



POP 2013

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REFORMS: What Have We Achieved?

Restoring people's trust in government and democratic institutions, effective and adequate social services and economic opportunity, and strengthening the constituencies for reform are the Aquino Administration's key objectives as it pursues genuine reform in government. So far, significant victories have been achieved, particularly in the areas of anti-corruption, the peace process, and local governance. Many reform advocates acknowledge these gains, and are calling for the needed institutional-legal support and transformational leadership that can keep the ball rolling so to speak even beyond 2016.

What has been achieved so far? The following provides general description of these reforms.

ANTI-CORRUPTION

Under Executive Order Number 43, the Cabinet was re-clustered to improve inter-agency coordination. Cabinet departments with interrelated core functions are clustered together to improve the delivery of public services.

The Administration is pursuing cases against figures from the previous administration such as FPGMA, FCJ Corona and FO Gutierrez, upholding the government's mandate to hold public officials accountable for their performance in office.

Launched by the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) in 2010, the *Zero-based Budgeting* has scaled down, if not totally eliminate, all allocations for programs that are not aligned with the President's priorities. Unlike the practice of lump-sum budgeting, this new approach involves a review and evaluation of on-going major programs and projects in order to guide and check budget allocation and spending during implementation.

PEACE REFORMS

Signed on October 15, 2012 at the Malacañang Palace in Manila, the *Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro* serves as a preliminary peace agreement that calls for the creation of an autonomous political entity named *Bangsamoro*, which will replace the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The purpose of this new agreement is to rectify what PNoy called a "failed experiment" that is the ARMM, and effectively address issues such as electoral fraud and violence through structural reform. The agreement was the result of peace talks held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia last October, among many others held over the last nine years.

PNoy is also determined to achieve closure of past agreements, as part of the government's negotiation efforts with other rebel groups such as the Rebolusyonaryong Partido Manggagawang Pilipinas, Moro National Liberation Front (MNLFF), and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA).

PAMANA, an inter-agency project led by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), is set up to end the long-standing conflict in the country by building peaceful communities in 1,921 conflict-affected barangays in 171 municipalities, in 34 provinces.

Through the All-Out-War, All-Out-Peace, All-Out-Justice Policy of PNoy, the government extends the work for peace by bringing to justice perpetrators of atrocities. President Aquino announced the pursuit of "all-out justice" in response to the 2011 Al-barka encounter with the MILF, which killed 19 soldiers and left 11 wounded, while maintaining the peace process with the group.

LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Memorandum Circular 2013-070 of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) mandates the reconstitution and empowerment of Local Specialized Bodies in order to free them from the influence of local patronage politics. Under this memorandum, accreditation of CSOs and selection of CSO representatives to the LSB to increase citizen participation are being done.

To incentivize LGUs in setting transparency and accountability standards, the *Performance Challenge Fund* was institutionalized. It provides incentives to

LGUs as a way of recognizing good performance in internal housekeeping, and in the alignment of local development investment programs with national development goals.

Similarly, the Seal of Good Housekeeping for Local Governments is awarded to LGUs that promote and practice openness, transparency, and accountability. Local legislation, development planning, resource generation, resource allocation and utilization, customer service, and human resource management and development are taken into consideration for this award.

The Empowerment Fund was also launched to increase citizen participation in local governance. It supports citizen groups who undertake development projects and efforts to demand better services and governance.

Join us! On 5-6 November 2013 at Hyatt Hotel Manila, the Ateneo School of Government, through its Political Democracy and Reform (PODER) program, in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and in cooperation with key civil society groups, will be holding the National Conference on the State of the Reform Agenda Under Aquino.

RSVP is required.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE STATE OF THE REFORM AGENDA UNDER AQUINO
 NOVEMBER 5-6, 2013
 HYATT REGENCY HOTEL MANILA

WHAT REFORMS HAVE BEEN WON?
 WHAT REFORMS MUST WE STILL WORK ON AND HOW?
 HOW CAN THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS GENUINE REFORMS BE SUSTAINED UNTIL AND BEYOND 2016?

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TIMELINE OF REFORMS

<i>Electoral Reform</i>	Automated Elections	Mar. 30, 2009	The COMELEC Special Bids and Awards Committee (SBAC) held a pre-bid conference for the automation of the 2010 election.
	Preliminary Events that paved the way for a REFORM-ORIENTED ADMINISTRATION	Aug. 1, 2009	Death of Cory Aquino. After her burial, calls for Noynoy Aquino to run for president began.
		Sept. 1, 2009	Mar Roxas, then Liberal Party presidential candidate, announces that he will give way to Noynoy.
		Sept. 9, 2009	Noynoy announces his Presidential bid.
		Sept. 19, 2009	Ateneo School of Government-Political Democracy and Reform Program (PODER) presents the <i>Citizen Reform Agenda 2010</i> . This is a list of reform agenda issues that candidates must address in the 2010 election, as identified by a broad range of citizen organizations.
		Oct. 2, 2009	Caucus of Development NGO (CODE NGO) Network releases its <i>Development and Reform Agenda for 2010 – 2013</i> , a compilation of policy positions being pursued by its members.
		Feb. 6, 2010	Noynoy reveals major campaign reform promises through his <i>Social Contract</i> .
		June 30, 2010	President Aquino sworn in by Associate Justice Concita Carpio-Morales; issues Executive Order (EO) No. 1 (Truth Commission).
		June 30, 2010	Appointment of Key Reform Champions: Leila de Lima (Justice) Dinky Soliman (Social Welfare/Development) Florencio Abad (Budget/Management) Teresita Deles (Peace Process) Jesse Robredo (Interior/Local Government)
<i>Poverty Reduction and Human Development</i>	Expansion of the Social Protection Program of the Government: Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps)	Aug. 24, 2010	PNoy expanded the subsidies to the poor from PhP10 Billion in 2010 to PhP29.9 Billion in 2011. An amount of P21.2 Billion was set aside for CCT to be distributed to 2.3 million poor families, 1.3 million more beneficiaries than in 2010.
<i>Transparency/ Local Government Empowerment Education</i>	Full Disclosure Policy (FDP)	Aug. 31, 2010	Issuance of DILG Memorandum Circular No. 2010-83, implementing Full Disclosure Policy on local budget and finances, and bids and public offerings.
	K+12 Basic Education Program	Oct. 5, 2010	Department of Education (DepEd) Sec. Armin Luistro presented the 12-year (K+12) basic education program to be implemented in S.Y. 2012-2013.
<i>Accountability</i>	Gutierrez Impeachment	Mar 22, 2011	House of Representatives votes in favor of impeaching of then Ombudsman Merceditas Gutierrez (210-46, 4 abstentions). She eventually resigned on May 6, 2011.
<i>Local Government Empowerment</i>	Seal of Good Housekeeping (SGH)	July 1, 2011	DILG issues Memorandum Circular No. 2011-95, outlining the qualification criteria for the Seal of Good Housekeeping for 2011.
<i>Peace: Ending armed conflict in Mindanao</i>	'All-Out-Justice' on Al-barka Encounter	Oct. 24, 2011	PNoy declares 'all-out justice' to the 2011 Al-barka encounter, keeping the peace process going, while ordering intensified operations to find the MILF members responsible for the encounter.
<i>Accountability: Prosecution of Government Officials involved in Electoral Fraud</i>	Prosecution of GMA for electoral fraud	Nov. 18, 2011	COMELEC files electoral sabotage case against former President Arroyo based on testimony provided by former provincial administrator Norie Unas, who was revealed later on to be involved in the issue as an accomplice.
<i>Anti-Corruption: Prosecution of Government Officials involved in Corruption</i>	Prosecution of GMA and other government officials for corruption of PCSO Funds	Dec. 7, 2011	Plunder complaint filed before Ombudsman by the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office (PCSO) against Arroyo, et. al., for conspiring to withdraw, amass, accumulate public funds worth P391.9 million from July 2007 to January 2010; this leads to the plunder case filed against GMA in July 2012.
<i>Accountability: Prosecution of Midnight Appointments</i>	Corona Impeachment	Jan. 16, 2012	The impeachment proceedings of then Supreme Court Chief Justice Renato Corona begins.
<i>Poverty Reduction and Human Development</i>	Bigger budget for social pension	Jan. 23, 2012	Government sets aside P1.2 Billion to fund social pension for the elderly, which is part of the 32% of the annual budget earmarked for social services.
<i>Local Government Empowerment</i>	Bottom-Up Budgeting	Mar. 8, 2012	Issuance of DBM-DILG-DSWD-NAPC Joint Memorandum Circular (JMC) No. 1, Series of 2012, laying out guidelines for implementing Bottom-Up Budgeting (BUB) for FY 2013 Budget Preparation, a participatory budgeting tool for citizens in poor municipalities to push for poverty-reduction projects.

Land Reform	Commitment to finish CARP	June 14, 2012	PNoy commits to finish distributing lands covered by the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) by June 2014. From hereon until June 2014, all agricultural lands will be distributed to qualified beneficiaries. The Philippine National Police (PNP), Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) will be mobilized for this purpose.
Building Positive Image in International Community	Improvement in Credit Rating	June 19, 2012	BB+ Stable/BBB- Stable given by Fitch.
Inclusion and Political Participation: Promotion of More Reforms	Civil Society Participation Fund	June 27, 2012	DILG issues Memorandum Circular No. 2012-114 informing all LGU chieftains and DILG Reg. Directors of the Civil Society Participation Fund (CSPF).
Poverty Reduction and Human Development	Increased budget for Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps)	July 24, 2012	Allotment for the 4Ps for 2013 was P44.3Billion, 12.4% more than the 2012 appropriation.
Reform in Tax Revenue	Automation and tax audit process	Oct. 5, 2012	Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR) Chief Kim Henares announces on-going reform in BIR related to automation and tax audit processes.
Peace: Ending armed conflict in Mindanao	Bangsamoro Framework Agreement	Oct. 7, 2012	PNoy announces Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro. The President signs it a few days later.
Reform in National Security	Modernization of AFP	Dec. 11, 2012	PNoy signs law that provides additional funding for the Modernization of the AFP.
Promotion of Health, Human Rights and Women's Rights	Signing of three crucial bills	Dec. 21, 2012	PNoy signs the Reproductive Health Bill and Sin Tax Reform Bill into law. The President also signs the Anti-Enforced Disappearance Act.
Peace: Ending armed conflict in Mindanao	Bangsamoro Framework Agreement	Feb. 7, 2013	Signing of the FAB: Annex on Transitional Agreements and Modalities
Anti-Corruption: Reforms in Public Works and Highways	Reform of DPWH Procurement Process	Mar. 20, 2013	Reforms in procurement process saved the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) P15.45 B as of February 2013.
Poverty reduction and Human Development	Increasing budget for impoverished provinces	Mar. 24, 2013	PNoy funneled P20 Billion into projects to be identified by mayors belonging to the country's most indigent provinces to fast-track poverty reduction.
Land Reform	Hacienda Luisita Land Distribution	April 24, 2013	The first two stages in the distribution of land to farm workers of Hacienda Luisita have been completed; identification of 6,212 qualified beneficiaries and segregation survey.
Local Government Empowerment	Bottom-Up-Budgeting	April 5, 2013	BUB process starts in more than 1,200 cities and municipalities.
Promotion of More Reforms	CODE-NGO Development and Reform Agenda 2010-2013	May 2013	Caucus of Development NGO (CODE NGO) Network releases its Development and Reform Agenda for 2010 - 2013.
2013 Electins		May 2013	Midterm elections; 2 nd automated national elections.
Reform in National Security	Upgrading of Police and Military Forces	July 2, 2013	PNoy led the distribution of the biggest batch of firearms as part of his promise to modernize police and military services.
Land Reform	Danding Cojuanco loses coco levy shares	July 11, 2013	The Supreme Court ruled that the government owns the shares of businessman Eduardo Cojuanco Jr. in the United Coconut Planter's Bank (UCPB), which will benefit coconut farmers and the local coconut industry.
Peace: Ending armed conflict in Mindanao	Bangsamoro Framework Agreement	July 13, 2013	Signing of the FAB: Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing
Anti-Corruption: Prosecution of Government Officials involved in Corruption issues	Napoles Pork Barrel Scam	July 31, 2013	Benhur Luy, whistleblower of the alleged "pork barrel scam", went to the NBI and has given Special Allotment Release Order (SARO) numbers, proving that Janet Napoles, his supposed employer, siphoned PDAF funds from a number of congressmen and senators into bogus NGOs.
Reform in the Legislature: Pork Abolition		Aug. 14, 2013	Warrant of arrest for Janet Napoles and her brother, Reynald Lim was issued by the Department of Justice; Napoles managed to escape.
		Aug. 23, 2013	PNoy, together with Senate President Franklin Drilon and House Speaker Feliciano Belmonte, announced the abolition of the pork barrel fund.
		Aug. 26, 2013	Million People March: Ordinary Citizens marched to Luneta calling for the abolition of pork.
		Aug. 29, 2013	Napoles surrenders to PNoy. She is now under the custody of the DILG and PNP.
Economic Advancement	GDP of the Philippines is at 7.5%	Aug. 29, 2013	The Philippines remains to be the fastest-growing economy in Southeast Asia with a recorded gross domestic growth of 7.5% in the 2 nd quarter

Sustaining Reforms

Before former president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo could even finish her term, governance in the country was in utter disarray.

All throughout GMA's term, reports of high profile corruption cases involving the First Family and high ranking government officials hugged the headlines as well as reports on violation of human rights, extra-judicial killings, abuse and misuse of authority, repression of dissent, frustrating peace negotiations, and worsening poverty and hunger incidence. Hounded by these issues, the Philippines' political and governance situation was bleak.

It can be argued that this situation changed when the new administration of President Benigno Aquino III assumed power. Though still riddled with a number of issues, the current Administration manages to improve the general atmosphere of politics and governance in the country after the 2010 elections.

A noteworthy observation: No high-profile corruption involving high ranking officials today have been reported. The government has undertaken serious efforts to improve the level of transparency in government, and to open up governance that enabled greater participation of citizens and civil society groups.

The promotion of good governance was bolstered by PNoy's appointment of credible and competent public servants in key institutions, and by programs that incentivize good LGU performance, as exemplified by the late Sec. Jesse Robredo's program, the Seal of Good Housekeeping.

By and large, the new administration offers more inclusive, participatory and transparent approaches to governance. It tries to be transformational by promoting leadership-by-example, and by attempting to facilitate the shift of power from traditional politicians to ordinary citizens.

It is no surprise therefore that members of the "reform community" in government, civil society and the private sector, who have been working to introduce reforms in our truncated procedural democracy, are asking how critical reforms can be sustained. How can a country, once described by American scholar David Timberman as a "changeless land", make possible the reconfiguration of political and economic power?

Such is not an easy question.

The Political Democracy and Reforms (PODER) program of the Ateneo School of Government convened the first installment of the Elections Under Repair (EUR) 3.0 Series, which attempted to provide answers to this question.

Three key insights emerged that offer tentative ways forward:

(1) To sustain the momentum for reforms, it is critical to know what factors led to that reform. Such factors must be present to sustain reforms.

There are several factors that led to the condition we have now, most of which revolve around the emergence of a presidential candidate like Noynoy Aquino who, because of the general outcry for genuine social change, is reform-oriented from the moment he entered the race up to the time he assumed office.

Such a candidate was a popular choice, so it was just a matter of ensuring that this candidate has genuine reforms in mind. What contributed to this was the fact that groups from the civil society and reform-oriented individuals were engaged in the campaign and delivered votes for PNoy.

This "reform constituency" seem to have had some political weight in terms of their connection to the candidate they're supporting, their reach and base, and their credibility as reform advocates. Thus, they were able to effectively influence their chosen candidate, at the very least, to be open to and promotive of reform.

This goes to show that electoral engagement is critical. The reform content of that electoral engagement can be ensured if the political capital of those pushing for reform can withstand and out-manuever other competing forces, particularly the traditional and reactionary actors. Having strong candidate who will not only engage in the discourse but also have the political will to enact reforms is the other key factor to enable and sustain reform work.

(2) Existing reform efforts must be leveraged to bring about more reforms, and ultimately sustain it to the point of generating real positive impacts on the lives of our people.

There is a need to think about not only how existing reforms can be continued, but more so used to generate more opportunities for reforms.

When can we say this, and what can contribute to enabling the political requirements for sustainability beyond

elections? Can the following efforts serve as means for further political and electoral reforms, and can these build the political capital to sustain reforms?

- Participatory mechanisms in governance as an entry point for mass political education.
- Peace process as a way to introduce party-based politics, and an alternative political system that is more consensual (as against winner-take-all).
- Reform advocacies to organize and broaden the reform constituency.

Finally, there is a need to seriously look into the needed institutional reforms (i.e., reform in policies, laws and structures) that can support and sustain the reform measures and practices that are currently in place. Institutions, after all, shape and determine practices, behaviors and actions of various political actors. Reforms in our electoral laws (including political party development) and in economic policies (advancing inclusive growth) are deemed important.

(3) Sustaining reforms will require the expansion of the reform community, even its transformation into a more effective political actor that will help see through and support further reform work.

Again, it was pointed out that a partisan political force has to be molded and nurtured to provide the necessary political backing for the oftentimes tedious, intense and highly contested reform process, which involves a wide range of players inside and outside of government. Without such a force, sustainability will be difficult, and will likely to be dependent on chance.

While party-building is considered the natural course, our history has shown how seemingly impossible this is our context. One will have to think out-of-the-box, and an out-of-the-box response will provide the needed impetus for reform.

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