

Civil Society Forum

Vol.4

9th East Asia Civil Society Forum held in China

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第9回東アジア市民社会フォーラムの開催報告

はじめに

10月26日(金)に第9回東アジア市民社会フォーラム「農山村における地域創成と市民社会組織」が、中国・無錫市内にある江南大学新社会組織研究センター(Research Center of New Social Organization, Jiangnan University) (写真1)で開催され、市民社会、研究機関、地方行政等から約100名(うち日本側参加者12名)の参加があった。同フォーラム開催に合わせ、25日(木)に江南大学新社会組織研究センター(写真2)、27日(土)にリンシャン公益基金(Lingshan Charity Foundation)および無錫公益革新創業園(Wuxi Volunteering Innovation Park)を視察し、これら組織の活動内容についてお話を伺った。また、26日に歓迎夕食会、27日に懇親会が開催され、多くの中国並びに韓国の団体と交流を図ることができた。



写真1 フォーラム会場



写真2 江南大学での視察研修

以下、第10回東アジア市民社会フォーラム「農山村における地域創成と市民社会組織」の概要を報告する。

1. 開会挨拶

開会挨拶では、江南大学学長Zhu Tuo教授、無錫市副市長、公益法人協会太田会長、韓国ボランティアフォーラムNam Young-chan会長、中国国際民間組織協力促進会Xu Tao理事長から挨拶があった。

日本側参加者を代表して挨拶した太田会長からは、日中韓が直面する共通の社会的課題やその解決に向けた市民社会組織の取り組み状況などについて共有することは、市民社会レベルで3か国の友好的な関係を維持する上で重要であるとし、2019年10月に日本で開催する第10回東アジア市民社会フォーラムへの協力を中韓側に要請した。

2. 各国からの基調講演

(1) 日本の農山村における市民活動～改めて、地域の時代へ～

日本の基調講演は、(特活)ひろしまNPOセンターの安藤周治会長が行った(写真3)。安藤氏は、広島県三次市作木町において取り組んできた、農山村地域におけるまちづくりの歴史と具体的取り組みを紹介しながら、日本の農山村の地域づくりにおける市民活動の可能性について論じた。

1960年～70年代：日本では、GDPが世界第2位にもなった一方で、農山村地域では過疎の問題が出てきた。作木町では、6,600人あった人口が、現在は1,400人で4分の1になっている。当時、一家をあげて都市に向かう流れができ、地方の小学校は統廃合、農協の支所の廃止、環境破壊が起こった。水俣病、イタイイタイ病も大きな問題となり、水質汚染、公害、人口減少によって生活しにくくなっていった。



写真3 安藤氏による基調講演



写真4 パネルディスカッションの様子

1970～90年代：オイルショック、バブル崩壊など経済は低成長期に入り、国レベルでは「過疎地域対策緊急措置法」を整備され、地方レベルでは「一村一品運動」が生まれた。そのような流れの中で安藤氏たちは、1970年には地域の未来を考え合う作木未来会議を立ち上げ、産官学野（野：地域で頑張る人）の横断的組織として中国・地域づくり交流会を立ち上げるなどしていた。

1990～2000年：少子高齢化が進み、限界集落という言葉が生まれた。国は「ふるさと創生事業」を実施した。空き家、耕作放棄地があり原野になっていく中で、古民家再生の動きも広がってきた。このような動きは、農山村のみならず大都市近郊のベッドタウンでも起きてきている。たとえば、コミュニティバスを運営したいという課題は過疎地だけの問題ではなく、「過疎地域有償運送」という言葉は「公共空白地帯有償運送」といわれるようになり、「過疎」という言葉が取られた。

2000年～現在：郵政民営化、三位一体の改革、平成の大合併などが進められる中で、少子高齢化が進み続け、2010年をピークに人口減少の一途をたどり高齢化率も高くなっている。農山村地域の人口減少はさらに進み、生活の交通、買い物難民、さらなる統廃合が進む中で、補助金制度ではなく補助人制度がほしいという地方からの提案を受けて、国は「地域おこし協力隊」制度を創設して、今では4,900人が全国で活動している。

もうひとつの役場：いつも誰かいる場所であるとともに収益事業（生活支援、高齢者サービス、配食サービス）も行う「もうひとつの役場」として、公園の指定管理を受託する（特活）元気むらさくぎを立ち上げた。元気むらさくぎは、地域の意見を集約して課題を解決していく「もうひとつの役場」として、地域の聞き取り調査をととても大事にしている。「働く場がほしい」という声に応じた配食サービス、グループホームの運営、予約システムの電子化を開始した生活交通「にこにこ便」などが生まれ、事業規模は現在1.4億円になっている。農山村の市民活動団体の役割は、地域プロデューサー、シンクタンク機能である。安藤氏らは、仕事づくり、人・知・技の集積交流を図るなどにより、暮らしの質を高め、安心、安全、自信や誇りをもてる地域創成を目指している。

（2）中国・多様化した主体 ガバナンスモデルへの挑戦と対策

中国の基調講演は、東アジア市民社会フォーラムの中国側主催団体である中国国際民間組織協力促進会の元理事長で、現在は深圳国際公益学院委員長の黄浩明教授が行った。

黄氏によれば、中国のコミュニティの自治は、農村であれば村委員会があり、比較的新しい住宅地の場合、委員会が存在しないコミュニティもある。今は新旧のコミュニティが存在しているという。多様化したコミュニティの

ガバナンスを担う主体は、党支部や住民委員会などの第一セクター、マンション管理会社や企業などの第二セクター、コミュニティ型社会組織（NPO）のサードセクターがある。また、最近では市場主導型のガバナンス形態も出てきた。ただし、政府、企業、住民のいずれが主体であっても共産党の指導の下にある。

中国の農村においては、女性、保護者が出稼ぎ中の子ども、高齢者が大きな割合を占める。また、教育機関、学校がより大きな行政単位へと統廃合され、「中心化」しているという特徴もある。法治、自治、徳治という概念があるが、中国は「人情社会」という特色がある。庶民の間ではまず人間関係を重視し、次が法律だと考える傾向がある。人間関係のモラルと法律の概念をどのように融合していくかが課題の一つとなっている。コミュニティ自身の調停能力を発展させる必要がある。中国では「慈善法」が2年前に成立したが、資格を満たす団体数はまだ5,000に満たない。一方で、地域にあるコミュニティ組織は約30万程度ある。これには、政府への登録が不要のサークルのようなものも含まれている。党はコミュニティ基金に注目し、新しいプラットフォームを作ったが、まだ発展途上である。目標を一致させ、協働していくことが重要である。形態は委託、協働、独立運営の3つに分かれるが、いずれも信頼性を高めるには、小さなことから始めなければいけない。例えば高齢者への食事サービスの提供、ゴミ問題、コミュニティの共同食堂などである。

（3）韓国・地域の再生トレンドと課題

韓国側の基調講演は、韓国地方行政研究院自治分権研究センターの金弼斗所長が行った。金氏は、韓国における地域社会の再生トレンド、コミュニティ形成の過程、地域再生の課題について解説した。

韓国・地域社会の再生トレンド：政府主導型の地域再生政策として、1970年代から勤勉・自主・協力を理念とした「新村運動」が行われてきたが、農村リーダーを育てるなどのプラス面もあったが、若者に農村への希望をもたせることができず、現在は一部地域でしか行われていない。韓国は経済成長をしてきたが、貧困地域の生活状況改善に取り組む「新庭院村事業」が2015年から行われている。民間主導型の地域再生の取り組みも行われている。1999年から地方自治法に基づく条例が制定され、住みやすい地域社会の創出のために住民が自治活動を行う「住民自治センター」の設置が始まった。さらに、住民自治センターを運営する住民自治委員会が「地方行政体制再編特別法」の制定により、法的根拠を得て活動できるようになっている。

コミュニティ形成の過程：朝鮮王朝期には、精神的な結びつきで地域を治める洞会、農作業などの労働共同体として地域を統一する互助共同体、資金を出し合い必要な物資を共同購入または村の娯楽や家族へのお年玉などに

使う経済的利益の共有により地域をまとめる「契」という地域自治の形態があった。その後、日本占領期には、洞会は廃止され中央政府に任命された官僚がそれぞれの自治体を管理する方式に変えられた。主権回復後、コミュニティの回復も進んだが、1950年の朝鮮戦争による住民の離村と避難民の流入により共同体は再び崩壊した。さらに1960年度以降、都市化と工業化、農村部から都市部への人口移動により共同体の崩壊が進んだ。

地域再生の課題：近年韓国では、政府主導型公共サービスの見直しを迫られた。政府は民間組織の公共サービスの可能性を理解し、政府は管理役になるというコミュニティ建設の政策を推進し始めている。その際、社会資本

(Social Capital) の形成を支援して、地域再生に必要な資本を賄うことが求められている。住民の地域再生への自発的参画を推進するためには、住民総会が重要性を増している。

3. 特別報告の概要

(1) 日本の特別報告の概要

里山保全の立場から見た環境保全活動と市民セクターの四半世紀：伊井野雄二氏（赤目の里山を育てる会代表）は、三重県名張市の里山保全を30年にわたり続けてきたNPOによる取り組みについて報告した。1980年代、伊井野氏が医療ケースワーカーとして務めていた赤目養生所は豊かな環境の中で過ごす施設だったが、ゴルフ場建設問題が起きて、里山を大切にしながらの医療活動が危機に瀕したことをきっかけとして、里山を大切にしながら地域を変革できないかと考え、全国に寄付をよびかけ1.3億円を集めて「赤目の里リゾート」をつくった。その後、ゴルフ場建設計画は頓挫したが、次は産廃施設建設計画が浮上したため、土地を買い取るナショナルトラスト運動に取り組み、1996年に赤目の里山を育てる会を立ち上げ、1997年に東海地方で初めてトラスト地となった。里山リゾート事業から始まって、障害者多機能施設事業にも取り組み、現在は自治協議会のキノコ事業経営をM&Aで担うようにもなった。ゴルフ場反対時代は疎ましがられたが、30年後にはやっとNPOと地域が手を結べるように地域が変わってきた。当初劣悪だった自治会との関係が、NPOとして国から資金を獲得してきて事業提案し始めてから、関係が良くなった。地域を大切に思う気持ちを共有しながら参加と協働を大事にして、縦横無尽にネットワークしながら「もう10年頑張りしたい」と伊井野氏は報告を締めくくった。

地方創生・持続発展可能な地域開発のカギ【自伐型林業】：中嶋建造氏（土佐の森救援隊理事長）は、日本の農山村に100万人の雇用が生まれ、日本のみならず世界の林業を変える可能性がある自伐型林業について報告した。戦後日本の林業の失敗は、平地で大規模に行われる欧米型の林業を取り入れたことにある。林業経営を森林の所有者ではなく、森林組合が行う所有と

経営の分離方式で、大規模に森林を伐採しては植林を繰り返すことで、山の劣化による災害の多発を招き、木材の質も低下して国際競争力も失った。一方、自伐型林業は、森林経営、管理、作業を森林の所有者自らが行う。所有する山、森から毎年収入を得ていく自営型の林業。木をすべて切らず、小規模分散で10年ごとに少しずつ切っていく。質と材積が変わるので売り上げがあがる。生産しながらも残った木がふえていく。いい森をつくると息子が継ぐ。(人工林であっても) こういう森が増えていかないといけない。近年、地場林業を、兼業や副業でやる人が増えている。「みかん栽培と自伐型林業で年収1000万円を得る人もいる」と中嶋氏は胸を張った。

(2) 中国の特別報告の概要

農村におけるガバナンスの新しいツール～功德銀行：中国からは、余紅玉氏（愛徳基金会）、申端鋒氏（江南大学教授）、何充輝氏（浙江省義烏市何斯路村党支部書記）、龍江文氏（中国国際民間組織協力促進会）の4名が特別報告を行った。中でも、何氏が報告した浙江省義烏市何斯路村における功德銀行の取り組みは、農村部におけるコミュニティ再生事業の成功例として、中国国内で高く評価されている。以前は所得も少なく、多くが出稼ぎに行き、残るは子どもと高齢者ばかりという状況だった農村で何氏は、「功德銀行」を開設した。村民は、良い行動をポイント制にして「功德銀行」に貯蓄でき、銀行からの融資を受ける条件に組み入れられる。「功德銀行」からもたらされる利益が、最終的には村民の利益になるものであり、村全体の活性化に貢献する文化を形づくるとともに、よい行いを実践したり周囲から尊敬されたりすることで、精神的な充足感が満たされていると何氏は功德銀行の成果を評価した。

(3) 韓国の特別報告の概要

鎮安村建設のケーススタディ：韓国からは、真熙善氏（ソウルボランティアサービスセンター研究委員）、孫宰徳氏（SK社会貢献CSR計画）、李仁宇氏（地域社会経済研究所代表）の3名が特別報告を行った。中でも、真氏が報告した鎮安村における住民主体のコミュニティ再生の取り組みは、韓国の代表的な成功事例とされている。鎮安村は、高原地域の山間にある人口2万6,000人（1996年人口10万人から減少）の農村で、高齢化が進んでいる。人口減に見舞われ、危機意識を高めた住民たちが行政主導から住民主導の地域再建に取り組んできた。村の再建は、第一段階のグリーン化（環境に優しい村）、第二段階の景観の拡大（美しい村）、第三段階のコンサル、文化、福利厚生（最も美しい村）、第四段階の中規模公共事業、第五段階の大規模公共事業による総合的開発プロジェクトという段階を経て、現在は自立段階にあり、今後の継続に力を入れている。成果としては、住民の力が強くなり

共同体の意識が高まったこと、制度を作って民間団体の設立が促されたこと、村長が変わっても制度が継続できるように条例ができたことなどが挙げられた。

4. まとめ

特別報告後に行われた報告者同士および会場の参加者も交えたディスカッションでは、農山村の地域創生に取り組む市民社会組織は、経済面だけではなく伝統、文化面にも配慮すること、そして何より住民の主体的な参画を促すことさが、共通の意見として語られた。最後に、今回のフォーラム開催に当たり日本側の実行委員長を務めた山岡義典氏（（公財）助成財団センター理事長）は、「高齢化社会、環境荒廃など共通課題がある。多様な挑戦の誇り、情熱が伝わる議論だった」と閉会の挨拶で、今回のフォーラムを振り返った。



写真5 集合写真

World Report 1

Overview of the “third sector” of Uzbekistan

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Currently, in the Republic of Uzbekistan registered more than 9 thousand non-state non-profit organizations that operate in various fields and make a significant contribution to the development of society and state. During the years of independence a strong legislative base was established in the country which regulates the matters of the establishment, activity, financing and state support of non-state non-profit organizations. These laws are: the Law “On associations” (1991), the Law “On the non-state non-profit organizations” (1999), the Law on “Public foundations” (2003), the Law “On charity” (2007), the Law “On guarantees of the activities of non-state non-profit organizations” (2007), the Law “On ecological control” (2013); the Law “On social partnership” (2014) and others.

Regarding the definition of “non-state non-profit organization” under the legislation of Uzbekistan, in the accordance with the Law “On the non-state non-profit organizations” (1999) non-state non-profit organization is a self-governing organization voluntarily established by physical and (or) legal entities which doesn’t pursue making a profit as a main purpose of its activity and doesn’t distribute profit among its participants (members). According to the provision of the same Law non-state non-profit organization is established for the protection of rights and legal interests of physical and legal entities, other democratic values, achievement of social, cultural and other educational purposes, conducting of charitable activity and for the other socially beneficial purposes.

The Law “On the non-state non-profit organizations” (1999) also specifies organizational forms which might be taken by non-state non-profit organization. So, according to this Law, non-state non-profit organization can be established in the form of association, public foundation, institution and other forms prescribed by legal acts. Besides of this, non-state non-profit organizations may establish unions in order to coordinate their

activity and also for representation and protection of their common interests. Peculiarities of establishment, activity, reorganization and liquidation of associations, public foundations, political parties, religious organizations, trade unions are regulated by special laws, whereas if some relations in the sphere of the activity of non-state non-profit organizations are not regulated by special laws, the provisions of the Law “On the non-state non-profit organizations” are applied. Thus, the Law “On the non-state non-profit organizations” is a basic Law for all forms of non-state non-profit organizations.

Non-state non-profit organization is considered to be established from the moment of its state registration. Non-state non-profit organizations are registered by the Ministry of Justice and its regional departments, and registry organ carries out control over the compliance of their activity to the statutory goals and legislation of Uzbekistan. The Law also specifies some requirements to the founders of non-state non-profit organizations as well as to participants (members). So, according to the Law, non-state non-profit organization can be established by physical entities who are at least 18 years old and also by legal entities. The common requirements to the age of members is also to be at least 18 years old, while the membership to the youth non-state non-profit organization is allowed from the age of 14, and to the children’s non-state non-profit organization – from the age of 10. Foreign citizens and people without citizenship may also be founders or members of non-state non-profit organization with the exception of cases, prescribed by laws and international treaties of Uzbekistan.

The number of non-state non-profit organizations in Uzbekistan is growing year by year. For example, in 1991 the number of non-state non-profit organizations in Uzbekistan was only 95, in 2010 – 5431 1), and currently there are 9235 2) non-state non-profit organizations, operating in Uzbekistan (as for January 1, 2018). According to the statistical analysis of the Independent institute on monitoring the formation of civil society, as for January 1, 2016 the largest share is composed of organizations which support the development of entrepreneurship and farming (22.1%); organizations, developing democratic institutions compose 17%; sports – 13%, youth organizations – 7.6% and those which represent rights and interests of persons with disabilities compose 7%.



Together with this, consolidation of non-state non-profit organizations plays an important role in the development of civil society in the country. There are certain non-state non-profit organizations which consolidate activity of the others, provide them with informational, methodological, material, technical and legal support. As an example of such organizations it can be pointed out the National Association of non-state non-profit organizations of Uzbekistan, Women's Committee of Uzbekistan, Federation of trade unions, Republican international cultural centre and others.

As it was previously mentioned, non-state non-profit organizations can be established in the form of associations, public foundations, institutions and other forms prescribed by legal acts. The statistical data of the Independent institute on monitoring the formation of civil society shows that the majority of non-state non-profit organizations are established in the form of associations (71%), public foundations compose 6% and institutions – 4%, other forms of non-state non-profit organizations compose 19% (as of January 1, 2016).

Regarding the financial bases of the activity of non-state non-profit organizations, the following may be sources of the formation of its property: entrance and membership fees, if they are provided by the charter; one-off and regular contributions from the founders, participants (members); voluntary property contributions and donations; income (profit) derived from entrepreneurial activities, used only for the fulfilment of goals stated in the charter; other incomes which are not prohibited by legislation.

In the accordance with the Law, non-state non-profit organization may conduct any kind of activity that is not prohibited by laws and is compatible with the purposes, stated in its constituent documents (charter, memorandum of association). Non-state non-profit organization may also conduct entrepreneurial activity within the purposes, stated in its charter, and establish entrepreneurial entities for the fulfilment of its purposes. Regarding the taxation issues of conducting entrepreneurial activity, in case if non-state non-profit organization receives income from entrepreneurial activity it becomes a tax payer in the part of derived income according to the Article 126 of the Tax code of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The state financial support plays a significant role in providing the financial sustainability of non-state non-profit organizations. Particularly, the state actively supports non-state non-profit organizations by providing them with state grants, subsidies and social orders for implementation of socially significant projects. According to the statistical data of the Public Fund for support of non-state non-profit organizations and other civil society institutions under the Oliy Majlis (parliament) of the Republic of Uzbekistan (the fund, through which financial resources are allocated) 248 non-state non-profit organizations obtained state grants and 9 non-state non-profit organizations were given state social orders for the implementation of socially significant projects in 2017 (www.fundngo.uz). Thus, the number of non-state non-profit organizations which obtained state grants and state social orders comprises 2.78% of the total number of non-state non-profit organizations, operating in the country. Besides of it, the state actively supports non-state non-profit organizations with subsidies. For example, in 2015, 3 billion 250 million soums ³⁾ were allocated as subsidies from national budget to support activity of non-state non-profit organizations. The number of state financial support recipients is growing year by year and an amount of financial resources allocated to non-profit sector of the country is increasing as well. For example, if in 2015 177 ⁴⁾ non-state non-profit organizations won in grant competitions and obtained state grants for implementing their socially significant projects, in 2017 this number increased up to 248.

Another source of funding for NGOs is grants from international and foreign organizations. With the financial support of foreign and international organizations such as OSCE Project Coordinator in Uzbekistan, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, UNDP, UNICEF, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the US Embassy in the Republic of Uzbekistan and the other, NGOs implemented projects addressed to improve public health service, education, the development of entrepreneurship, handicrafts, agriculture, tourism and environmental protection in the regions in 2014. Membership fees remain the main source of the budget particularly for certain specialized organizations, such as the trade unions and the territorial departments of Commerce and Industry Chamber of Uzbekistan. An example of the support by the businesses to NGOs is “Kamolot” (currently – “Yoshlar Ittifoqi”, “Union of youth”), whose budget is financed by small

businesses, in compliance with signed agreements on mutual support in the amount of 8% of the amount of the single tax 5).

According to the Independent institute on monitoring the formation of civil society, in 2015 115 non-state non-profit organizations officially stopped their activity (88 of them were liquidated by their own will, according to the decision of their higher organ, whereas 27 of them were liquidated in the court order). Among the main reasons of the liquidation of non-state non-profit organizations and their insufficient functioning, experts point out a shortage of qualified personnel in the “third sector”, as well as insufficient material and technical equipment of organizations 6).

Together with this, according to the on-line poll, conducted by the Public Fund for support of non-state non-profit organizations and other civil society institutions in the period of 2013-2014, majority of respondents (40.5%) pointed out the absence of financing as the biggest problem of non-state non-profit organizations. According to the opinion of the Independent institute on monitoring the formation of civil society, which is stated in its annual report on the development of civil society in Uzbekistan for 2015, improvement of financial sustainability of the “third sector” will also be promoted by further expanding of the number of state grant recipients. Of course, by enlarging the number of organizations which receive state grants we can achieve the improvement of financial sustainability of the “third sector” to the certain extent. However, the non-profit sector of the country, as it was mentioned above, is growing year by year, the state budget is not unlimited and it is obvious that it will not be able to meet the needs of all non-state non-profit organizations. On the other hand, it is quite risky to rely only on state financial support, because organization cannot exactly predict whether it will be able to obtain state grant or not, one year state financial support might be available, but the next year it might be not. This can be proved by the experience of non-profit sector in USA, where in 1980s federal programs in many areas were cut back dramatically, the non-profit sector’s rapid growth was interrupted, and nonprofit organizations scuttled around to find new sources of support (Salamon, 1995) 7). Thus, it would be more efficient if non-state non-profit organizations have their own stable financial sources (for example, financial sources from entrepreneurial activity). In this regard, it is necessary to study this issue deeply in order to find out and develop new

legal mechanisms for the improvement of financial sustainability of non-profit sector by providing them with more opportunities to attract financial resources.

Non-profit sector of the country is growing year by year not only in terms of their number, but also in terms of their contribution to the socio-economic development of the country by implementing socially significant projects and active participation in drafting and implementation of state programs on socio-economic development. In particular, if in 2014 27 republican and more than 370 regional non-state non-profit organizations participated in the implementation of state programs, in 2015 these numbers increased up to 36 republican and 576 regional non-state non-profit organizations 8). Together with this, the number of state grant recipients is growing year by year as well. Due to their contribution to socio-economic development of the country non-state non-profit organizations are getting more and more public recognition and appreciation. Therefore, during 2010-2015 by the Decree of the President of Uzbekistan 243 representatives of non-state non-profit organizations received state awards 9). These numbers really prove significant role of non-state non-profit organizations in socio-economic life of the country and importance of the further development of the sector.

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World Report 2

Shrinking Civic Space in the Philippines

Mariefe Del Mundo*

The political and social landscape in the Philippines became volatile after Rodrigo Roa Duterte was elected President last June 30, 2016. Democratic practices, human rights, peace and order and governance all showed signs of deterioration since he assumed office. His shock and awe approach against illegal drugs killed tens of thousands of illegal drugs suspects sans investigations nor trials in a span of 2 years. A study titled “Building a Dataset of Publicly-Available Information on Killings Associated with the Anti-Drug Campaign” by the Ateneo School of Government (ASOG), De La Salle University (DLSU), University of the Philippines-Diliman (UPD), and The Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism at Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism (SCIJ) cited that “there were 22,983 possibly drug related deaths under investigation from July 2016 to May 21, 2018; 4,270 resulting from police operations during that period were acknowledged by the Philippine National Police (PNP).” Moreover, there is an alarming increase in the killings of human rights defenders and environmental activists, among them priests and leaders of indigenous people’s groups.

Duterte and his supporters publicly attacked or acted against individuals and groups who expressed dissent to his strict and uncompromising governance approaches, including the United Nations, the Catholic bishops, the Commission on Human Rights, human rights groups, journalists and even government officials. Senator Leila De Lima, who was investigating the extrajudicial killings related to the government’s war against drugs, was put in jail after Justice Secretary Vitaliano Aguirre filed drug charges against her. Impeachment case was filed against

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Ombudsman Conchita Carpio Morales, who was investigating the President Duterte's unexplained wealth. The President called Chief Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno dumb after she cautioned Duterte against baselessly linking judges with the illegal drug trade. Following this, the Supreme Court (SC) unseated Sereno based on a quo warranto petition filed by Solicitor General Jose Calida, who belatedly questioned her qualification to the post. The SC's act of granting the petition was seen as compromising its integrity and judicial independence as the court of last resort.

On the other hand, the government allowed the remains of former president and dictator Ferdinand Marcos to be buried at the Heroes' Cemetery despite the criticism and outcry of martial law victims and those who suffered under his dictatorship. This was seen as a clear attempt to re-write history and purge the records of human right violations, corruption, economic disruption and widespread poverty during the Marcos regime.

On May 23, 2017, the military bombarded Marawi City in Mindanao, southern Philippines to wipe out local extremists which claimed ties with the ISIS and ISIL. It has created a serious humanitarian crisis in the area, displacing nearly 400,000 individuals. Following this, Duterte declared Martial Law all over Mindanao, which was extended indefinitely beyond the prescribed 60 days, despite the armed forces' claim that the situation was already put under their control. The militarization in many parts of Mindanao then led residents to flee from their homes, increasing the displacement and humanitarian crisis in the island.

The atmosphere for dialogue and discussion has been damaged by the hate and intolerance dominating social media. Abusive statements from President Duterte, Former Philippine National Police Chief Bato Dela Rosa, Justice Secretary Vitaliano Aguirre and Presidential Spokesperson Harry Roque appeared to set the tone for these. Even the Presidential Communications and Operations Office, particularly Assistant Secretary Mocha Uson, was often fact-checked by mainstream media for spreading fake news and distorted information on government programs and initiatives. Mainstream media has so far recorded 85 incidents of attacks and threats under the current administration. The Securities and



Exchange Commission revoked the license of online news portal Rappler (Rappler currently challenges this in court); the publisher of the Philippine Daily Inquirer sold out its shares of stock in this major broadsheet daily; and major television network ABS-CBN was threatened with non-renewal of its license in 2019, all because Duterte and his supporters accuse them of biased reporting.

CSO participation in many government decision-making processes and bodies was diluted. In 2016, the government scrapped its Bottom-Up Budgeting Program, where a municipal-level council equally represented by CSOs and local government representatives agree on the national government projects that will be implemented in their communities. It was replaced with Assistance to Disadvantaged Municipalities (ADM) Program, with the mayor and 1 civil society organization chosen by the mayor having a say in identifying these projects. It was also the first time that working committees which formulate the administration's Philippine Development Plan (PDP) did not include CSOs as members. In 2016, only one national consultation and a 2-day "rushed" online opportunity to comment on selected PDP draft chapters were organized by government to consult CSOs and the public on this plan. There was also no clear feedback mechanism about the results of these consultations. Moreover, the meetings of the Multi-Sectoral Committee on International Human Development Commitments (MC-IHDC) have been postponed indefinitely since September 2017 without citing reasons. MC-IHDC, is an inter-agency subcommittee composed of representatives from government agencies and NGOs whose primary tasks is to monitor, review and evaluate the Philippine's compliance to international human/social development commitments (which include the country's performance in the SDGs). The National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) also provided limited venues for basic sector representatives to participate in its programs and activities.

The long-overdue National Sectoral Assembly of the 14 Basic Sectors has not been called by NAPC yet.

Currently, the government is putting on a fast track President Duterte's desire to institute a Federal form of government by changing the Constitution. While federalism is seen to further decentralize power and

resources to the regions, the motive, content and context by which this is being pursued by the Duterte administration is really questionable. The draft Constitutional revisions from the House of Representatives (HOR) propose to consolidate the President's power and control over all of government – executive, legislative, judiciary and independent bodies – in an almost monarchical fashion. HOR wanted to change the Constitution through a self-serving Constituent Assembly where incumbent Congressmen will convene to rewrite the Constitution, instead of through a Constitutional Convention where delegates would be elected by the people. Further, with 70% of local government units currently led by political dynasties, a shift to federalism at this time will only feed warlords and control of resources by local political families. Charter change moves in Congress lost steam when Duterte ally Pantaleon Alvarez was ousted from his Speakership. The president's supporters then revived Duterte's earlier threat of a "Revolutionary Government" as the most definitive way to install federalism. In particular, Department of Interior and Local Government undersecretary Epimaco Densing III encouraged Duterte supporters to call for a transitory revolutionary government, in which the 1987 Constitution will be abrogated and the President can call for a switch to a federal government.

However, there are rays of hope. Many CSOs may have been initially silenced by Duterte's shock and awe approach to governance. But organizing, mobilization and protest actions among CSOs and citizen groups calling to protect democracy and human rights are increasing. In 2017, several CSO networks, advocacy groups, people's organizations, social movements and even opposition political parties are coalescing to form new broader associations for democracy. Among them were the Lakbay-Buhay (Walk for Life), a broad CSO coalition against the reinstatement of the death penalty; Movement Against Tyranny (MAT), which unites all Filipinos for human rights and against tyranny; Tindig Pilipinas (Stand Up Philippines), Alyansa ng mga Samahang Pantao (ASAP or Alliance of People's Organizations), Coalition for Justice, Youth for Human Rights and Democracy and others. The street protests during May 1 labor day and June 30 State of the Nation Address of the president this year were among the largest in recent years, convening groups from a broad political spectrum. The millennials are also stepping up in regaining



influence over social media and fact-checking fake news. Many youth groups also led or took active roles in organizing public forums and street protests calling for respect for human rights, democratic processes and participatory governance. What is going to be the tipping point? It is just a matter of time.



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