

INTERNATIONAL NORMS UNDER SIEGE: STRENGTHENING DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS FOR RULES-BASED GOVERNANCE

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GLOBALIZATION BACKLASH



- Globalization had a big upside. It greatly expanded opportunities for exporters, multinational companies, investors, and international banks, as well the managerial and professional classes who could take advantage of larger markets. It helped some poor countries – China in particular – rapidly transform farmers into workers in manufacturing operations for export markets, thereby spurring growth and reducing poverty (Rodrik, *Journal of International Business Policy* 2018).



GLOBALIZATION LOSERS

- The decline in global inequality was accompanied by an increase in domestic inequality and cleavages. Globalization drove multiple, partially overlapping wedges in society: between capital and labor, skilled and unskilled workers, employers and employees, globally mobile professionals and local producers, industries/regions with comparative advantage and those without, cities and the countryside, cosmopolitans versus communitarians, elites and ordinary people (Rodrik, *Journal of International Business Policy* 2018).



ANTI-GLOBALIZATION AND POPULISM

- As it presents itself in Europe and around the world today, the combination of anti-elitism and xenophobia often conflates elites and outsiders as an adversarial whole. Xenophobia also manifests as a combination of anti-globalization and anti-immigrant feeling. Nationalism, unsurprisingly, is a common component; so is traditionalism (Oliker, *Survival* 2017).



WHAT IS POPULISM?



- Populism is a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite”, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonte generale* (general will) of the people (Mudde, *Government and Opposition* 2004).



DECLINE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- Membership in, loyalty to, and trust in political parties have plummeted, while electoral volatility increased. Contributing to the transformation of parties and party systems is an ongoing social structural and cultural process of individualization, which eroded the socially encapsulating subcultural boundaries that had tied many parties strongly to particular subcultural communities defined by the division of labor, confession, or ideology. Individualization has individuals more structurally and culturally “available” for and potentially receptive to appeals to “the people” that bypass established parties and other intermediary institutions (Brubaker, *Theory and Society* 2017).



SELF MEDIATIZATION AND SOCIAL MEDIA



- The pervasive “mediatization of politics”, the intensifying commercialization of media, and the accelerated development of new communications technologies made politicians less dependent on parties and more inclined to appeal directly to “the people.” They do so through self-mediatization that exploit mainstream media and bypass it through social media platforms. This fostered a populist style of political communication that matches the populist style of media coverage of politics: a style characterized by simplification, dramatization, confrontation, and negativity (Brubaker, *Theory and Society* 2017).



CRISIS OF LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM

- For the first time since the 1930s, the United States elected a president who is actively hostile to liberal internationalism. Trade, alliances, international law, multilateralism, environment, torture and human rights—on all these issues, President Trump has made statements that, if acted upon, would effectively bring to an end America's role as leader of the liberal world order. Liberal democracy appears to be in retreat, as varieties of 'new authoritarianism' rise in various countries. Across the liberal democratic world, populist, nationalist and xenophobic strands of backlash politics have proliferated (Ikenberry, *International Affairs* 2018).



PROGRESSIVE DOMESTIC POLICIES



- The liberal internationalism of the twentieth century was closely tied to domestic progressive policy and movements. The internationalism of Wilson's and FDR's generations emerged from their efforts to build a more progressive domestic order. Internationalism was put at the service of strengthening the nation—that is, the ability of governments and national leaders to make good on their promises to promote economic well-being and social advancement (Ikenberry, *International Affairs* 2018).



DIMINISHING SUPPORT FOR LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER



- The countries that built the liberal international order are weaker today than they have been for three generations. They no longer serve as an example to others of the strength of liberal systems of economic and political governance. Autocratic governments may therefore try to establish an alternative political order, one governed by might rather than by international laws and rules (Niblett, *Foreign Affairs* 2017).



CO-EXISTENCE WITH ILLIBERALISM

- An extended standoff between supporters of a liberal international order and those who contest it may accidentally lead to outright conflict. A better approach would be for liberal countries to prepare themselves for a period of awkward coexistence with illiberal ones, cooperating on some occasions and competing on others. The international political world will remain divided between liberals and statist for the foreseeable future, but both sets of countries will depend on a liberal international economic order for their prosperity and internal security (Niblett, *Foreign Affairs* 2017).



THE ROLE OF REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- Faced with the growing protectionist instincts of populist political movements that reject the benefits of globalization, policy-makers need to coordinate their economic policies at multilateral levels in ways that reflect countries' economic interdependence. Regional institutions, from the European Union to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), are essential components in this process, given that they can help governments to lower barriers and coordinate standards at a pace and within a cultural context that will be less disruptive than some multilateral initiatives (Chatham House, *The London Conference* 2015).





- The ten nations of ASEAN have a strong stake in the maintenance of a peaceful, rules-based global trade regime. Home to a young and growing population of 640 million, the region's economy is the fifth-largest in the world after those of the US, China, Japan, and Germany, straddling vital arteries of global trade. Singapore, which holds the bloc's rotating chairmanship for 2018, closed the 32nd ASEAN Summit last April with a vocal defense of the open and rules-based multilateral trading system, warning of the damaging effects of the rising tide of protectionism.

ASEAN CONSENSUS ON MIGRANT WORKERS



- Leaders of the 10 member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on Tuesday formally signed a consensus that would protect the rights of migrant workers on November 2017. At the signing ceremony, President Rodrigo Duterte presented to ASEAN Secretary General Le Luong Minh the recently adopted consensus document called the “ASEAN Consensus on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers”.



CYBERSECURITY



- Given that in cyberspace much of the vulnerable infrastructure is owned by private industry, policymakers may reevaluate norms against targeting these systems as they pursue attrition, denial, or decapitation strategies. As technology evolves and the Internet of Things makes societies more interconnected and vulnerable, states may find strategies that aim to wreak havoc on civilian populations more effective. This suggests that, at the domestic level, governments should strive to continue to build resiliency into civilian networks and, at the international level, norms governing appropriate targeting in the cyberdomain are urgently needed (Borghard and Lonergan, *Security Studies* 2017).

CAMBRIDGE ANALYTICA SCANDAL

- Alongside Facebook, Cambridge Analytica is at the center of a dispute over the alleged harvesting and use of personal data. Britain's Channel 4 News on March 2018 filmed senior executives at Cambridge Analytica suggesting the firm could use sex workers, bribes and misinformation to help political candidates win votes around the world. The harvested data might have been used to direct messages for political campaigns supported by Cambridge Analytica.





- In a letter to Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg, dated April 11, the NPC said it would look into how Facebook shares personal data of Filipino users with third parties, and demand concrete action to protect their data privacy rights. Outside the United States, the Philippines had the largest amount of user data acquired by Cambridge Analytica, with 1.17 million accounts in the country affected, the National Privacy Commission NPC said on April 2018.





The Philippine Open Government Partnership

- During implementation of the initial three Action Plans, the Philippines have proven to be a global leader in implementing reforms in good governance. The testament to this are the international recognition gained by several open government initiatives of the country such as the Grassroots Participatory Budgeting, Citizen Participatory Audit, Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, and Seal of Good Local Governance, and Ease of Doing Business.

PH as a Global Leader in Open Government



OGP - Founded in 2011

International multi-stakeholder platform

Making governments more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens

Governed by the National Steering Committee, comprised of government and civil society representatives

Government and civil society collaboratively develop and implement ambitious open government reforms

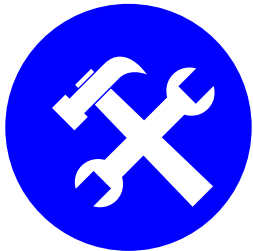


OGP: A unique model



A New Approach to Multilateralism

- Equal partnership between govt. & civil society
- Self-assessments | Independent Reporting
- Peer learning and exchange



Action Oriented

- Governments and civil society co-create action plans
- Secure concrete commitments
- Whole of government approach



Flexible but Ambitious

- Countries have different starting points
- Work with diverse group not just top performers
- Race to the top

How OGP works



4th PH-OGP Plan Commitments

No.	Commitment	Program/ Initiative
1	Strengthen civil society participation in local planning and development to further improve delivery of basic services	Assistance to the Disadvantaged Municipalities (ADM)
2	Engage communities in the fight against corruption, criminality and illegal drugs	Mamamayang Ayaw Sa Anomalya, Mamamayang Ayaw Sa Iligal na Droga (MASA MASID)
3	Improve the ease of doing business	A. Gameplan on Competitiveness: Ease of Doing Business B. Project Repeal: The Philippines' Red Tape Challenge
4	Expand and institutionalize of citizen participatory audit	Citizen Participatory Audit (CPA)
5	Engage and empower citizenry through an effective government feedback mechanism	A. 8888 Citizen's Complaint Center B. Satisfaction Rating on GOCCs
6	Passage of legislation on access to information	Freedom of Information (FOI) Program
7	Provide e-Participation tools through the National Government Portal and promote its use to the Whole of Government	E-Participation through the National Government Portal
8	Increase public integrity and more effectively manage public resources by implementing budget transparency	Philippine Open Budget Index
9	Improved transparency and increased accountability in the extractive industries	Philippine Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (PH-EITI)
10	Improve institutional mechanisms for immediate and effective disaster response	DROMIC Virtual OpCen: Revolutionizing Disaster Response in DSWD
11	Improve delivery of public services by capacitating Informal Settler Families and Resettled Families through Community Organizing and Community Development (CO-CD) Approach	Shelter Assistance through Community Organizing and Community Development (CO-CD)
12	Institutionalize Open Local Legislative Processes	Open Legislation Platform through Social Media and Website

3B. Improve ease of doing business

Program: Project Repeal: The Philippines' Anti-Red Tape Challenge | NCC



Brief Description

This program aims to identify and respond to different types of red tapes such as rules and regulations that are designed to but do not achieve a certain policy goal, inefficient procedures and systems that are related to administrative management, and inefficiencies in the communication and information exchange within and between organizations and external stakeholders

Targets

- Finalized Standard Cost Model (SCM)
- 300 regulations/issuances repealed, amended, consolidated or delisted
- Capacity Building Program in Standard Cost Model (SCM) conducted for 50 partner agencies/institutions
- 3 public dialogues on policies/regulations under review involving the identified CSOs/private sector organizations

6. *Passage of Legislation on Access to Information Program: Freedom of Information Initiative | PCOO and Senate*

Brief Description

Passage of Freedom of Information Law



Targets

A. PCOO

- Onboarding of 100% of agencies under the executive branch on the FOI portal by November 2017
- Passage of the FOI Bill by December 2018
- Transition of FOI implementation from PCOO to FOI implementing agency as defined by the FOI law by December 2018

B. Senate

- Proposed FOI law enacted into law by Dec 2018

FOI IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Executive Order No. 2 was issued on July 23, 2016 during the first month of the Duterte presidency. This policy operationalized the people's constitutional right to information in the executive branch of government.



ENABLING FOI THROUGH LEGISLATION

- On October 2016, the Senate Committee on Public Information and Mass Media submitted Senate Bill No. 1208 or the People's Freedom of Information Act which consolidates 14 bills.



FOI UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

The basis for FOI under international law was laid down in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.



THE GLOBAL MARCH OF FOI

There are now 115 countries with FOI regimes based on a list prepared by www.freedominfo.org. While it has yet to pass an FOI law, the Philippines is considered to have a nascent FOI regime.





KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (KDC) NETWORK

- The Knowledge for Development Community or KDCs are schools, policy and research institutions in the Philippines that work in partnership with the World Bank to promote knowledge sharing and citizen engagement about development issues. They were established through a knowledge partnership between the World Bank and these institutions since 2002. The KDCs convene dialogues on development issues, such as governance, education, health, climate change and disaster risk reduction, and economic growth.





Philippine Development Plan 2017-2022

- The Philippine Development Plan (PDP) 2017-2022 is the first medium-term plan to be anchored on the 0-10 point Socioeconomic Agenda and is geared towards the Ambisyon Natin 2040 which articulates the Filipino people's collective vision of a MATATAG, MAGINHAWA, AT PANATAG NA BUHAY PARA SA LAHAT. It also takes into account the country's international commitments such as the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals.





- The UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) has been operating since 2012 under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. SDSN mobilizes global scientific and technological expertise to promote practical solutions for sustainable development, including the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Climate Agreement. SDSN works closely with United Nations agencies, multilateral financing institutions, the private sector, and civil society. Much of SDSN's work is led by National or Regional SDSNs, which mobilize knowledge institutions around the SDGs.



DEMOCRACY WITH INCLUSIVE GROWTH

- If there is an ideological 'centre of gravity' in the wider world of democracies, it is more social democratic and solidarist than neo-liberal. Or, to put it simply: it looks more like the vision of liberal democracy that was articulated by the United States during the New Deal and early postwar decades. This was a period when economic growth was more inclusive and was built around efforts to promote economic stability and social protection (Ikenberry, *International Affairs* 2018).



MAKING THE CASE FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

- While it is true that the premise behind the checks and balances built into constitutional democracies is that they will prevent tyrannies from emerging, it is wrong to believe that they do this automatically. If those who believe in free speech, civil liberties and constraints on power do not make use of the tools at their disposal, those who disdain them will work to take them away. To be effective, defenders of constitutional democracy must recognize that they also have to make the case for it to a broader public, which appears to have become disenchanted, which requires dialogue and political education (Oliker, *Survival* 2017).



CRISIS OF PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE



- The crisis of public knowledge that is suggested by talk of fake news, alternative facts, and a post-truth era. The superabundance and seemingly democratic hyper-accessibility of “information” in a hyper-connected digital ecosystem, exacerbated by the proliferation of misinformation churned out for profit or propaganda, have weakened the authority of the mediating institutions that produce and disseminate knowledge: universities, science, and the press (Brubaker, *Theory and Society* 2017).



BRINGING CIVIC EDUCATION BACK IN



- There is a need to strengthen the role of universities in developing new content through research to educate the new generations of citizens for democracy and rules-based governance. On the other hand, media performs the critical task of knowledge dissemination.

**FIGHTING
FAKE
NEWS**



STRENGTHENING PARTIES FOR RULES-BASED GOVERNANCE



- Political parties should be strengthened as representative institutions to aggregate interests, promote evidence-based policies, and foster adherence to rules-based governance.



THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

