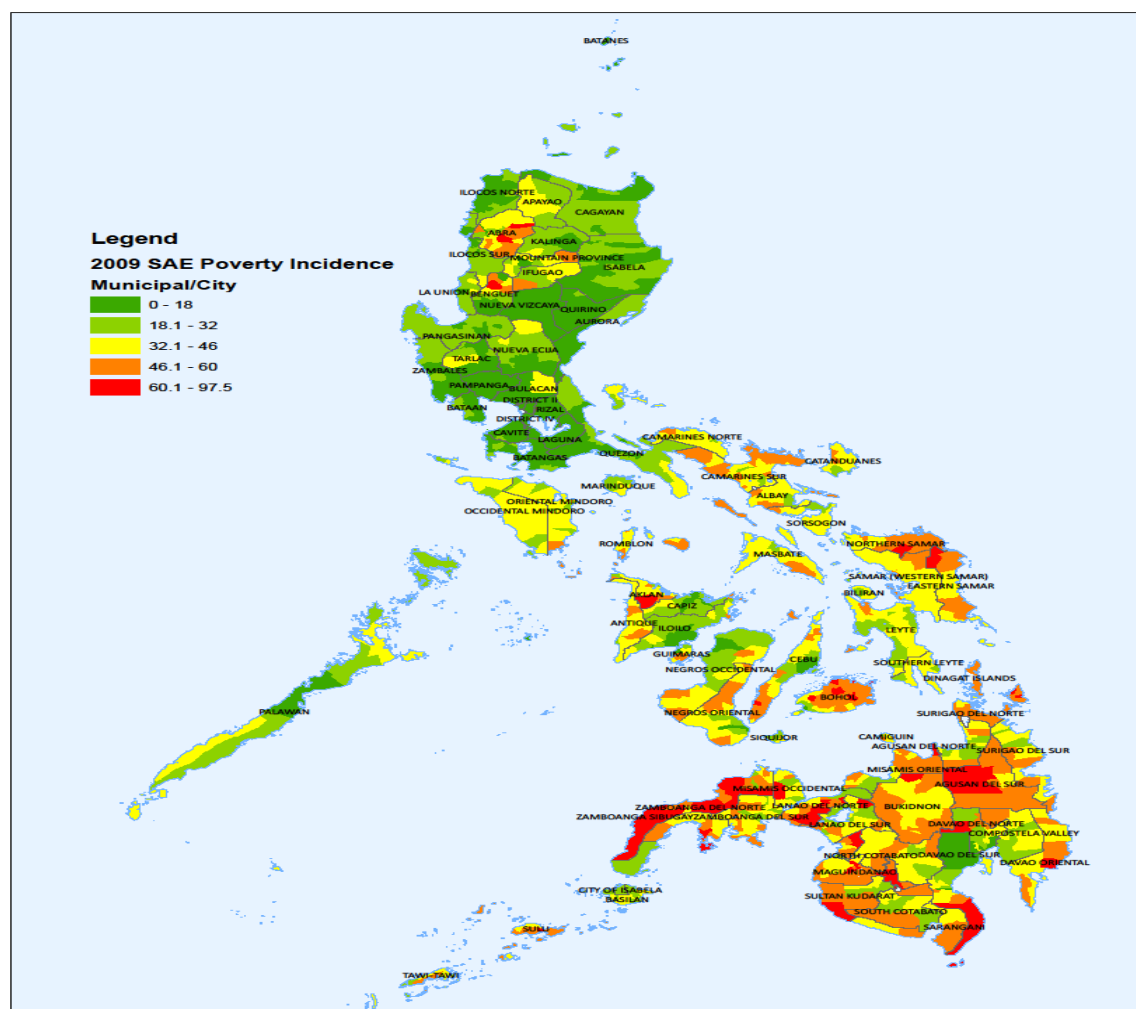
Province		Poverty Incidence among Families
Zamboanga del Norte	MINDANAO	52.9
Agusan del Sur	MINDANAO	51.2
Surigao del Norte	MINDANAO	47.9
Eastern Samar	EASTEN VISAYAS	45.8
Maguindanao	MINDANAO	44.6
Zamboanga Sibugay	MINDANAO	43.2
Romblon	LUZON	43.0

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>

<sup>17</sup> NSCB: [http://www.nscb.gov.ph/pressreleases/2012/PR-201208-SS2-01\\_sae2009.asp](http://www.nscb.gov.ph/pressreleases/2012/PR-201208-SS2-01_sae2009.asp)



The map of poverty incidence<sup>18</sup>



### Influential Landowner family and Politician who has no political philosophy

The government has no power to get the substantive democracy. This is due to the political system. In Filipino government, there are many influential landowner families. Filipino family has a strong bond generally. And there are many land owners from the past. They have many peasant and big land. They have a big power in their local area. This data shows it.

Table.7: The number of congressman from elite family

2001	107 / 214
1992	145 / 199
1987	164 / 200

Made by the Writer from 『フィリピンの民主化と市民社会』 五十嵐誠一

<sup>18</sup>NSCB: <http://www.nscb.gov.ph/>

The elite people don't want to promote the policies for the poor people. In order to win the election, they have to give the benefit to the voters but, they often resolve it by their money instead of their policy. Filipino people have the culture which forces to serve the benefactor. The elite people win the election by the temporary spending and, they get bigger benefit than they spent as congressman.

From 1987, the number of congressman from elite families is decreasing. Instead of them, many populists are elected. This data shows it.

Table.8: Senate election results in 1992<sup>19</sup>

1	Vicente C. Sotto III	Actor
2	Ramon B. Revilla	Actor
3	Edgardo J. Angara	Senator
4	Ernesto F. Herrera	Senator
5	Alberto G. Romulo	Senator
6	Ernesto M. Maceda	Senator
7	Orlando S. Mercado	Senator
8	Neptali A. Gonzales	Senator
9	Heherson T. Alvarez	Senator
10	Leticia R. Shahani	Senator
11	Blas F. Ople	Minister of Labor and Employment in Marcos Regime
12	Freddie N. Webb	Congressman, Former Basketball player
13	Gloria Arroyo	Daughter of former president
14	Teofisto T. Guingona, Jr.	Senator
15	Santania T. Rasul	Senator
16	Jose D. Lina, Jr.	Senator
17	Anna Dominique Coseteng	Congressman, Actor
18	Arturo M. Tolentino	Minister of Foreign Affairs in Marcos Regime
19	Raul S. Roco	Congressman
20	Rodolfo G. Biazon	High official of Military
21	Wigberto E. Tanada	Senator
22	Francisco S. Tatad	Minister of information in Marcos Regime
23	John Henry Osmena	Senator
24	Agapito A. Aquino	Senator

<sup>19</sup> 『フィリピンの民主化と市民社会』五十嵐誠一 P. 124

Table.9: Senate Election in 1998<sup>20</sup>

1	Loren B. Legarda-Leviste	News Caster
2	Renato L. Cayetano	Lawyer
3	Vincente C. SottoIII	Senator, Former Actor
4	Aquilino Q. Pimentel, Jr.	Former Senator
5	Robert Z. Berbers	High Official
6	Rodolfo G. Biazon	Former Senator, Former high Official of Military
7	Blas F. Ople	Senator
8	John Renner Osmena	Congressman
9	Robert S. Jaworski	Former Basketball Player
10	Ramon B. Revilla	Senator, Actor
11	Teofisto T. Guingona Jr.	Former Senator
12	Teresa Aquino-Oreta	Congressman

In the Philippine, there are 24 Senator. They are specialists of the politics. But there are some actors, newscaster and basketball player. They are elected by their personal popularity not by their political beliefs and achievements. Joseph Estrada is a typical example. In the election of 1998, he fought with the sales message “Erap para sa mahirap (Estrada for the poor people)” He was a famous actor in the Philippine and he won the election with this simple and clear message. These facts show that the personal popularity also has big power in the election.

In the Philippine government, there are two factors, elite people and popular people. Both of them have no political beliefs. Therefore many congressmen change their political party after the president election. They moved to the political party which the president belong. In 1992, ruling party of that time had only 49 parliamentary seats but, 63 congressmen moved to it until 1993 June. In 1998, ruling party of that time had only 58 parliamentary seats but, 64 congressmen moved to it in one month<sup>21</sup>. They change their political parties in order to get the benefits in the ruling party. Their seats have the vale for the ruling party which has few parliamentary seats.

As above, Filipino government has no political belief. It means that people who configured the government has no political belief. Political party has no power. Inside the government, there are the power balance of elite families and dealings of popularity and money.

<sup>20</sup> Same as above

<sup>21</sup> 『フィリピンの民主化と市民社会』五十嵐誠一 P.134

## 2. Filipino NGO

In the Philippine, there are many NGOs. After EDSA revolution, the number of NGOs was increasing until now. The government promotes their activities. NGO and government have corroborated together in order to eliminate poverty. There are many programs for it. Now, I show two important programs. One is for the rural area and another is for the urban area. Both of them are involved in the land acquisition. After that, I show the situation of the poverty in detail. At the last, I consider the problem faced by NGOs.

### Filipino NGOs and PO

NGO is an abbreviation of Non-Government Organization. Especially there are many development NGOs in the Philippines. Normally NGOs have no connections with the government. But they have strong connections with the government in the Philippines. This is due to the Corason Aquino Regime which was established after EDSA revolution. She promoted the partnership with NGOs in order to reflect the people power to her government administration because she became the president by the people power after Marcos Regime.

So that local NGOs have big roles in the Philippine society. In order to solve the problems, they cooperate with other NGOs, local governments, people organizations and Barangays etc. The number of them is said to be about sixty thousand or seventy thousand. We cannot count the exact number. They are connected through the network NGO. They get activity funds from the foundations and other governments around the world. The biggest network NGO is a Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODE-NGO). It has about three thousand member NGOs. According to the Filipino security and exchange commission, the number of organizations not for the profit is increasing. This data shows it.

Table.10: The number of Non-Stock Entities and Non-Government Organizations

Date	NSEs	NGOs	NGOs %Change
December 1995	93,597	70,200	+4.4
February 1995	89,619	67,200	+9.8
January 1994	81,653	61,200	+9.3
April 1993	76,369	57,200	+12.6
March 1992	67,748	50,800	+14.4
March 1991	59,199	44,400	+8.0
August 1990	54,925	41,100	+20.9
February 1989	45,444	34,000	+8.6
January 1988	41,863	31,300	+9.1
January 1987	38,353	28,700	+6.7

December 1985	35,937	26,900	+13.0
January 1984	31,719	23,800	

『The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia』 Gerard Clarke table 4.1, Number of NGOs = 75% of the number of NSEs as per SEC estimate. The figures for NGO numbers (including POs) are illustrative at best. They underestimate true numbers since many NGOs and POs, especially in remote rural areas, are not registered, while they overstate the numbers since NGOs and POs that cease to exist are not deregistered.

According to the data, the growth rate is high from 1990 to 1993. This is due to the change of president. Many NGOs was established in order to get the pork barrel. Pork barrel is one of the government grants. The budget and targets of his grants are decided by congressmen. They promised with their support groups to give them the support funds after win the election.

These registered organizations have to submit their annual reports to the SEC. But the staffs of SEC tend to check them roughly. And therefore apparent number is increasing.

There are three types of NGO which has other purpose to establish according to Clarke. Most ODA donors insisted on NGO involvement as a condition of most program loans, and as the government sought NGO partners, many were established specifically to the avail of ODA support, often with the connivance of local government officials. The second is group of NGOs established by politicians, local government units and military. They are established for the purpose of hiding their money and publicity stunt. The third is the groups of phantom NGOs set up to the avail of tax shelters<sup>22</sup>. One 1992 survey by the local NGO in Mindanao estimated only 3000 NGOs could be considered as “genuine development NGOs”. It’s only 6% of the total NGOs registered in SEC.

The number of staff is not so big in most cases. They are groups of specialists. Typically they organize poor people and make them to establish people organization. NGOs make the partnership with these people organizations and help them to solve the problems of their communities by themselves. So that NGO doesn’t need many staffs but staffs are required to have knowledge and understanding of the problems. They often visit to poor communities directory and discuss with the leaders of People organization. They have to be friends with people in the communities. Also they must have the skill to protect themselves at rough location for the security. Most of them have to work for little pay. Staffs of NGOs are proud for their jobs.

The source of funds for NGOs is divided into three types. First is a gain. This is from consultancy, self-foundation and rental fees of some facilities. The second is a gift. It’s from

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<sup>22</sup> 『The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia』 Gerard Clarke p.71

donations from individual and private company and contribution from other NGOs. The third is a grant. It's biggest of these sources of funds. It's from government and charity. Most of NGOs make some proposals of their programs and send it to the donors. Donor organizations accept and evaluate it. If the proposal passes the examination, NGO get the fund for the program from donor organization.

PO is an abbreviation of People Organization. Normally it has many members. Members live in same community and they are organized in order to get the power as an organization. Sometimes they are organized by NGO staff. In most cases, people organizations have the connection with other people organizations and NGOs and local governments. PO leaders are relatively wealthy or aggressive people in the community. People in the people organization have no skills so, NGO often help them with their expertise.

### **Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program**

Corazon Aquino regime made the law named comprehensive agrarian reform program in 1988. It was the fifth land reform law in fifty years, following the land reform laws of Presidents Manuel Quezon, Ramon Magsaysay, Diosdado Macapagal and Ferdinand Marcos. It aims to distribute the ownership of land. It meant to distribute lands to farmers in a span of 10 years, but was extended by the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress due to delays in land distribution and lack of budget allocation.

In the Philippine, there are many landowners. This cause distorted gaps between large landowners, who have survived from the ancient time, and many smallholders. For example, Ayala and Soriano are Hispanic landowners, and Gokongwei and Henry Sy are Chinese groups. Such groups amount to more than forty in the Philippines and they practically control the economics in the Philippines. Many peasants are working in their lands and suffering from repayment for rent.

In the rural area, some children can't go to the school despite of the free tuition in elementary school and high school. They have no time to study because their house is too far on foot, or they must work with their family. The poor family has about seven children on average. Their crops are beaten the price down by wholesalers and they are suffering from the expense of bringing up many children. In the Philippine, It's hard to get contraceptive supplies because of Catholic.

Thus many people go to city to get the job, and they make slum under the bridge and beside the river and other places. They get jobs such as barker, peddler on the road, and cleaning staff etc. They work in harsh environment and get low wages (about 100pesos a day). Most of them have no savings. If a disaster happens, their lives are destroyed with their houses.

As above, the agrarian reform is very important in order to solve the poor. Many NGOs promote CARP and CARPER (Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms) with the government. PhilDHRRA (Philippine Development Human Resources in Rural Area) is one of the NGOs promoting the agrarian reform. PhilDHRRA is the network organization of over 60 NGOs. PhilDHRRA is composed of three Regional Advisory Boards and National Board Trustees. Regional Advisory Boards are composed of representatives of NGOs in these regions. National Board Trustees are composed of 3 representatives of each Regional Advisory Board. Regional Assembly is held a year and National Assembly is held once in two years. These boards have their offices and some staffs work in there with Regional Coordinator and National Coordinator. Main goal of PhilDHRRA is development of human resources in rural area. They think the cause of poverty in city is brought by poverty in rural area. Their focus is on the improvement of rural area. The members of PhilDHRRA carry out various programs on this purpose. For example, management of orphanage, matting orphans and foster, building livelihood center, resource management in upland, health management, micro finance, education and translate for farmers, advocacy of rights of tribes etc. To improve the situation, it's the most important that people in rural areas do it by themselves. NGO support them, but they can do not all. So small-holders in rural areas should be organized by NGOs. Therefore members of PhilDHRRA strive to make the close relationship with barangay, PO, CSO in local area. Members of PhilDHRRA have their own programs and financial resources. Their activities are divided each other. PhilDHRRA has two functions as the network organization. One is a development of members. It contains information sharing, education of staff, dispatch of experts, cooperation of staff and capital. In the network, they can develop each other. Another is the advocacy of governance. They get big power by organization. And, they can influence the government as one big organization.

### **Community Mortgage Program**

In the urban area, there is a Development program by the government. It is a Community Mortgage Program. It targets to the land security tenure for informal settlers CMP is a financing program for the informal settlers who want to buy the lands. It started in 1988. According to the President of SHFC (Social Housing Finance Corporation), It has provided more than 200 thousands households getting their lands from 1988. There are four stakeholders, land owner, community association, Social Housing Finance Corporation and CMP mobilizer. In SHFC, 103 organizations including NGO and Local Government Unit (LGU) are registered as the CMP mobilizer. They make the partnership with Community Association and support it to get their loans.

CA can borrow the money from SHFC at 6% annual interest rate and period of 25 years. In the Philippines, the inflation rate is 7.4% on average from 1988 to 2011. In the past decade, it remains about 5 % on average. So the burden of informal settlers is small. They can pay easily if they want to do it. FDUP (Foundation of the Development of the Urban Poor ) and UPA (Urban Poor Association) are NGOs for the urban poor.

• the meeting of FDUP and CA<sup>23</sup>



According to the staffs of FDUP, it takes 6 months at least, more than one year in common to promote the CMP program. Some CA has waited for more than 10 years because of the negotiating with land owners and SHFC, also among the members.

Usually, women join the training and meeting. They said their husbands have to work so, they can't join it.

• Inside the urban poor community<sup>24</sup>



As shown in the photograph above, bridges and roads are not established in squatter area. Usually, there are some problems in the private land not being used. In that community, the land is low and it has river inside it. So it often submerged and the garbage will be launched. Basic living infrastructure (water, electricity and toilet) can be used in some way for more than 90% residents. But some households use the candles instead of electricity and it causes the fire. The narrow road prevents the firefighting.

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<sup>23</sup> Author have taken it with FDUP staff at July in 2012

<sup>24</sup> Author have taken it with FDUP staff at July in 2012



UPA targets to the land tenure and housing for the people in the urban poor. Especially,

UPA has the six big partner communities in Tondo. CABARICA which is one of the partners of UPA has some businesses to produce the job for members. It also promotes the saving project, installation of drainage facilities, planting of mangrove etc. UPA organize the partner communities and support them to improve their lives.

- The factory producing the products made from wrapping paper of sweets<sup>25</sup>



People Organization CABARICA promotes the business and produce jobs in the community. All of the staff is the member of CABARICA. Monthly wage is 8000 pesos. The products are sold in the shopping malls like SM.

- Housing program in CABARICA<sup>26</sup>



Before housing program

After housing program

In the left, it can be built for less than 8000 pesos. Most of the materials are from the sea and garbage. Many households don't have the CR and they use the public one. In

<sup>25</sup> Author have taken it with UPA staff at July in 2012

<sup>26</sup> Author have taken it with UPA staff at July in 2012

the right, It was built by the housing plan of CABARICA and UPA and government. This land is reclaimed land. People bought it from the government.

Following the plan, they make the straight and wide roads and concrete foundation which is divided into each partition. UPA can support the partner communities through negotiating with the government and looking for the specialists.

- The house which is besides the coast line<sup>27</sup>



As it approaches the coast, the level of houses goes down. In the area near the city, it's full of the residents from previous. The newcomers must build it in more danger zone or, rent the room from the people who live there for long time and have some rented houses. (But those lands are not the owner's lands)



Danger zone under the high voltage electric wire



Houses beside the river

Informal settlers live in the government land in addition to the private land. In the left, people made their houses beside the road. The road was wider before but, the houses made it narrow. It should keep wide because of the high voltage electric wire. Informal settlers want to buy their lands. But some people living in the road must vacate there if

<sup>27</sup> Author have taken it with UPA staff at July in 2012

they ask SHFC to loan to CA. In the right, people live beside the river. In 2010, a big typhoon “Ondoy” attacked the Philippines. After it, the government made the law which prohibit making house within 3m of the river. But it’s hard to migrate quickly for them. People who live in these danger zones will search other land and get the money from CMP.

CMP has big power to solve the urban poor. But there are some problems to promote it.

The first one is that we need long time to get the loan through CMP. It’s caused by the lack of Community Organizer and CMP mobilizer, long time to negotiate and satisfies the conditions and many small land owners. CO and CMP mobilizer need expertise and they have to live in the urban poor in order to be accepted by the community. In addition, their salaries are low in most cases. So the supply is smaller than the demand. People have to negotiate and make the documents with each land owners so, it takes long time.

The second is that some informal settlers don’t have the intension to get the lands. It’s caused by the allocation of expenses of Community association, distrust of government, long period to negotiate, compromise to the current situation. People who live in the private land pay lease land fee (about 200 pesos monthly) but, others live in the public land at free. I met some members of CA exhausted to struggle more than ten years.

The third is the population growth in the squatter area. The population is growing in every squatter I visited in this month. The urban population will estimate 75% in 2030. It was 60% in 2007. The urbanization is one of the big problems in the Philippines. It has small effect that sporadic relocate plan without the appropriate post-processing because the newcomers will live in the place after the evacuation.

Current President determined the budget of 50 billion for the urban poor for 5 years from 2013. NGO is discussing how to utilize it with the government. It will be big help for them but, it’s not enough to provide the land for every informal settler.

### **Problems faced to NGOs**

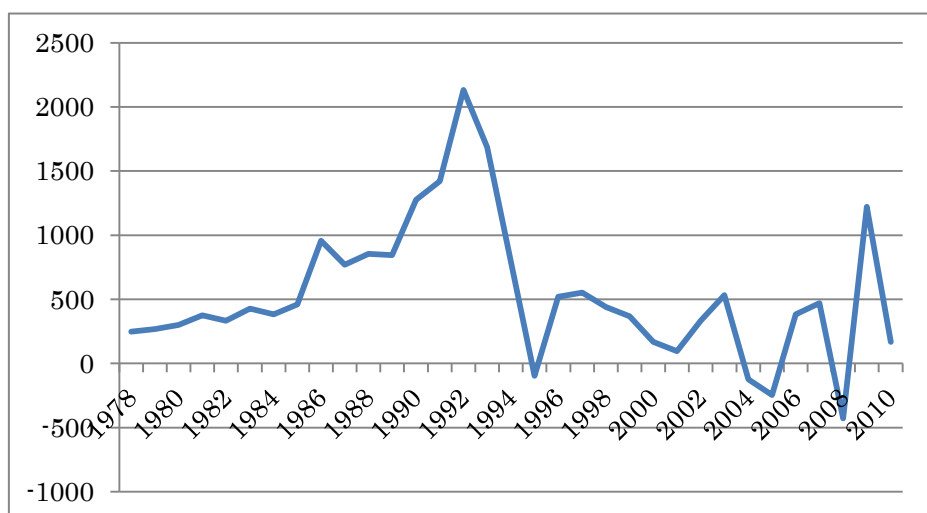
As above, there are many Development NGOs in the Philippine. They have some advantages than the government. First is the high speed to promote the program. They can work quickly so, they are good to adapt the change of situation like disasters. The second is that they are familiar with the people who need their helps. Compared with government officials, NGO staffs often visit to the field. So they can arrange the program to make it more effective on a case-by-case basis. The third is low cost. Government doesn’t need to pay the salary to the staffs of NGOs. For the government, it’s attractive to cut down on the budget. NGOs can get their activity funds from all over the world. NGO can suggest the solution matching each situation quickly.

It's true that NGO has important role in the development of the Philippines. But they have some weakness. First is that most of them don't have stable funding sources. They have to pass the examination in order to get their fund. So some NGOs cannot continue their activities. This data shows the official flows from all sources to the Philippine. In the Corazon Aquino Regime, it was increasing but now, it's not so big than the past. It does not show the total donation to the NGOs but, it's true that ODA is big source for many Filipino NGOs.

Table.11 Official Flows from all sources to the Philippine (US\$ million)<sup>28</sup>

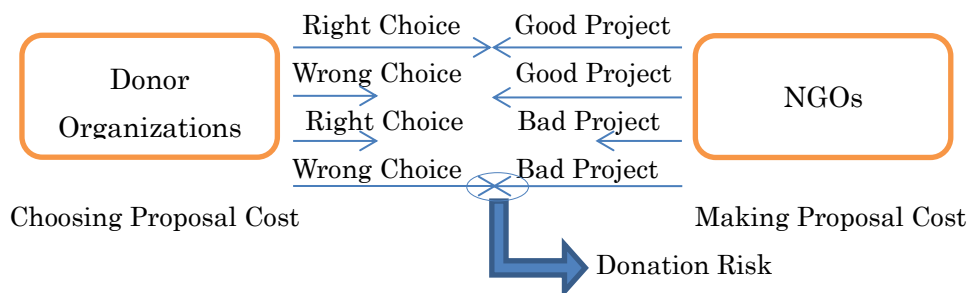
1978	249	1990	1277	2002	332
1979	267	1991	1421	2003	533
1980	300	1992	2132	2004	-123
1981	376	1993	1685	2005	-246
1982	333	1994	795	2006	383
1983	429	1995	-97	2007	471
1984	382	1996	520	2008	-427
1985	460	1997	553	2009	1221
1986	956	1998	440	2010	168
1987	770	1999	367		
1988	854	2000	169		
1989	845	2001	96		

Only ODA from 1978 to 1990 Including other small grants from 1991 to 2010



<sup>28</sup> 『Key Indicators of Development Asian and Pacific Countries 2002』 『Key Indicators of Development Asian and Pacific Countries 2012』 Asian Development Bank 『The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia』 table 3.1

NGOs have to spare their time to make the attractive proposal to the donor organizations. They have to make big efforts in order to get the skill for the making attractive proposal. One NGO staff said that she makes ten project proposals a year but, only one or two passed the examination. Some NGOs have the staffs to make the proposals. It's a big burden for them. They must spare their time and staff to pass the examination. Of course they have the accountability but, they have the incentive to make it exaggeratingly rather than accurately. So it's difficult to find the really good project for the donor organization. Sometimes they choose bad projects. It's very big risk to donate.



The second is that NGO is not so famous in the Philippine. Most of people in the community don't distinguish government officials and NGO staffs. In the people organization, only PO leaders know who they are. Further, Poor community which has no contact with NGOs don't know any NGOs. Middle class people think that poor community is dangerous and NGO has nothing to do with them. NGOs activity is limited for the impact to the society.

### 3 . More Comprehensive Civil Society

In my staying in the Philippine, I saw the initiatives integrated in the Civil Society. There are two examples which has the concept of more comprehensive civil society.

#### **Institutional Network for Social Action (INSA)**

INSA is one of the lower branches of Miriam College. It targets to raise the spirits of volunteerism of students and teachers in Miriam College. INSA has three sections, CPDP (Community Partnership and Development Program), VFMP (Volunteer Formation and Mission Program) and SL (Service Learning). Their financial resources are from Miriam College. They don't make some proposals for the donators unlike other NGOs.

Service Learning should be noted. SL is a compulsory subject for the students. Students make the groups of four to seven and they plan to support the urban poor

communities by using what they've learned in their classes. Students can get the chance to utilize what they've learned in the college. Students and people in the urban poor community, they can improve their mutual understanding. Ateneo University and La Salle University have similar activities.

- Christmas party planned by students of Child Development



It was planned for dozens of children in the community. The students got the help of local fast food restaurant. They provided the Mascot costume and presents for children.

- Support for the job hunting planned by students of Livelihood



Students asked teachers to open the seminar of the job hunting. They also trained the youth people to find how to get the interview.

As shown in the photograph above, students and people in the urban poor community can deepen the mutual understanding through communicate directly. I think this is a most important element. In Miriam College, some students have received a scholarship but, the majority is from wealthy. In the fact, most of them have not visited the place of informal settlers before SL. It's hard to divide into poor and rich but, I think that students and informal settlers have different positions. SL gives them the chance to communicate directly not thorough the media and teaching in the classroom so, they can understand opponent's position, situation and thought accompanied by the feeling. It's needed to solve the poverty and the gap between the rich and poor.

It's real that there is a difference in enthusiasm between the students. In one group which I accompanied, some students asked questions actively but, others didn't even take notes. According to the staff of INSA, some students think the community is dangerous and don't want to go into there. Some teachers let the staff of INSA to teach students instead of them.

In Japan, some Colleges teaching welfare also have SL. But, Miriam College makes it as a compulsory subject and the students are required to act proactively and utilize what they've learned in their courses. I think Miriam College expects all of students to think about the social participation at high level. In Japan it's hard to do it as compulsory subject. There are many volunteer centers in Japanese universities but, it's for the students who already have the motive to join it. In this sense, it's valuable that Miriam College has it as a compulsory subject in order to remind students about the social responsibility. The most important challenge is how to involve the students and teachers who doesn't have the motives in SL.

### **Meeting of CA and the president of land and housing office in Quezon City**



The president wearing red dress has got her land through CMP. She hopes to resolve the squatter in her barangay. According to her, not every barangay has the office for informal settlers. These activities have remained discrete.

In 2007, the government decided to give the right to approve CMP to some LGUs. It was named Local Community Mortgage Program. It targets to 79 LGUs in the nation. But only 13 LGU have introduced it until now and only one project was executed (3million pesos in Samar).

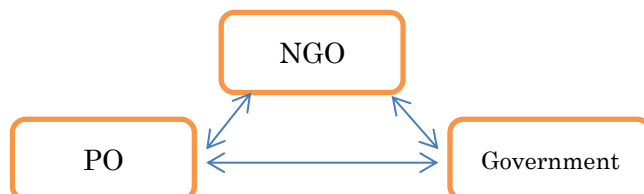
The government should promote LCMP and establish the land and housing office in every barangay in urban area with the large grant. I think we need that LGU has the proactive and strategic response to the CMP. LGU can promote CMP through making the list of informal settlers, propaganda to the local citizens and training with CA. Every LGU have to know how to make the appropriate pressure to relocate informal settlers. They can support CMP with NGO.

For example, one barangay I visited has the office for solving informal settlers in local and they have a close relationship with NGO and local CA. the office is named Land and

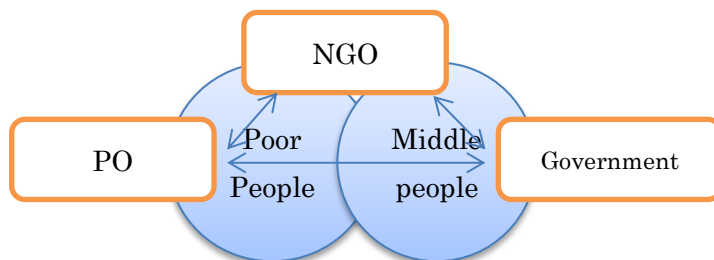
Housing office and they support it to get the loan for the informal settlers in that barangay.

### Middle class people and Poor people

As above, they tried to make bigger community. In most cases, the relationship of NGO and PO and Government is as shown in the figure below.



But we need this model as shown in the figure below. Poor people should know about NGOs and PO. Middle class people should know the NGOs and government program. And Poor people and middle class people increase mutual understanding through the NGOs.



This data show us the Average Income of Families at Current Prices by Income Decile at current prices. Middle class is between Fifth class and Eighth class.

Average Income of Families at Current Prices by Income Decile at current prices (peso)<sup>29</sup>

	2003	2006	2009
First Decile	27,000	32,000	41,000
Second Decile	43,000	51,000	64,000
Third Decile	56,000	65,000	81,000
Fourth Decile	69,000	81,000	100,000
Fifth Decile	86,000	100,000	122,000
Sixth Decile	107,000	123,000	150,000
Seventh Decile	135,000	156,000	189,000
Eighth Decile	176,000	204,000	244,000
Ninth Decile	245,000	290,000	342,000

<sup>29</sup> NSO: <http://www.census.gov.ph/>



Tenth Decile	537,000	617,000	728,000
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Inflation Rate

2003-2006	2006-2009
1.17	1.16

Income Growth Rate minus Inflation Rate

	2003-2006	2006-2009
First Decile	0.01	0.12
Second Decile	0.02	0.09
Third Decile	-0.01	0.08
Fourth Decile	0.00	0.07
Fifth Decile	-0.01	0.06
Sixth Decile	-0.03	0.05
Seventh Decile	-0.02	0.05
Eighth Decile	-0.02	0.03
Ninth Decile	0.01	0.01
Tenth Decile	-0.03	0.01

These data said that the income gap becomes smaller but, it's still very big. Middle class people should claim their opinions instead of having to choose an entertainer as their congressman.

#### 4. Conclusion

After EDSA Revolution, we have observed what people power bring to the society. But it shows us the corruption of two presidents, slow economic development, no decreasing poverty rate and the dispute in Mindanao. What did the people power hope in the EDSA? What is people power?

When Joseph Estrada was expelled for his corruption, it happened two people power, "People Power 2" and "People Power 3". Former requested for the resignation of Estrada and, latter requested to continue his regime. Rich people wanted the virtuous politics but, poor people wanted the beneficent politics. Joseph Estrada had advocated the politics for poor people. As you can see this event, civil society and peoplepower don't have one intention in the Philippines. Many Filipino worker go abroad to get the good job. They gave up working in the Philippines.

NGO should get a wider field of view. It's impossible to eliminate the poverty by only

them. It needs not only government and people organization, but also other people. In the developing countries have economic recession, Donation cannot increase. NGO must have their source of funds by themselves. They should gather their funds from the people who live in there not only abroad. People who live in there should know how NGO contribute the society, not donor organization. NGO can connect the various people. It's possible by only NGO because they are organizations gathered by the ideal of people power.