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*A Paper Series on  
Transparency, Participation & Accountability*

## Dissonance Spotting

*Multi-level Engagement of G-Watch  
Accountability Frontliners and the Contrasting  
State of Philippine Governance during COVID*

*Joy Aceron*



## About TPA Now! Paper Series

The challenge of transformative impact of transparency, participation and accountability (TPA) initiatives points to the need for a different way of doing accountability. To advance the discourse and practice of 'strategic TPA,' Government Watch (G-Watch), in partnership with Accountability Research Center (ARC), has launched *TPA Now! A Paper Series on Transparency, Participation and Accountability* as a platform for practitioners, researchers and action strategists to present evidence and reflect on the practice and research on strategic TPA and to broaden awareness on the importance of accountability in governance.

G-Watch is an independent citizen action and research for accountability in the Philippines that aims to contribute in the deepening of democracy through political reform and citizen empowerment.

ARC is an action-research incubator based at American University in Washington, DC that seeks to strengthen and learn from the work of civil society organizations and policy reformers on the frontlines of accountability work and build knowledge for the field of transparency, participation and accountability.



## About the Author

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## Summary

The paper shows the strength of using multi-level context analysis and engagement in enabling citizen movements to be strategic – to have a nuanced understanding of the state of governance and democracy, to identify entry points and strategize in a context of closing civic space and to set agenda for future advocacies. Learning from the multi-level monitoring of COVID services by G-Watch accountability frontliners, the paper surfaces and explains why there is a contrasting assessment and outcomes of engagement by G-Watch at the national and local levels and what it says about the state of Philippine governance and democracy today.

The paper begins with the review of the situation of accountability politics at the national level under the Rodrigo Duterte administration by both presenting the institutional-legal analysis of the accountability system of the country and reflecting on the situationer analyses of G-Watchers in the past years. The paper contends that while situation of governance is closed and dim at the national level during the time of Duterte, there have been differences in the local governance situation and state of democracy across local governments. Such varied local politics and governance situation in the Philippines became more evident and consequential during the COVID-19 pandemic as validated in the engagement of G-Watch accountability frontliners.

The paper shares the following key takeaways from the COVID-19 monitoring of G-Watch accountability frontliners:

- Local governments filled in the gaps.
- Amid the pandemic, mechanisms for transparency, participation and accountability adapted to work at the local level.
- In fascistic regimes, openings could be at the local/ community level revealed through multi-level and enabled through multi-sectoral solidarity work.
- There remains pressing policy issues affecting transparency, participation and accountability reforms at the local level needing urgent national action and response.

Spotting the dissonance to know where the entry points are in contexts of closing civic space, disasters and fascistic governments could make the biggest difference in sustaining citizen action for accountability. Because in most difficult and darkest moments, a dissonance could be the bright spot.



# Dissonance Spotting

## *Multi-level Engagement of G-Watch Accountability Frontliners and the Contrasting State of Philippine Governance during COVID*

**E**ven under an authoritarian national regime, there can be openness and possibilities for progressive change at local levels. This is what Government Watch (G-Watch) accountability frontliners encountered under the Duterte administration and a global pandemic that has turned the world upside down.

In describing a given political situation, it is not uncommon to see academics look at and describe the state of democracy and politics as a common and homogenous whole. Under fascist regimes, for instance, the context is assumed to be characterized by the same challenges and opportunities given the actions and policies of the national government. Very rare that a nuanced take is highlighted, especially that of a sharp contrast between engagement of civil society actors at the national and local levels.

The persistently contrasting state of governance at the national and local levels has been how G-Watch accountability frontliners have defined the conditions within the areas they engage and operate. While national politics and governance is viewed as dim and closed, local engagement have continued to be open and constructive in some areas under the Duterte administration and even despite the COVID-19 pandemic.

This validates the notion of ‘changing civic space.’ Instead of civic spaces totally closing in a given country, the reality is more complex. There are spaces that are closing, while there are spaces that remain open and/ or are opening up. Engagements adapt depending on the opportunities; and actions change depending on openings where difference can still be made. Multilevel strategies enable

organizations to identify openings, adapt and take advantage of opportunities while avoiding state capture and narrowing of substantive agenda.

This 'changing civic space' shows that there are varied local contexts in a given country, resulting to mixed actions and results. The presence of varied local contexts highlights the need for a more nuanced take on political and situation analyses, especially that which inform strategy and assessments. Consequently, local contexts need to be taken into account more deliberately and extensively to achieve more meaningful research and action in governance reforms.

This paper shares the synthesis of the experience and engagement of G-Watch accountability frontliners on the ground as they monitored social programs and COVID-19 services, during the pandemic. This also summarizes some of the highlights and key points from the following: the 2022 G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange, the G-Watch post-election local consultations, and recent developments in governance reforms in the country. The paper is particularly grounded on the result of G-Watch's conjunctural analyses, showing the sharp contrast between the national and local political context which shaped the engagement of G-Watch's

accountability frontliners and how they view and understand the political situation, validating the notions of shifting civic spaces and mixed local contexts, which were likely to have been further sharpened by the pandemic.

### *Overview of accountability politics in the Philippines*

Article XI, Section 1 of the 1987 Philippine Constitution explicitly states that:

*“Public office is a public trust. Public officers and employees must at all times be accountable to the people, serve them with utmost responsibility, integrity, loyalty, and efficiency, act with patriotism and justice, and lead modest lives.”*

While this specific provision of the Constitution highlights accountability for public officers, there has been a palpable weakening of accountability during the Duterte administration, during which the country faced a human rights crisis. This is largely characterized by a growing breakdown of consensus on the inviolability of human rights – for example, the Anti-Terrorism Law enacted during the pandemic contains dangerous provisions that threaten basic human rights. Further, in June 2021, the Office of the United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) published a

report (Human Rights Watch 2020)<sup>1</sup> that found “numerous systemic human rights violations” in the Philippines.

The state of Philippine democracy backslided from 2016 to 2022. In the 2020 Democracy Report of the Varieties of Democracy Institute (V-Dem), the status of the Philippines was downgraded from electoral democracy to electoral autocracy. Its standing in the Liberal Democratic Index (LDI) dropped from 101st place in 2018 to 179th in 2019. Electoral democracies are countries with regular elections, but their elections are not free and fair. Consistently, in The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index, the Philippines has slipped three notches down in 2018 and is now categorized as a “flawed democracy” (V-Dem 2020).<sup>2</sup>

The perceived corruption situation in the country has also worsened. The Philippines ranked 113th least corrupt nation out of 180 countries in the 2019 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by Transparency

International.<sup>3</sup> This is 18 notches down from 2015 during the Duterte presidency, wherein billions of pesos were allegedly lost to corruption in the procurement of pandemic services. In the latest 2022 CPI, Transparency International classifies the Philippines as among “the significant decliners” in the Asia Pacific region, with the score of 33, which is below the global average of 44.<sup>4</sup> This can be explained by anti-corruption measures that became merely reactive and performative under Duterte, lacking a real strategy.<sup>5</sup> The independence of Congress, the Ombudsman and the judiciary has been compromised by the overstretching of executive powers. The Commission on Audit (COA) has been doing a decent job, but whether COA reports prevent corruption is another issue.

There has been a general rollback of governance reforms at the national level. The presidency has been generally exempted from transparency and accountability checks. The regular release

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1 Human Rights Watch. 2020. Philippines Events of 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/philippines>

2 Varieties of Democracy Institute. 2020. Democracy Report. <https://www.v-dem.net/en/publications/democracy-reports/>

3 <https://globalnation.inquirer.net/184446/ph-corruption-gets-worse-falls-14-notches-to-113th-spot-in-global-index-2019>

4 [https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2023/2/1/ph-ranks-116th-corruption-perception-index-2022.html?fbclid=IwAR2AsxibAjmp2RY\\_HXGycdgg085\\_-7bjfYHAka3JlnU5e-hKcd2BJuPbGB0](https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2023/2/1/ph-ranks-116th-corruption-perception-index-2022.html?fbclid=IwAR2AsxibAjmp2RY_HXGycdgg085_-7bjfYHAka3JlnU5e-hKcd2BJuPbGB0)

5 Aceron, Joy. “Duterte’s Anti-Corruption: Reactive and Ineffective.” *The Philippine Star PhilLife*. 23 July 2021.

of the Statements of Assets, Liabilities and Net Worth (SALNs) of government officials has not been observed. Mandatory lifestyle checks have been cancelled. Transparency and accountability reforms in the procurement process that were won by civil society have been reduced to being procedural.

Though Duterte styles himself as the embodied repudiation of the EDSA regime, he still relies on the same system of patronage “to maintain a huge majority for the administration in both houses of Congress” (Quimpo 2020). Because of the President’s failure to address the “systemic plunder of government resources,” the Philippines can still be described as a predatory regime that is under the control of a greedy oligarchic elite (Quimpo 2009: 335). His administration, therefore, fits concepts and frameworks that have been devised over the years to describe Philippine politics and governance: “elite democracy” (Bello and Gershman 1993; Timberman 2015) “cacique democracy” (Anderson 1989), “patrimonial oligarchic state” (Hutchcroft, 1998), governed by “bossism” (Sidel, 1999), “truncated or deficient” (Quimpo, 2008), “a changeless land” (Timberman, 2015). All view Philippine democracy as being deficient or incomplete, with weak state mechanisms controlled and captured by a few.

Yet, all these descriptions of Philippine politics and governance describe largely

and in aggregate the national political and democracy situation of the Philippines. The actual situation at local levels may actually be varied. While there are still many localities governed by dynasties, there could still be localities where good governance is thriving or at least being pursued. With the passage of the Local Government Code in 1991 that paved the way for greater autonomy of local governments and with the changing alliances among the political elites, as well as the uneven multilevel organizing and engagement of Philippine civil society across localities, there have been differences in the local governance situation and state of democracy across local governments.

#### *Learning through and about conjunctural analysis with, from and for accountability frontliners*

On March 4 to 8, 2022, G-Watch held its first-ever national in-person meeting since the COVID-19 lockdown – the 2022 G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange (NMLE). The aim of the learning exchange was to learn with, for and about accountability frontliners.

Accountability frontliners are “citizen monitors who are physically at the frontlines – interviewing beneficiaries, observing the actual delivery of public services or the implementation of a

government program, or engaging government face-to-face.”<sup>6</sup> They face real risks of getting infected with COVID-19, yet they continue to come out of their homes and monitor government performance. Accountability frontliners are also citizens who demand accountability through various means, including online, but face the threat of repression and assault by authorities simply by speaking truth to power. In recent local learning exchanges of G-Watch, the scope of accountability frontliners have also been expanded to include government officials who are doing accountability work at the frontlines as an enhancement of their immediate service delivery mandates because they too are champions of accountability.<sup>7</sup>

Asked to describe the current situation of the country during 2022 NMLE, there were mixed responses (see Menti word cloud below). Further discussion revealed that the words “chaotic,” “divided,” and “fragile” were used to describe the national situation, while positive words like “hope-filled” and “unclear” were utilized to refer to the local context.

Despite the dim situation at the national level, G-Watch has been able to sustain its monitoring work. During the pandemic, G-Watch had accomplished the following:

- Sustained monitoring that held government to account
- Continued awareness-raising and dialogues on TPA
- Sustained engagement with

## Write a word to describe the current situation of the country



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6 Aceron, Joy (2021). “Accountability Frontliners’: Citizen Monitors are on the Frontlines of the Pandemic Too.” 24 November. *Accountability Research Center*. Retrieved from: <https://accountabilityresearch.org/accountability-frontliners-citizen-monitors-are-on-the-frontlines-of-the-pandemic-too/>.

7 Notes, Local Learning Exchange with G-Watch-Dumaguete accountability frontliners. Siquijor, 16 July 2022.



- government and civil society partners
- Added and trained new volunteers
- Generated government response and actions that aim to improve public services/ programs
- Consolidated scattered local work for knowledge development<sup>8</sup>

One question explored during the national meeting and learning exchange was ‘how did G-Watch sustain its accountability work?’

Key were the openings at the local level that were maximized by G-Watch’s accountability frontliners and supported through G-Watch’s multi-level presence and engagement. Remarkably, in sharp contrast to the national governance situation, the assessment of G-Watch accountability frontliners on their local engagements had been positive.

This was anticipated in the 2019 G-Watch agenda-setting and collective situation analyses. G-Watch then identified ‘blackhole resilient’ initiatives – initiatives that are somehow prioritized by the government despite a ‘blackhole’ created by an anti-poor government that rules with impunity.

What makes an ongoing work ‘blackhole-resilient’ (as identified by G-Watch) are the following:

- There are autonomous actors on the ground that are working on these issues.
- These issues have been shaped and continue to be shaped by long struggles.
- Actors who work on these issues are able to mobilize various interests and players (and even gain international support).
- These issues have a solid base of independent power.
- These issues have large constituencies.<sup>9</sup>

As projected, despite dim prospects with the national government, there are still programs and services that could still be engaged by citizens, especially when differences in context according to sectors and governance levels are recognized. These provided promising openings in several localities where the conditions enumerated by G-Watch that characterize “blackhole resilient” issues paved the way to more fruitful engagements.

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<sup>8</sup> Documentation Report, G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange. Pasig and Baguio, 4-8 March 2022.

<sup>9</sup> Discussion Highlights on G-Watch Priorities for 2019 based on G-Watch Local Coordinators’ Meeting (Pasig, March 1-2) and G-Watch Center Team Meeting (Pasig, March 16-17).

Recent local consultations convened by G-Watch point to similar analyses. G-Watch allies from both government and civil society in Dumaguete<sup>10</sup> and Bacolod<sup>11</sup> have characterized their respective local governance in recent years as remaining open to fruitful engagements. Similarly, both the discussions in Dumaguete and Bacolod painted national governance as dim and even threatening to democratic processes and human rights, citing instances of red-tagging that were perpetuated by the Duterte administration. Yet, despite those persistent threats, there were local government officials who remained allies of progressive civil society, and shielded the latter from red-tagging.<sup>12</sup>

G-Watch’s multi-level conjunctural analyses have yielded the rich and nuanced reading of Philippine governance and politics during the COVID-19 pandemic under the Duterte administration. This reading explains the

dissonance in G-Watch’s assessment of the national situation and the local contexts where its accountability frontliners operate.

Below are some of the key takeaways from the sustained engagement of G-Watch amid COVID and fascistic rule.

### *Local governments filled in the gaps*

In 2022, G-Watch released a report showing a clear consensus on the independent assessment of the national government’s COVID-19 response.<sup>13</sup> In this report, G-Watch reviewed 49 independent assessments from both local and international institutions covering healthcare and public health response, social welfare and protection, the economy, education and human rights. Majority of these assessments marked the government’s pandemic response as ‘failing.’ The Philippines has consistently placed last in the rankings in terms of

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10 <https://g-watch.org/news-release/g-watch-holds-discussion-dumaguete-tpa-directio>

11 <https://g-watch.org/news-release/g-watch-holds-series-discussions-bacolod-leaders-and-activists>

12 Notes, G-Watch Forum on “Strategic Direction and Priorities for TPA”. Dumaguete City, 15 July 2022.

13 Government Watch (2022a). *Bagsak! A Comprehensive Review of Independent Performance Assessments on the Philippine Government’s COVID-19 Response*. Quezon City.



COVID-19 resilience<sup>14</sup> and COVID-19 recovery.<sup>15</sup>

According to these assessments, the pandemic has further highlighted and worsened the fact that the country's public health remains fragmented, inefficient, and inadequate. This is exemplified in slow response and inefficient testing, contact tracing, and vaccination efforts.

Furthermore, government response in related sectors such as social welfare and social protection, the economy, education, and human rights remain wanting. Distribution of support for the poor and the marginalized, through the Social Amelioration Program

(SAP) was "inefficient" and "prone to corruption." Majority of the independent assessments were also critical of the national government's economic response. Emergency procurement processes were also problematic, resulting in slow and/or questionable purchases of vaccines. It also did not help that there was a lack of transparency and accountability, both in emergency procurement and loan allocation. Assessments on budget allocation and spending also pointed out that it was not responsive to current needs.

There was also lack of support for students and teachers, especially in addressing and mitigating the challenges brought about by distance and online learning. The national government's pandemic approach has also been highly militarized, employing drug war and counter-insurgency tactics to fight COVID-19.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, consistent in G-Watch reports and in its collective assessment during the national meeting, G-Watchers noted that local governments have stepped up and filled the gap.

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14 Calonzo, Andreo (2022). "Why the Philippines is Once Again the Worst Place to Be in Covid." *Bloomberg*. 27 January. Retrieved from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-01-27/why-the-philippines-is-once-again-the-worst-place-to-be-in-covid>.

15 Li, Grace (2021). "COVID Recovery Index: Delta Strain and Late Jabs Hold ASEAN Back." *Nikkei Asia*. 3 September. Retrieved from: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Coronavirus/COVID-19-Recovery-Index/COVID-Recovery-Index-Delta-strain-and-late-jabs-hold-ASEAN-back>.

16 Government Watch (2022a); op. cit.; p. 5.

In G-Watch’s independent validation of the Social Amelioration Program, majority of its monitoring respondents (both SAP beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries) gave high trust ratings to local government units (LGUs), especially the barangays, because of their role in the distribution of SAP entitlements.<sup>17</sup>

On vaccination, LGUs such as Bacolod, Maasin, Sibagat, and Lanao del Sur, allocated funds for their own procurement of vaccines, given the supply and distribution issues from the national government.<sup>18</sup> The same report also noted that while vaccination efforts in the Philippines were slow, there has been progress in vaccination at the local level across regions in the country. A quick scan of local G-Watch sites, including Cebu City, Puerto Princesa (Palawan),

Samal (Davao del Norte), Bacolod (Negros Occidental), Sibagat (Agusan del Sur), Marawi (Lanao del Sur), and Maasin (Southern Leyte), showed that almost all these local government units had their respective local vaccination plans, which were approved by the Department of Health (DOH). The only exception was Marawi where local efforts were planned at the provincial level.

G-Watch’s monitoring of citizen health entitlements also noted that there were local governments that took “upon themselves to do testing” and “seem to be doing better.”<sup>19</sup> In March 2020, for example, the city government of Marikina applied for a license from the DOH to operate a COVID-19 testing center;<sup>20</sup> while in Taguig, the LGU established a drive-through testing site.<sup>21</sup> Neighboring Pasig<sup>22</sup> and Valenzuela<sup>23</sup>

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17 Government Watch (2020). *G-Watch Independent Validation of the Social Amelioration Program (SAP): Report on Field Survey Findings*. Quezon City; pp. 15-16.

18 Government Watch (2021). *G-Watch Report on the State of Vaccination in the Philippines*. Quezon City.

19 Aceron, Joy and Victoria Maglanque (2020). “Citizen Health Entitlements in COVID-19 Pandemic.” 2 June. Retrieved from: <https://g-watch.org/think-piece/citizen-health-entitlements-covid-19-pandemic>.

20 CNN Philippines (2020). “Marikina COVID-19 Testing Lab Gets DOH Approval.” 30 April. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/4/30/marikina-covid-laboratory-approved.html>.

21 Cator, Currie (2020b). “Taguig Rolls Out Drive-thru COVID-19 Testing.” *CNN Philippines*. 22 April. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/4/22/taguig-city-drive-thru-testing-this-weekend.html>.

22 Cator, Currie (2020a). “Pasig City, Cavite to Conduct Mass Testing.” *CNN Philippines*. 12 April. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/4/12/mayor-vico-sotto-governor-jonvic-remulla-pasig-city-cavite-conduct-mass-testing-covid-19.html>.

23 Alindogan, Jamela (April 12, 2020). “Philippines: Valenzuela City Begins Mass Localized Testing.” *AL Jazeera*. 12 April. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/videos/2020/4/11/philippines-valenzuela-city-begins-mass-localised-testing>.

also expanded their mass testing, in partnership with DOH-approved testing centers.

In Visayas, the Bacolod city government launched the first COVID-19 Swab Mobile in the Philippines;<sup>24</sup> while further to the north, Dagupan initiated risk-based testing for its frontliners.<sup>25</sup>

G-Watch's local sites also noted several positive practices in their monitoring of citizen entitlements. For example, the health sector is represented in the Inter-Agency Task Force of Negros. On the other hand, the government of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARRM) provided a hotline for those who need mental health and psychosocial support.

In Dumaguete, Maasin, Puerto Princesa, and San Miguel, Bohol, core G-Watchers noted that the four sub-clusters of the Essential Service Package (ESP) – i.e., Medical and Public Health, Nutrition, Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene and Mental Health and Psychosocial Support ESP – were provided by their respective local governments. In addition, the



local governments of Dumaguete and San Miguel, Bohol extended funeral assistance to COVID-19 victims.

G-Watch monitors also noted that cleanliness and sanitation became a priority of most local governments, and that city, municipal and provincial governments also assisted the barangays in their personal protective equipment (PPE) supplies.

Meanwhile, the result of the special monitoring of the pilot limited face-to-face classes showed that LGUs have also expressed support in the conduct

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24 Masculino, Glazyl (2020). "Bacolod Launches First COVID-19 Swab Mobile in the PH." *Manila Bulletin*. 8 May. Retrieved from: <https://mb.com.ph/2020/05/08/bacolod-launches-first-covid-19-swab-mobile-in-ph/>.

25 Rappler (2020). "Dagupan City Begins Risk-based Coronavirus Testing for 600 Frontliners." 28 May. Retrieved from: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/262173-dagupan-city-risk-based-coronavirus-testing-frontlines/>.

of limited face-to-face classes.<sup>26</sup> To help the schools participating in the pilot run, LGUs provided support such as donations of school supplies and protective gears, provision of personnel by the local office or extension of health and other services to the schools.

Pasig mayor Vico Sotto also shared how the LGU sustained the fight against corruption while effectively managing the COVID-19 crisis. They did so, he said, by “cleaning” city hall (of corrupt employees) and by dismissing employees caught receiving bribes. Sotto further claims that his administration has successfully destroyed a “syndicate-like” system of

corruption by the end of his first term. This allowed the city government to save Php1.2 billion, which was later used to provide supplemental amelioration benefits to Pasig residents.<sup>27</sup>

In Muslim Mindanao, the BARRM government formed the BARRM Rapid Emergency Action on Disaster Incidence (BARRM-READi) to coordinate efforts on disaster preparedness and crisis management. When the pandemic began in early 2020, BARRM-READi was tasked to monitor the COVID-19 situation in the region, and to coordinate the provision of health and socio-economic assistance. It has also established partnerships with



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26 Multiply-Ed (2022). *Multiply-Ed Special Monitoring of DepEd’s Pilot Run Face-to-Face Classes: Report on Findings and Recommendations*. Quezon City; p. 26.

27 Bautista, Jane (2022). “Vico Sotto: We Destroyed Corrupt ‘Syndicate.’” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. 26 March. Retrieved from: <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1573709/vico-sotto-we-destroyed-corrupt-syndicate>.

LGUs and civil society organizations to better respond to the pandemic and address a host of other issues such as peacebuilding, social development and participatory governance.<sup>28</sup>

In sum, during the pandemic, there were plenty of bright spots at the local level.

*Amid the pandemic, mechanisms for transparency, participation and accountability were adapted to work at the local level.*

The G-Watch report on SAP showed that national government hotlines hardly worked.<sup>29</sup> Out of 470 respondents, 309 or 66 percent were not even aware of any hotline/grievance redress system (GRS) for SAP. The level of utilization was also low, with only three percent (3%) of the respondents (15 out of 470) saying that they used the hotline/GRS. From this, only four (4) respondents (27 percent) got a response. The low response rate might be one of the reasons why few people use government hotlines/GRS.

The result of the G-Watch field survey on the actual operation of citizen engagement

and accountability mechanisms of 4Ps show similar findings.<sup>30</sup> Majority or 134 out of the 215 respondents (62 percent) did not use the hotline/GRS of 4Ps, and only 60 (28 percent) said that they used it. Respondents cited fear of reprisal or ineffectiveness of the mechanism as reasons why they opted not to use the GRS. These hotlines were provided and managed at the national level.

Yet, the review of TPA mechanisms made by G-Watch accountability frontliners during COVID showed that many TPA mechanisms that were adapted during COVID are still operating. While delays and postponements in regular activities and programs were recognized by the government, efforts were made to continue the government's operations on the ground.

During the G-Watch Learning Exchange, after reviewing the TPA mechanisms in social programs, G-Watch accountability frontliners were asked to grade the TPA mechanisms of different social programs based on their engagement at the local level. The table below shows the result

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**28** Moner, Yasmira and Joy Aceron (2020). "Building Transparency, Participation and Accountability in BARRM Amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic." *TPA Now! Issue 2*. Quezon City: Government Watch.

**29** G-Watch (2020); op. cit.; pp. 14-15.

**30** Aceron, Joy, Anna Bueno and Victoria Maglanque (2021). *Have Loans Helped the Citizen Engagement and Accountability Mechanisms in Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) to Continue Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic?* Quezon City: Government Watch.

of that rough on-the-spot quantitative assessment of G-Watch accountability frontliners covering eight localities.

No program had a grade of 5 (lowest) and very few programs received a 4. In general, local assessments of TPA mechanisms of social programs yielded positive results.

Notably, engagement tends to make civil society more optimistic with their assessment. Yet, it is clear from the perspective of the eight G-Watch sites that the local operations of national TPA mechanisms has been a bright spot, especially in comparison to the bleak state of affairs at the national level. On the other hand, the engagement of G-Watch

accountability frontliners could have also contributed to activating these TPA mechanisms, where their presence alone forced government officials to make the mechanisms work.

Actual groundwork conducted by G-Watch confirm these findings. In the roundtable discussions (RTDs) conducted by G-Watch local sites, funds for KALAHI-CIDS-NCDDP were used for disaster response, especially in the wake of Typhoon Odette. The cash-for-work program was used to provide temporary employment to augment manpower and address crisis response needs. For 4Ps, physical Family Development Sessions (FDS) were suspended and instead, other

## Assessed state of TPA in social programs

Level of satisfaction based on the engagement with government and CSOs for the RTD on TPA in social programs and ongoing monitoring; **1 is the highest and 4 the lowest**

	Transparency	Participation	Accountability
4Ps	1.8	1.85	2
KALAHI	1.8	1.4	1.6
NTFELCAC	2.4	2.3	2.3
LGU programs	2	2.1	2.3

	DSWD	DILG	LGU
Access to information		1.4	
Openness of government	1.6	2.3	2.1
Quality of Data provided <small>Completeness, clarity, relevance</small>	1.6	2.3	2
Receptiveness of CSOs		1	



\* Local situation looks generally positive. Engagement tends to result in higher satisfaction rating, but actual outcomes, impact & critical issues need further checking. Identification of beneficiaries, GRS, NGO involvement/ does it contribute to strengthening of civil society?, COA role, use of digital technology (any disadvantages/ threats?), capture/ perversion of TP



modes were used such as e-FDS via group chats, Facebook, Zoom, and text blasts. Modules, video productions, and small group neighborhood sessions were also utilized for FDS. Programs of DILG (BDP NTF-ELCAC) also continued, but with some delays.

Recently, G-Watch visited the town of Bagulin in La Union – an upland fifth class municipality with a population predominantly composed of indigenous people. It is a KC-NCDDP-Kapangyarihan at Kaunlaran sa Barangay (KKB) beneficiary and has been noted for its good practices in implementing KALAHI, particularly in empowering citizens. This municipality has also shown that

governments at the local level adapted to the COVID-19 situation, allowing them to continue their important work. *“Kailangan mag-adjust dahil importante ang trabaho,”* Bagulin Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer Jessa Aiza Lictao-Badbadaoi shared to us (We needed to adjust because our work is important).<sup>31</sup>

In Bagulin, all barangays that received funding from KC-NCDDP during the pandemic completed their sub-projects. Citizen participation continued in KALAHI despite COVID-19. Communities identified, implemented, managed and monitored sub-projects. Adjustments that were made on the list of projects had to be in response to COVID-19. The Municipal Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (MDRRMC), also assumed a greater role, in lieu of the suspension of inter-barangay forums due to COVID-19 restrictions.

Finally, while a Freedom of Information (FOI) Law has yet to be approved at the national level, there are now 59 local governments with local FOI ordinances as of January 2022.<sup>32</sup> While more citizens have yet to utilize the local FOIs in enabling accountable and responsive



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31 Notes, Interview with Jessa Aiza Lictao-Badbadaoi. Bagulin Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer. Bagulin, La Union, 23 March 2022.

32 Presidential Communications Operations Office, FOI Request regarding List of Provinces and Cities in the Philippines with FOI Local Ordinances. 3 January 2022. Retrieved from: <https://tinyurl.com/577jv7ha>

governance,<sup>33</sup> this promising development that mostly took place during the time of Duterte underscores the promises of local engagement.

*In fascist regimes, openings could be at the local/ community level revealed through multi-level and enabled through multi-sectoral solidarity work.*

Accountability frontliners recognized that the threats to their safety and security were real and palpable, not only due to COVID-19, but also because of the fascist policies of the state. Police checkpoints everywhere made it harder for accountability frontliners to move around. Those advocating online felt threatened whenever they raise something critical about the government. With the passage of the Anti-Terror Law in 2021, the right to freedom of expression has been seriously impaired. During the pandemic, there was one case when the police arrested a netizen who called Duterte “crazy.”<sup>34</sup>

Yet G-Watch accountability frontliners

successfully undertook monitoring amid these threats. They were able to conduct interviews of beneficiaries, observe government processes, go to government offices to secure documents and information, and conduct events and discussions with representatives from government and civil society.

G-Watch monitoring during COVID has been described as coming “from the ground up, demand-driven and convergent with multi-level agenda-setting, data-gathering & processing.”<sup>35</sup> This approach enabled G-Watch to identify where the opportunities were. With the intrinsic qualities of G-Watch accountability frontliners and the G-Watch Center’s organizational support,<sup>36</sup> G-Watch accountability frontliners were able to maximize the openings at the local level. Because of G-Watch’s presence at the national level and its track record over the decades, it was able to build the needed social capital on the ground that kept civic spaces alive despite the challenges.<sup>37</sup> In G-Watch’s Learning Exchange on the

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33 Notes, Conversations with various local government officials; Notes, G-Watch Forum with youth activists and Himamaylan Vice Mayor Justin Gatuslao. Bacolod City, 22 July 2022.

34 Buan, Lian (2020). “Salesman Arrested, Jailed for Calling Duterte ‘Crazy.’” *Rappler*. 14 May. Retrieved from: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/260910-salesman-arrested-jailed-calling-duterte-crazy/>.

35 Documentation Report, G-Watch National Meeting and Local Exchange. Pasig and Manila, 4-8 March 2022.

36 Ibid, pages 13-14

37 Ibid.

State of TPA in Social Programs, the highest mark '1' was given to civil society response. Across the eight localities, G-Watch accountability frontliners did not have any problems activating and engaging fellow civil society groups and communities despite the constraints posed by the pandemic. Their presence also kept civil society engagement alive, especially in exacting accountability.

Dumaguete's local governance context, for instance, has been described as having a "positive climate for people's participation," especially with the adoption of the People's Development Council Ordinance and the creation of the CSO Desk. Non-government organizations have also been able to continue catering to the marginalized and vulnerable segments of the population, such as victims of child labor, domestic violence, human trafficking and discrimination. Youth activism has remained active both inside and outside government, with the Sangguniang Kabataan and the Local Youth Development Office championing the youth agenda. The City Health Office led by one of the original core group leaders of G-Watch, Dr. Sarah Talla, has been responsive in leading the fight against COVID-19. The barangays, too,

have been more responsive than ever due to the clamor for quick response and assistance due to the pandemic.<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile, in Cebu, while the local governments were not open and responsive, civil society nevertheless remained responsive to catering to people's immediate needs and issues through partnerships with national and international organizations. For instance, services to LGBTQIA+ were continued through an internationally funded health program, while youth organizing was supported by national youth organizations. At the same time, Senator Risa Hontiveros provided direct health services to Cebu communities.<sup>39</sup>

Openings through multi-level and multi-sectoral work amid the pandemic and the presence of a repressive regime were also validated by stories from the Center for Youth Advocacy and Networking (CYAN), Samahan ng Nagkakaisang Pamilyang Pantawid (SNPP), GenPeace and KATARUNGAN, which were shared during the Panel Discussion in G-Watch's National Meeting and Learning Exchange. For CYAN, the passage of the Anti-Terror Law prompted the organization to undertake precautionary

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38 Notes, G-Watch Forum on "Strategic Direction and Priorities for TPA," Dumaguete City, 15 July 2022.

39 Notes, Local Learning Exchange with Cebu Accountability Frontliners. Cebu City, 28 May 2022.

measures such as providing psychological and legal support, and mobilizing lawyers to provide legal assistance. CYAN also further deepened its international linkages and partnerships with youth activists and organizations from other countries. According to former CYAN Executive Director Jeza Rodriguez, CYAN made sure *“na connected kami with other youth activists sa ibang bansa dahil alam namin na hind lang ito problema nila but it’s a collective problem na kailangan nating solusyunan”* (that we are connected to other youth activists abroad because we know that it’s not only our problem but a collective one that we need to solve).<sup>40</sup>

For GenPeace, one of its main challenges was vaccine hesitancy among its members. The organization, therefore, undertook vaccine education whenever they had

activities or workshops. Now, 100 percent of their members are fully vaccinated. GenPeace was able to access resources meant for women’s empowerment, peacebuilding, and humanitarian advocacy by engaging international actors and by developing monitoring initiatives on youth and women’s programs. In spite of the pandemic and the harsh political climate, Beverly Orozco of GenPeace asserted that, *“Hindi dapat na mapigilan ang trabaho at ang ating adbokasiya para sa kapayapaan at sa karapatan”* (Our work and advocacy for peace and rights should not cease).

Networks inside and outside the community were crucial in continuing the work of RIGHTS Network – a civil society organization advocating for agrarian reform. Unable to undertake peasant mobilizations because of the lockdown, RIGHTS maximized its network composed of members and allies in government and civil society, located across different levels of decision-making. By doing so, members of grassroots movements were able to build and strengthen their alliances despite the limitations brought by the pandemic. As Danny Carranza pointed out, *“Network. Iyan ang daluyan mo ng pag-access ng suportang kailangan ng komunidad. Iyan din ang bumuhay sa kabuuan ng paggalaw namin sa konteksto ng pandemya. May network sa loob, may network sa labas”* (Network. That



Beverly Orozco of Generation Peace (GenPeace) during the G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange, 2022

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40 Notes, G-Watch National Meeting and Local Exchange. Pasig and Manila, 4-8 March 2022.

is the path to access needed support for the community. That is also the animating force that sustains us in the context of the pandemic. There is network inside the state, and network outside the state).<sup>41</sup>

One significant segment of civil society are 4Ps beneficiaries, many of whom undertook various efforts on the ground, despite the suspension of regular 4Ps activities. In its study of the 4Ps program's citizen engagement and accountability mechanisms, G-Watch asked 4Ps beneficiaries: "Did you undertake activities as 4Ps beneficiaries to respond to the pandemic?" Though the responses were largely mixed, a significant portion of 4Ps beneficiaries were still able to conduct several activities, ranging from seminars on COVID-19, clean-up drives, backyard gardening, and information dissemination.<sup>42</sup>

But the most successful initiative was probably that of the Samahan ng Nagkakaisang Pamilyang Pantawid (SNPP) – the widest organization of 4Ps beneficiaries. It was able to foster partnerships with business corporations and civil society organizations to help them provide assistance to its members. SNPP also mobilized allies who were



SNPP President, Jeana Catacio during the G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange, 2022

former government officials to link it with potential partners. But as SNPP's members did so, they also affirmed the role of their active volunteers in helping each other. Jai Catacio says, "*Sa totoo lang po, nakakapagod po mag-volunteer. Pero ginagawa po namin ito nang buong puso dahil kami rin ay nakakaranas ng mga nararanasan ng aming mga kapwa beneficiary*" (To be honest, volunteer work is tiring work. But we do it wholeheartedly because we also experience what our fellow beneficiaries are experiencing).

Though its members mostly come from low-income families, SNPP was one of the first organizations to organize relief efforts during the initial lockdown.

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41 Notes, G-Watch National Meeting and Local Exchange. Pasig and Manila, 4-8 March 2022.

42 Aceron et al. (2021); op. cit.; p. 22.

Focusing on the poorest communities, SNPP partnered with the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP), Bayanihan Musikahan, the Jollibee Group and ABS-CBN Foundation to deliver relief packs to more than 100,000 households in Metro Manila, Regions 3, 4-A and 7.<sup>43</sup>

*There remains pressing policy issues affecting transparency, participation and accountability reforms at the local level needing urgent national action and response.*

The TPA experience has also been mixed across localities. In some localities, the situation stayed the same, while in others the condition got worse. In some localities, the fascistic direction of the national government has reinforced and legitimized existing 'local authoritarian enclaves' or practices of 'bossism' and patronage politics. In some localities, there have been efforts to strengthen and enable their mandated participatory mechanisms, while in others, participatory mechanisms, including the newly formed CSO desks, have been captured and coopted to serve the partisan political ends of traditional politicians and dynasties or have been rendered procedural and merely for compliance.<sup>44</sup>

The following were raised during the G-Watch Learning Exchange as pressing policy issues on TPA in social programs needing national action and response.

- The need to ensure integrity in the selection of beneficiaries in social programs. It is still widely perceived that *palakasan* system (favoritism), nepotism and patronage determine who become beneficiaries in social programs, especially during disasters. There should be independent validation of how government agencies identify or select beneficiaries, including local governments. There should be added assurance that those who need it the most actually get the programs and services.
- How to make the grievance redress system (GRS) work in a way that truly addresses and resolves people's complaints and issues, serving as a real mechanism that checks and balances the holders of power.
- The need to check if NGO involvement in social programs contribute to the strengthening of civil society.
- How to ensure that the COA is effective in fighting corruption and

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43 Aceron et al. (2021); op. cit.; p. 23. See also INCITEGov (2020). *Iisang Pangarap: Ang Kwento ng Samahan ng Nagkakaisang Pamilya ng Pantawid*. Quezon City.

44 Various consultations and discussions attended by the author from May 11 to November 15 in nine (9) localities.

is supportive and enabling of citizen action for accountability.

- As civic action and governance adapt digital technology, how do we address the new threats and challenges of the digital age?
- The need to address elite capture and perversion of TPA mechanisms, such as the case of ‘reverse accountability’ wherein government accountability mechanisms focus on people’s compliance, while neglecting oversight of government officials’ exercise of powers and performance of mandates<sup>45</sup> and in government programs that are repressive and could threaten human rights.
- The need to set a standard timeline for the delivery of relief and assistance during crisis that is observant of citizen entitlements and needs.

G-Watch noted in a report that despite citizen engagement and accountability mechanisms continuing to operate during the pandemic, there is still a need for more proactive support measures to ensure that they operate effectively for the people. It is not enough for international development partners to require citizen

engagement commitments. They should also ensure civil society gets sufficiently supported to engage and utilize these citizen engagement mechanisms and enable independent accountability.

The need for civil society to embark on a “reboot” that involves understanding who Philippine civil society is now, what is its current state, and how does it move forward, have been repeatedly raised. There is a need to reboot, retool and re-energize civil society-government engagement to one that, as G-Watch pointed out in a statement, “synergizes interdependent power which checks abuses at the top and uplifts the most marginalized.”<sup>46</sup>

The problem with overly burdening requirements on NGOs posed by government was also repeatedly raised in the G-Watch National Meeting. Local civil society actions and work of non-government organizations have been hampered by tightening government regulations. State regulation of civil society has been heightened under the new administration. New requirements have been set and there is even a policy for CSOs to first secure a clearance from

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45 Acheron, Joy (2020). *Reversing Accountability: Learning from Accountability Frontliners’ Observation of the DSWD Social Amelioration Program Validation*. Quezon City: Government Watch.

46 Government Watch (2022b). *Make the Elections an Accountability Platform! Statement of Government Watch (G-Watch) on the Upcoming May Polls*. Quezon City.

the police if they wish to be part of local COVID-19 response and recovery efforts. This is seen in Memorandum Circular No. 2021-21, which further strengthened the government’s control over civil society. On paper, the directive seeks to institutionalize the Local People’s Council and recognize “the existing federation of sectoral organizations in all the LGUs.” However, the same document also explicitly stated that “CSOs intending to join the local Peoples Council, shall be required to secure clearances from the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and the Philippine National Police (PNP) respectively.”<sup>47</sup>

According to Bernardo Florece, Jr. of DILG, “*Gusto lang nating makasiguro na ang mga CSOs na katrabaho natin ay tunay na nais makatulong sa gubyerno at sa mga mamamayan*” (We just want to make sure that the CSOs we work with really want to help the government and the people).<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, these provisions are anathema to the vision of former DILG

Secretary Jesse Robredo when he first conceived the Naga City People’s Council (NCPC), upon which the Memorandum Circular is supposedly based. Formed in 1996, NCPC is not only meant as a mechanism for participatory governance, but also acts as a check on the city government.<sup>49</sup> But more than that, NCPC is also rooted in a wider understanding of our political system. Freedom of expression and right to assembly are constitutional rights. The Philippine legal framework recognizes the role civil society plays in governance, development and democratization. Government policies and regulations need to be facilitative and enabling of civil society, not constraining and debilitating.

## Recap and closing insights

This paper contributes to the kind of approach in analyzing politics and democracy that looks at multi-level situation and conditions. Through its multi-level lens, G-Watch made sense of what differentiates national and local contexts

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<sup>47</sup> Department of the Interior and Local Government Memorandum Circular No. 2021-012. “Establishment of Civil Society Organization Desk and Institutionalization of People’s Council in the Local Government Units.” 28 January 2021. Retrieved from: [https://dilg.gov.ph/PDF\\_File/issuances/memo\\_circulars/dilg-memocircular-2021128\\_c81ece04e9.pdf](https://dilg.gov.ph/PDF_File/issuances/memo_circulars/dilg-memocircular-2021128_c81ece04e9.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> Department of the Interior and Local Government (2021). “DILG: PNP Clearance Required for CSOs Wishing to Aid Local COVID-19 Efforts.” 4 February. Retrieved from: <https://dilg.gov.ph/news/DILG-PNP-clearance-required-for-CSOs-wishing-to-aid-local-COVID-19-efforts/NC-2021-1029>.

<sup>49</sup> Isaac, Francis and Joy Aceron (2007). “Breaking New Ground: A Profile of Mayor Jesse M. Robredo.” *Frontline Leadership: Stories of 5 Local Chief Executives*. Quezon City: Ateneo School of Government; p. 32.



and across local contexts where it operates, identified openings or opportunities for engagement, and surfaced critical policy issues that affect and cut across various local context.

Such multilevel analysis or conjunctural analysis practiced by G-Watch is not new as a movement tool. In a more colloquial way, it is referred to as “naming the moment” or in Spanish “*análisis de coyuntura*,” which was widely used by Latin American social movements during the 1970s to 1990s as a tool for multi-level political analysis in informing action. The custom was that grassroots political meetings would begin with an analysis of the global balance of forces, then the national, then the local – before the meeting agenda addressed the regular business at hand. In Gramscian or liberation theology-inflected language, that would be the “correlation of forces.”<sup>50</sup>

This piece shows that G-Watch’s practice of multi-level conjunctural analyses does not only provide a holistic and integrated view of the political and governance situation that guide actions; it also provides rich lessons that explain contrasting conditions that affect citizen

action for accountability across scale and localities. Such view allows celebration of where actions worked and could work and triggers understanding and attention on where actions are constrained and needing more work.

Jonathan Fox, in his study of rural democracy in Mexico,<sup>51</sup> underscores the problem with democratization studies that captures the state of democratization at the national level or urban areas, while missing out on local authoritarian enclaves that continue to persist in the countryside. Using several cases from Latin America, Fox asserted that, “Many of the transitions to elected civilian rule... brought political freedoms to urban areas but left large swaths of the countryside under authoritarian or semi-authoritarian rule, at least until recent breakthroughs by rural social and civic movements managed to broaden and deepen” (1998: 237). This approach emphasizes the importance of local dynamics in democracy that needs to expand both in the realm of the state and of society across spaces if it is to be fully realized.

Other literature highlights the importance

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<sup>50</sup> Thank you to Jonathan Fox for this input. For more on this point, see Barndt, Deborah and Carlos and Freire (n.d.). *Naming the Moment: Political Analysis for Action – A Manual for Community Groups*. Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice.

<sup>51</sup> Fox, Jonathan, ed. (1990). *The Challenge of Rural Democratisation: Perspectives from Latin America and the Philippines*. London and Portland: Frank Cass.

of local-specific context in contrast to aggregated national analyses. In his 2001 journal article, Richard Synder pointed out that focusing on subnational units “better equips us to handle the spatially uneven nature of major processes of political and economic transformation;” because “processes such as democratization and economic reform often have varied effects across territorially-defined subunits of a political system.”<sup>52</sup>

The concept of “changing civic space” also fits well in conceptually explaining the changing political contexts and its implications on civil society. Coined by Naomi Hossain and her colleagues at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), “changing civic space” means that while “a wave of closures of civic space has occurred around the world...not all civil society actors are equally affected.” Groups often targeted come “from a liberal and human rights tradition” that are largely “aid-funded and with strong transnational links.” At the same time, governments try to control civic space using “a heavy-handed mixture of stigmatisation and delegitimisation, selective application of rules and restrictions, and violence and

impunity for violence against civic actors and groups. For these reasons, “civic space may be conceptualised not as closing or shrinking overall, but as changing, in terms of who participates and on what terms.”<sup>53</sup>

These conceptual precepts support G-Watch’s experience on the dissonance in the analyses of its accountability frontliners of the national and local situations, which provide rich insights on the state of governance in the Philippines during COVID-19 and the ways forward. They also further nuance how context matters in multilevel, vertically integrated engagements, and how a multilevel engagement both takes advantage of varying contexts in pushing for reforms and captures it in its analysis and understanding of the situation.

In other words, vertical integration facilitates a more nuanced take on varying contexts, validating the earlier assertion that “systematic, coordinated monitoring of the performance of all levels of public decision making can reveal more clearly where the main problems are, permitting more precisely targeted civil society advocacy strategies” (Fox 2001; Fox and Aceron 2016).

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52 Synder, Richard (2001). “Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method.” *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 36 (1); p. 94.

53 Hossain, Naomi, Nalini Khurana, Shandana Mohmand, Sohela Nazneen, Marjoke Oosterom, Tony Roberts, Ricardo Santos, Alex Shankland and Patrick Schröder (2018). “What Does Closing Civic Space Mean for Development? A Literature Review and Proposed Conceptual Framework.” *IDS Working Paper*, 515. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies; p. 7.

During the COVID-19 pandemic in the Philippines, the bright side has been the dissonance between national and local governance. Despite the general failure of the national government in pandemic response, several local governments filled in the gaps.

In contrast to the dim description of the national situation, there are bright spots spotted at the local level. While national citizen engagement mechanisms like hotlines and grievance redress systems hardly worked, TPA mechanisms at the local level tried hard to perform amid the pandemic. Accountability frontliners were able to continue monitoring, withstanding the threats to their safety and security, not only because of their intrinsic qualities and organizational support, but also because there are openings and social capital on the ground.

Despite this relative optimism and good news, there remains pressing issues on the ground, some structural, that require urgent action and policy response at the national level especially. One crucial agenda not only for government but also for the entire development community is the need to reboot and revitalize civil society-government engagement, incorporating lessons from the past and adapting to the old and unique challenges posed by the new administration.

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## Interviews and discussions

Documentation Report and Notes, G-Watch National Meeting and Learning Exchange. Pasig and Baguio City, March 4-8, 2022.

Notes, G-Watch Priorities for 2019 based on G-Watch Local Coordinators' Meeting (Pasig, March 1-2) and G-Watch Center Team Meeting (Pasig, March 16-17).

Notes, G-Watch Forum on "Strategic Direction and Priorities for TPA," Dumaguete City, 15 July 2022.

Notes, G-Watch Forum with youth activists of Bacolod and Himamaylan Vice Mayor Justin Gatuslao. Bacolod City, 22 July 2022.

Notes, Local Interview with Jessa Aiza Lictao-Badbadaoi. Bagulin Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer. Bagulin, La Union, 23 March 2022.

Notes, Learning Exchange with G-Watch-Dumaguete accountability frontliners. Siquijor, 16 July 2022.

Notes, Local Learning Exchange with Cebu Accountability Frontliners, Cebu City, 28 May 2022.