MAKING ALL
VOICES COUNT

A GRAND CHALLENGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT

Going vertical: citizen–led reform campaigns in the Philippines

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1. Introduction: studying vertically integrated approaches to citizen-led reforms

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1.1 Introducing the research and its significance

The Philippines has had a long experience of state–society engagement to introduce reforms in government and politics. Forces from civil society and social movements interface with reform-oriented leaders in government to make governance more responsive, to introduce policy reforms and / or make government more accountable.

Though this has been a well-discussed strategy to introduce reform in the Philippines among governance reform actors, there is very little research done on it. One exception well known in the Philippines is the work of Saturnino Borras (1998) on agrarian reform where he coined the term '*bibingka* strategy' as the strategy employed to successfully push for the implementation of agrarian reform, especially in areas considered as 'local authoritarian enclaves'. After this application, there has been no other initiative with state–society engagement studied using this framework, though arguably the *bibingka* strategy has informed much of the subsequent campaigns of social movements in the country in influencing policy change.

Meanwhile, an approach to civil society engagement in governance was developed in the 2000s that focused on fighting corruption. This approach integrates civil society monitoring in government processes to serve as a transparency mechanism that aims to improve performance and deter corruption in the bureaucracy. This is later referred to as social accountability (SAcc).

Due to the relative openness of the Philippine Government to SAcc initiatives, as well as the increasing support from international actors, SAcc initiatives have multiplied over the years all over the country exhibiting varied features, but generally aimed at ensuring that standard processes, quantity, time, quality and cost are complied with by government and / or contractors (duty bearers). Today, there is an emerging question of how to sustain these initiatives to ensure their impact on governance and politics, which also raises the questions of which ones and what features have been most effective and should therefore be sustained.

These points of inquiry are also being reflected upon in the international arena. The paper of American academic–activist Jonathan Fox in 2014 entitled *Social accountability: what does the evidence really say?* scans the state of evidence on the impact of social accountability initiatives and concludes that while the existing empirical evidence is mixed, strategic approaches seem more promising: "Strategic approaches to SAcc … bolster enabling environments for collective action, scale up citizen engagement beyond the local arena and attempt to bolster governmental capacity to respond to voice" (Fox 2014: 35).

One example of a strategic approach is 'vertical integration'. Fox argues that "vertical integration of local, regional and national civil society oversight" has the greatest potential of addressing corruption and exclusion. This is so because "corruption and social exclusion are produced by vertically integrated power structures. Insofar as multiple links in the chain of governance facilitate the deflection of civil society oversight and advocacy, effective responses require parallel processes that are also vertically integrated" (*Ibid.:* 31).

These theoretical propositions on what kind of strategy works best for strengthening accountability and instituting reforms are built on a review of evidence. As such, they are ripe for testing, deepening and enriching through application to particular country contexts, and through sharing and 'truth-testing' with social and political actors engaged in exercising voice and claiming accountability.

The Philippines offers an ideal context to explore Fox's propositions, because of certain aspects of the interplay of citizen engagement in accountability, sustainability and impact. In 2015, we started a research project on 'Vertically Integrated' Advocacy and Monitoring Initiatives in the Philippines. The study aimed to understand what makes civil society initiatives 'successful' in achieving their target goals at a given period of time, and reflect on how the gains from 'successful' initiatives can be deepened and sustained in a way that substantive changes in Philippine politics and society can be achieved.

The challenge of sustainability that various SAcc initiatives confront has a lot to do with the structural deficit of accountability in Philippine politics and governance. There is a need for the different SAcc

initiatives to see beyond their usually focused, compartmentalised and technocratised engagement for their results and gains to be sustained. This will be critical to see how these initiatives impact on broader developmental and democratisation goals.

The challenge of impact confronting the reform-oriented initiatives in the country that rely on citizen empowerment (particularly their ability to make a difference that is felt by ordinary people) concerns their ability and willingness to learn from each other, consolidate their efforts and define a common accountability strengthening agenda that cuts across their respective campaigns and traverses a wider spectrum of arenas for change.

This study, hence, is deemed significant in practice in providing insights on what has worked in civil society monitoring and advocacy that aims to improve state responsiveness and accountability, as well as in providing insights on ways forward to improve the impact of civil society on democratisation and inclusive development.

In terms of theory, this study is important in testing vertical integration as a framework of analysis. Particularly, it checks the analytical capability of vertical integration as a lens for investigating civil society initiatives – how it supports the study of civil society initiatives that goes beyond generalised, linear and simplistic propositions. It also thrashes out the details and nuances of the propositions of vertical integration as it checks how these propositions and characteristics play out in reality.

1.2 Case study selection

The main approach of the research was to profile selected cases of civil society initiatives that have been able to achieve significant gains using the framework of vertical integration. It looks into how the different propositions of vertical integration came to flesh in the initiatives that were profiled, the limitations and the nuances. This report narrates how the selected initiatives were able to cover the different levels of engagement, employing a specific set of actions by activating a broad variety of actors as it explains how such components of a 'strategy' contributed to the achievement of the campaigns' goals.

For the purpose of this report, the term 'civil society' is used with a recognition that different groups may define and apply civil society differently depending on their own vantage point. This is especially so in the Philippines, with its extensive history of movements and actions of social forces that are interlinked with international movements and forces as well. Though the Tocquevillian notion of civil society that is associational and harmonious, as well as the notion of civil society as counterweight to the state, are

commonly used in the Philippines, these notions may not fully capture the kinds of civil society actors and actions profiled in this report. The more appropriate definition of civil society to be adopted in this report is that of Gramsci (1971), which looks at civil society as an 'arena' of contestation of diverse actors that try to gain hegemony or counter-hegemony on norms and ideas in society. Such definition recognises the diversity of actors and their views of themselves and their environment and the political nature of civil society as a space and set of actors. The definition provided by Jethro Pettit (personal communication), which tries to reconcile both the Tocquevillean and Gramscian definitions, best captures the use of the term 'civil society' in this report: "linked to a notion of actors, knowledge and spaces interacting to shape decision-making and policy processes".

Using vertical integration as our framework, the research looked into seven cases of campaigns in the Philippines that have registered relative 'success' in achieving their objectives through civil society advocacy and / or monitoring. The cases correspond to some of the major civil society-led campaigns of the post-Marcos period. These initiatives show how ordinary citizens respond to the most pressing challenges affecting governance, democracy and development. They also provide some of the key themes that continue to shape Filipino collective action, such as:

- *Addressing corruption and improving the government efficiency and responsiveness, especially in service delivery.* The case study focuses on the education sector, examining Textbook Count, a joint monitoring project of the Department of Education and the Government Watch (G-Watch) programme of the Ateneo School of Government, which was designed to monitor whether the right quantity and quality of textbooks were being delivered to students at the right time following the right procedures. It is widely considered as one of the most successful social accountability initiatives in the country.

- *The centuries-old struggle for land by poor peasants and farmers, considered as the very first social movement in the Philippines.* The case study focuses on the organising efforts of two national agrarian reform networks, the Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services (known as RIGHTS Network) and the Movement for Agrarian Reform and Social Justice (Katarungan), and their campaign with local farmers' organisations on the Bondoc Peninsula.

- *The need for decent and affordable housing for the poor, which emerged as a consequence of rapid urbanisation and the migration of rural people to cities.* The case study looks at the work of Damayan ng Maralitang Pilipinong Api (DAMPA, Solidarity of Oppressed Poor Filipinos), a network of more than

90,000 poor urban households, which works to provide "viable solutions to basic poverty problems endemic to the urban poor" (DAMPA 2004).

- *The growth of large-scale mining, which represents the increasing penetration and expansion of corporate interests in the Philippines.* The anti-mining case study focuses on the activities of the Anislagan Bantay Kalikasan Task Force (ABAKATAF), a community-based organisation in a town in Surigao del Norte, formed in 2000 to fight a large mining company that was starting its operations in their locality.

- *Threats to the rights of indigenous peoples, which come from many directions, including from large-scale mining.* Indigenous peoples have a rich and long history of struggle, and the case study of campaigning for indigenous peoples' rights examines the work of the Téduray Lambangian Women's Organisation Inc. (TLWOI), a federation of community-based organisations which is fighting for the rights of indigenous women in Mindanao.

- *The women's rights agenda, which has been pursued through issues such as reproductive health.* The case study examines the work of the Reproductive Health Advocacy Network (RHAN) to push for the passage of the Reproductive Health Bill, despite stiff opposition from the highly influential Catholic Church.

- *The increasing demand for disaster preparedness as a result of growing concerns over environmental degradation and climate change.* The case study focuses on the work of the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) Network Philippines, a large civil society coalition that aims to transform the country's paradigm on disaster management from that of emergency relief and response to one that focuses on risk reduction and community participation.

The case study initiatives were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

First, these initiatives' immediate profile points to facets of vertical integration: multiple levels of engagement with a broad set of actors and actions involved over time.

Second, these initiatives were 'relatively successful' in achieving concrete or tangible reforms. Success means that the initiative was able to do at least one of the following:

- pass a progressive policy that addresses a specific issue or concern

- monitor government performance or service delivery to improve policy implementation

- ensure voice and representation of marginalised groups or sectors in decision-making bodies.

Third, the selected initiatives have all achieved national prominence. This means that the featured initiative either has a presence in the National Capital Region and in at least five other localities, or that it has local chapters and is represented in national policy-making bodies.

Fourth, organisations that either initiated or were involved in the campaign were willing to take part in the study by being available for interviews and by allowing the researchers to access their documents.

Fifth, the cases present a cross-section of Philippine society since they offer a diverse range of issues featuring a wide array of actors using different modalities of engagement.

Evidence on each case was collected from existing literature, especially those that focus on Philippine reform dynamics. Interviews were conducted with at least three key informants covering at least one area / site per case, using a previously prepared interview guide. This was followed by a series of workshops with participants in these campaigns, which enabled the researchers to process the data, identify the findings that are now beginning to emerge, and reflect on how the research has so far been conducted.

The analyses and conclusions found in this report are drawn heavily from the results of our interviews and from the secondary materials that we have gathered. The analyses of the information gathered were subjected to a process of validation and triangulation. Such processes are important, not only in validating the data, but also in attributing a precise action to the overall success of a particular reform initiative. To push this further, most of the cases were co-authored by representatives from the initiatives to ensure that the narrative and analysis are co-owned by the initiatives themselves.

1.3 Why vertical integration as a framework of analysis?

For the past two decades or so, numerous studies have been made on some of the most significant citizen-led reform initiatives in the Philippines. Though focusing on different individual campaigns, most of these studies share similar findings, attributing the success of these reform efforts to at least four general factors. These include:

- *'champions' on top*, or the presence of important reform-minded leaders in government;

- *mobilisation below*, or the capacity of social movements and civil society organisations (CSOs) to organise people, gather support for their cause and tilt public opinion in their favour;

- *partnership / engagement between state and societal factors*, or the constructive interaction of pro-reform forces to advance the desired policy measures; and

- *leadership*, which pertains to the personal skill and attributes of individual state reformers.

This is the case, for example, of Textbook Count, because of: (1) the presence of champions in the Department of Education (Majeed 2011; Leung 2005); (2) the presence of civil society monitors and strong citizen participation (Guerzovich and Rosenzweig 2013; Arugay 2012; Leung 2005); and (3) collaborative engagement between the state and non-state actors (Guerzovich and Rosenzweig 2013; Arugay 2012).

In a similar vein, former senator Wigberto Tañada argues that the success of the land reform movement was due to the "collaboration, cooperation and partnerships of various agencies of the government, civil society and farmers organizations" (cited in Carranza 2011: 409). It is an observation that is shared by scholars Saturnino Borras and Jennifer Franco, who stress the importance of "a high degree of social pressure from below and a high degree of independent state reform initiatives from above" (2010: 85). By arguing that the actions of state reformers "are likely to achieve only a limited impact" (*Ibid*.: 85), Borras and Franco conclude that the best conditions for reform occur when "autonomous mobilizations 'from below' by peasant movements and their allies meet autonomous reformist initiatives by reformers 'from above' within governmental institutions" (*Ibid*.: 86).

On the other hand, the success of the right to housing initiative has been attributed more to the ability of housing advocates to mobilise its forces from below. This has been made possible by maintaining approximately 500 urban poor leaders, who are spread throughout 95 different communities. They are, in turn, assisted by 19 community organisers and volunteers who are responsible for providing grass-roots training and education to all DAMPA members (Castillo 2006; DAMPA 2004).

Scholars attribute the relative success of the anti-mining campaign to two main factors. The first is the ability of reform advocates to mobilise support from below. At the national level for example, Alyansa Tigil Mina was able to establish a strong multi-sectoral coalition, successfully creating an extensive coordination network with different advocacy groups from the local up to the national level. The campaign has also generated community support such as in Barangay Anislagan, where a village-based organisation known as ABAKATAF prevented the Manila Mining Corporation from entering their area for nearly a decade (Chapoling-March 2011; Rovillos, Ramo and Corpuz: 2003).

Secondly, anti-mining advocates found reform champions in the legislature, who were pushing for the enactment of an Alternative Minerals Management Bill, that would maximise the gains from the mining industry while "preventing or mitigating its adverse effects" (SOS–Yamang Bayan Network 2012 4).

Two factors were also identified in explaining the success of the indigenous women's campaign. The first is its capacity to organise at the grass roots and gather support from below. Believing that its political strength lies in basic organising work, TLWOI identified leaders in every village and designated community workers to assist them. It was also able to engage other societal actors and gather broad support from different groups and sectors such as academia, the religious community and other CSOs (De Vera 2007). One such example is the Pambansang Koalisyon ng mga Kababaihan sa Kanayunan (Rural Women's Coalition), a national women's network that TLWOI is part of, which provides technical knowledge on policy advocacy and project management. It has also worked with international organisations such as The Asia Foundation, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies and the European Union on issues involving health, peace and security, and human rights.

The successful campaign for the enactment of the Reproductive Health (RH) Law, on the other hand, was due to the massive support that was generated from below. In fact, even as the bill was being deliberated, the proposed measure already had overwhelming approval from the public. This is evident in the surveys made by the Social Weather Stations (SWS) in 2011 and 2012, which indicated that eight out of ten Filipinos favoured the passage of the measure. The campaign also found a state champion in President Benigno Aquino lll who openly declared his support for reproductive health and urged his allies in Congress to vote for its passage (Melgar 2014; Ocampo 2014; Acosta-Alba 2013).

Similarly, the passage of the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) Law in 2010 was due to the mobilisation of grass-roots support from below (Scriven, no date). In addition, DRRM Network was able to find reform champions in both the executive and legislative branches, who all played important roles in passing the legislation (Scriven 2013; Agsaoay-Sano 2010).

1.3.1 Bibingka strategy

In sum, the existing studies suggest that reforms are likely to occur if there is adequate *demand from below*, as well as sufficient *opening from above*. The former refers to autonomous social movements clamouring either for substantive policy changes or better policy implementation. The latter, on the other hand, comes from state officials who seek to enhance service delivery or curb government inefficiency.

With sufficient demand from below and with adequate opening from above, state and societal actors are able to interact with one another, which then pushes the

reform agenda forward. Such an approach is often described as the 'bibingka strategy' – a term that was coined by Borras to refer to the mutually reinforcing reform measures undertaken by government leaders from above and the radical actions by autonomous peasant movements from below.

First used in the study of agrarian reform, this framework suggests that "the symbiotic interaction between autonomous societal groups from below and strategically placed state reformists from above provides the most promising strategy to offset strong landlord resistance to land reform" (Borras 1998: 125). It further points out that the successful implementation of land reform involves the "symbiotic interaction between autonomous societal groups from below and state reformists from above" (Ibid.: 134).

As Borras explains in his pioneering book The Bibingka Strategy in Land Reform Implementation:

> "The outcomes of the land reform policy are not determined by either structural or institutional factors alone, or by the actions of state elites alone, but the political actions and strategies of a wide range of state and societal actors also bear on the outcomes of the reform process" (Ibid.: 125).

However, this does not erase any potential and actual differences – and even clashing interests – between the various actors from 'above' and 'below', thereby ensuring a terrain that is marked by dynamics, engagement and discourse.

Eventually, the bibingka strategy became so influential that it is now often used to explain the "partial but significant successes in land reform" (Borras and Franco 2010: 70). Though redistributive efforts in the Philippines are often marred by "a lukewarm state response and government inertia" (Ibid.: 69), this has often been overcome by "the peculiar nature of state–society interactions around national policy-making and implementation during this period" (Ibid.: 70).

To prove this point, Borras and Franco (2010) cite data from the Department of Agrarian Reform, which states that by 2007, 6 million hectares of land (both public and private) had already been redistributed to 3 million rural poor households – a number that represented approximately two-fifths of the agricultural population. In addition, 1.5 million hectares of land had been subjected to leasehold, benefitting more than 1 million tenant households.

Without a doubt, the bibingka strategy has been the most significant development in the reform discourse in the Philippines. Nonetheless, in spite of its importance, the framework also has its limitations, because it does not fully capture the reform dynamic at every level of engagement. While it can in principle account for state–society interactions at both the national and sub-national levels, the framework has not explicitly addressed this issue of scale, and the interaction between advocacy efforts at multiple levels. In most instances, very little detailed explanation is offered regarding the interrelationship of these different levels with each other.

As a consequence, the bibingka strategy is often only able to offer general explanations on how reform takes place. It is unable to adequately discuss context, how certain factors converge at a given point in a particular time to produce reform or the different actions taken at different levels by various actors. While it can offer generally broad explanations on how reforms take place, such knowledge has yet to be unbundled in order to fully comprehend the complex political dynamics at every level of engagement.

1.3.2 Vertical integration

The analytical gaps identified above can be addressed by adopting the concept of 'vertical integration', which can potentially provide an adequate description of the reform dynamics at every level of engagement. A more detailed discussion on vertical integration will be provided by Jonathan Fox in the next chapter. But in sum, this refers to the "systematic coordination of policy monitoring and advocacy between diverse levels of civil society, from local to state, national, and international arenas" (Fox 2001: 617).

Meant as a strategy for civil society engagement in scrutinising government performance in order to influence it, Fox argues that "the vertical integration of policy analysis articulates processes of monitoring, evaluation, and analysis of all levels of official decision making at the same time, permitting civil society advocacy actors to develop strategies in real time rather than after the fact" (Ibid.: 621). For this reason, vertically integrated initiatives can deliver more lasting and substantive governance reforms, since "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" (Ibid.: 624).

Vertical integration is both a strategy and an analytical framework that unpacks campaigns to see their strengths and limitations through the lens of scale. As an analytical framework, vertical integration aims to uncover the complexities of the reform process by focusing on coordinated, multi-level and multi-actor reform initiatives that employ a variety of strategies to achieve success. Vertical integration captures the following:

- the combination of actors and actions at a given level;

- the intensity of the use of different kinds of action at each level; and

- the *extent* of civil society use of different actions / strategies at each level.

Such dimensions are important since they are able to highlight the specific context and dynamics of a particular reform initiative, i.e. the prevailing politico-economic condition, the existing power structure, and the established governance institutions per level. These factors, in turn, are likely to affect:

- state–society relationships (or how society makes use of the mechanisms of the government and how the state, in turn, reacts to societal forces);

- society–society relationships (or how societal actors interact with one another).

By properly understanding the scale and context of an initiative, we are able to provide a solid analytical frame that could capture the varied factors of the reform process. It could also yield better insights for future strategies and actions, which in turn increases the likelihood of success. Under this approach, the various actions that citizens and their organisations and movements employ at different levels can be broadly categorised, as shown in the matrix in Table 1. Mapping which actions, if any, are taken by the initiative at each level of decision-making shows the interlinkages of the actions and the scale of the initiative.

Interfacing with the state, on the other hand, involves approaches that range from collaborative to adversarial, as shown in the matrix in Table 2. The actions include policy advocacy with the executive and legislative bodies; legal actions; participation in 'invited spaces' and in 'claimed spaces' (Gaventa 2006); public protest; and engagement with public accountability agencies.

By applying vertical integration as a lens through which to analyse the ways in which issue advocacy campaigns operate on multiple levels, we can better understand the seven cases featured in this paper, since these are all coordinated, multi-level and multi-actor reform initiatives that employ a variety of strategies to gain concrete results. It could also help us answer how substantive reforms are actually achieved in the Philippines, as well as draw lessons and insights to inform future actions.

Vertical integration, therefore, is a potentially useful tool for both researchers and practitioners. In the hands of the former, it can be used as an analytical framework to explain the relationship and dynamics of the various reform actors at every level of engagement; while the latter can utilise it as a guide for improving policy and for pushing for more strategic reforms to improve policy formulation, implementation or evaluation.

1.4 Overview of the report

Following this introduction, this report continues with a framing chapter by Jonathan Fox, who popularised the term 'vertical integration'. This is followed by a brief chapter contextualising the use of vertical integration in the history of civil society in the Philippines. The subsequent chapter brings together summaries of the case study findings. The final chapter synthesises the findings and discusses the common features observed / documented in the case studies that flesh out the empirical details behind the propositions put forward by vertical integration.

Table 1 Scaling accountability mapping matrix: constituency-building

CONSTITUENCY-BUILDING	LEVEL OF ACTION				
Constituency-building approaches:	Very local (community / school)	District / municipality	State / province	National	International
Grass-roots organising / awareness-building					
Coalition-building among already organised, shared constituency					
Cross-sectoral coalition-building					
Mass collective action / protest					
Public education strategy					
Independent CSO monitoring of policy implementation					
Horizontal exchange of experiences / deliberation					
Participatory process to develop CSO policy alternative					
Strategic use of ICT for constituency-building					

Table 2 Scaling accountability mapping matrix: interface with the state

INTERFACE WITH THE STATE	LEVEL OF ACTION				
CSO interfaces with the state:	Very local (community, village, neighbourhood)	District / municipality	State / province	National	International
Policy advocacy – executive authorities (mayor, governor, etc.)					
Policy advocacy – legislature (town council, state legislature, parliament)					
Legal recourse (case-based or strategic)					
Participation in 'invited spaces' (shared but government-controlled)					
Participation in 'claimed spaces' (shared with government, created in response to CSO initiative)					
Engagement with public accountability agencies (ombudsman, audit bureaus, human rights commissions)					

Table 2 Scaling accountability mapping matrix: interface with the state

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2. Doing accountability differently: Vertically integrated civil society policy monitoring and advocacy

Jonathan Fox[1]

2.1 Introduction

Civil society initiatives in the field of transparency, participation and accountability (TPA) are flourishing in the global South, yet governmental responsiveness often falls short of expectations.[2] This limited impact suggests the need to rethink reformers' strategies and tactics. How can institutional change initiatives focus more directly on the causes, rather than just the symptoms, of accountability failures? To help civil society organisations (CSOs) and their allies in government to get more traction on the uphill climb towards accountability, this chapter makes the case for a more systemic approach: the vertical integration of civil society policy monitoring and advocacy.

Recent reviews of the evidence of accountability outcomes underscore the problem. A now-classic review of transparency and accountability initiatives found that transparency had very uneven and modest impacts on accountability (McGee and Gaventa 2010). A more recent meta-analysis of social accountability initiatives finds that many of them are too superficial and limited in scope to actually leverage accountability (Fox 2014). Numerous 'civic-tech' online platforms inspire hope for citizen voice to leverage better public service provision, but so far, few have tangibly improved service delivery (Peixoto and Fox 2016; Edwards and McGee 2016). In the global arena, a recent review of the evidence from international multi-stakeholder initiatives to promote open government (e.g. Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, Open Government Partnership) finds that while they often manage to encourage more information disclosure, they have yet to reach accountability gains (Brockmyer and Fox 2015).[3]

These TPA efforts differ in terms of whether their main focus is local, national or international, but they share the assumption that 'information is power'. This assumption turns out to be overly optimistic. Research on the track records of these TPA initiatives suggests a disconnect: information access and citizen voice are often not enough to deliver accountability (Halloran 2015; Joshi 2014; Fox 2007a). Indeed, transparency and accountability initiatives are often not well articulated with other anti-corruption, democratisation and citizen participation efforts that one might expect would all be coordinated and moving in the same direction (Carothers and Brechenmacher 2014). Looking across the TPA field, one finds more fragmentation than synergy, and the whole is sometimes less than the sum of the parts.[4] This raises the question: how can transparency and accountability initiatives get more traction? This chapter discusses one CSO strategy that tries to take entrenched institutional obstacles more fully into account by 'doing accountability differently': vertical integration of coordinated CSO policy monitoring and advocacy.[5]

The point of departure here is that if the causes of accountability failures are systemic, then strategies that seek systemic change are needed (see Box 1).

Box 1. Recent explanations of systemic change question incremental accountability initiatives

A growing body of academic research on the drivers of the institutional changes that address the causes of corruption and impunity suggest that they require mutually reinforcing changes in both state and society. Scholars point to: 'deep democratization' (Johnston 2014); a 'big bang' approach involving multiple, mutually reinforcing policy reforms that overcome collective action problems (Marquette and Peiffer 2015; Persson, Rothstein and Teorell 2013; Rothstein 2011); inherently uneven 'transitions to accountability' led by state–society coalitions (Fox 2007b); and 'transitions to good governance' (Mungia-Pippidi 2015). In spite of their diversity, these explanations of lasting institutional change share an emphasis on nationwide, cumulative power shifts, as well as on windows of opportunity that are notoriously difficult to predict and hard for external allies to promote. This poses a challenge: how can pro-accountability strategists address the need for deep power shifts when windows of opportunity are *not* open, and dramatic 'big bang' shifts do not seem to be on the agenda – in other words, *most* of the time?

After all, *anti*-accountability forces, with their strong vested interests in opposing change, are often quite effective at isolating, neutering and rolling back incremental pro-accountability action initiatives or institutional enclaves.[6] This suggests that building effective accountability systems requires strategies that take 'anti-accountability systems' into account (Halloran 2015, 2014; Fox 2007b). This chapter draws on both practitioner and scholarly literatures to explore both the rationale and dynamics involved in one response to such challenges: multi-level CSO monitoring and advocacy strategies.

2.1.1 Defining terms 1: From scaling up to 'connecting the dots'

Insofar as the TPA field has relied on overly optimistic assumptions about the power of information, a conceptual reboot seems to be in order. One missing link involves the challenge of how to 'take scale into account'. In international development discussions, scale is usually understood as a reference to size: more or bigger – as in 'scaling up'. Here, scale will be understood differently. 'Taking scale into account' refers to articulating how different *levels* of development decision-making interact with each other (from the local level to district, provincial, national and transnational arenas) – both for the public sector and for civil society.[7]

Conventional approaches to social accountability and transparency do not take a multi-level approach. On the one hand, most social accountability initiatives (such as community scorecards) are locally bounded, while on the other hand, most open government initiatives rely on national agencies to disclose official budget or activity data, which is rarely disaggregated in citizen-friendly or actionable ways. These initiatives are often limited by their approach to scale: local interventions remain localised, rarely spreading horizontally or extending their leverage vertically by influencing higher-level authorities, while national initiatives based in capital cities risk circulating primarily among those already convinced – or remaining limited to cyberspace, delinked from offline civic action. In contrast, vertically integrated accountability initiatives 'take scale into account' by linking citizen action at the grass roots with action at the national level, while seeking to broaden their 'coverage' horizontally in terms of geographic and social inclusion of excluded citizens. Multi-level citizen oversight initiatives can gain additional traction if the evidence they produce manages to trigger public checks-and-balances institutions, such as legislative oversight committees, audit bureaus, ombuds agencies, human rights commissions, consumer protection agencies or public prosecutors.

This approach to 'scaling accountability' goes beyond 'scaling up', a concept that is usually understood as replication (doing more of a particular activity). When a pilot, often localised activity 'works', then replication is certainly called for; yet replication may not be enough to address the underlying systemic causes of accountability failures. *How* to do that depends on the particular national context, but the more general point is that it makes more sense to focus on how to get more impact than on seeking scale (growth) *per se* – as when developing more numerous but still strictly localised actions (Guerzovich and Poli 2014).

For example, if a social accountability initiative involves community interface meetings between health clinic workers and communities, then scaling up as replication would mean convening them at more clinics (e.g. from 10 to 50 to 500 villages). Yet the underlying causes of medicine stock-outs or abusive staff may lie far 'upstream'. If civil society oversight efforts to address these problems were to 'do accountability differently', and make connections *across* levels, they would *bring together* democratic representatives from those 10, 50 or 500 grass-roots communities. Such meetings could ground a strategy to build a broad-based civic or social process that would have not only significant evidence-generating capacity, but also the civic clout needed to persuade policy-makers to *act* on those findings – especially regarding problems in the health system that are caused by factors located beyond their respective clinics.

'Taking scale into account' requires investing in the capacity to do independent citizen monitoring at multiple levels, allowing public oversight of the links in the official decision-making chain that are not visible from the community level. To sum up, 'doing accountability differently' involves 'connecting the dots' to produce sustainable institutional change by generating credible and actionable independent evidence, targeting citizen action and leveraging power shifts at multiple levels (Fox and Halloran 2016).

This is the context for the proposition of 'vertical integration' of civil society policy monitoring and advocacy, a strategy that tries to address power imbalances by emphasising the coordinated independent oversight of public sector actors at local, subnational, national and transnational levels. The goal is for the whole to be greater than the sum of the parts. The core rationale for trying to monitor each stage and level of public sector decision-making, non-decision-making and performance is to reveal more precisely not only where the main causes of accountability failures are located, but also their interconnected nature. This focus on understanding as many links in the chain of public sector decisions as possible is relevant both to inform possible solutions and to empower the coalitions needed to promote them. By attempting to 'take scale into account', vertical integration puts coalition-building between social and civic actors with different, complementary strengths at the centre of the

strategy – for example, infomediaries *plus* membership-based civic organisations and alternative media.

If government reformists are also willing to invest their political capital in insider–outsider coalitions, so much the better.[8] Where those committed to good governance both inside and outside the state manage to forge balanced partnerships, that creates the possibility for each set of actors to strengthen the other. The dynamic process of change in which outsider pressure strengthens insiders, while insider willingness and capacity delivers tangible reform progress, can drive a 'virtuous circle' of mutual empowerment. This process is called 'state–society synergy' (see Box 2). This framework informs the idea of the 'sandwich strategy', which combines pressure from above and below to isolate and weaken anti-accountability forces embedded in the state (Fox 2014, 1992). In the Philippines, the sandwich strategy was applied as the *bibingka* strategy, the broad-based advocacy campaign that led to the substantial (and unexpected) progress achieved with land reform implementation in the mid-1990s (Borras 2001, 1998). Recent conversations in the Philippines suggest, however, that more recently, at least in some circles, the term '*bibingka* strategy' is now used to refer to collaborative government–CSO partnerships more generally. This watered-down use of the term loses the analytical and civic 'edge' that was central to the original version, where autonomous mass organisations of stakeholders energised implementation by carrying out protests to target governmental bottlenecks that blocked the agrarian reform law.

This chapter spells out the rationale for vertical integration with five propositions that address major challenges faced by CSOs working to build public accountability. Note: the term 'policy' is used here as a broad umbrella category, referring to the full array of governmental decisions and non-decisions that shape public sector performance, including... agenda-setting, policy formulation and implementation.

The empirical examples cited here are illustrations of 'proof of concept' rather than claims of definitive evidence.[9] Indeed, even though practical experiences with 'partial vertical integration' of monitoring and advocacy are common, there is little robust empirical research on the trajectories and impacts of multi-level work because research agendas in the TPA field have yet to address the strategy. That is why this report's case studies of CSO-led independent monitoring and advocacy make such an important contribution to the national and international discussion of how TPA initiatives can get more traction.

2.1.2 Defining terms 2: Unpacking vertical integration

This reframed meaning of scale sets the stage for the proposition of 'vertical integration' of civil society

policy monitoring and advocacy. This approach tries to address power imbalances by emphasising the coordinated independent oversight of public sector actors at local, subnational, national and transnational levels. The goal is for the whole to be greater than the sum of the parts. The core rationale for monitoring each stage and level of public sector decision-making, non-decision-making and performance is to reveal more precisely not only where the main causes of accountability failures are located, but also their interconnected nature. This focus on understanding as many links in the chain of public sector decisions as possible is relevant, both to inform possible solutions and to empower the coalitions needed to promote them.

Vertical integration puts coalition-building between social and civic actors with different but complementary strengths at the centre of the strategy (e.g. CSO policy analysts *plus* membership-based civic organisations to do bottom-up oversight and advocacy, plus independent media to disseminate both the findings and the citizen action).

The metaphor of vertical integration draws from political economy, where the term refers to an enterprise's control of its own supply chain, including both backward linkages (inputs, parts) and forward linkages (distribution, sales and repair). In contrast to the business context, where 'integration' refers to centralised *control*, in the civil society realm the term points much more loosely towards the *coordination* of independent monitoring and advocacy capacity across as much as possible of the governance process – from policy debate and agenda-setting to the formulation of policy and budget decisions, as well as to their implementation throughout different agencies and levels of government. Figure 1 illustrates this process of CSO oversight, with independent watchdog capacity of some kind at each level, parallel to the vertical structures of governance. In practice, 'full' vertical integration of independent policy monitoring and advocacy is rare, since it involves a relatively high degree of institutional capacity as well as many 'moving parts'. Yet, as will be discussed, even 'partial' degrees of vertical integration (e.g. from local to district or provincial levels, or from national to departmental levels) can generate more comprehensive and therefore stronger civil society oversight efforts.

2.1.3 Defining terms 3: Policy monitoring and advocacy

CSO oversight is understood here as potentially including both monitoring and advocacy, though a preliminary scoping of the civil society landscape suggests that in practice few CSOs do both. Indeed, diverse types of organisation are likely to play very different roles in this process, as will be discussed in the context of coalition-building. Policy monitoring is

Box 2. Three concepts for discussion[10]

> **State–society synergy**
> **Accountability politics**
> **Transitions to accountability**

State–society synergy

How can the seeds of accountability grow in spite of public institutions marked by entrenched corruption and systemic impunity? Embedding accountability into the state is an inherently uneven, partial and contested process. 'State–society synergy' offers a relevant conceptual framework. This approach tries to identify the dynamics and impacts of the mutual empowerment of actors in state and society. In this view, the construction of public accountability is driven by cycles of mutually reinforcing interaction between the thickening of civil society and state reformist initiatives. Though this kind of state–society synergy is the exception rather than the rule in most countries, the exceptions matter. Past struggles can leave cracks in the system that serve as handholds for subsequent campaigns seeking to open it up to greater public scrutiny. These processes tend to unfold outside the realm of national elections and political parties.

In the state–society synergy framework for understanding how public institutions change, the main cleavage is not between the ostensibly dichotomous and implicitly monolithic state versus society, but rather between contending pro- versus anti-accountability forces that are each embedded in both state and society. Anti-accountability forces often manage to sustain mutually empowering coalitions that cross the state–society divide, perpetuating 'low accountability traps' that keeps them strong and pro-accountability forces weak. As a result, pro-accountability actors both in state and society face the challenge of finding strategies for their own mutual empowerment that will allow them to isolate and weaken anti-accountability forces.

Accountability politics

This approach focuses on processes of accountability politics, defined as the conflicts and coalitions that determine whether and how public and private sector elites are held publicly responsible for their decisions. Accountability politics involves challenging who is accountable to whom, as clients become citizens, politicians become representatives and

bureaucrats become public servants. Accountability politics can overlap with pro-democracy movements, but are not limited to them. Accountability campaigns involve protest against powerful elites, but also involve partnerships with insiders willing to invest their political capital to support institutional change. As a result, constructing public accountability involves challenging the state, but also transforms the state. Accountability politics is not the same as political accountability; it is related to but distinct from electoral competition, both logically and empirically.

Transitions to accountability

Back in the 1980s, as authoritarian regimes fell around the world, transitions to democracy were widely expected to drive transitions to accountability. Clearly, however, competitive electoral politics has not managed to end systemic corruption, abuse and impunity. This unsettled combination of continuity and change underscores the relevance of the conceptual distinction between the political *regime* – that is, the set of public institutions that determine who governs – and the *state* – that is, the public institutions that govern society and the economy in between elections. Most of the political science literature on democratic transitions and governance focuses on electoral and elected institutions, but public concerns about accountable governance are as much about states as they are about regimes.

Where electoral democracy produces highly uneven and inconsistent degrees of accountable governance, then it may be useful to think in terms of 'transitions to accountability'. Such transformations of the state are analogous to, but distinct from, transitions to democratic regimes. Among scholars, the study of 'transitions to accountability' is today where the analysis of transitions to electoral democracy was back in the late 1970s or early 1980s – still lacking comprehensive explanatory frameworks. Scholars still lack analytical frameworks that can explain how accountable governance becomes stronger, or how it spreads from enclaves across entire state apparatuses, or how accountability expands vertically, from the local to the national or vice versa. Perhaps more scholarly attention to accountability politics can inform the development of more relevant analytical frameworks.

Figure 1. Seeking synergy: multi-level independent policy monitoring and advocacy
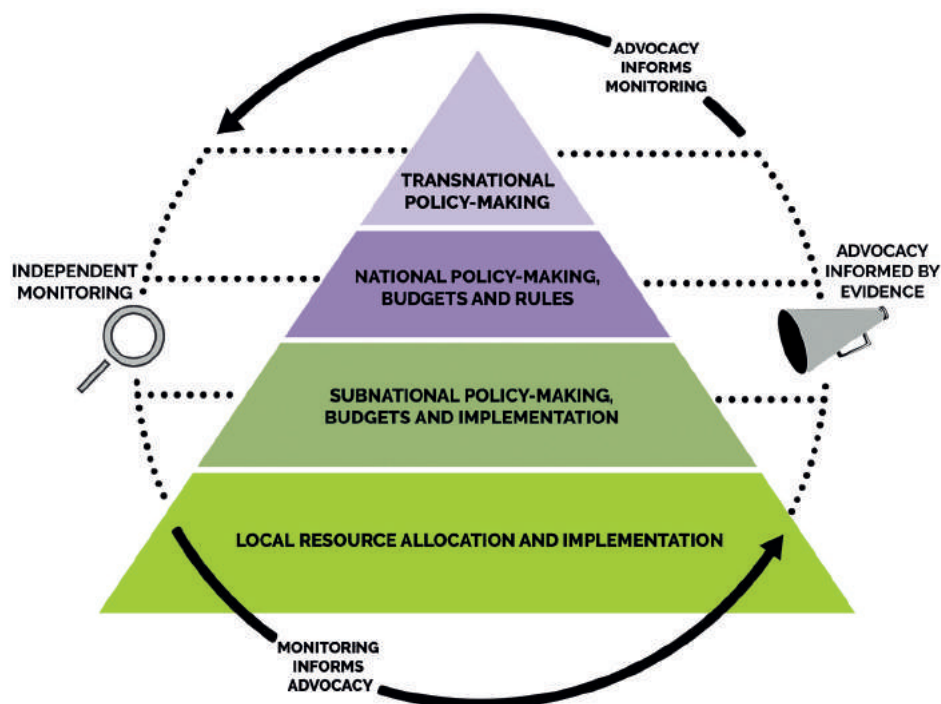
also defined broadly here, including classic 'follow the money' efforts that seek to identify leakages, rights-based approaches that document patterns of bias, as well as independent assessments of the performance of public sector agencies. Public interest advocacy refers then to a spectrum of possible efforts to influence the policy process in favour of the public interest, ranging from agenda-setting to policy-making and implementation. By this definition, advocacy can include a broad menu of possible citizen actions, ranging from the local to the global and from the more collaborative to the more adversarial (as outlined in the mapping tool applied in Joy Aceron's chapter).

Monitoring and advocacy may have the potential to reinforce each other, as suggested in Figure 1, but it turns out that they involve quite different repertoires of action. In national capitals, independent policy analysts and thinktanks that dedicate themselves to extracting, processing and disseminating government data – sometimes called *infomediaries* – are very well positioned to reveal the government's priorities by monitoring the legislature or analysing the budget. Partnerships with broad-based membership organisations, with their thousands of eyes and ears on the ground, make it possible to monitor actual government performance and to encourage citizen voice and action. The potential complementarity between technically skilled CSOs and large social or civic organisations puts the challenge of building and

sustaining cross-sectoral, multi-level coalitions at the centre of the practice of vertical integration. In the context of such often-delicate processes of building coalitions among very different kinds of organisations (which underscores the need for balanced power-sharing and transparent decision-making), the term 'integration' can be interpreted as implying an undue degree of centralisation. The rationale for using the term, however, is to emphasise the goal of creating synergy, which would be produced by coordination among multiple CSOs – both playing different roles and working across levels – for reasons discussed below (see also Figure 1).[11]

2.2 Vertical integration is easier said than done: five propositions for discussion

The different kinds of coordination proposed here – between very different kinds of actors, across levels, and bridging monitoring and advocacy – address at least five distinct challenges, framed here as propositions for discussion:

1. Vertical integration can deal with the problem of 'squeezing the balloon'

2. Locally bounded citizen voice and oversight misses upstream governance problems

3. Even 'partial' vertical integration can bolster citizen voice and leverage

4. CSO coalitions can increase leverage by finding synergy between policy monitoring and advocacy

5. Broad-based CSO monitoring and advocacy coalitions can bring together policy analysis, civic muscle, territorial reach and under-represented voices.

The following discussion of each of these propositions combines analysis of how multi-level approaches can contribute to pro-accountability leverage with a consideration of the difficulties involved.

2.2.1 Vertical integration can take on the problem of 'squeezing the balloon'

The expression 'squeezing the balloon' conveys the way in which authorities and vested interests may resist independent oversight efforts by either deflecting or eluding reform efforts (2014, 2001). Deflection is when officials point the finger elsewhere in response to CSO monitoring and advocacy efforts, claiming that the actions in question were really decided somewhere else, in a different agency or at a different level of government. For example, municipal authorities may claim that a problem lies with the provincial or district government. Those subnational authorities may point the finger either back downwards to the local level, or upwards to the national level. National officials, in turn, may claim that the problem resides at the subnational level – or they may point the finger at international actors (as in "the World Bank made us do it"). International actors, in turn, are quite capable of eliding their responsibility by shifting blame to national or subnational governments.

Governance processes often involve many different public sector actors. This raises what political scientists call 'the problem of many hands' (Thompson 1980), which refers to institutional decisions that involve many parties, which makes it difficult to hold any one single actor responsible for misdeeds. Yet even where many hands are indeed involved, some decision-makers are usually more responsible than others in any specific case of accountability failure; the challenge for pro-accountability actors is to open the black box of the state to figure out who did what, and why (e.g. Grandvoinnet, Aslam and Raha. 2015).

The second challenge of the 'squeezing the balloon' problem emerges when the targets of citizen oversight adapt by modifying their corruption practices. The corrupt are flexible, and they are quite capable of shifting their efforts to where opportunities are greatest and oversight is weakest. As funding flows through long chains of official decision-making, and public scrutiny is only able to shed the spotlight on one or two of those stages, then 'leakage' is likely to shift to those decision-making processes that remain in the dark. For example, in some large, government-sponsored rural community development programmes that include citizen oversight mechanisms (like India's social audits or Indonesia's Kecamatan Development Program), it seems that corrupt officials have responded by inventing new and less visible ways to divert funds, shifting from wage theft to the manipulation of billing practices (see for example, Shankar 2010; Olken 2009). In other words, the 'squeezing the balloon' phenomenon means that programme monitoring that is exclusively local in scope may well manage to change the 'shape' of the 'corruption market', but not necessarily the volume of corruption (Zimmerman 2015).[12]

In response to this problem, the core rationale for trying to monitor each stage and level of public sector decision-making, non-decision-making and performance is to reveal more precisely not only *where* the main causes of accountability failures are located, but also their *interconnected* nature. The proposition here is that CSO oversight of as many links in the chain of public sector decisions as possible is relevant both to inform the design of possible policy reforms and to empower the coalitions needed to promote them – including bolstering the government's own checks-and-balances oversight institutions.

2.2.2 Locally bounded citizen voice and oversight misses upstream governance problems

The World Bank's 2004 *World Development Report* emphasised that citizen voice and oversight could contribute to improving public service delivery. This unprecedented official legitimation not only encouraged what the World Bank would call its own 'demand-side' approaches to promote good governance, it also emboldened very large, international service delivery non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to venture into the terrain of citizen engagement (e.g. CARE, World Vision, Save the Children). These NGOs followed the 'constructive engagement' approach, drawing on pre-existing partnerships with governments to create bounded spaces for local citizen voice. 'Constructive engagement' designates collaborative CSO–government relationships that avoid confrontation, or even public criticism, and can be applied in any arena, from local to global (see Box 5). Most often these 'invited spaces' for citizen voice have been strictly locally focused, though the Philippines case that is discussed below shows how a constructive engagement approach can be applied to a multi-level policy monitoring initiative that connected local oversight with national level CSO–government dialogue.

Box 3. Mexican CSO monitoring inspires vertical integration concept

Vertical integration, as a multi-level strategy combining independent monitoring and advocacy, emerged from a decade of independent CSO monitoring of World Bank-funded rural development projects in Mexico, grounded in coalitions between a CSO and autonomous regional peasant and indigenous organisations. Led by the CSO Trasparencia[13] (1995–2005), the goal was to monitor each project decision-making actor at local, state, national and international levels to identify possible gaps in the application of the development bank's own social and environmental safeguard policies. The focus was on its public information access, indigenous peoples and environmental policies, which at that time were stronger than the Mexican Government's policies. To learn about the strengths and limitations of these safeguard policies, Trasparencia partnered with the international CSO campaign that was advocating for the World Bank to comply with its commitment to what are now called 'safeguard policies'. Because each World Bank-funded project involved multiple states and localities, broad geographic coverage was necessary to produce credible evidence, as well as to anticipate official responses that possible problems were merely anecdotal exceptions.

Trasparencia's strategy was to partner with region-wide, community-based autonomous indigenous organisations, especially in Oaxaca and the Huastecas region, to advocate for their right to informed participation in rural development projects. Project resources were supposed to be allocated through participatory regional councils. Though these councils were dominated by membership organisations that were subordinate to the government, they sometimes created an opportunity for more autonomous organisations to seek a seat at the table. In the process, World Bank officials would point to the national government, which in turn would in turn shift responsibility to state government officials, leading to a continuous shifting of responsibility back and forth. This challenge led Trasparencia to pursue a vertically integrated approach, in order to determine where specific policy and resource-allocation decisions were actually being made. For a decade, this CSO coalition monitored the projects both from the top down and from the bottom up, including local and state governments, and both the line ministries and Treasury Departments at the national level (since the Treasury controlled the government's relationship with the World Bank), as well as the World Bank itself. The team monitored six World Bank projects in depth, and found that in practice only one of them consistently applied the ostensibly mandatory safeguard policies (though another project applied them partially in some regions).

The principal impact of this World Bank project-monitoring initiative was to increase the civic space for relatively autonomous indigenous organisations in some regions to engage with the government and to participate in resource-allocation decisions (Fox and Gershman 2000). In response to these efforts for citizen participation in programme decision-making, the government decided to eliminate the regional councils and shift the ostensibly participatory process down to the municipal level, where the more autonomous regional organisations would have less clout (Fox 2007b). In retrospect, the 'squeezing the balloon' dynamic predominated.

The WDR's explicit legitimation of citizen voice as a constructive input to the governance of service delivery opened up modest, incremental yet unprecedented space in some relatively closed societies.[14] Yet its influential conceptual framework circumscribed the acceptable role of citizen voice exclusively to the local arena and limited the targets of legitimate public oversight to frontline service providers, which some refer to as the 'last mile'.[15] Indeed, in some cases the combination of community access to information about service provision, and the creation of safe spaces for citizen voice, has been shown to make a dramatic difference in local service delivery performance (e.g. Bjorkman and Svennson 2009). Still, such high-impact outcomes have been both rare and difficult to replicate. After all, when clinics suffer from stock-outs, this may be because medicines were diverted further up in the health ministry's chain of command or because they were undersupplied after senior health ministry officials overpaid corrupt providers in exchange for kickbacks (e.g. Vian 2008). When health-care workers demand informal payments from patients, the cause may be located upstream because they had to pay to get their job or are required to pass money from patients up the chain of authorities (Schaaf and Freedman 2015). Similarly, schools may suffer from absent teachers not because of their individual issues, but rather because of more systemic reasons. If teachers are absent from the classroom because they bought their government jobs, or because they are busy working full-time for a political party, then the key accountability failures are located upstream, where decisions about hiring and firing are made – far from the reach of school-level parent committees (Altschuler 2013).[16]

After more than a decade of donor investment in social accountability and open government initiatives, discussion of multi-level citizen oversight remains rare (see Garza 2013 for an exception). In retrospect, it appears that the 2004 WDR's exclusive focus on local voice led many influential stakeholders to expect that they could achieve tangible, sustained service delivery improvements without investing in the bolstered civil society capacity-building needed to challenge upstream vested interests. Yet so far there is little evidence that top-down, external supported, locally bounded citizen voice initiatives trigger replication beyond the area of influence and the period of international funding (e.g. Gutman and Bhargarva 2015). This underscores the need to rethink how to 'do accountability differently'. This leads to the proposition that independent *multi-level* oversight has the potential to identify where the bottlenecks are concentrated, which can then inform change strategies that address the causes rather than just the symptoms of accountability failures.

2.2.3 Even 'partial' vertical integration can bolster citizen leverage and voice

Clearly, the vertical integration of CSO oversight is an extremely ambitious goal and few organisations have the institutional capacity needed for the 'full coverage' of an entire policy process (from agenda-setting to formulation through implementation) even in a narrow issue area. 'Partially integrated' policy monitoring refers then to citizen oversight of some but not all dimensions or levels of a public sector process. The proposition here is that – in spite of the challenge posed by 'squeezing the balloon' – public oversight of even *some* of the links in a chain of public sector decisions (or non-decisions) can make a significant difference, especially if the monitoring is articulated with problem-solving collective action that can also reach across scale.

The emphasis on multi-level work proposed here was informed by an extensive experience with 'partial integration' of citizen oversight, limited to just two vertical links: from the village to the regional level, defined as including multiple municipalities (districts). This process extended very broadly to promote citizen oversight of an official food distribution network through 300 regional Community Food Councils in rural Mexico, with each of them representing dozens of villages. In 1979, long before the term 'social accountability' was in use, Mexico's federal food distribution agency, Diconsa, promoted this citizen oversight strategy nationwide, embedding it within its vast network of community-managed village food stores in low-income rural regions. The programme still delivers staple foods to more than 27,000 village stores, which are supplied by 300 warehouses (each serving approximately 90 stores). The programme's goal is to regulate consumer food prices by offering low-cost basic staples in remote rural areas that otherwise would lack market competition.

The warehouse oversight councils had an anti-corruption mission: to ensure that the food was actually delivered to the remote villages. Programme architects recognised that in the absence of stakeholder oversight, the risk was that warehouse staff would illegally divert the subsidised food to the same private retailers whose high prices were the target of the regulatory strategy. Community Food Council leaders also faced the challenge of fending off attempts to use the programme for political control, a persistent problem in Mexico. The councils' approach to anti-corruption was primarily preventive, since they had little formal recourse if and when food supplies were diverted.

The architects of the Diconsa social accountability process created multi-level 'invited spaces', and some became autonomous 'claimed spaces' in practice.[17] Elected village committees oversaw the management of the local stores, but what makes the programme design especially distinctive is that those committees were also represented on elected regional warehouse oversight committees: Community Food Councils. Their mission was to represent between 50 and more than 100 communities of at least 1,000 to 2,000 people each, giving them legitimacy and potential clout, based on representing the interests of perhaps 50,000 or 100,000 very low-income rural consumers.

Reformist policy-makers in charge of the programme knew that if this oversight system was to work, the regional warehouse oversight councils had to be autonomous from both the bureaucracy and local elites, which led them to recruit hundreds of non-partisan community organisers to create regional 'free spaces' that allowed the village representatives to exercise freedom of association and expression.[18] This set a precedent back in the early 1980s, when Mexico was under an authoritarian one-party system. By the late 1990s, networks of food councils had gained sufficient national clout to roll back an attempt by national technocrats to dismantle the programme, briefly reaching 'full' vertical integration of policy oversight and advocacy.

About one third of these regional councils managed to act as autonomous countervailing powers, according to field research carried out in 1985–1986 and again in 2005–2006 (Fox 2007b). Moreover, even though the official scope of their oversight role was limited to the food distribution programme, the more autonomous food councils often generated spillover effects that encouraged other kinds of self-managed, scaled-up rural development initiatives (e.g. marketing cooperatives, coffee processing, fertiliser distribution, etc.). Yet many

of the agency's key decisions were made at higher levels, state and national. Indeed, the regional oversight councils ostensibly had elected their own representative bodies at state and national levels, but it is no coincidence that agency managers made certain that autonomous leaders did not gain leverage within those higher-level 'invited spaces'.[19] Most of the time, the agency succeeded in containing the autonomous food councils' capacity to combine monitoring and advocacy to the regional warehouses.

The food councils' sustainability has been a challenge, as we will see was the case with Textbook Count. For at least a decade and a half, this oversight programme's lack of national-level allies – either in government or civil society – has taken its toll, and the food councils' oversight capacity appears to have been significantly weakened. Indeed, this programme was largely invisible to potential allies, such as urban-based pro-accountability CSOs. Nevertheless, this experience suggests that the programme monitoring by stakeholders, even if coordinated across just two levels, from village to regional, can make a qualitative difference because it can at least identify and engage in collective action to plug leakages at those levels – as seen also in the case of the ForoSalud–CARE indigenous women's health monitoring experience in the province of Puno, Peru (see Box 4).[20]

The conditions under which partial vertical integration of citizen oversight can make a difference are far from clear. Convincing answers would require extensive subnational comparative research that holds constant national context, focuses on a specific programme and selects cases on the variance in the level of government targeted by citizen oversight efforts (Snyder 2001). Yet the absence of systematic research on partial vertical integration should not be confused with a lack of participatory pro-accountability experiences that could be subject to such analysis. Around the world, local grass-roots social and civic initiatives become visible – and can influence large institutions – precisely when they come together at regional and subnational levels, a process known in the scholarly literature on social movements as 'scale shift' (Tarrow 2010).

2.2.4 CSO coalitions can increase leverage by finding synergy between policy monitoring and advocacy

In the civil society landscape, how often is there strategic coordination between the documentation of public sector performance patterns (policy monitoring) and the exercise of citizen voice to influence public sector decisions or non-decisions (advocacy)? In practice, independent monitoring and advocacy are perhaps most often well articulated with each

Box 4. Vertical integration in one province: indigenous women's monitoring of health services

In Puno, Peru, indigenous women's monitoring of health services to promote respect for rights and accountability was different from the usual locally bounded approach because it was coordinated through a regional government's ombuds office. At interface meetings, they presented findings to district- and regional-level health administrators and hospital directors. Citizen monitors became the official 'eyes and ears' of the regional ombudsman office. Intensive oversight of clinics by almost 100 monitors (two to three visits a week) identified widespread patterns of medicine stock-outs, facilities closed during peak demand times, 'informal payments', as well as mistreatment, cultural bias and rejection of national health-system rules intended to defend women's rights. The initiative was led by the Civil Society Health Forum (ForoSalud) and CARE, with grass-roots and government partners. This 'partial vertical integration' of health monitoring, articulated at local and regional levels, achieved national policy impact in 2008 when advocates persuaded the health minister to officially recognise citizen-monitoring committees, legitimating the 'sandwich strategy'. In 2011, however, a new government dropped its support, in spite of quantitative and qualitative evaluations that consistently found positive results. By 2014, ForoSalud's and CARE-Peru's priorities had shifted as well (Aston 2015; Frisancho 2015), but the grass-roots monitors and volunteer professionals continue their work.

other in the context of a very specific kind of CSO initiative: responses to large infrastructure and extractive projects that threaten to impose social and environmental costs on constituencies that were not considered in the decision-making process. Frequently, in the absence of public, timely and independent assessments of the implications of such decisions, authorities and interested parties underestimate their social, environmental and economic costs, while over-estimating the benefits – which are often concentrated in social sectors that are not expected to bear the costs (Clark, Fox and Treakle 2003; Fox and Brown 1998). Large infrastructure and extractive projects are also notorious for creating huge opportunities for corruption. Yet outside this specific genre of large footprint projects, strategic coordination of CSO monitoring with advocacy is much less common – especially in the provision of much more dispersed public services or anti-poverty programmes.

The goal of bringing independent monitoring and advocacy together is to find synergy between the evidence-generating potential of policy monitoring and the civic muscle that broad-based advocacy campaigns can bring to bear (as illustrated in Figure 1).[21] Yet combining these approaches requires coalition-building strategies that take the diversity among potential participants into account (to be discussed further in Section 2.2.5). CSO policy monitoring and advocacy often involve groups with very different goals, skills, repertoires and theories of change. For example, advocacy goals grounded in the strongly felt needs of organised social constituencies may not involve what evaluation experts would consider 'rigorous' policy monitoring. Affected groups may conclude that they already have the information they need in order to justify their cause as well as to identify their allies and adversaries. After all, in the eyes of citizens who have long been subjected to corruption, discrimination or abuse, the prospect of making significant efforts to generate 'objective' data to demonstrate what is already obvious to them may seem like a poor investment of limited organisational resources. Plus, grass-roots advocates may not want to seem to reinforce official claims that the legitimacy of their cause depends on producing what constitutes 'proof' in the eyes of policy elites and academics.

From a public-interest advocacy logic, independent policy monitoring involves significant costs and is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end, such as exposing and naming previously invisible problems, reframing public debates, garnering mainstream media coverage, identifying 'smoking guns' with specific perpetrators, producing a 'killer statistic' with the potential to go viral, or influencing national and international politicians or technocrats who are receptive to evidence. These goals involve more than technical monitoring capacity, they also require advocacy strategies that draw on skills such as working with the media, coalition-building, mass citizen action, as well as the knowledge and relationships needed to identify potential insider allies.

Coalition-building also involves managing political differences. While CSO policy monitoring and advocacy clearly vary in terms of the skill sets and organisational capacities involved, the two approaches may also be associated with different political strategies. In practice, policy monitoring is often associated with a constructive engagement approach. Yet if the primary goal is to improve policy implementation by plugging leaks and identifying performance problems in partnership with officials, this can discourage the direct questioning of the overall policy or of the key assumptions behind it. Such partnerships may limit CSO policy monitors' independence, constraining them from publicly revealing the governance problems they encounter, and thereby leaving the questions of

whether and how to actually address the problems to their governmental coalition partners (see Box 5).

In contrast to the widely assumed dichotomy between CSO collaboration and contestation with the state, some of most innovative state–society anti-corruption coalitions involve both kinds of interaction. The 'sandwich strategy' involves collaborative partnerships between social actors and some elements within the state, intended to create pathways to confront corrupt elements embedded elsewhere within the state (see Boxes 2 and 5). This is what happened in the Mexican Community Food Council approach cited, as well as in the thousands of officially enabled social audits in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. There, the government builds conflict into a sandwich strategy by supporting a vast process of participatory public oversight hearings that are designed precisely to create a safe, institutional public space for the poorest members of the community to be able to identify local elites who steal from their anti-poverty programmes (e.g. Maiorano 2014).[22] In other words, some monitoring strategies try to combine voice with teeth by creating institutionalised processes to expose and challenge corruption (Fox 2014). These processes are adversarial but unfold within rule-based 'proper channels', in contrast to outsider confrontations.

Advocacy campaigns, in contrast to monitoring, usually focus on changing policy *formulation*. Often those seeking systemic change do not prioritise 'only' improving the implementation of existing policy. Their theories of change may lead them to want to expose the vested interests that oppose policy reform, insofar as their goal is to address the causes of accountability failures. As a result, reform advocates often deploy pressure politics, with elements of confrontation or protest, and invest less in documenting how implementation works out in practice. Since governments and civil societies are rarely monolithic, there are also middle-ground scenarios in which reform factions within the government coordinate with CSOs to challenge opposing factions within the same government. The *bibingka* strategy was a clear example of this dynamic, in which pro-accountability state–society coalitions outflanked anti-accountability coalitions.

In addition, the institutional geographies of monitoring versus advocacy processes may also be quite different, insofar as credible policy monitoring requires broad geographic coverage to document broad patterns of government actions, decisions and non-decisions at subnational, local and national levels. In contrast, advocacy campaigns may be able to influence the national government even though they are confined to the capital city. Legislative lobbying power, media access or citizens in the streets of the national capital may certainly be enough to change laws or policies –

Box 5. Frames for collaborative reform strategies: 'constructive engagement' or 'state–society coalitions for change'?

In principle, the constructive engagement approach (collaborative partnerships between reformists in government and civil society) can strengthen insider reformists by providing them with civil society backing, as well as with eyes and ears on the ground. However, policy-makers often expect civil society partners to abstain from any public criticism, which in turn might reduce CSO leverage. After all, willingness to consider an exit option increases bargaining power. Indeed, the experience in the Philippines suggests that government participants in these partnerships often perceive short-term incentives to discourage their CSO partners from publicly targeting anti-accountability forces in government, since an adversarial approach would carry the risk of political backlash against the insider reformers. Insider allies may also fear that CSO revelations of governance failures will be used against them in the next election (even if they are not responsible for the problems). At the same time, from the CSO point of view, if their allies lose the next election, that could end the chances of any insider–outsider coalition.

Constructive engagement may be most relevant in more closed political contexts. In countries where there is little-to-no political space for autonomous civil society, subordinated alliances with more enlightened elements within government may be the only avenue open for CSOs to address governance failures; and the creation of modest 'free spaces' for even very constrained collective

deliberation and action may turn out to be significant in the longer term.

Though constructive engagement partnerships are quite common, they are justified more often on the grounds of political pragmatism than on extensive empirical evidence that identifies the conditions under which they actually lead to lasting institutional change. Indeed, it would be useful to apply a political economy analysis to a wide range of cases in order to identify the interests and incentives that make successful state–society collaborative problem-solving possible.

The term 'constructive engagement' itself may well constrain its capacity for leveraging change, insofar as the language conceals the full range of possible collaborations between reformers in state and society.[23] The word 'constructive' implies that adversarial approaches are necessarily *not* constructive, yet insider reformists may well *need* external pressure on anti-reform forces to gain leverage. In other words, strategic state–society coalitions may actually *combine* CSO collaboration with pro-reform forces in government on the one hand, with *conflict* that is targeted to weaken the vested interests in government that oppose reform on the other. As a result, terms like 'state–society coalitions for change' and 'critical collaboration' leave room for this productive deployment of adversarial approaches, and therefore capture a more strategic theory of collaborative change than does the term 'constructive engagement'.

but the persisting question is whether the behaviour of the state actually changes.

In spite of these differences, monitoring and advocacy each have complementary strengths; each approach can contribute to the other. Most notably, independent policy monitoring can inform possible policy alternatives by seeking to identify the *causes* of governance problems, rather than just focusing on their symptoms.[24] In addition, independent monitoring capacity can also generate the credible evidence that advocacy campaigns may need to reframe debates, to generate positive media coverage, to isolate adversaries and to win over allies.[25]

Moreover, if and when advocacy campaigns *do* win policy victories, they then need some degree of bottom-up monitoring capacity in order to identify the degree to which new laws and policies are actually put into practice.

This last challenge underscores the importance of the geographic breadth of policy monitoring coverage. For example, when a broad-based social constituency's advocacy campaign did earn a national policy win – as when the Women-Headed Family Empowerment Program (PEKKA) in Indonesia won legal standing for women-headed households, or when Malawi's Our Bodies, Our Lives movement won a commitment for the national health system to provide appropriate anti-retroviral medicines – they needed broad-based, bottom-up monitoring capacity in order to determine whether and where the legal or health authorities throughout the country would actually respect those decisions (Essof and Khan 2015; Zulminarni and Miller 2015). For such campaigns, independent monitoring capacity can also inform future decisions about where and how to target bottlenecks that may block the implementation of their policy wins. For these two public interest campaigns, first evidence-gathering

informed advocacy campaigns, then advocacy wins informed monitoring, which in turn can inform future advocacy (as illustrated in Figure 1).

This focus on geographic reach is relevant for both monitoring and advocacy, yet they may follow different paths. To return to the two cases already mentioned, both the Community Food Councils in Mexico and Textbook Count in the Philippines involved monitoring multiple levels of government performance for a specific service, but the ways in which they combined monitoring and advocacy differed. The more autonomous of the Community Food Councils reached from the local to the regional level. In that context, they used their monitoring capacity to inform advocacy in their efforts to improve programme performance.[26] These regional social actors were willing to tackle policy implementation problems head-on, from the warehouses to state capitals, with a wide range of possible tactics, including mass protest when the agency was unresponsive. Textbook Count, in contrast, carried out independent policy monitoring all the way from local to national levels, while its advocacy work was limited to the national level, where they brought problems identified to the attention of national policy-makers in regular problem-solving sessions. While their broad-based civic allies on the ground were very willing to document textbook delivery and to report problems, they were not directly engaged in advocacy or problem-solving.

Figure 2 illustrates this difference in these two initiatives' degrees of vertical integration, distinguishing monitoring from advocacy to show that the geographic reach of each approach can vary independently. The food councils did both monitoring and advocacy, but mainly at regional levels, while Textbook Count coordinated monitoring from national to local levels, while doing advocacy behind the scenes, exclusively with national policy-maker allies (Aceron 2016). The question of the most appropriate level(s) for focusing monitoring and advocacy attention will depend on the structure of a given policy system, most importantly its degree of centralisation / decentralisation. That said, the proposition here suggests that in *any* system, to focus only on one level will miss some key decisions.

This fourth proposition about the need for synergy between monitoring and advocacy raises the specific issue of how to construct and sustain coalitions that bring together socially and politically diverse constituencies, sometimes reaching across the state–society divide in pursuit of shared goals. Sustaining balanced collaboration between professional CSOs and broad-based mass membership organisations is often especially challenging.

2.2.5 Broad-based CSO monitoring and advocacy coalitions can bring together policy analysis, civic muscle, territorial reach and under-represented voices

Figure 2. Mapping multi-level monitoring and advocacy
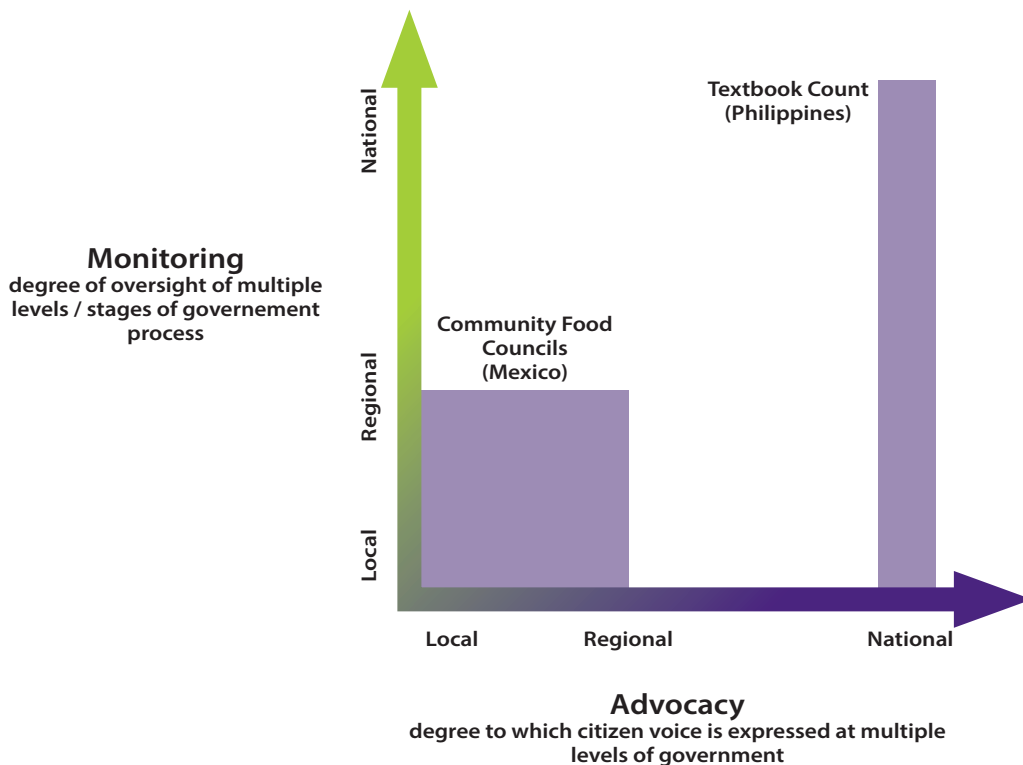
The vertical integration proposition underscores the potential for synergy and mutual empowerment between CSOs with technical policy analysis skills, media presence and access to policy-makers on the one hand, and broad-based membership organisations with potential civic muscle on the other. Yet there are good reasons why such partnerships are actually rather rare. Relationships between NGOs and social organisations face the challenges of sharp imbalances of power and access to resources, as well as social and status hierarchies – sometimes compounded by different ideologies. Yet some issue advocacy coalitions do manage to find common ground across constituencies to bring together policy analysis, monitoring, media outreach, legislative advocacy and community organising, as in the case of Ghana's Oil 4 Agriculture campaign (see Box 6).

Realistic analysis of CSO coalition dynamics requires unpacking the range of possible actors involved. The political logics and cultural styles of NGOs and broad-based membership organisations often differ, suggesting the need for negotiated terms of engagement. Grass-roots leaders may well fear that national capital-based CSOs might end up trading one set of top-down approaches for another, without seeking the kind of broader power shift in both state and society that they may feel is necessary for sustainable accountability to excluded citizens. Conversely, when more oppositional CSOs lean towards adversarial approaches, especially if they belong to social groups that feel less vulnerable, fear of reprisals may confine grass-roots organisations to 'proper channels', especially if they are dependent on or vulnerable to the ruling party. The 'fear factor' can point in the other direction as well; technically oriented thinktanks in national capitals, accustomed to elite policy dialogue, may be wary of partnering with social organisations that are perceived as 'unruly'. In addition, in many countries national capital-based NGOs – understandably protective of their autonomy – have long histories of driving their own policy advocacy agendas in the absence of close consultation with broad-based social and civic organisations. For issues that technical elite policy dialogue is not sufficient to resolve, 'people power' may be necessary.[27]

Longstanding ideological differences, social differences and money issues also tend to lurk in the background. If one participant perceives another as more loyal to a partisan agenda than to more tangible governance reform goals, that will complicate efforts to build the mutual trust that coalitions need to survive and be effective. Sharp differences in access to funding can also keep groups apart, especially if some are perceived as having privileged access to government or international funding, or if groups differ over the legitimacy of accepting such funds. Differences in social origin and status

Box 6: Ghana's Oil 4 Agriculture coalition combines policy monitoring and advocacy at international, national and local levels

The Oil 4 Agriculture campaign in Ghana advocates for the government's oil income to be invested in smallholder agriculture. The African Centre for Energy Policy participates in a broad-based, multi-sectoral CSO coalition that includes key public interest groups with broad-based membership organisations like the General Agriculture Workers' Union and Peasant Farmers' Association of Ghana, backed by an international advocacy alliance with Oxfam's GROW campaign (Oil 4 Agriculture 2015). The campaign combined technical policy analysis and budget monitoring with radio, TV and online national awareness campaigns and citizen petitions to lobby the Finance Ministry, parliament and the International Monetary Fund to win a key initial victory. The government increased the agriculture allocation in the national oil fund from 2.5% in 2013 to 15.2% in 2014 (African Centre for Energy Policy reports that in practice agricultural spending actually reached 31% of the fund that year). Sustained grass-roots policy monitoring will still be key to ensure that the funds actually reach smallholder farmers, and there is also a broader effort to encourage the Ghanaian public at large to get involved in monitoring oil money. This initiative builds on past experience – key Ghananian public interest groups such as SEND and Friends of the Nation already have track records in using robust field-based findings from scaled-up, region-wide monitoring of governmental social programmes to identify bottlenecks and to propose specific improvement measures (Dogbe and Kwabane-Adade 2012).

can also exacerbate trust issues. The leadership of more technical CSOs may have more in common socially with counterparts in government – similarly urban, middle-class professionals – than with grass-roots rank-and-file members of pro-accountability social or civic movements. A specific form of social distance – stigma – can also complicate accountability initiatives that are focused on defending the rights of socially excluded groups. Culturally grounded support strategies are needed to nurture and protect collective action for those who are excluded and stigmatised by the dominant society. This underscores the importance of creating safe spaces that can nurture grass-roots organising among members of the most excluded groups, in order to offset stigma by creating the pride, collective identity and capacity for collective action that are preconditions for citizens to participate in

policy monitoring and advocacy for accountability (see Box 7).

The need for cross-sectoral coalitions to pay deliberate attention to these issues of political difference and social distance, to build and sustain bridges across cultural and power gaps within civil society, as well as between society and the state, points towards the important role of *interlocutors* (defined as two-way, cross-cultural communicators) (Fowler 2014; Fox 2014; Tembo 2013).

Interlocutors can help different participants in multi-sectoral coalitions to understand where the others are coming from, which is a key condition for finding common ground. If and when coalitions members manage to 'agree to disagree' over some issues in order to pursue shared goals, they then face the challenge of agreeing to – and sticking to – terms of engagement that address such key issues as how decisions are made, and who speaks for whom. Very basic practical issues, such as how groups based in the provinces can participate in national-level decisions can loom large. In this context, multi-sectoral coalitions

for accountability face the challenge of building bridges and developing terms of engagement that are perceived by diverse participants as balanced and inclusive (Fox 2010).

2.3 Final thoughts

This chapter was inspired by extensive discussions of the Textbook Count experience, which in turn informed the conceptual framework that guides the other case studies included in this report. Though these case studies address a wide range of accountability campaigns, driven by coalitions of diverse actors, they address the potential synergy between advocacy and policy monitoring. These cases also analyse how each campaign faced the challenge of 'taking scale into account'. The studies were also informed and enriched by extensive dialogue with campaigners who were directly involved. The result is a set of highly original, analytically informed case studies that provide a strong foundation to ground both more relevant future research and analytically informed strategising by accountability advocates.

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Box 7. Targeted long-term organising strategies can empower the excluded to speak for themselves

The TPA field would benefit from broadening its scope to recognise that many CSOs that seek accountability are not necessarily considered part of the field's usual 'community of practice'. For example, many grass-roots membership organisations that empower women to claim rights are doing accountability work, in spite of the fact that the dominant TPA frame does not include a gender perspective. Two longstanding grass-roots feminist organising initiatives are now identifying with the accountability field. Both Malawi's Our Bodies, Our Lives campaign of HIV-positive women and Indonesia's PEKKA do grass-roots awareness-raising to combat stigma and to create enabling environments for positive collective identities, which are crucial steps for the voiceless to gain voice. Their experiences are especially relevant to this discussion of vertical integration because they combine independent policy monitoring with policy advocacy across multiple levels of government, building multi-sectoral coalitions and pursuing insider–outsider approaches to gain standing for their members to influence government policy and how it plays out on the ground (Essof and Khan 2015; Zulminarni and Miller 2015).

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Notes

1   This is a revised version of an essay also published in Fox and Aceron, with Guillán Montero (2016), which can be downloaded here. A revised, expanded version has also been published as Fox (2016).

2   For almost a decade, this field has been called transparency and accountability (T&A). Recently, donors are more explicitly recognising the key role of citizen participation, as in the case of the Empowerment and Accountability Research Programme, funded by UK aid from the UK government, and the Hewlett Foundation's new Global Development programme strategy (http://hewlett.org/programs/global-development-and-population/amplifying-voices/transparency-participation-and-accountability).

3   For example, while the Open Government Partnership has grown to 70 member countries from its original eight in 2011, the Independent Reporting Mechanisms' review of the founding countries' second National Action Plans indicates that from the total 185 commitments, only 11 are potentially transformational, and of those only nine made substantial progress in implementation. Indeed, AID Data's recent study of international efforts to promote institutional change underscored the capacity of vested interests to resist change (Parks, Rice and Custer 2015).

4   Another challenge is the ebb and flow of donor enthusiasm for certain kinds of initiatives, which can end up complicating sustainability, as in the case of civil society procurement monitoring in the mid-2000s in the Philippines (a boom followed by a bust).

5   This phrase is a reference to a widely circulated 2014 manifesto that called for 'doing development differently'. See: http://doingdevelopmentdifferently.com

6   This is the conclusion of Chayes' compelling recent analysis of 'acute kleptocracies', and what she calls the 'vertical integration' of power elites across scale (2015). She challenges the conventional wisdom insofar as she demonstrates the linkages between corruption, impunity and abuse of citizens at the local level and national political elites whose model of governance is based on a system-wide network of upwards resource extraction. Her insider perspective grounds a devastating critique of the role of the US Government in Afghanistan, arguing that US tolerance for systemic corruption feeds the causes of rebellion.

7   For extensive conceptual discussion of different meanings of the concept of scale, see Fox (2016).

8   In principle, government oversight agencies could do what vertical integration tries to do – reveal a full 'X-ray' of the entire chain of public sector decisions and performance in any given sector – yet very few agencies have the necessary autonomy, capacity and mandate to do so. Those rare government agencies should certainly be the focus of both civil society and international support. More often, the best that government oversight agencies can do is respond to scandals with official investigations that may expose the chain of events behind specific incidents. But such oversight rarely addresses broader issues of the effectiveness of entire policies, programmes or institutions – and more often in the anti-corruption context than with broader governance failures such as systemic ineffectiveness or social exclusion.

9   For definition and discussion of 'proof of concept', see Fox (2014).

10   This box draws from Fox (2007b).

11   This point is developed in response to debates over questions of terminology and the politics of discourse in the field of accountability (Fox and Halloran 2016).

12   Even in one of the most cited cases in which 'information is power' practices demonstrated impact, the newspaper dissemination of Uganda school-funding allocations, the results were not as dramatic as initially appeared. While the share of funds diverted dropped sharply, the overall level of spending grew, so the actual amount of funding leakage dropped only 12% (Hubbard 2007: 8 Reinikka and Svennson 2004a, 2004b).

13   Trasparencia's founder, Manuel Fernández de Villegas, chose this alternative spelling of the Spanish word for transparency because of concerns about communicating to grass-roots constituencies. In his view, the conventional version of transparency – a term at the time unknown in rural Mexico – sounded too close to a colloquial term widely used to describe fraud and deceit ('transa').

14   The *World Development Report*'s contribution was less clear in countries that had experienced decades of state–society bargaining over the recognition and inclusion of autonomous social and civil organisations (e.g. the Philippines, India, Brazil, Mexico). In some countries, governments launched large-scale, official social accountability initiatives long before the World Bank spelled out its rationale. This was the case in Mexico, which created an institutional framework for (narrowly defined) 'social oversight' in the early 1990s (see, for example, Craig, Cornelius and Fox 1994).

15   For an application of the 'last mile' concept to analysis of efforts by senior-level policy reformers to encourage improved frontline public sector performance in the context of social audits in Andhra Pradesh, India, see Veeraraghavan (2015). Note that from a 'citizens' eye' view, the 'last mile' of service provision actually looks like the 'first mile'.

16   The *World Development Report* also declined to address the frequent tendency for local-citizen voice initiatives to be captured by local elites and turned into instruments of clientelism (e.g. in the case of 'community-managed' schools, see Altschuler 2013). World Bank researchers later showed that this pattern of capture was a systemic risk to 'induced' (i.e. top-down) community participation efforts (Mansuri and Rao 2013).

17   'Invited spaces' are arenas for dialogue between authorities and citizens in which the terms of engagement are set by the authorities. 'Claimed' or 'created spaces', in contrast, are spaces which have been "claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them" (Cornwall and Schattan Coelho 2007; Gaventa 2006: 27). The Community Food Council experience shows that invited spaces can be claimed from below and gain autonomy in spite of official resistance (in this case thanks in part to a sandwich strategy). As one director of Diconsa exhorted in a national meeting of the more autonomous Food Councils: "you push below, and we will squeeze from above" (Fox 1992).

18   'Free spaces' are enabling environments for autonomous collective action by members of subordinated social groups

(Polletta 1999).

19 For example, in the state of Guerrero, with a long tradition of autonomous, region-wide self-management initiatives, autonomous leaders controlled seven of the state's 15 Community Food Councils in the mid-2000s. At the time, senior Diconsa officials were willing to tolerate that degree of autonomy, but they used all the means at their disposal to prevent autonomous forces from gaining control over an eighth council, because that would have allowed them to lead the official state-wide association of regional councils (Fox 2007b). In 2015, according to new field reports from Marcos Méndez Lara in the state of Guerrero, even the most consolidated and autonomous councils have been significantly weakened by agency hostility, attempts at politicisation by the ruling party and the deterioration of citizen security.

20 This is a cautionary tale, insofar as it points to a risk in which the larger the organisation's base, the greater the incentive for the government to attempt to co-opt stakeholder representatives, precisely because scaled-up, autonomous organisations have more bargaining power. This recalls the classic challenge recognised by sociologists more than a century ago in 'the iron law of oligarchy', which describes the tendency of leaders of large membership organisations to develop their own interests, distinct from those of their base. This underscores the importance of robust checks and balances within membership organisations to sustain internal democracy (Fox 2007b).

21 In order to make the case for coordinating policy monitoring and advocacy, this discussion considers these two approaches as distinct. That said, practitioners who already seek to articulate the two may frame one as subordinate to the other. For those CSOs that put advocacy strategy first, monitoring may be seen as one of their many tactics. In contrast, for CSOs that see problem-solving policy monitoring as their primary strategy, they may see advocacy as a tactic (for example, for CSOs to get a foot in the door with policy-makers to launch the monitoring process, as in the Textbook Count case). Here, in order to focus on the challenges involved in articulating monitoring and advocacy, the discussion will not assume that one is the strategy and the other is a tactic. Thanks to Rosie McGee for suggesting clarification of this point.

22 The thousands of village-level social audits in Andhra Pradesh were convened by a semi-governmental agency, so they are 'invited spaces', but these experiences challenge the frequent assumption that such openings from above are necessarily designed to divert or silence conflict. In both India's social audits and in the case of Mexico's Community Food Councils, non-partisan but government-backed community organisers convened invited spaces to create safe spaces for collective action that combined monitoring and sometimes adversarial grass-roots advocacy. These two large-scale experiences both underscore the potential synergy between monitoring and advocacy, and disrupt the conventional dichotomy between invited and autonomous spaces.

23 The term 'constructive engagement' carries its own historical baggage, as it was the name for US President Ronald Reagan's policy of support for the apartheid regime in South Africa.

24 This underscores the distinction between a narrow definition of transparency (limited to public access to official documents and data) and the broader notion of the public's right to know, which goes further to include access to information about who are the winners and losers of government decisions, and about how those decisions (and non-decisions) were made.

25 Stone (1989) spelled out the crucial agenda-setting power of framing in her discussion of the importance of 'causal stories' for targeting and weakening obstacles to change.

26 Two exceptions in terms of scaled-up autonomous power include the 1999 national campaign to lobby Congress to prevent the Treasury Ministry from eliminating the programme, and the first several years of state-wide networking in Guerrero, also in the late 1990s. After that period, the autonomous councils' insider allies lost power (Fox 2007b).

27 For a study of anti-corruption initiatives that emphasises 'people power' over more technical approaches, see Beyerle (2014).

3. Contextualising vertical integration in Philippine civil society

Joy Aceron and Francis Isaac

It is often said that the Philippines has a vibrant and dynamic civil society, as "thousands of voluntary organisations addressing various concerns dot the country's sociopolitical landscape" (Ferrer 1997: 1). Some of these groups provide a host of services (such as rural health delivery and legal aid), while "confront[ing] state power by raising alternative paradigms and courses of action" (Constantino-David 1997: 21). This noticeable feature of Philippine politics has been one of the lasting legacies of the People Power Revolution, which not only overthrew authoritarian rule in 1986, but also created various mechanisms for citizens' engagement and direct people's participation.

3.1 The beginnings of Philippine civil society

The first voluntary associations in the Philippines began to appear during the late sixteenth century, at the onset of Spanish colonisation. But these organisations were religious in character and received considerable encouragement from the colonial authorities as a form of social control.

A functional civil society did not emerge in the Philippines until 1946, when "the modern Filipino state arose out of the late Spanish and American colonial periods" (*Ibid*.: 13). Most of these groups, however, were organisationally weak and poorly institutionalised, since "traditional solidarities and patron-client structures largely blocked the emergence of autonomous, self-governing entities between the state and society" (*Ibid*.: 15). In fact, some of the first civil society organisations (CSOs) in the country that still exist today, the people's organisations (POs), were formed under the administration of former dictator President Ferdinand Marcos as a conduit to deliver services and neutralise the left-wing movements that were waging armed resistance against the dictatorship. By and large, because of the nature of their creation, these POs are not used to claim-making and checking those who are in power. Meanwhile, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were formed to support social movements and mass-based organisations that can be traced back to anti-colonial revolutionary movements.

Shortly after the fall of the dictatorship, a new constitution was promulgated directing the state to "encourage non-governmental, community-based, or sectoral organizations that promote the welfare of the nation" (Article II; Section 23). Several legal measures were also introduced to promote citizens' participation and create a more enabling environment for CSOs. These new laws mandated the creation of participatory bodies in every province, city, municipality and *barangay* (village), which were then tasked with crafting the development plans of their respective local governments.

This highly favourable environment resulted in a sudden increase of CSOs in the Philippines. After the 1986 People Power revolution (EDSA 1), the country became a haven for CSOs playing a wide variety of functions: to articulate the issues and concerns of the people; to provide policy inputs; to lobby for or protest against specific government policies and programmes; to organise citizens and provide them with educational and capacity-building support; to co-implement programmes and projects with government and assist in service delivery; to provide services to areas and sectors that are left unattended by the government; and to check and monitor government and evaluate government and governance in the country.

3.2 'Champions' in the state

While civil society has generally been open to engagements with the state, the nature and extent of their relationship is largely dependent on the orientation of these CSOs as well as the attitude of the incumbent president (Quimpo 2008).

The presidency of Fidel Ramos, for example, was marked by a relatively high degree of openness towards civil society participation. This eventually culminated in the crafting of the Social Reform Agenda, which had significant input from various CSOs. In a nutshell, the document contained a host of measures intended to empower marginalised groups and ensure greater citizen participation in decision-making.

The relationship, however, turned sour when Ramos' successor Joseph Estrada was implicated in numerous corruption scandals, which led to his impeachment. Civil society groups organised massive demonstrations in Manila, demanding the members of the Senate (which was convened as an impeachment court) to convict Estrada of plunder. The Senate, however, was not able to complete the trial, after the prosecution walked out in protest against the alleged manipulation of the president's allies. This triggered a wave of anger on the streets, leading to Estrada's ousting in January 2001 in an event now known in the

Philippines as 'People Power ll'.

This incident marked a turning point in civil society's approach to anti-corruption. Instead of solely relying on protest politics and various forms of agitation, a growing number of CSOs began to engage the government in earnest to fight corruption. This meant a shift in perspective from a stance wherein civil society takes on the role of political opposition, to one that involves partnership, collaboration and constructive engagement with the state. It was during this time that the Philippine government adopted an anti-corruption strategy, alongside an anti-corruption programme launched by the World Bank.

3.3 Emergence of social accountability

Coincidentally, it was also in 2001 that CSOs began to adopt social accountability as one of the strategies that they employ in their respective reform work. Social accountability as it was adopted at this time generally employed constructive engagements between state reformists and civil society actors in the effort to improve government performance. This wave of initiatives – most of which no longer exist – focused on procurement monitoring, contract implementation and service delivery. But because of the technical knowledge needed in its application, CSOs also had to devote their efforts to mobilising and training ordinary citizens in a variety of social accountability (SAcc) initiatives (ANSA-EAP 2012). Among the major networks and coalitions on transparency and accountability formed during this decade were Transparency and Accountability Network and the business-church-CSO anti-corruption coalition, Coalition Against Corruption.

While social accountability yielded a number of positive results during the administration of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, these good practices were mostly scattered and sporadic cases with no assurance of expansion and sustainability. This was aggravated by the political crisis that overtook the Arroyo administration in 2005, when the president was accused of massive vote fraud. As public anger poured onto the streets, the administration began to impose repressive measures that threatened basic civil liberties.

Eventually, Arroyo's husband was also implicated in numerous corruption scandals, which practically nullified whatever small gains were achieved through social accountability. Worse, the Philippines experienced the worst democratic rollback since the Marcos dictatorship, which affected any prospect of citizens' participation in politics.

3.4 Participatory governance as a centrepiece platform

State–civil society relations only began to improve when Benigno Aquino III took over the presidency in 2010. With the slogan "*Daang Matuwid*" (Straight Path), Aquino quickly invited prominent CSO leaders to join his cabinet – thus opening up the state to citizens' engagement like never before. Civil society stalwarts who were appointed to key government positions soon undertook efforts to promote participatory governance in their respective departments.

Overall, anti-corruption and good governance became the Aquino administration's topmost priorities, thereby putting considerable effort into enhancing transparency, providing greater access to information and expanding the various platforms for civil society participation. This was apparent in the budget process, with information now easily available to ordinary citizens and CSOs who wanted to engage and participate in the budget process.

Another important reform initiative was the Seal of Good Housekeeping (SGH) which was implemented a year after the Aquino administration assumed power. A brainchild of the late Interior Secretary Jesse Robredo, the SGH is an incentive programme that encourages local government units (LGUs) to make key documents and information transparent and accessible to the public. Its implementation was an important touchstone in local politics since most LGUs have been under the control of political families who see no need for transparency and accountability. Through this programme, LGUs are not only encouraged to become more transparent, but it also laid the groundwork for the active engagement of citizens in local governance.

The Aquino government, in addition, pursued efforts in exacting accountability from the Arroyo administration. The first to fall was Merceditas Gutierrez, who resigned as Ombudsman on April 29, 2011 after she was impeached by the House of Representatives on March 22. Rumoured to be a close friend of the Arroyo family, Gutierrez was accused of mishandling the cases filed against the former president and her family.

A year later, Renato Corona was also removed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court after a four-month impeachment trial by the Philippine Senate. Corona's conviction stemmed from his failure to publicly disclose his statement of assets, liabilities and net worth as required in the constitution. In both these cases, administration efforts were complemented by civil society action, which wanted an end to corruption and the removal of Arroyo's remaining allies.

Recently, plunder complaints were filed against three

senators for the alleged misuse of their pork barrel funds. This refers to the lump-sum discretionary fund to be spent for priority development projects identified by legislators. On average, senators are given an annual allocation of 200 million Philippine Pesos (PHP) (US$4.5 million), while their counterparts in the Lower House receive PHP70 million (US$1.56 million).

According to a special audit report of the Commission on Audit released in August 2013 (COA 2013), the three senators, along with several other legislators, misused their pork barrel funds by diverting the monies to fake foundations set up by businesswoman Janet Lim-Napoles. Estimates reveal that the government lost PHP10 billion that were supposed to be used to assist small farmers. Unsurprisingly, the public was enraged when news of the scandal broke out. This eventually ignited the peaceful protest action in August 2013 called the #MillionPeopleMarch, which was the biggest gathering of anti-corruption forces organised since Aquino took power.

However, despite the reform measures implemented by the Aquino administration, it still has its fair share of shortcomings and criticisms. One glaring example was its seeming reluctance to pass the hugely popular Freedom of Information (FOI) Bill. Despite its strong anti-corruption stance, the administration's leadership in shepherding the Bill was palpably absent, which led to its legislative demise. This setback was a crushing disappointment for civil society groups such as the Right to Know Right Now Coalition (RKRN), which has been lobbying for the passage of the FOI Bill for years.

It remains uncertain how civil society will fare under the presidency of Rodrigo Duterte. While some civil society groups welcome this change of administration, others are more cautious and would rather wait for events to unfold before they make any bold move.

But regardless of how civil society will engage the government in the next six years, it will have to put its vast experience to good use if it is to gain more reforms and successfully manoeuvre in the shifting landscape of Philippine politics.

3.5 How does vertical integration fit in?

Because the Philippines is "usually described as a strong civil society type" (Ferrer 1997: 1), it is highly probable for an advanced strategy such as vertical integration to be employed in the country even if the exact language is not yet widely used. Recent historical trends have made it compelling and conducive for civil society to integrate their campaigns in order to better address pressing societal concerns. We have identified three historical trends that are now enabling civil society to employ facets of vertical integration.

The first trend is the history of state–civil society

interaction in the Philippines, wherein a vibrant civil society is forced to confront a weak Filipino state that is less than able to enforce its own rules and deliver basic public services. As Marlon Wui and Glenda Lopez point out, "the elite-dominated and inefficient state did not necessarily go away" with the fall of the Marcos regime, even as the new dispensation "opened up new avenues through which civil society can make an impact directly on how the state governs and what program of governance it will adopt" (1997: 1).

The second trend is an offshoot of the first, and it pertains to the decentralisation process that began shortly after the People Power Revolution of 1986. For instance, a few months after coming to power, Corazon Aquino's new administration issued a document entitled "The Policy Agenda for People Oriented Development," which pledged to reorganise the government based on the principle of decentralisation (Atienza 2006: 425).

Then, by 1987, a new constitution was ratified, which contained a provision mandating the State to "ensure the autonomy of local governments" (Article I; Section 25). Article X further reinforced local autonomy by: (1) granting LGUs the power to create their own sources of revenue, as well as levy taxes, fees and charges; (2) providing local governments with a just share of the national taxes which are then automatically released to them; and (3) entitling LGUs to an equitable share in the proceeds of the utilisation and development of the national wealth within their respective areas (Atienza 2006: 425).

These powers were further institutionalised through Republic Act No. 7160, more popularly known as the Local Government Code. Enacted in 1991, the Code shortly became a "landmark piece of legislation governing the conduct of LGUs, their relations with each other, and with the national government" (Ocampo-Salvador 1999: 133).

Described by Filipino scholar Maria Ela Atienza as "revolutionary or radical in character", the Code has four features "that set it apart from previous decentralization attempts in the country" (2006: 427). First, this measure transfers the delivery of certain basic services (such as health, agriculture and public works) to local governments. Second, local governments have been granted certain regulatory and licensing powers (such as the reclassification of agricultural lands, the enforcement of environmental laws, the operation of tricycles and the implementation of the National Building Code, among others). Third, the Code broadens the taxing powers of local governments in order to increase their financial resources; and lastly, the Code provides a "policy framework for the direct involvement of civil society in local governance" (*Ibid*.: 427).

It is this aspect of the Local Government Code that

paves the way for the third major trend in recent Philippine history – increasing civil society participation in governance. In the Local Government Code alone, several mechanisms have been introduced to ensure direct civil society involvement. This is done by:

- allocating a specific number of seats for CSO representatives in local special bodies such as the local development council, the local health board and the local school board;

- providing sectoral representation in the local legislative councils, to represent women, workers and other sectors as determined by the council;

- ensuring civil society involvement in local planning and in the implementation of local development programmes;

- encouraging CSO participation in various political exercises such as plebiscites, referendum and recall.

These mechanisms were put in place because the Code sees civil society as "active partners in the pursuit of local autonomy" (Section 34). In fact, the law even instructs all local government units to "provide assistance, financial or otherwise, to such people's and non-governmental organizations for economic, socially-oriented, environmental, or cultural projects to be implemented within its territorial jurisdiction" (Section 36).

Such provisions of the Local Government Code are, in turn, based on the 1987 Constitution, which mandates the state to encourage the self-organising activities of CSOs (Article II; Section 23). The same document further stipulates that "the right of the people and their organizations to effective and reasonable participation at all levels of social, political, and economic decision-making shall not be abridged," adding that, "the State shall, by law, facilitate the establishment of adequate consultation mechanisms" (Article XIII; Section 16).

Maximising the hard-won democratic space that was created after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, civil society began to view the government no longer "with antagonism tempered with fear and suspicion" (INCITEGov 2008: 23), but as "a strategic arena for engagement" (*Ibid*.: 25). For this reason, several CSOs began forging "partnership agreements with the government that ranged from government-initiated partnerships, funder-initiated programs, and NGO-managed projects" (*Ibid*.: 24). By the 1990s, good governance has become a buzzword in the Philippines; and before long, both the government and civil society were promoting the three core good governance principles of transparency, accountability and citizens' participation. In the decade that followed, a number of CSOs began using the concept of social accountability in anti-corruption efforts.

It was at that time that the country began to witness the crossover phenomenon, with civil society leaders joining government in massive numbers "to pursue the reforms that they have been advocating or prototyping for a long time" (Juliano-Soliman 2008: 9). This phenomenon was first recorded during the administration of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Tapped for both their leadership and technical skills, "NGO personalities were asked to assume the role of Cabinet members … and play central roles in governance" (INCITEGov 2008: 28).

However, while the large number of CSOs engaging with the government became the hallmark of the post-Marcos period, not all of these efforts were vertically integrated. In fact, only a few civil society groups from the more mainstream social accountability tradition used vertical integration, though there was an explosion of SAcc initiatives in the Philippines that began in the early 2000s.

Intended to prevent government corruption, most of these efforts took the form of citizens' monitoring that cover various aspects of governance. This includes textbook delivery (Textbook Count), school buildings (Bayanihang Eskwela), medicine procurement (Medicine Monitoring Project), road construction (Bantay Lansangan), pork barrel projects (PDAF Watch), state appointments (Appointments Watch), campaign finance (Pera't Pulitika), revenue generation (Bantay Kita), school performance (checkmyschool), general bidding processes, and even politicians' lifestyles (Lifestyle Check).

However, with the exception of Textbook Count and Bantay Lansangan, most SAcc initiatives were hardly nationwide in scope. A large number of these efforts were engaged in ground- or local-level monitoring, coupled with engagements with policy-makers / government decision-makers at the top. As such, most national-level advocacies gave little attention to legislative / policy reforms, and were largely concerned with ensuring government response to their monitoring findings and seeking improvements in implementation.

One of the initiatives with a policy advocacy component is the RKRN coalition, a broad civil society network that is pushing for the passage of the FOI Bill. Its membership is nationwide in scope, and is composed of groups involved in transparency and accountability, as well as basic sectoral formations. Its engagements, however, have largely focused on lobbying and policy advocacy at the national level. Though the coalition has undertaken a number of local activities in the past, these are sporadic in character and are not part of its overall campaign strategy.

Interestingly, the most vertically integrated campaigns were initiated by progressive social movements. In fact, it was the more radical progressives that mostly organised the major efforts on agrarian reform, anti-mining, indigenous peoples' rights and reproductive

health. Combining grass-roots organising with national-level advocacy and coalition work, these organisations were able to effectively engage the various levels of the state, using protest action, lobbying and hard-nosed negotiations.

However, there are also vertically integrated campaigns that can best be described as hybrid initiatives, wherein progressive social movements use social accountability to pursue their issues. This is apparent in the housing and disaster risk reduction and management campaigns, which combine protest politics with performance monitoring.

Ironically, while a number of initiatives employ vertical integration, the very groups that are directly involved in these campaigns do not use the term 'vertical integration'. However, there are a few exceptions, such as the Alternative Law Group, a member-organisation of Alyansa Tigil Mina that openly uses vertical integration as part of its strategy. The RIGHTS / Katarungan Network also claims to use vertical integration, coupled with horizontal integration referring to the extent and spread of the mass base of the peasant organisations and their allies to advance land reform.

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4. Case study summaries

4.1 Mobilising citizens for transparency and accountability in education through Textbook Count

Joy Aceron

Textbook Count was a joint programme of the Department of Education and Government Watch (G-Watch), a programme of the Ateneo School of Government that implements accountability initiatives with civil society organisations (CSOs). The programme aimed to ensure that the right quantity of textbooks, of the right quality, reached public school students at the right time, following the right processes. With support from donors including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Asia Foundation and the Partnership for Transparency Fund, G-Watch coordinated CSO participation in Textbook Count for four rounds between 2003 and 2007. The Department of Education covered other direct expenses, particularly those involving government officials and staff.

Numerous studies have noted the success of Textbook Count and have attributed it to three factors: (1) leadership or the presence of champions in the Department of Education; (2) the presence of civil society monitors; and (3) engagement between state and non-state actors. While these factors are indeed critical, such explanations of Textbook Count's success are rather too broad and general. They pay very little attention to the specific campaign strategies behind Textbook Count, which enabled the actors involved to succeed. This case study reflects on some of processes, mechanisms, actors and activities at play at various stages and levels of the programme, which made it possible for civil society monitoring to cover all the possible vulnerabilities to corruption and inefficiency of the government's Textbook Delivery Programme. It attempts to unbundle processes at every level, and measure the intensity of the actions / tactics per level using vertical integration as a framework for analysis.

4.1.1 Keys to success

Textbook Count prided itself on contributing to the achievement of a number of significant results. It contributed to reducing the unit price of textbooks from between 80 and 120 Philippine Pesos (PHP) in 1999 to between PHP30 and PHP45 in 2006–2007; it shortened the average textbook procurement cycle from 24 months to 12; and it improved the Department of Education's trust rating. Textbook Count's vertical integration is considered pivotal to its success. CSO monitoring in Textbook Count, coordinated by G-Watch from 2003 to 2007, covered the Department of Education's entire textbook delivery programme, from

procurement at the central office level to distribution at the district / school level. This was accomplished by building a coalition with various national / broad-based and local CSOs for the mobilisation of volunteer-monitors on the ground, covering up to 80% of textbook delivery points – in high schools and district offices – across the country.

Because CSOs covered all the critical stages of the Department of Education's textbook delivery programme, there was a proactive effort to ensure compliance with standards of quantity, quality and processes. This prevented or minimised the kind of non-compliance with standards that led to pilferage, inefficiencies, anomalies or corruption. What enabled this was the nationwide and vertically integrated mobilisation of CSOs from national to school levels. The coordination and communication among G-Watch and CSOs in Textbook Count paralleled the structure of the Textbook Delivery Programme, particularly in terms of the flow of information and booking. This also ensured that books were easily consolidated at the national level, from which data and information were generated to serve as the basis for recommendations that were responded to by decision-makers in the Department of Education.

Among the CSO participants in the Textbook Count initiative were the National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections, which is a clean elections watchdog group, and the Boy and Girl Scouts of the Philippines, an organisation that undertakes voluntary service. Scouts and volunteers from local CSOs would gather at designated delivery points to 'count' the textbooks upon delivery by suppliers that had won tenders. Textbook Count monitors would also check the physical quality of the textbooks and note their monitoring findings on a book form and an Inspection and Acceptance Book, which were collected at the national level by G-Watch to prepare the CSO book.

4.1.2 Turning Textbook Count over to the government

In 2007, G-Watch implicitly 'turned over' Textbook Count to the Department of Education. The programme's level of operationalisation, particularly the participation of CSOs, has been unclear since then. Many of the reform-oriented officials in the cabinet who had championed good governance either left or were quickly removed from office when, in 2005, the administration of former president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo started to be implicated in several large-scale corruption scandals that caused political instability and crises in the country. One of these reform-oriented officials was the Department of Education Executive

who had championed Textbook Count. The absence of a strong reform-oriented champion in the Department of Education in the midst of an administration beset with corruption presented challenges in continuing to undertake a high-profile and nationally celebrated CSO–government good governance undertaking like Textbook Count.

Meanwhile, there were growing expectations that social accountability initiatives such as Textbook Count should become self-sufficient or self-sustaining after years of donor support. This prompted the donors, such as the UNDP, to end their support for G-Watch to continue coordinating CSO monitoring in Textbook Count after four rounds of renewal. One of the funders, an intermediary donor, could no longer mobilise resources to continue supporting Textbook Count, and the other was expecting that the programme would already have been 'institutionalised' after years of implementation. At the same time, however, donors continued to support G-Watch by funding its subsequent engagements with the Department of Education. Other donors supported similar and related initiatives.

This may indicate the tendency for donors to favour initiatives that are new and innovative, rather than continuing with existing processes that have been shown to work. These two factors drove G-Watch to 'turn over' Textbook Count to the Department of Education and to embark on a process of exploring more strategic and sustainable ways to ensure accountability in the department. Since then, G-Watch has undertaken social accountability initiatives covering strategic processes and projects / programmes within the Department of Education, in an effort to sustain CSO engagement with the department – albeit to a limited extent.

G-Watch is also exploring ways to strengthen the 'supply side' of accountability, particularly through strengthening control and accountability mechanisms inside the Department of Education, in collaboration with the middle-management allies that G-Watch has mobilised over the years, and a number of national and local partner CSOs. Thus far, this type of collaboration is yielding ways forward for social accountability that enable CSO monitoring to engage with the government's own control and accountability systems.

4.1.3 Lessons for vertically integrated campaigning

- Relatively speaking, Textbook Count's weakest link in terms of scope and scale was at the provincial level, and its strongest monitoring capacity was at local and national levels; this pointed to the need for deliberate efforts to build coordination at the intermediary level, between the local and the national.

- Textbook Count served as an indirect advocacy initiative, supporting Department of Education officials who favoured enhanced participation, transparency and accountability, while providing evidence that could be used to constrain corrupt officials.

- In accounting for the results or gains of a given initiative, it pays to understand the complexity of the multi-level and multifaceted actions that have to be undertaken, the wide variety of actors that need to be engaged, and the scope and limitations of the gains in light of the changing context in governance.

4.2 Campaigning for agrarian reform in the Bondoc Peninsula

Francis Isaac and Danilo Carranza

The Bondoc Peninsula is a narrow strip of land located in the southern portion of Quezon province, approximately eight hours from Manila. It is composed of 12 low-income municipalities. Largely dependent on the production of coconut, the Bondoc Peninsula has a skewed system of land tenure under which ownership of large tracts is concentrated in the hands of a few elite families.

The story of the agrarian reform campaign in the Bondoc Peninsula concerns the role of CSOs in enabling poor farmers to gain control of land. The campaign utilised various actions at different levels that enabled the rural poor to gain control of land. Such actions can be broadly categorised as constituency-building and interfacing with the state.

4.2.1 Agrarian reform in the Philippines

In the Philippines, land ownership and control has been concentrated in the hands of a wealthy minority since colonial times, creating an impoverished class of landless peasants. Today's campaigns for peasant rights are rooted in an enduring social movement with a long history of struggle and resistance.

The first post-independence land reform policy, in 1972, delivered little change and triggered the emergence of several agrarian reform networks. In 1988, following the fall of President Marcos and after years of campaigning, the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) was passed, with the aim of reforming the ownership of 10.3 million hectares of farmland in favour of around 3.9 million peasant households. Originally, the CARP gave the government ten years to complete its land redistribution efforts, which was later extended for another ten years, resetting the deadline to 2008. But when the law finally expired in December of that year, more than 1.2 million hectares of agricultural land were still waiting to be

redistributed. Campaigning for the further extension of the CARP began as early as 2006, and following countless protest actions and mass mobilisations, the CARP Extension with Reforms (CARPER) was signed in 2009, extending the reforms until 2014.

4.2.2 Civil society actors and the Bondoc Peninsula campaign

The Quezon Association for Rural Development and Democratisation Services (QUARDDS) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in the Bondoc Peninsula that provides technical assistance to the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Bondoc Peninsula (KMBP, Peasant Movement of Bondoc Peninsula), a district-wide peasant federation. From the late 1990s, the organising efforts of QUARDDS and KMBP meant that large tracts of land in the Bondoc Peninsula were distributed to thousands of CARP beneficiaries, despite bureaucratic inefficiency and stiff landlord resistance. The first major breakthrough occurred in September 1998, when a 174-hectare property belonging to the powerful Reyes family was redistributed to 56 peasant beneficiaries. And this was just the beginning.

Over a span of 13 years, from 1996 to 2009, more than 10,000 hectares were placed under the effective control of more than 3,800 farmers. Some was re-distributed by the government and some controlled through peasant initiatives. These efforts took the form of consistent social pressure from below and initiatives to build alliances with reformists in the Catholic Church and agrarian reform advocates. They also included a variety of extra-legal actions – such as land occupation, boycott of tenancy sharing schemes and padlocking of government offices, among others – in order to compel the state to implement its own agrarian reform law. Because of the partnership between QUARDDS and KMBP, rural citizens were able to assert their rights at the village and municipal levels, where actual land contestation occurs.

QUARDDS also enabled farmers to engage state agencies like the Department of Agrarian Reform at the both municipal and provincial levels as they pursued their land cases. It also facilitated coalition-building efforts at the provincial level in order to gain the support of other vital institutions such as the Catholic Church.

Since the late 2000s, QUARDDS has been the local NGO partner of two national agrarian reform networks, the Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services (known as RIGHTS Network) and Katarungan (Movement for Agrarian Reform and Social Justice), a peasant federation, of which KMBP is also a member. RIGHTS Network, established in 2008, is a network of 11 grass-roots NGOs working on agrarian reform. Katarungan was formed a year earlier by several provincial peasant formations to push for the extension of the CARP, and it initiated many of the protest actions that contributed to the passage of the CARPER in 2009.

Katarungan enabled KMBP farmers to interact, to share experiences and to forge common strategies with rural citizens from other regions and provinces of the Philippines. RIGHTS Network, for its part, provided technical support to KMBP farmers, as well as working with QUARDDS to deploy community organisers to catalyse action at the local level. It also helped in the pursuit of their cases at the national level, facilitating dialogues with pertinent government agencies, doing media work, forming alliances with important groups and institutions such as churches and political parties, and facilitating international fact-finding missions.

KMBP, QUARDDS, Katarungan and RIGHTS Network also monitor the Department of Agrarian Reform's implementation of CARPER from the municipal to the national level to inform their advocacy, and run public education campaigns using radio and newspapers.

4.2.3 Lessons for vertically integrated campaigning

- Coalition-building was scaled up from the grass roots as organised peasant groups, reacting to the strength of landlord power, first established relationships with other groups in their municipality, then formed provincial, regional and eventually national federations.

- Many CSOs involved in the coalition also engaged in cross-sectoral coalition-building, establishing strong relationships – especially with the Catholic Church and media – that delivered important gains for the campaign.

- The peasant movement's engagement with the state has mostly taken the form of protest actions and pressure politics at multiple levels, and it has had only limited engagement in spaces where the government has invited people to participate.

4.3 Empowering communities for housing and community services

Benedict G. Nisperos and Frederick Vincent Marcelo

The Philippines, with its booming population, faces a massive housing problem. Informal housing arrangements, substandard structures, congestion, a lack of relocation areas, rising criminality in overcrowded spaces, land-use conflicts and a lack of access to social services characterise this housing dilemma.

In the 1990s, widespread demolitions displaced many informal settlers in Metro Manila. Victims and their families responded by organising themselves. Among those that organised early was the umbrella organisation Damayan ng Maralitang Pilipinong Api (DAMPA, Philippines Poverty Relief). It was created to demand not just housing and relocation from different levels of

government, but also the social services that should go with them.

4.3.1 DAMPA's activities and scope

DAMPA organised poor communities around common basic issues through building a partnership with the government, enhancing community-based self-help initiatives, and initiating pro-poor legislation at both the local and national government levels. It presented viable solutions to basic poverty problems endemic to the urban poor – such as inadequate and unaffordable housing, evictions and relocation – which complied with both international and local standards, the provision of basic services, and literacy and livelihood development. Through these effective approaches, DAMPA was able to grow its membership. This large membership, composed mainly of women, became an important source of leverage in negotiations with the state.

In terms of scale, DAMPA is active in six major regions in the Philippines and has engaged with 90,000 households. It has helped about 5,000 families to secure land and housing tenure; helped set up 40 community pharmacies in 30 poor communities, providing low-cost generic medicines to an estimated 50,000 poor families; and run an Income Restoration Programme that benefitted 252 families.

DAMPA considers its greatest impact to be developing the capacity of 500 urban poor leaders and volunteers in 95 communities to address local problems more effectively. These leaders sit on various local government development and planning bodies, where they actively participate in local governance and development planning activities in their localities.

DAMPA has achieved a number of key victories as a result of its organising work. In 2009, for example, it assisted 31 informal settler families from Sitio Krusher in the municipality of Norzagaray, Bulacan province. They were involved in tense relations with their homeowner neighbours, who wanted to have them evicted. To prevent this from happening, community organisers from DAMPA – assisted by leaders from the left-leaning Akbayan Citizens' Action Party – organised a dialogue between the concerned parties. The result was that the landowner donated a 2,694m² lot to the informal settler families, on the condition that they pay the taxes on it. To date, DAMPA continues to provide capacity-building training to the Sitio Krusher families.

Another success story involved 2,000 informal settlers in the areas of Bangkal and Magallanes in Makati City, who had to be relocated to give way to several government infrastructure projects. DAMPA brokered a deal with both the national and local governments, which enabled the residents to acquire land through a 'negotiated relocation' and entitled them to a small grant to construct their houses. DAMPA assisted the residents in developing their new community, not leaving until the basic social services such as schools, roads, potable water and electricity were set up.

While DAMPA's primary strategy remains community organising around grass-roots issues, a strong networking strategy has also been integral to its activities. Through continuous engagement and active participation in the spaces it has opened for collaboration, DAMPA has been able to build a very wide local and international network. Furthermore, engaging in dialogue with the government and other stakeholders at different levels has afforded the leaders and ordinary members of grass-roots organisations the opportunity to acquire new skills and knowledge, and to hone their expertise. As such, they have become more knowledgeable about local and national government processes, and calibrate their responses and activities according to this new knowledge.

Through lobbying, coordination and constituency-building at different levels of government – even extending to the international level – DAMPA has been able to claim spaces where the urban poor can voice their concerns, and to institutionalise some of these spaces. It advanced the requirement for consultation in relocation activities and the participation of citizens in decision-making for housing and relocation projects affecting them. This has been achieved through participation in deliberative processes and decision-making at local urban poor and housing offices, and at the national level through the National Housing Authority and other agencies under the Housing Urban Development Coordinating Council.

4.3.2 Lessons for vertically integrated advocacy

- DAMPA considers its network of constituents, members and partners as its greatest resource for vertical integration. It was able to overcome populism and clientelism by building on the knowledge that it acquired through collaboration and networking within its constituency.

- For DAMPA, vertical integration is a chance to learn and to strengthen the organisation and its members.

- DAMPA recognises that it was able to vertically integrate its activities because of its understanding of its own strengths and weaknesses, and of how institutions operate, how power structures at the different levels of government affect the results of advocacy, and how best to engage the government at different levels.

4.4 Intensifying the anti-mining campaign

Benedict G. Nisperos and Rhia Muhi

The Philippines has a mining law that is contested by

several sectors due to the inadequate environmental protection that it offers lands and communities. The law allows forest clearance, free exploitation of water, easement rights and the use of explosives with low fees and penalties. It does not provide effective protection of the rights of mining-affected communities, nor does it recognise the ownership of natural resources by communities of indigenous peoples.

This flawed law, together with high-profile coverage of several mining disasters in the Philippines, raised the consciousness of several communities affected by the ill effects of mining, and intensified the existing anti-mining campaign. Thus, in 2000, when one of the Philippines' biggest mining companies planned new operations in a town in Surigao del Norte, Mindanao, community members began organising themselves to prevent the potential degradation of their lands. The Anislagan Bantay Kalikasan Task Force (ABAKATAF), a community-based organisation (CBO), strengthened its ranks by fighting the insidious efforts of different mining companies to enter and mine their lands.

4.4.1 Linking the grass-roots and national anti-mining campaigns

Faced with this impending threat, ABAKATAF mobilised and organised its members and engaged the *barangay*-, municipal- and provincial-level officials in dialogue. When the mining companies pushed for entry into the community, ABAKATAF organised sit-down picketing and hunger strikes at the entrance to the mining sites to prevent this. They actively sought audiences with key government officials from the *barangay* and the municipality and, as a result, both councils passed ordinances upholding their rights to their lands and accorded them protection.

ABAKATAF then elevated its case to the provincial level, and beyond this, to the Mines and Geo-Sciences Bureau and to the president of the Philippines. These efforts captivated the attention of the nation, resulting in an outpouring of support for their cause. For a time, due to the initial efforts of ABAKATAF, mining companies were prevented from entering the mining site. But they re-strategised, using both informal and legal approaches to suppress ABAKATAF's protests. Although cases were filed against the group, its members did not give up. Leveraging its initial victory, ABAKATAF sought the help of national organisations, including the Alternative Law Group, the Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center (LRC) / Friends of the Earth-Philippines. These legal rights groups were active in the national campaign against mining, and LRC filed an injunction *'mandamus'* class suit against the mining firms, and against government officials in the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. This became a test case for the new Supreme Court-promulgated 'Rules of Procedure for Environmental Cases', and the first of its kind in Mindanao.

ABAKATAF and LRC employed a people-led legal strategy, with the community members filing cases themselves, with technical and legal help from LRC. On the local front, ABAKATAF's actions reaped victories. As well as being a test case for the new rules, it was also the first to be granted a temporary environmental protection order.

Meanwhile, LRC was instrumental in sustaining interest in the grass roots-level campaign and maximising support from related NGOs. It helped ABAKATAF effectively coordinate a media campaign, and it maximised its international network to focus on the plight of the community. LRC submitted regular reports to Friends of the Earth International and the Philippine Indigenous Peoples' Links, a UK-based organisation supporting indigenous peoples in the Philippines, about the activities and campaigns of communities. These fed into the international community's information resources about the struggle against mining.

While there was an active movement at the grass-roots level, higher-level efforts – headed by more technically savvy CSOs – continued to push for mining policies that would benefit grass-roots communities. Coordinated grass-roots efforts fed the national anti-mining campaign with the necessary on-the-ground information to use in advocacy at the Philippine Congress and in consultative meetings with the executive branch of government, involving the Office of the President and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. This work eventually resulted in a moratorium on the issue of mining rights, and the streamlining of rules on mining.

4.4.2 Lessons for vertically integrated advocacy

- ABAKATAF recognised its limitations as a CBO, and therefore invested efforts in seeking wider support from the Mindanao region and from national organisations involved in the anti-mining campaign.

- ABAKATAF maximised integration at various levels through coalescing with national organisations, thus ensuring legal, technical and sometimes financial support to attain the goals of its anti-mining campaign.

4.5 Campaigning for the rights of indigenous peoples

Benedict G. Nisperos and Romeo Saliga

The campaign for indigenous peoples' rights in the Philippines is both pioneering and longstanding. The Philippines was one of the first countries to adopt a law protecting indigenous peoples' rights; the country's highest court recognised their rights over their land more than a century ago. Indigenous peoples' claims for self-governance and the use of

their ancestral lands has been the driving force of their continuing struggle, which has overlapped with other rights-based campaigns on themes such as the environment, participation in governance, gender equality and peace. Some of the country's indigenous peoples' groups focus on specific issues. One example is the Teduray Lambangian Women's Organisation, Inc. (TLWOI), an indigenous people's organisation led by women. TLWOI operates in Maguindanao province, the regional centre of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and a stronghold of the Muslim struggle for autonomy. In this context, TLWOI faces substantial, multi-layered challenges in mainstreaming indigenous women's rights in governance. One layer is the challenge of fulfilling the day-to-day concerns – such as access to livelihoods, education and other basic services – faced by indigenous peoples.

Another layer of struggle is for women's rights, traditionally disregarded in highly patriarchal indigenous communities. TLWOI engaged with different levels of government, through varying means, in order to advocate for these rights. TLWOI worked for indigenous peoples' rights in general, and indigenous women's rights in particular. It made its demands for basic social services through claiming spaces for representation at the local through to the national level. It represented indigenous peoples' interests in key decision-making bodies by taking advantage of spaces shared with government. It has succeeded in lobbying for the passage of local ordinances advancing indigenous peoples' rights – like the roll-out of early marriage counselling, and the allocation of funds for gender and development programmes – and allotting resources for basic services for indigenous peoples at the *barangay* and municipal levels.

TLWOI was successful in lobbying for the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights in the ARMM regional assembly. At the national level, the group's most significant contribution was the inclusion of indigenous women's rights in the Magna Carta of Women, enacted in 2009. It also represented indigenous people's interests in national talks about the establishment of a Bangsamoro regional entity.

4.5.1 Campaigning and organising strategies

TLWOI conducted public education as an organising strategy and tool for building the consciousness of indigenous peoples' and indigenous women's rights. Community organising was strongest at the local level, and was strengthened by the constant constituency visits made by the organisation's village point person.

The use of modern communication technology,

television appearances and radio programmes further bolstered community organising. TLWOI also took advantage of community organising as a way of getting feedback from the ground. TLWOI has a broad base of active support groups. It federated into 35 community-based Téduray and Lambangian women's organisations in six municipalities in Maguindanao province, highlighting the important role of women in community development. To better serve its constituents, there is also a functioning secretariat based at the organisation's headquarters in Cotabato City.

TLWOI is able to navigate policy spaces at different levels with ease by collaborating with established organisations with more resources. These include other indigenous peoples' organisations that take advantage of available spaces at all levels of the government. TLWOI has collaborated with a wide spectrum of academic, civil society, development and religious organisations, including the National Federation of Rural Women, the Asia Foundation, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, the European Union and Notre Dame University.

It works with these partner organisations on policy advocacy, community development, capacity-building and education. Partners also provide technical and financial assistance. Through continuing engagement from the local level up to the national level, TLWOI has established its reputation as one of the most reliable sources for policy proposals regarding indigenous peoples. In engaging with the government, TLWOI has claimed space for representation where it can voice the issues and concerns of its members. At the local level, from the municipal up to the regional level, officers conduct dialogues with local officials through the local development councils and poverty response action teams. At the national level, they represent the interest of indigenous peoples at the National Anti-Poverty Commission and the Bangsamoro Transition Commission.

TLWOI lobbies for line agency support for the social services that indigenous peoples need to sustain their day-to-day living. To strengthen their participation in governance, it also participates in the electoral process by campaigning for candidates from its communities.

4.5.2 Lessons for vertically integrated advocacy

- TLWOI recognises that engagement with the government is not limited by the size of an organisation, and that creativity in building vertically integrated networks and identifying strategic partnerships is key to effective campaigning.

- Identifying and engaging with the right political power at each level of government is important in achieving results.

4.6 Advancing reproductive health rights

Marlon Lara Cornelio

In 2012, the Philippines finally enacted the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act, widely known as the RH law. This guarantees universal access to methods of family planning, age-appropriate reproductive health and sexual education, and maternal and reproductive health services. While the law recognises that abortion is illegal, it mandates the government to ensure that women who need care for post-abortive complications get humane, non-judgemental and compassionate treatment.

The passage of the RH law was a landmark case in the Philippines, where Catholics comprise about 80% of the population. It was considered a major victory for women's groups and a resounding defeat of the hegemonic Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (Estrada-Claudio 2015).

The campaign for the RH law was diverse, broad and multi-sectoral. Within the reproductive health movement, various networks and organisations took up the cudgels of the campaign. This case study focuses on the story of Likhaan Centre for Women's Health, part of the Reproductive Health Alliance Network (RHAN). It shares experiences and lessons from the successful campaign, looking at the initiatives and actions that took place at different levels of policy-making.

4.6.1 Civil society organisations and the campaign for reproductive health rights

Established in 1995, Likhaan is an NGO composed of grass-roots women and men, and health advocates and professionals. It provides health education and services to women and young people in marginalised communities. For the RH campaign, Likhaan focused on consolidating community support through intensive information, education and communication campaigns and community meetings, and conducted capacity-building training for community women to engage in RH policy debates. It also assisted in formulating ideas on how RH clinics could work, based on the experience of other local RH clinics. In 2003, it helped to federate women's and youth groups from its different communities into a common platform for community groups advocating for RH, among other issues. For its part, RHAN – the oldest RH rights monitoring and advocacy network – was formed in 2001 by the Population Commission, the Family Planning Organisations of the Philippines, the Philippine Legislators' Committee on Population and Development, and the Philippine NGO Council of Population, Health and Welfare.

Through sustained policy research and active public opinion-making that targeted different audiences – the general public, other stakeholders and members of congress – the campaign was able to shape public opinion in its favour. It engaged multi-sectoral groups from the academic, medical and scientific communities, as well as religious groups and those from the business sector, in order to solicit their support for the RH bill. RHAN also engaged the Catholic Church in tit-for-tat debate in a range of venues.

The RH campaign was well integrated with different government agencies from local to national – and even international – levels. The main arena for contestation was the legislative body, both locally and nationally. The executive branch of government under the Aquino administration was supportive, and actively campaigned for RH rights. At lower levels of government, legal recourse was taken against local ordinances and executive orders that advocates found contrary to RH or women's rights.

The campaign drew heavily on international influences, particularly international conventions. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development shifted the framing of the campaign from population control to RH rights. This shift changed the dynamics of the game and attracted more players to the side of the RH campaign. The RH campaign demonstrated effective policy monitoring and advocacy to uphold the rights of women and young people.

Early on in the campaign, RHAN worked with government champions within the executive and legislative branches. It spearheaded various mobilisations, both at the national and local levels, that developed, harnessed and demonstrated support and created national pressure for the passage of the RH Bill. Tipping the balance in favour of RH was the strong leadership of the President Benigno Aquino III, who certified the bill as urgent, and personally lobbied in Congress for its passage (Ocampo 2014).

When the RH law was finally passed, it was challenged in the Supreme Court. Though the high tribunal eventually ruled in its favour, its implementation was effectively delayed. After the legal victory in the Supreme Court, RH advocates turned their attention to implementation of the law. At present, Likhaan is part of a multi-departmental committee, the National Implementation Team, created by the Department of Health and including several CSO representatives, to monitor the implementation of the RH law. Likhaan is the CSO representative on the national secretariat, which coordinates CSO engagements and inputs to RH implementation, including the booking of CSO outputs.

4.6.2 Lessons for vertical integration

• Vertical integration can be costly and resources are needed to maintain and run networks. In this campaign, there was funding from local and international partners; this was mirrored by the labour of committed activists and grass-roots women who sustained their activism with very

limited financial means.

- Vertical integration was facilitated by RH advocates who brought together important government officials.

- The RH campaign was not designed to be vertically integrated, but instead adapted to opportunities and challenges. Although there was vertical integration in some parts of the campaign, it has also been described as 'rhizomatic' (Estrada-Claudio 2015) – a complex network of intersecting and non-intersecting organisations that includes both horizontal and vertical integration.

4.7 Building disaster-resilient communities

Marlon Lara Cornelio

This case study summary looks into the advocacy campaign of the Disaster Risk Reduction Network Philippines (DRRNetPhils), which was directed at the passage, implementation and review of the 2010 Disaster Risk Reduction Management (DRRM) Act. It examines the interaction of various initiatives and actions at different levels of policy-making, from the local to the national, introducing experiences and lessons from the campaign. It shows how using the vertical integration approach could be useful in framing and analysing similar monitoring and advocacy campaigns.

Prior to the passage of the DRRM Act, the primary law covering disaster management in the country was an outdated Presidential Decree (PD 1566), enacted by the dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1978. The DRRM Act represented a paradigm shift in DRR and response, moving from an approach limited to the reactive management of disasters to a recognition of the need for a holistic approach to reducing risks and responding during emergencies (Scriven 2013). It included provision for a Disaster Risk Management (DRM) Fund, which also covers climate change adaptation initiatives, and civil society participation in DRRM councils at the national, regional, local and grass-roots / village levels.

The passage of the DRRM Act took more than a decade of patient and persistent engagement with the legislative process. While there had been earlier campaigns by various groups, DRRNetPhils is widely credited as being a crucial advocate for the passage of the DRRM Act (Ibid.). It provided a strong, broad, persistent and consolidated network that influenced policy.

4.7.1 Building a national coalition

As a national formation, DRRNetPhils brought together more than 300 CSOs, communities, practitioners and advocates adhering to the Hyogo Framework for Action on DRRM and implementing a community-based DRM approach. It included members from academic institutions and government agencies, local government units (LGUs) and various LGU leagues. The focus on a common aim helped the network's membership to build agreement and consensus and, in turn, collectively advocate for change. The concrete nature of the target was seen as crucial to creating cohesion within the network: without this, it would have been a disparate group of heterogeneous actors (Ibid.).

The coalition was helped by champions inside government, in both the executive and legislative branches, who proved critical in the passage of the legislation (Dela Cruz 2015). International agreements, such as the Hyogo Framework, also strongly influenced the new law. Some observers argue that it was Mother Nature herself who provided the 'game changer' for the passage of the act. The devastation wrought on the Philippines by Typhoon Ketsana / Tropical Storm Ondoy in 2010 provided a shock effect and showed the urgent need for changes in the law (Dela Cruz 2015). However, it was DRRNetPhils that undertook coalition-building after this shock, both within the shared constituencies of its members and in other cross-sectoral formations. It then used coalition-building as a key strategy in creating a constituency for the passage of the DRRM Act.

DRRNetPhils served various purposes, providing a unified public education strategy, a venue for shared learning and exchanges between both local and national organisations, and a forum for information dissemination, consultation and consolidation on issues and positions. Crucially, it was present at both local and national levels. At the community level, DRRNetPhils undertook awareness-raising and capacity-building on DRR and policy-making. Local communities were also involved in the preparation of local and national development plans, and provided inputs to the draft of the DRRM bill.

DRRNetPhils consciously sought to bring practical experience from grass-roots organisations into legislative discussions. Furthermore, it engaged the scientific community in providing evidence to committee hearings. It also pushed for local ordinances, and modelled community-based DRM through the efforts and actions of its member organisations. The interface between the DRRNetPhils campaign and the state was pronounced at both local and national levels. At the national level, the concerted efforts of DRRNetPhils members were critical for the passage of the Act. Once it was passed, DRRNetPhils members became part of national and local DRRM councils, focused on the implementation and monitoring of the Act.

4.7.2 Lessons for vertically integrated campaigning

- One of the challenges of building the coalition and cultivating champions in government was the lack of coordination among government agencies. Before the Act was passed, although the campaign was vertically integrated, government approaches to DRRM were not. A vertically integrated civil society campaign can provide poorly integrated government agencies with a model for well-integrated ways of working.

- DRRNetPhils was a mechanism for both horizontal and vertical integration: internally, it organised itself to build muscle for legislative advocacy, while externally it mirrored the coordination of local and national initiatives.

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5. Synthesis: lessons from vertically integrated reform campaigns in the Philippines

Francis Isaac and Joy Aceron

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters of this report, we have examined a number of vertically integrated, citizen-led campaigns that have achieved significant reform victories in the Philippines. These cases were scrutinised in order to better understand the factors that had enabled these 'successful' initiatives to attain their objectives at specific periods in time.

To recap, the seven selected initatives (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4) focused on monitoring textbook delivery, agrarian reform, housing for the urban poor, halting corporate mining operations, protecting and promoting the rights of indigenous peoples, advancing reproductive health rights, and supporting disaster-resilient communities. They were selected for the following reasons.

1. They had multiple levels of engagement involving a variety of actors employing a broad set of strategies – including grass-roots organising, collective protests, coalition-building, civil society organisation (CSO) monitoring, policy advocacy and legal recourse.

2. They had been relatively successful in achieving concrete and tangible reforms – through passing progressive policies, monitoring government performance, or ensuring the representation of marginalised groups in decision-making bodies.

3. They had attained national prominence.

4. They were willing to participate in the study.

5. In total, they provided a cross-section of Philippine society by offering a diverse range of issues, featuring a wide array of actors that employ different modalities of engagement.

To better understand these seven campaigns, we used vertical integration (discussed fully in Chapter 2) as an analytical tool to uncover the complex dynamics involved in each citizen-led reform effort. This synthesis chapter reflects on vertical integration as an analytical framework, as a strategic approach to accountability, and as a critique of mainstream practices in the accountability field. It concludes by looking across all seven case studies and discussing their common features.

5.2 Vertical integration as an analytical framework

While previous studies often attribute reform victories to either 'champions' on top or to social mobilisation from below, vertical integration encourages a focus on the *scale* of an initiative and how societal groups engage various state actors at different periods in time. By scale, we refer to the interaction of the different levels of decision-making – from the local to provincial, national and international arena – for both the public sector and for civil society (Fox and Aceron 2016: 3).

This can be seen in the case of Textbook Count, which mobilised as many as 47 civil society organisations (CSOs) at the national and provincial levels. Though this initiative was jointly implemented by the Department of Education and Government Watch (G-Watch), actual monitoring work was done at the school level by volunteers from the Boy Scouts of the Philippines (BSP) and the Girl Scouts of the Philippines (GSP).

Further local support was generated by linking up with Parent–Teacher Organisations (PTAs), *barangay* (village) officials, as well as community-based organisations to assist volunteers in their monitoring activities. BSP and GSP chapters at the city, municipal and provincial levels also assisted in the effort by facilitating the recruitment of volunteers and the dissemination of information.

At the national level, G-Watch provided overall coordination while simultaneously undertaking cross-sectoral coalition-building by "linking up a wide variety of organizations, including NGOs working on transparency and accountability, development NGOs, sectoral organizations, an election monitoring CSO, and scouting organizations" (*Ibid.:* 37).

This is also the case in the agrarian reform campaign in the Bondoc Peninsula that is being spearheaded by the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Bondoc Peninsula (Peasant Movement of Bondoc Peninsula) or KMBP – a district-wide peasant federation composed of more than 40 hacienda-based organisations. It receives assistance from the Quezon Association for Rural Development and Democratisation Services (QUARDDS), a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) that provides technical support to rural poor groups operating in the province of Quezon.

KMBP is also a member-federation of the Kilusan para sa Repormang Agraryo at Katarungang Panlipunan (Movement for Agrarian Reform and Social Justice) or Katarungan, which is a broader confederation of several province-based peasant formations. Katarungan, for its part, works hand-in-hand with the Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services (RIGHTS Network) – a consortium of 11 local NGOs working on agrarian reform.

By forging multiple partnerships, KMBP is able to sustain a highly integrated campaign that enables rural citizens to engage both state and non-state actors at the village, municipal, provincial, regional and national levels. Its member-organisations, for example, are able to effectively assert peasant rights at the village and municipal levels where actual land contestation occurs.

KMBP is being assisted by QUARDDS in pursuing their land cases by engaging state agencies at both the municipal and provincial levels. Katarungan / RIGHTS Network then project these cases to the national level. These groups also support KMBP by facilitating dialogues with pertinent government agencies, establishing civil society allies and by organising international fact-finding missions.

The campaign for the passage of the Reproductive Health (RH) Law was vertically integrated, involving national and local organisations that include health service providers, women's organisations, sectoral groups, political parties and academic institutions. They later formed the Reproductive Health Alliance Network (RHAN), which launched a massive media campaign at the national level, while organising public information activities at the community level. While it actively lobbied the national legislature to pass the measure, it also made similar efforts with local governments, resulting in the enactment of local RH ordinances in Quezon City and in the province of Aurora.

Similarly, the campaign for the passage of the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) Law was spearheaded by a broad advocacy coalition called DRRNetPhils, which included more than 300 national and grass-roots-based CSOs. Apart from its lobbying efforts in Congress, the DRRNetPhils also engaged key departments of the executive branch, including the Office of Civil Defense which is the agency primarily responsible for disaster response, management and risk reduction. As it was engaging the government, DRRNetPhils sought the support of other civil society forces such as business groups, media organisations, academia and faith-based groups. At the local level, DRRNetPhils launched intensive public information campaigns and organised numerous forums in different schools and universities. It also engaged with several local governments, urging them to support the DRRM Bill.

When the law was finally enacted in 2010, the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council was soon created to develop a comprehensive, community-based approach to climate change adaptation and to disaster risk reduction and management. Chaired by the Secretary of Defense, the Council is a multi-agency and multi-sectoral body that includes representatives from government and civil society. DRRNetPhils is one of several civil society groups represented in the Council.

Another vertically integrated initiative is the campaign to prevent mining operations in Anislagan – a village in the municipality of Placer, located in the province of Surigao del Norte. This effort began with the formation of the Anislagan Bantay Kalikasan Task Force (ABAKATAF), after the villagers learned that the corporate mining companies were planning to begin their operations in the area.

They immediately sought the support of the local church, and began organising protest actions in front of the municipal hall and in the provincial capital. They also formed human barricades at the mouth of the road going to the mining site to prevent the entry of bulldozers and other heavy machinery. The village council responded by issuing a resolution banning mining operations in their area. For its part, the municipal government passed an ordinance placing the watershed and communal forest under their protection.

ABAKATAF sought assistance from several CSOs based in Manila, such as the Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center, Alyansa Tigil Mina (Stop Mining Alliance) and the Alternative Law Group. The plight of Anislagan's residents was also projected abroad through ABAKATAF's links with international groups such as Friends of the Earth and Piplinks.

The Teduray Lambangian Women's Organisation Inc. (TLWOI) adopted a vertically integrated campaign to promote the rights of indigenous women. Operating in six municipalities and in the provincial capital of Maguindanao, TLWOI is a federation of 35 community-based Téduray and Lambangian women's organisations that undertake community organising at the grass-roots level. It also conducts public education and awareness-raising activities at the municipal, provincial and regional levels.

In addition, TLWOI is actively broadening its base of support by establishing allies at various levels. Notre Dame University, for instance, has been assisting the federation in its advocacy at the provincial level. It is also affiliated with the Pambansang Koalisyon ng mga Kababaihan sa Kanayunan (or National Federation of Rural Women), which provides technical support for policy advocacy and project management. At the international level, TLWOI maintains close links with

foreign-based groups and institutions such as The Asia Foundation, the United Nation Human Rights Commission, the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies and the European Union.

Apart from alliance-building and organising work, the federation is engaging the state at various levels. This enabled TLWOI to convinced several *barangays* to allocate more resources to gender and development. It has also been assisting several municipalities in crafting their own local poverty reduction action plans.

At the regional level, TLWOI has a seat in the ARMM Regional Legislative Assembly – the legislative branch of the government of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). In addition, TLWOI Executive Director Froilyn Mendoza has served in the Bangsamoro Transition Commission – the body authorised to draft the Bangsamoro Basic Law for the new Bangsamoro political entity, as agreed in the peace deal between the Philippine Government and the Muslim rebel group Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

Like the other six initiatives, Damayan ng Maralitang Pilipinong Api (DAMPA, Philippines Poverty Relief) has been waging a vertically integrated campaign to protect the housing rights of the poor. Operating in at least six regions of the country, DAMPA has been organising poor communities around a number of common issues, while building partnerships at both the local and national levels.

It has, for instance, assisted 31 informal settler families forge a 'land-sharing' deal with a large subdivision in the province of Bulacan. DAMPA has also enabled other informal settlers in Quezon City to acquire land through a variety of schemes. At the same time, it has successfully built a wide network of CSOs at both the national and international levels. To better secure the housing rights of their members, DAMPA has been engaging a number of local governments, as well as pertinent national government agencies.

5.3 Vertical integration as a strategic approach to accountability

By looking at the cases, we are able to affirm vertical integration's main argument that pro-accountability initiatives are able to achieve more substantial victories and gain better tangible results system-wide if the approaches they use are strategic, multi-level and grounded in the actual power dynamics that are present in any accountability relationship.

While tactical approaches are highly localised and 'society-side' efforts to access information and project voice (Fox 2014: 10), strategic approaches "combine information access with enabling environments for collective action that can scale up and coordinate with

governmental reforms that encourage actual public sector responsiveness to voice" (*Ibid*.: 19). This means mobilising societal forces in order to address an issue, while engaging the state at all possible levels.

The implication of such an approach, as seen in all seven cases, is clear: by acquiring scale, the campaigns were able to generate broad support from societal forces while influencing the decision of important state actors, which then resulted in substantive reform gains.

5.4 Vertical integration as a critique of mainstream practices

While vertical integration allows us to understand how reforms are won, it also serves as a critique of mainstream practices in the accountability field. We have identified a number of these practices which the succeeding sections will discuss individually.

5.4.1 The search for 'best practices'

There has been a tendency among accountability scholars, donors and practitioners to look for 'best practices' from other countries and replicate them in the Philippines. However, the specific circumstances that gave birth to these 'models' are not fully understood, and the conditions that led to their subsequent developments are not adequately discussed. As Fox points out, "social accountability processes and outcomes are heavily context-dependent", which is why "one-size-fits-all, easily replicable tools" seldom offer strategic solutions (Ibid. 9).

This is evident in the seven cases featured in this report. Reading through the cases, we find that each campaign was intended to address a specific issue or accountability gap, and that the strategies that were adopted were based on the results that each campaign wanted to achieve. Textbook Count, for example, which is concerned with the timely delivery of the right textbooks to the right schools focused on monitoring. KMBP, on the other hand, which was engaged in the struggle for land rights, used collective protest actions to pressure the Department of Agrarian Reform to implement land redistribution.

5.4.2 Transparency + participation = accountability

The idea that 'transparency + participation = accountability' is now a standard principle in the good governance community. Simply put, this formula means that accountability is achieved when information regarding government resources, procedures, decisions and transactions is made readily and publicly available (transparency), and when ordinary citizens actively take part in existing decision-making processes (participation).

However, this notion is now being assailed for its

'linear' and 'simplistic' logic, which disregards the complex processes involved in accountability, and for its failure to take into account the reality of power dynamics (Halloran 2015). As the cases attest, state–society engagements are always embedded in power relationships. In most instances, state officials will try to escape accountability by 'squeezing the balloon' (Fox 2007). This occurs when a person in authority refuses to take action on a particular request or demand from the citizens by stating that responsibility lies either with those at the top or with officials from below (Fox 2001).

This practice of moving up and down the scale to justify government inaction is not, in any way, captured in the 'transparency + participation = accountability' formula, which instead presents a linear (if not overly horizontal) image of accountability.

5.4.3 Demand-side accountability versus supply-side accountability

There are accountability advocates that either focus on supply-side accountability or demand-side accountability. The first refers to the "accountability supply provided by the state through anti-corruption bureaus, legislative oversight and open data" (Fox 2014). This approach is often seen as less contentious since it allows state institutions to perform its supposed roles on their own.

Supply-side accountability was championed by the World Bank during the latter part of the 2000s, on the premise that demand tends to follow supply. They were, in other words, assuming that citizens' interest in participation will likely increase once reforms are in place and government information is made available to the public.

However, supply-side approaches are often not enough to induce reforms, since state actors follow certain routines that generally perpetuate existing power relations. In most instances, officials are jolted into action if there is a strong demand from societal forces to improve government service, enact a new policy, or change the existing rules. This approach is known as demand-side accountability, which refers to the actions undertaken by citizens to elicit responses from state institutions in order to address specific issues or accountability gaps (*Ibid.* 2014). The cases included in this collection all used this approach at certain points, in the form of lobbying, dialogue, mobilisations and collective protest action.

This is the case, for example, of the RH campaign when its supporters finally convinced a majority of legislators to pass the measure after 15 years of intensive lobbying and countless mobilisations. Societal demand from anti-mining groups also explains why the municipal council of Placer adopted an ordinance protecting the town's watershed and communal forest;

and why President Benigno Aquino III issued Executive Order No. 79 in 2012 that bans mining activities in certain protected areas.

However, demand-side accountability would not suffice in achieving reforms. Not only should there be demand *per se*, but it should be expressed at all levels in order to forestall any attempt to squeeze the balloon. The efficacy of demand-side accountability is also enhanced when citizens are able to maximise the openings provided by the state. In other words, demand-side accountability and supply-side accountability are two complementary approaches that can be used either separately or in combination at different levels at particular periods of time to advance possible reform gains. Or as Gaventa points out, there is a need to work on "both sides of the equation" (2002).

5.4.4 Long versus short route to accountability

In the 2000s, the World Bank promoted an approach called the short route to accountability which "links citizens directly to service providers, through various oversight and voice mechanisms" (Fox 2014: 12). It assumes that 'government failures' are primarily local, which requires exclusively local responses. This was meant as a critique to the long route to accountability since it is not able to immediately address government failures.

In contrast, the electoral process plays a central part in the long route, wherein citizens (as the ultimate holders of power) delegate authority to their elected representatives who then govern bureaucracies that deliver needed social services. The World Bank criticised this approach, arguing that voters would have to wait for the next round of elections before they can exact accountability, either by electing pro-reform candidates or by removing poorly performing politicians.

However, recent studies suggest that government failures are not locally isolated issues, but are "distributed all the way up the governance 'supply chain'" (*Ibid.* 2014: 11). This means that "the short route to accountability has turned out to be much more indirect than initially postulated, and its success may depend on making the long route more responsive as well" (*Ibid.*: 31–32).

5.4.5 Horizontal accountability and vertical accountability

Other approaches used in the governance community are horizontal accountability and vertical accountability. The first refers to the institutional mechanisms of checks, balance and oversight within the state. Horizontal accountability, therefore, sets the standards of behaviour for state officials, monitors their actions and imposes sanctions in case of indiscretion.

Vertical accountability, on the other hand, "refers to political accountability relations between citizens and their elected representatives" (*Ibid.*: 12). In this approach, elections are viewed as "the primary institution of vertical accountability", though "reinforced by civil society efforts to encourage accountable governance" (Fox 2007: 31).

Using vertical integration as an analytical framework, we can identify two limitations of these approaches. First, both horizontal accountability and vertical accountability approaches involve formal and institutional processes or rules. But as Fox points out, "much of what counts as accountability takes place outside of formal institutions" (*Ibid.*: 32). Vertical integration is able to uncover these informal relationships by looking at the constituency or cross-sectoral coalition-building efforts that campaigns undertake across the different levels to gain greater voice, legitimacy and influence. This is done using a variety of "tools, tactics and approaches ranging from media investigations and coverage to mass protests to leveraging traditional decision-making processes" (Halloran 2015: 2).

Second, both horizontal and vertical accountability approaches are not able to address scale. By either focusing on state–citizen relations or on internal accountability processes of the state, both approaches fail to explain why national accountability reforms do not automatically 'scale down' to subnational and local levels, and why local accountability reforms do not always 'scale up' to influence higher levels (Fox 2014).

5.4.6 Single, short-term tactics

Because vertical integration uses a variety of strategies across the different levels of engagement, it is clearly at odds with the practice of employing a single, short-term tactic that is isolated from potentially complementary and supportive tactics. These tactics include the use of open data without the necessary support that would ensure that such figures or information will be used to ensure accountability and promote human rights. Fox pointed this out, stating that "it is unrealistic to assume that information that is not linked to credible pathways to change will overcome well-known obstacles to collective action" (*Ibid.*: 28).

A similar tactic involves individualised citizen voice that is disconnected from organisations and movements. Of course, it is important that individual citizens, who have been excluded and marginalised, be given the freedom to share their thoughts and air their demands. However, individualised voices "have limited capacity to negotiate with authority about what to do about those new agendas" (*Ibid.*: 29). Therefore, the process of giving voice should include "not only large numbers of people speaking at once, but the consolidation of organizations that can effectively scale up deliberation

and representation" (*Ibid.*: 29). In other words, "voice is most usefully understood as involving *both* the aggregation and the representation of the views of otherwise excluded citizens" (*Ibid.*: 29).

5.5 Common features of the case studies: lessons for reform initiatives in the Philippines

Reform victories and accountability gains are no easy feats. The seven campaigns included in this study demonstrate the scale and complexity that is required in making governments responsive and accountable to their citizens. By using the framework of vertical integration, we were able to have a better understanding of these initiatives, and how they engaged the different levels at different periods in time. We were also able to deduce the characteristics common to all the campaigns and how they provide lessons to other reform initiatives in the Philippines. These are discussed in the sections below.

5.5.1 Multi-level advocacy responds to vertically integrated power structures

A common feature of all the campaigns is that they are cognisant of how power is structured and exercised, and how it influences the interface of societal groups with state actors. As such, a vertically integrated approach mirrors the operations of power and the vertically integrated nature of power relationships.

In a 2014 paper, Fox argued that, "corruption and social exclusion are produced by vertically integrated power structures" (*Ibid.:* 33). This is the reason why anti-accountability forces are "often quite effective at isolating, neutering and rolling back incremental pro-accountability initiatives or institutional enclaves" (Fox and Aceron 2016: 2). To address this challenge, Fox suggests that pro-accountability citizens' groups develop "parallel processes that are also vertically integrated" (2014: 33).

By adopting such an approach, pro-accountability forces are able to respond appropriately to 'power'. This is done by engaging different levels of governance, using multiple strategies involving constituency-building and interfacing with the state. Whenever anti-accountability forces block the reform efforts of ordinary citizens, they could respond by either going up or down the scale in order to overcome such obstacles. When government officials attempt to escape accountability by squeezing the balloon, societal actors can then engage the different levels so as to ensure that the state will respond to their demands.

This is the case in the ongoing land reform campaign in the Bondoc Peninsula, where poor farmers engage both state and non-state actors at the village, municipal, provincial, regional and national levels. Spearheaded

by KMBP and their allies from the Katarungan / RIGHTS Network, the campaign gained international attention by partnering with the International Peace Observers Network, an independent human rights organisation based in Germany.

The campaign against large-scale mining is also vertically integrated, with ABAKATAF involved in grass-roots organising work and local government engagements, while Alyansa Tigil Mina is focused on policy advocacy at the national level. These efforts have persuaded the municipal government of Placer, Surigao del Norte to protect their watershed and communal forest. In the same vein, several local governments from the province of South Cotabato have decided to ban open-pit mining in their respective areas. Alyansa Tigil Mina is also pursuing strategic litigation, with several cases now filed before the Supreme Court and in the lower courts.

Other groups like TLWOI have exhibited sophistication in engaging both national and local state agencies to advance the rights of indigenous peoples and indigenous women. It has considerable experience in legislative lobbying since it was one of the groups that campaigned for the enactment of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act and the Magna Carta for Women. It has also been working with various local governments to utilise their 5% local gender and development fund for women's livelihoods.[1]

For their part, DAMPA was able to turn their campaign for decent and affordable housing into a vertically integrated initiative by engaging various government agencies at different levels. This is because different state bodies are assigned to address specific aspects of the housing issue. At the same time, DAMPA encourages its local member-organisations to engage their respective local governments for their housing and shelter-related concerns.

Similarly, the vertically integrated character of the Textbook Count campaign was pivotal in its success. With CSOs covering all the critical stages of the textbook delivery programme (from procurement to distribution) at different levels, the Department of Education sees that it complies with standards of quantity, quality and process. This has prevented pilferages and has helped ensure the efficient delivery of textbooks. The campaign was also able to identify high-level champions in the Department of Education who provided the necessary 'political support' that pushed lower-level education officials to actually encourage CSO participation.

The passage of the RH Law was another massive campaign involving coordinated actions from the community to the national and international levels. Most of the groups that were involved in this initiative were part of a loose national network called RHAN, with

sub-networks at the local level. While RHAN developed the overall strategy for the campaign, grass-roots-based groups, on the other hand, linked the issue of RH to local concerns. By vertically integrating their efforts, the pro-RH groups were able to develop a campaign that had considerable support from various sectors at every level of society (Melgar 2014).

But if all these campaigns were vertically integrated, this still begs the question: Why were they so?

Based on the case studies, a campaign becomes vertically integrated as pro-reform and accountability forces confront, respond and grapple with the reality of power. Consequently, the drivers of integration can be broadly categorised into two types. The first one is designed as a *countervailing tactic meant to neutralise elite resistance*. The second type aims to *maximise the reform initiatives of the state to improve its processes and enhance its performance*.

The countervailing tactic can be seen in the agrarian reform campaign, wherein the direction of integration often comes from the ground up. As peasant demands are challenged at the village level, they go to the municipal, and then to the provincial, and then to the national, and so on. Integration is also driven by the fact that landowner power is vertically integrated, with haciendas covering several *barangays* and municipalities. Their influence also stretches up to the provincial and national levels, covering different bureaucracies and the three branches of government.

A similar situation can be observed in the RH campaign, wherein RH groups were compelled to integrate their efforts to overcome conservative resistance. The strongest opposition came from the Catholic Church, which has considerable influence because of its vertically integrated organisational structure with thousands of parishes at the local levels, and with dioceses and archdioceses at the top. Its clout can also be felt even in the state, with several conservative local governments passing ordinances that ban the sale of condoms and artificial family planning methods. This prompted the need for a national RH law to prevent similar restrictions at the local level.

In the case of the anti-mining campaign, small and isolated communities (mostly in the hinterlands) had to integrate with grass-roots communities and national-based organisations to overcome the steady encroachment of large mining firms. The campaign meant to address their lack of technical skills and capacity, which the more sophisticated advocacy groups based in the country's city centres can provide.

On the other hand, Textbook Count is an example of the second type of driver that aims to maximise the reform openings of the state. It was conceptualised at a time when international donor agencies were becoming increasingly concerned with government corruption. To

address this issue, they soon awarded grants to several civil society groups, such as G-Watch, to promote social accountability. At around the same time, the General Procurement Reform Act was signed into law on July 22, 2002, which provides for CSO representation in the procurement process. These two policy openings at the international and national levels ultimately gave G-Watch the opportunity to partner with the Department of Education and initiate Textbook Count.

Similarly, the TLWOI's campaign for indigenous peoples' rights has been maximising the favourable policy environment that now exists. As an organisation, TLWOI actively seeks representation for indigenous peoples in decision-making bodies at local, regional and national levels that have been identified in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act and in the Magna Carta for Women.

Interestingly, women have played pivotal roles in the exercise of this vertically integrated citizen power in the campaigns studied. Whether gender is a significant variable in the adoption or practice of vertical integration in advocacy campaigns would need to be explored in further research.

5.5.2 Many levels of engagement, a wide variety of actions

It is clear from the earlier discussions that the power of anti-reform forces is vertically integrated, with allies from both inside and outside the state. The seven campaigns responded to this challenge by adopting a number of measures that enhanced their effectiveness. Each campaign had multiple levels of engagement, with varying intensities of engagement per level, employing a wide variety of strategies depending on the existing challenges and opportunities.

By studying each of the cases, we can identify three common features, which were central to how the initiatives achieved their key victories. These are: (1) engagement at multiple levels of governance; (2) the use of multiple approaches and strategies (such as policy advocacy, policy monitoring, grass-roots organising, coalition-building and public education); and (3) engagement with multiple actors from both the state and civil society.

We also observed that the types of actions, as well as the drivers and mechanisms of integration, are largely informed by: (1) the intensity of engagement at a particular level; (2) the kind of approach that was employed; and (3) the kind of results that they were aiming for.

In the agrarian reform campaign for instance, organising work is being done at both the *barangay* and municipal levels. This is for two reasons: first, the struggle for land literally occurs on the ground; and second, success is measured by the size of the

landholding that is subjected to redistribution and then given to the actual tillers. This then prompts the need for organising work at these two levels.

At the same time, farmers form their own federations at the district, provincial and national levels.[2] This is in order to: (1) multiply the strength of grass-roots–peasant movements; and (2) to address the fact that landowner power is also vertically integrated, with allies at various levels of the state and in the three branches of government. Whenever necessary, farmers undertake legal actions at the municipal up to the national levels, thereby following court procedures in the Philippines.

Farmers also conduct public education campaigns targeting provincial- and national-level audiences. Limiting their audience, on the part of the farmers, is deliberate for two reasons. First, peasants on the ground are generally convinced of the need for agrarian reform since they are the intended beneficiaries of the programme. Second, their education campaigns are intended to be carried by commercial media organisations that usually operate at provincial and national levels.

Information and communications technologies (ICTs) are utilised as part of their public education and information strategy, though their use is largely limited to the national level. They are generally used to inform the public of the condition in the Bondoc Peninsula and to generate their support. The limited role of ICTs could be attributed to the fact that many of the tech-based approaches currently hailed as the solution to accountability problems are completely inappropriate and irrelevant to the lives of grass-roots people and how they address their collective problems.

As for the other campaigns, longstanding initiatives, particularly on housing, anti-mining and indigenous peoples' rights, have been pushing to either amend or totally overhaul the existing laws that continue to guide policies. However, no legislative breakthrough was made even after two decades of intense lobbying and advocacy. This prompted these three campaigns to give greater focus on policy implementation. In the absence of any new national law, the initiatives have challenged a number of local governments to enact local policy, whenever possible. In fact, several municipal governments have already issued ordinances banning mining operations in their respective localities.

On the other hand, the RH and DRRM campaigns both began as legislative advocacies demanding national-level actions. But with the stiff opposition of the very powerful Catholic Church and with DRRM being ignored by most legislators, these two initiatives began organising local-level actions designed to win grass-roots support and gain the backing of other sectors. Local programmes and ordinances were highlighted to

provide Congress with RH and DRRM models that they could study and learn from. When the DRRM Act and the RH Law were finally passed, the campaigns then shifted from national-level policy advocacy to local-level policy monitoring and implementation.

For its part, Textbook Count was primarily designed as an engagement initiative with the executive branch of government (in this case, the Department of Education) to monitor textbook procurement and delivery. The focus of Textbook Count's action is mainly at the school, division and national levels. It was supposed to cover procurements at the regional level as well. But this was soon seen as redundant since "DepEd procurement remains centralized, with textbooks and other large acquisition processes handled by their national office" (Fox and Aceron 2016: 29). To process the monitoring results and generate government response, G-Watch facilitated exchanges of experiences and problem-solving sessions at the national level and with selected the Department of Education divisions.

The programme had an advocacy component that is mainly designed to elicit responses from national-level decision-makers. The advocacy work undertaken at the division and school levels was intended to: (1) ensure CSO participation in textbook delivery; and (2) allow the school principals and contractors to respond immediately to the findings of the monitoring. The design also included legislative advocacy and engagement with public accountability agencies, when deemed necessary.

All advocacy initiatives use media-based communication as part of their campaigns; the use of media is critical for adding pressure to duty bearers and powers-that-be. Media is used to name and shame personalities and to make anomalies public. It is also a way to build constituencies as it creates awareness about the campaign. In the Textbook Count case, media was only used after the monitoring had taken place. Since Textbook Count operated on the concept of constructive engagement, all findings were first presented to Department of Education executives privately to give them ample time to respond to the findings. Reports to the media were made after the complete cycle of monitoring (that is, from planning to evaluation) had been conducted, and with the Department of Education's official response already incorporated in the report.

5.5.3 Multiple actors in coalition

One feature common among the initiatives is their grass-roots organising component. While RHAN and DRRNetPhils did not undertake community organising on their own, these two campaign coalitions included membership-based organisations that have a strong grass-roots presence. This allowed both RHAN and DRRNetPhils to achieve scale even down to the grass-roots level.

Organising work was apparent in the case of Textbook Count which mobilised BSP and GSP volunteers, and with as many as 47 CSOs joining the campaign at both the national and local levels. This initiative was able to tap other community groups such as the local PTAs, as well as village officials. Textbook Count also undertook coalition-building at the national level, with G-Watch linking up with a wide variety of organisations such as development NGOs, anti-corruption groups, labor unions and other sectoral formations.

Grass-roots organising is highly intense in the agrarian reform campaign, with most of the work being done at village and municipal levels. This is often undertaken by deploying community organisers to targeted *barangays*, who will then organise the community around the issue of agrarian reform. Coalition-building is another major component of the land rights struggle. At the provincial and national levels, for instance, the Katarungan / RIGHTS Network has built a network of allies that include the Catholic Church and human rights groups.

For its part, DAMPA is known for its solid grass-roots base, with 12 founding chapters and four expanded chapters present in six regions of the Philippines. It has built a support coalition composed of faith-based groups, legal aid NGOs and the Philippine Red Cross. DAMPA is also a member-organisation of both RHAN and DRRNetPhils.

On the other hand, ABAKATAF emerged organically as residents of Anislagan faced the threat of corporate mining in their area. Knowing that they could not confront the mining firms on their own, they eventually sought allies in Manila, particularly legal aid organisations such as Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center and the Alternative Law Groups.

Similarly, TLWOI has a strong membership base, operating in Cotabato City and in six other municipalities of Maguindanao province. It also has several allies from other women's groups, academia, think tanks and development aid agencies.

By looking at their profiles, we can now claim that all the seven campaigns were able to mobilise multiple actors using multiple approaches at different levels. But with the many actions and actors involved across the scale, the question remains: who or what holds these elements together in an integrated set of actions?

We can identify two common mechanisms that enabled the campaigns to achieve integration: (1) having a core team or secretariat; and (2) having a process that could federate the multiple efforts into a vertically integrated whole. A secretariat is important since it provides focus to a campaign by facilitating the communication and coordination process between social and civic actors working at different levels. A federation, on the other hand, provides the initiative

with scale by forming a coalition of different forces.

This is evident in the land reform campaign, wherein integration is often facilitated by agrarian NGOs that provide technical assistance to peasant formations. It also has peasant federations such as Katarungan and KMBP that are organised at the district, provincial and national levels. Such federations have regular assemblies wherein policies are discussed and leaders are elected.

On the other hand, the RH and DRRM campaigns were each led by a large network of CSOs that had significant nationwide presence. These networks – namely RHAN and DRRNetPhils – each driven by respective secretariats, maximised the unique strengths of their member-organisations to address various campaign needs. Buklod Tao (People Unite), for example, concentrated on awareness-raising and local mobilisation for disaster response and relief, while the Ateneo School of Government focused on the legal aspects of DRRM.

In the RH campaign, Likhaan was tasked with mobilising grass-roots support, while membership-based organisations conducted community discussions and information campaigns. RHAN partnered with the Philippine Legislators' Committee on Population and Development to orient legislative champions on the merits of the measure.

Similarly, Textbook Count was able to mobilise hundreds of volunteers and a significant number of CSOs from the national to the school level in a vertically integrated, nationwide effort. The information gathered from the monitoring later became the basis for the recommendations that were submitted by G-Watch to the Department of Education.

ABAKATAF, meanwhile, quickly realised the need for a coordinated approach early in their struggle. Their lack of technical capacity led them to seek assistance from Manila-based organisations. These groups then helped ABAKATAF project their issue to a national audience. In turn, villagers from Anislagan provided the Manila groups with the necessary insights, stories and information that helped the latter in crafting better informed policy suggestions. To coordinate all these efforts, Alyansa Tigil Mina was formed as an umbrella network for all anti-mining organisations.

Though TLWOI is deeply involved in lobbying and organising work, it is able to coordinate all these efforts through a functioning secretariat. It also has a Board of Trustees that sets the organisational direction of TLWOI. With 35 community-based organisations, TLWOI has formed itself into a provincial federation that is present at both the municipal and village levels.

Operating in at least 95 communities throughout the country, DAMPA is involved in community organising,

training and education. By providing technical assistance to other urban poor groups, it is engaging with numerous local governments to ensure decent housing for their members. To coordinate all its efforts, DAMPA has a national secretariat as well as a website to provide its members with a quick source of information.

However, integration does not always need to come from the centre; nor does it need to be deliberately facilitated by a particular person or mechanism. Unity around a common, concrete goal has an integrating quality, which is also found in a common appreciation of threats, risks and problems. Evidence, research and knowledge about an issue can also be factors in integrating actions.

5.5.4 Activities based on analysis of the state and traditions of collective action

All the initiatives we studied have undertaken implementation intervention and advocacy activities, but the particular focus on one or the other is in each case informed by their appreciation of the nature of the state and traditions of collective action.

By closely studying the cases, we can develop this point further by classifying the campaigns according to: (1) different traditions of collective citizens' action; and (2) whether they use implementation intervention or advocacy as their main approach.

In the first type of classification, there are three traditions of collective citizens' actions in the Philippines, with each tradition employing a different set of approaches for engaging the state. These traditions are categorised as progressive social movements, social accountability (SAcc) campaigns and hybrid initiatives.

- *Progressive social movements* focus on advocacy, pressure politics, claim-making and rights assertion. The campaigns for agrarian reform, anti-mining and reproductive health fall under this category.

- *SAcc campaigns* make use of the existing democratic space that advance the anti-corruption agenda to further open up the spaces for constructive engagement. Textbook Count falls under this category.

- *Hybrid initiatives* are those that exhibit the characteristics of the first two initiatives, using both monitoring and pressure politics. The campaigns for housing, indigenous peoples' rights and DRRM fall under this category.

In the second type of classification, we have observed two broad approaches that the campaigns have used to achieve results: (1) policy advocacy; and (2) intervention in policy implementation.

Broadly speaking, policy advocacy is an approach involving pressure politics to influence the state. Intervention in policy implementation, on the other hand, occurs within the system, often taking the form of performance monitoring, participation in legally recognised bodies and mechanisms, mobilisation of assistance and services, as well as the filing of court cases.

A number of the CSOs in the case studies are also engaged in direct service delivery. Such activities can be categorised under the second approach, though these can possibly be done independently by the state. RH, anti-mining, agrarian reform, indigenous peoples' rights and housing are mainly advocacy campaigns. Textbook Count, on the other hand, is the only one that mainly employed intervention in policy implementation. The campaign for DRRM employed both.

Different traditions are associated with different approaches. Campaigns from the progressive social movement tradition are more inclined to use pressure politics or policy advocacy as their main approach. They are, therefore, less inhibited from using collective protest actions and other adversarial methods to elicit state response and influence government decisions. This does not mean, however, that they do not intervene in policy implementation. Rather, policy monitoring and policy implementation intervention are both included in their toolbox. But they prefer to use the first in most circumstances, rather than the second. To elaborate: compared to Textbook Count, the monitoring done by the other groups did not cover entire systems. Monitoring was more *ad hoc* or reactive to specific threats / problems, and was usually undertaken to mobilise social actors and public opinion as part of advocacy. This highlights the primacy of advocacy, rather than monitoring, as the main approach.

While social accountability efforts in other contexts involve the use of an adversarial approach, in the Philippines social accountability initiatives, as observed in this study, tend to shy away from adversarial politics. Instead, they prefer to address problems together with the state, and often choose mainly problem-solving initiatives that curb corruption, boost state efficiency and enhance government performance.

The differences in approaches by these various CSOs can be largely explained by how they view the state. Progressive social movement initiatives assert that elite interests have captured the state, and that reforming the state would often require pressure politics. SAcc initiatives assume that the state enjoys a certain degree of autonomy from societal forces and that it can act autonomously from vested elite interests. This viewpoint sees the state as an arbiter or umpire that balances clashing values and interests.

For this reason, progressive social movements often use pressure politics and policy advocacy to advance their issues. Social accountability groups, on the other hand, engage state processes and work in close coordination with the government to collectively resolve identified issues or problems. Such approaches have implications on SAcc groups' organising work, with progressive social movements focusing on community organising, compared to SAcc CSOs, which prefer networking and coalition-building with already existing groups.

5.5.5 A transformative reform agenda, not short-term goals

The seven initiatives have mainly produced two kinds of results: (1) policy adoption or policy change; or (2) improved and more effective policy implementation.

The RH and DRRM campaigns both fall under the first category. The RH initiative sought to enact a comprehensive RH law; the DRRM campaign was an effort to have a new legal measure on DRRM.

The rest are cases of civil society efforts to ensure effective policy implementation. DAMPA's housing campaign, for example, focuses on the proper implementation of the Urban Development Housing Act. Their interventions are meant to guarantee that relocated families are fairly treated by housing authorities, and that basic services are available to the relocatees in their new communities.

The anti-mining campaign, on the other hand, uses existing laws to prevent large-scale mining operations in several localities by organising communities and by working with local government officials.

For their part, the farmers of the Bondoc Peninsula continue to fight for land rights by exerting pressure on the Department of Agrarian Reform so that it could effectively implement the country's agrarian reform law. By using a combination of pressure politics, rightful resistance[3] and working with state reformers inside the Department, land redistribution has been actually carried out in certain areas.

TLWOI, meanwhile, aims to advance the rights of indigenous peoples and indigenous women by maximising the participatory provisions of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act and of the Magna Carta for Women.

Textbook Count, which is concerned with the timely delivery of the right quantity and quality of textbooks to the right schools, is a programme that focuses on monitoring government performance and service delivery.

It must be pointed out, however, that some of these campaigns attempted to achieve both results at different points in their history, depending on what the context demanded. The case studies reveal how

Figure 3. The seven cases mapped according to result, main approach and tradition
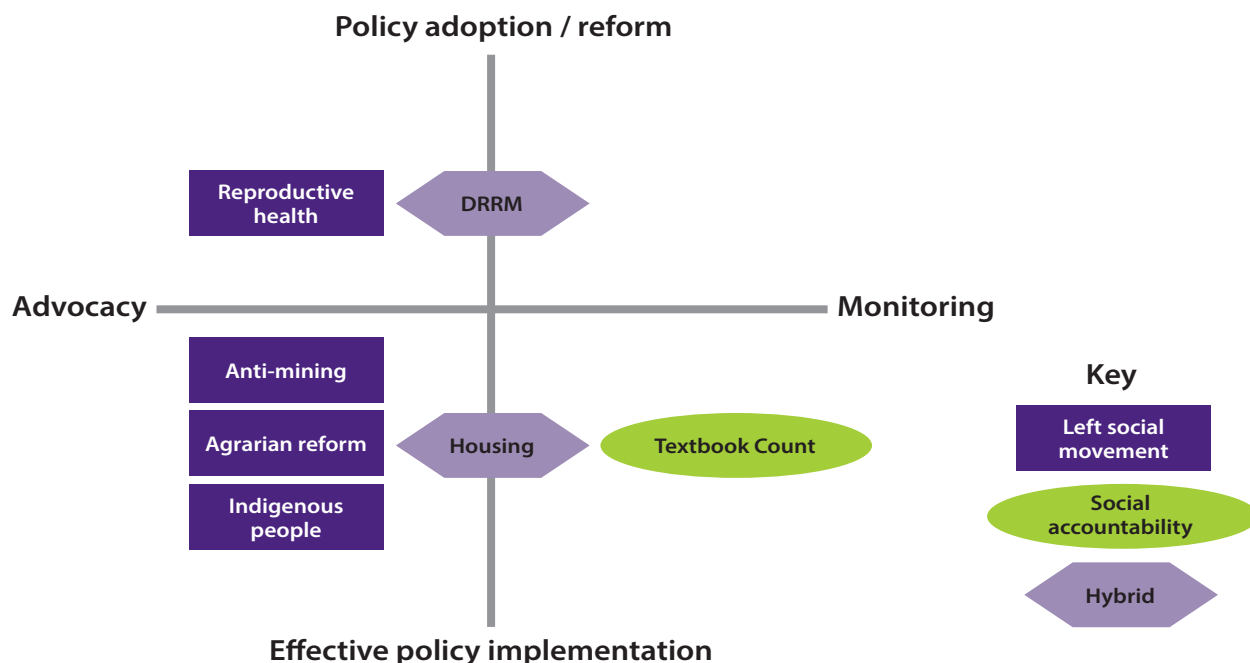
the main goal of these campaigns has evolved over time, and how their objectives shifted from policy change to effective policy implementation and vice versa. The main victories that these campaigns have achieved are enumerated above.

The Katarungan / RIGHTS Network actively campaigned for the passage of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms Law (CARPER), which sought to extend the land reform implementation for another five years. This law was enacted in 2014.[4] In the Bondoc Peninsula, the RIGHTS Network and its local peasant partners from KMBP have succeeded in shifting the control of more than 10,000 hectares of land to 3,800 poor farmers.

TLWOI took part in the passage of relevant national and local policies that advance the rights of indigenous women.

DRRM advocacy groups have succeeded in enacting a national DRRM Law. With this new legal framework in place, they are now engaging both national- and local-level DRRM councils, and are looking for communities that could be possible models of disaster preparedness and resilience.

Similarly, with the passage of the RH Law, the members of the RHAN coalition shifted their work from policy advocacy to the equally important task of monitoring the implementation so as to ensure that adequate RH services are given to those who need it.

The anti-mining campaign has gained the support of several local governments by passing measures to

ban open-pit mining. Anti-mining advocates, however, are still continuing their attempt to have a new legal framework, by replacing the existing Mining Act with the Alternative Minerals Bill.

And finally, Textbook Count has succeeded in reducing the textbook unit price from 80 to 120 Philippines Pesos (PHP) in 1999 to between PHP30 and PHP45 in 2006–2007, and in shortening procurement process time by half. It also instituted a problem-solving component where policy changes in service delivery can be introduced.

It is important to reiterate that all of the initiatives have tried to achieve both policy change and improved policy implementation at a given point in their history, depending on what is demanded by the context. Nonetheless they have registered clear success in only one.

5.6 Concluding remarks

This study looked at seven citizen-led reform campaigns that have achieved significant and substantial reform victories in recent years.

Despite the complexity of each campaign, we were able to gain a better understanding of these initiatives using vertical integration, which focuses on scale and how societal groups engage various state actors at different periods in time. Through this lens, we recognised that all the seven campaigns had mobilised various societal forces to engage on multiple levels using multiple strategies and approaches in order to achieve reforms. We also concluded that pro-accountability initiatives

are able to achieve more substantial victories and gain better tangible results system-wide if the approaches that they use are strategic, multi-level and grounded on the actual power dynamics that are present in any accountability relationship.

This study is the first major attempt to use vertical integration to analyse citizens' movements in the Philippines and to explore the lessons that can be derived from these initiatives. Our contribution is modest, to be sure, but we hope that our effort will encourage other scholars and practitioners to continue using this approach so that we can better understand that complex and dynamic process called change.

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Notes

1 According to the Philippine Local Government Code, all local governments (from the village, to the municipality, the city and the province) are mandated to allocate 5% of their budget to gender and development projects. Local governments, however, are given considerable discretion in defining 'gender and development projects'.

2 National membership-based organisations are able to achieve scale by organising units or chapters at the different geographic levels. KMBP, for instance, is present in 40 haciendas and is organised at both the municipal and village levels. On the other hand, NGOs like RIGHTS Network achieve scale by partnering with other civil groups that are operating below the national level.

3 Coined by Kevin O'Brien, rightful resistance is a form of popular contention that operates near the boundary of the law, while employing the rhetoric of the powerful to curb political and economic power. For more details of this approach, see O'Brien (1996).

4 The original law called the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) gave the government ten years to complete its land redistribution efforts. This was later extended for another ten years, thus resetting the deadline to 2008. When the law finally expired in December of that year, more than 1.2 million hectares of agricultural lands were still waiting to be redistributed by the government to thousands of farmer-beneficiaries. This prompted the campaign of peasant groups for the enactment of the CARP Extension Law, known in the Philippines as CARPER.

About Making All Voices Count

Making All Voices Count is a programme working towards a world in which open, effective and participatory governance is the norm and not the exception. It focuses global attention on creative and cutting-edge solutions to transform the relationship between citizens and their governments. The programme is inspired by and supports the goals of the Open Government Partnership.

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The programme's Research, Evidence and Learning component contributes to improving performance and practice, and builds an evidence base in the field of citizen voice, government responsiveness, transparency and accountability (T&A) and technology for T&A (Tech4T&A). This component is managed by IDS, a leading global organisation for research, teaching and communication with more than 30 years' experience of developing knowledge on governance and citizen participation.

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The Ateneo School of Government (ASoG) is a professional school for leadership and public service, which works with public servants to build prosperous and just communities throughout the Philippines. Government Watch is an action research programme that contributes to the strengthening of accountability through citizen empowerment.

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