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From Grassroots to Government
A Study of Recent Green Party Building in the Philippines

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Abstract

The thesis at hand explores the history, ideology and political strategy of the *Partido Kalikasan* (Nature Party), a grassroots-based green party in the Philippines and the first of its kind in Southeast Asia. The party was founded in 2003 but will only now be registered with the Commission on Elections – a delay that reflects the lack of resources and strategic differences internal to the party as well as the distinct history and setting of civil and political society in the Philippines. Based on interviews and party documents as well as a discussion of another environmental group, the Philippine Greens, who reject to join party building efforts at this time, the diverse views held and strategies pursued by green actors in the Philippines will be explored.

At the same time, the seeming anomaly of a green party emerging in a relatively poor country like the Philippines puts into question the postmaterialist thesis of Ronald Inglehart. Arguing that a change of values in the wake of economic development and prosperity in industrialised countries has led to a shift towards non-materialist concerns, Inglehart tried to explain the rise of environmentalism and green parties in Western countries. However, the case of the Philippine green party calls into question the assumption that the environment is merely a "quality of life" issue, especially in a country where vast sections of the population still struggle to meet their basic needs.

First Part

1. Introduction

> *We deem it necessary to complement the activities outside of parliament with the work within municipality- and state parliaments as well as the* Bundestag*. There we want to assert and publicise our political alternatives. In so doing we will open up new avenues for citizens'- and grassroots initiatives for the assertion of their concerns and ideas.*
>
> Die Grünen (1980:4),
> *Federal Program*

> *First feed the face and then talk right and wrong*
> *for even saintly folk may act like sinners*
> *unless they've had their customary dinners.*
>
> Bertolt Brecht (in Jones 2003:187),
> *The Threepenny Opera*

With his criticism of bourgeois-capitalist morality and the impoverishment of the lower classes in the 1920s, Brecht touched on an issue that was taken up five decades later by political scientist Ronald Inglehart (1977). Drawing on Maslow's (1954) "hierarchy of human needs", Inglehart explained the rise of postmaterialist values at that time by the fact that post-war generations had been socialised in conditions of economic affluence. Both, Brecht and Inglehart have been interpreted as saying that people can only concern themselves with higher morals if their basic material needs are satisfied.

Hence, it was argued, the first green parties were founded in the West since only here the old cleavages between workers and industrialists, between the poor and the rich, had given way to new politics that were no longer about matters of physical sustenance but the quality of life. The demands of social movements composed of environmentalists, women, homosexuals and pacifists were interpreted as being primarily concerns of an affluent middle-class freed from the burden of daily survival. Soon, the limitations of extra-parliamentary action became clear to these

activists and it was then when, in 1980, the German green party *Die Grünen* was founded with the objective expressed in the opening quotation. According to Inglehart (1997:244), they united under the green banner because, "while many of the other Postmodern causes tend to be divisive, practically everyone likes clean air and green trees".

But what then about a country like the Philippines where one fourth of the population is living below the poverty line (ADB 2009)? By the above definition a green party constitutes an anomaly in such a country as materialism continues to be its socio-political driving force. And yet, recently a group of people from throughout the Philippines decided to officially register the first grassroots-based green party of Southeast Asia, although one would have expected this to happen in one of the more affluent neighbouring countries, if at all. This paper aims to explore this anomaly. It tries to answer two related questions. First, whether postmaterialism is a necessary condition for the emergence of a green party or if institutional factors are more important. Based on that, a second question takes into account the distinct political setting in many countries of the Global South characterised by personalised, weak parties: Under such conditions, is party strategy or issue-based campaigning the more promising mode of environmental action?

The Philippine case study will help to answer these questions. Especially the juxtaposition of the political party-approach of the *Partido Kalikasan* (Nature Party) and its sceptics within the environmental group "Philippine Greens" will highlight the complexity of dilemmas involved. Before turning to the case study, however, a discussion of the lack of research on green parties in the Global South will precede a short account of Philippine environmentalism, which will be followed by an evaluation of Philippine party politics. After the case study a conclusion will be drawn.

The main argument will be that Inglehart's thesis cannot account for the emergence of green parties in the Global South and does not pay sufficient attention to the possibility of an environmentalism driven by materialism, especially in countries where an intact nature is vital for the survival of many. Although it may help explaining why green parties have not yet become strong political forces in such countries, it seems as if institutional factors are more crucial since green parties have struggled to win seats in many Northern, supposedly postmaterialist nations as well.

Second, whereas the challenges for green parties in countries like the Philippines remain strong, there are few reasons against at least trying to pursue a dual strategy of extra- and intra-parliamentary action. This strategy needs to convince voters that to "feed the face" and to "talk right and wrong" are not opposed but intrinsically related.

2. Methodology and Definitions

This study has been informed by semi-structured interviews conducted in the Philippines. Over a three-week field work period, during which members of the *Partido Kalikasan* were deciding on the different alternatives for their engagement in the 2010 General Elections, information about party life and history could be gathered. A mere study of official party documents and structured questionnaires would not have led to the same results. However, the former were used as primary sources to analyse official party ideology.

Discussions with sceptics of the political party approach within the Philippine green movement as well as with academics and one parliamentarian of a progressive programmatic party helped to broaden the perspective. Secondary sources about green party history and performance, the Philippine party system as well as civil society and its relation to political society provided the theoretical basis whereas

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Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis turned out as the main theory to be tested. An early definition referring to Europe summarized his ideas as follows:

> [W]e reason that the age cohorts who had experienced the wars and scarcities of the era preceding West European economic miracles would accord a relatively high priority to economic security and to what Maslow terms safety needs. For the younger cohorts, a set of "post-bourgeois" values, relating to the need for belonging and to aesthetic and intellectual needs, would be more likely to take top priorities (Inglehart 1971:991-92).

This "socialization hypothesis" works in tandem with the "scarcity hypothesis", assuming that people place "the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply" (Inglehart 1981:881). In relation to environmentalism, Inglehart (1997:241) reasons that "[t]he rise of Postmaterialist values helps to account for the spectacular rise in the salience of environmental issues which has taken place during the past two decades". According to Poguntke (1993:29), this value change was a decisive factor leading to the emergence of New Politics which he defined as "the interrelated extension of *participatory dispositions and techniques* and the *partial change* of the *political agenda* through the surge of a new set of political demands" (1993:9).

Obviously, the *Partido Kalikasan* (PK) does emerge against a different historical and socio-political background but many of its stated aims resemble those of New Politics parties. The PK will be defined here as the first grassroots-based green party of Southeast Asia since it is made up of environmental activists who try to link with local constituencies throughout the country and pursue a long-term bottom-up strategy. This contrasts with earlier attempts in Thailand where, in 2001, a green party was rather hastily created by "progressive bureaucrats and politicians" and whose "focus was not at the local level but more on the national one by appealing to middle-class voters who had access to the media" (Narut 2005:49).

Main Part

1. A Blank Spot in Green Scholarship: Green Parties in the Global South

As of 2005, 13 political groupings in the Asia Pacific region were calling themselves green parties (table 1). Outside of Oceania – particularly the developed countries of Australia and New Zealand – none of these parties had won seats in national parliaments. Still, considering the global relevance of green issues and the fact that the most active parties within the Asia Pacific Green Network reportedly come frome Pakistan and Taiwan (Imamoto 2009), the question looms why the aca-demic focus has hitherto been almost unanimously on green parties in industrialised countries whereas those in developing or newly developed countries are neglected.

Table 1: *Green Parties at the Asia Pacific Greens Kyoto Meeting 2005*[1]

Country	Name	Foundation	Members	Elected Representatives
Australia	*The Australian Greens*	1992	n/a	4 Federal Senators, 14 State Members of Parliament, 80+ Local Councillors
Bangladesh	*Green Party of Bangladesh*	2004	Over 10.000 members	n/a
Korea	*The Korea Greens*	2004	350 members	11 local council representatives
Mongolia	*Mongolian Green Party*	1990	3000	6 local or province representatives
Nepal	*Green Nepal Party*	1996	n/a	n/a
New Zealand	*Green Party of Aetearoa New Zealand*	1990	2000	9 national and 17 local representatives
Pakistan	*Pakistan Greens*	2001	400	n/a
Papua New Guinea	*Papua New Guinea Greens Party*	2001	600	n/a
Philippines	*Partido Kalikasan*	2003	5000 in Northern Mindanao [estd. 3000 countrywide as of today]	n/a
Polynesia	*Heiura, les verts polynésiens*	1997	80	3 elected representatives
Sri Lanka	*Green Party, Sri Lanka*	2001	422 (full membership), 500 (associate members)	n/a
Taiwan	*Green Party Taiwan*	1996	n/a	n/a
Vanuatu	*Vanuatu Green Party Confederation*	n/a	n/a	5 Members of Parliament, 7 provincial councillors

[1] Source: Asia Pacific Green Network (2005).

Arguably, one explanation is the general bias against the possibility of green parties in developing countries, to which Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis has contributed. In their analysis of "[t]he standard explanations of green party success" Rihoux and Rüdig (2001:47) cite postmaterialism as one of the commonly accepted individual-level variables. If postmaterialism is established as a precondition for green party success, then why bother examining the developments in materialist societies?

However, Inglehart's assumptions did not remain unchallenged. Brechin and Kempton (1994:245-46) argue that they play

> nicely into the strategies of developing-country leaders, who use "We can't afford to worry about the environment" as one pillar to support their case for increased aid as a precondition for environmental protection. [...] Paradoxically, the assumption of lower developing-country environmental concern has simultaneously served conservative and pecuniary arguments that industry should be developed without concern for its environmental impacts in poor countries.

In fact, statistical data have shown that environmental concern is a global phenomenon. In their analysis of surveys conducted in the early 1990s, Brechin and Kempton found that, "[w]hen asked about the environment, citizens of developing countries are concerned as much or more than citizens in industrialized countries. [...] To conclude, our analysis does not support a postmaterialist effect". Their findings were later substantiated by Dunlap and Mertig (1997:25) who noted that the World Values Survey, initiated by Inglehart himself, produced similar results. Indeed, if the environmental attitudes of, for example, German and Philippine publics are compared, the latter even show consistently more support for the environment (see table 2). Only when asked if they would buy things at a 20 per cent higher price if it helped to protect the environment do the Germans show a slightly higher approval.

Table 2: *Comparison of environmental values between the Philippines and Germany[1]*

Protecting environment vs. Economic growth in %

Philippines (2001)   Germany (2006)
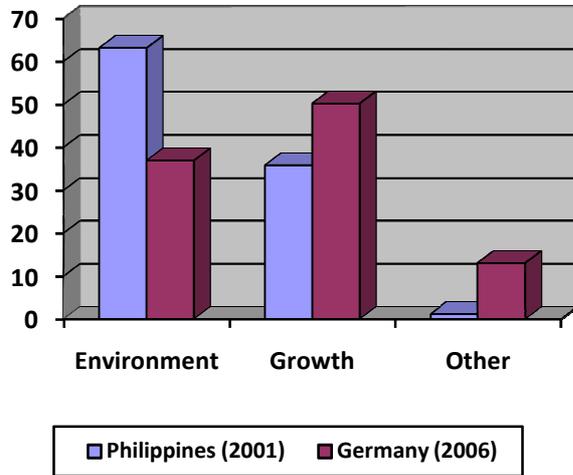
Would give part of my income for the environment in %

Philippines (2001)   Germany (1999)
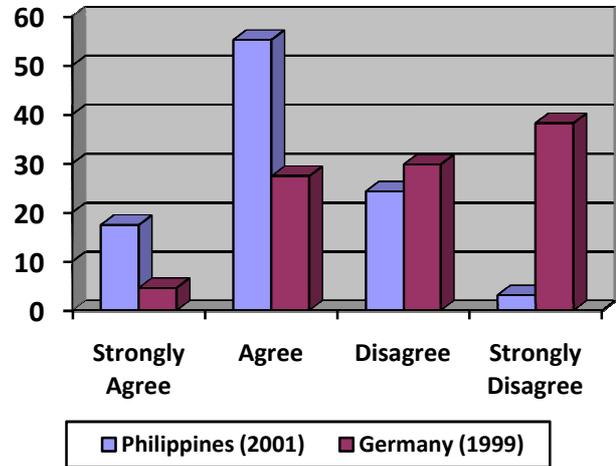
Increase in taxes if used to prevent pollution in %

Philippines (2001)   Germany (1999)
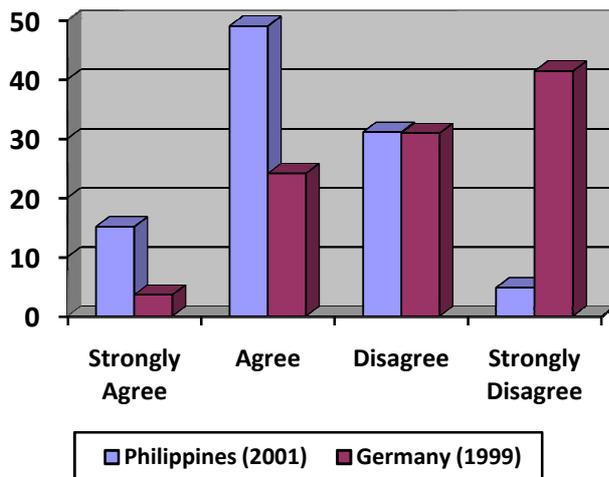
Would buy things at a 20% higher price in %

Philippines (1996)   Germany (1997)
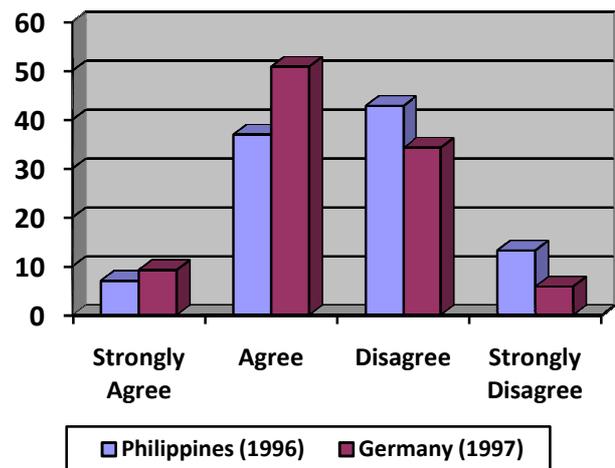
[1] Source: World Values Survey.

The greater readiness of many Filipino respondents to pay higher taxes as compared to Germany casts doubt on Inglehart's (1995:57) assumption that "countries that have relatively Postmaterialist publics, rank relatively high in their readiness to make financial sacrifices for the sake of environmental protection". The Philippine disposition to green activism has been confirmed by Broad (1994:811) who notes that

> [a]s a country where large numbers of poorer people have been transformed into environmental activists, the Philippines offers both a refutation of the traditional paradigm of poor people as environmental destroyers and enormous insights into the conditions under which poor people become environmental protectors.

To be fair, Inglehart (1995:64) himself noted that the correlation between postmaterialism and environmental support is relatively week in low-income countries and qualified his postmaterialist thesis saying that

> In many developing countries [...] air pollution and water pollution levels are far worse than in advanced industrial societies, posing immediate problems to health. In such settings, environmental protection is not a quality of life issue, but a matter of survival; it is likely to be supported by Materialists as by Postmaterialists. (Inglehart 1997:242).

Similarly, Lee and So (1999:9) distinguish between an "environmentalism rooted in affluence versus one rooted in misery or dislocation", whereas in both cases the economic status does not seem to necessarily translate into environmental activism. Regarding the former, Peritore (1999:28) notes that "it is not clear why elites, who have been always affluent, have not always been correspondingly 'postmaterialist'". And Carter (2007:94) adds that "greater affluence may simply encourage further materialism rather than nurture postmaterial values". In many countries of the Global South it is precisely the destructive actions of rich and self-serving political elites that trigger opposition from the less fortunate. Poguntke (1993:18) mentions system breakdown – or political underperformance – as one possible factor leading to New Politics:

> From the perspective of breakdown models, mobilization ought to be understood as response to relative deprivations produced by the failure of the system to provide outputs which match the expectations and norms that are generated through the system itself.

Although developed for the Western European case this model might be a useful tool to explain environmental action in countries like the Philippines where the political system often fails to meet the needs and demands of many middle-class intellectuals whose high educational level often does not translate into equally high-paid job opportunities and whose moral values are time and again frustrated by a corrupted ruling class, at the same time as it fails to meet the needs of the poor suffering under an exploitative oligarchy. This might trigger a counter-elite strategy that would eventually unite some middle-class strata as well as rural folks and translate into a New Politics approach which often takes the form of green politics.

Most importantly, value-based explanations do not account for the fact that green parties have not been successful in many advanced industrial countries. As Walden Bello (2009) puts it:

> The reason I don't think it's a developed versus a developing country thing is because of the United States and a whole lot of advanced capitalist countries where green parties have not been notable successes [...]. It's probably partly the structure of the political system. There might be something in the structure of certain countries like Germany that allows for better electoral success of an independent green party rather than in others.

This paper will follow Bello's reasoning and will take the political system, not the values of Filipinos, as the focus of attention when it comes to the challenges *Partido Kalikasan* is facing. It will be argued that institutional choices and political culture are the decisive factors preventing the emergence of green parties in many countries of the Global South rather than value systems. Or, as Peritore (1999:231) puts it more positively: ""Global South Greens benefit from being antipolitical because the standing parties are often coalitions of notables with low public credibility [...] . Thus, Greens work to prevent co-optation by parties."

The more pressing the threat of climate change becomes, the more it is time to put aside the postmaterialist thesis anyway. The economic consequences of natural disasters and the potential for green jobs are just two examples of factors that might lead voters to cast their votes for a green party out of immediate materialist self-interest. As Brechin and Kempton (1994:265) note:

> [R]ather than being a postindustrial luxury, a healthy environment is now widely viewed as essential for a sound economic base. [...] Instead of simply being a postmaterialist value, environmental values have become integrated with materialist values.

The above reappraisal of the postmaterialist thesis is not supposed to be an idealist appreciation of the environmental consciousness of underprivileged materialists. On the contrary, as I will argue below, a sole reliance on rural voters will limit groups like the *Partido Kalikasan* more than necessary. This chapter makes, however, the point that a materialist environmentalism is *potentially* as plausible as a postmaterialist concern and deserves more scholarly attention.

2. Success or Failure? Environmentalism in the Philippines

The Philippine archipelago has been described as "one of the most biologically and culturally diverse countries in the world" (Sinha and Heaney 2006:3). However, degradation is a major concern that spurs Philippine environmentalism:

> The prevalence of logging, shifting cultivation, land-use conversion, species invasion, urbanization, industrialization, and pollution have rapidly changed the Philippine landscape in the last 50-150 years. [...] The root causes of biodiversity loss in the Philippines include escalating demands for natural resources, failures of the policy makers and market-economy to provide the appropriate value for natural resources, and subsequent loss of incentives for communities to protect biodiversity (Sinha and Heaney 2006:4).

In numbers, the loss comprises 70% of the natural habitat over the last three decades, the threat of extinction of 40% of endemic mammals and 60% of endemic birds, the decline of coral reefs in excellent conditions from 5% to 0,24% from the mid-90s (Sinha and Heaney 2006:203) partly due to the use of blast fishing and poisons, the decline of forest cover from 70% in 1900 to a predicted 6% in 2010 (Haribon 2004) and of 60-70% of mangrove forests – the remains of which are 95% low-quality secondary growth – due to fishpond conversion and harvesting for fuel wood and charcoal, the loss or degradation of half of seagrass beds, and catch rates in reef fisheries that are among the lowest worldwide (DA-BFAR 2004:345–347).

In the wake of these developments, Philippine nature lovers first came together in 1972 and established Haribon, a bird watching society turned conservation foundation that, according to its own sources, "gave birth to the Philippine environmental movement" (Haribon website).

Generally, Philippine movements 'have been dominated by left-wing ideologies of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist variants' (Contreras 2003:90). The class- and social consciousness of former leftists-turned-greens is reflected in their "ability to reconcile the concerns for social survival with that of species and ecosystems survival" and is cited as its major strength (Contreras 2003:90). Thus, unsurprisingly, environmentalist Roberto Verzola (2000:60) builds on eco-socialist ideas to describe the NGO he helped founding, the Philippine Greens:

> [O]ur use of the term, "Green" arose out of our search for an analytical framework which rejected capitalism but which also went beyond the Marxist or the socialist framework. In our Manifesto we rejected the idea of domination or conquest of nature… Some of this diverged from the traditional left situation of being centralized and preferring large-scale approaches emphasizing the nation rather than the local scale as the focus of the struggle.

The vitality of the green movement is strengthened by progressive legal provisions. Two developments in particular contribute to Philippine activism and participation: The 1987 constitution encourages community-based organisations and NGOs to promote local welfare, whereas the 1991 Local Government Code allows NGOs to participate in local councils nationwide (Lee et al 1999:243). However, regarding the movement's success, the results are mixed. Many progressive legal provisions have been passed with the help of environmental activism and lobbying, but few are thoroughly implemented. Most importantly, environmental degradation as outlined above continues.

Some have viewed with suspicion the presence of individual environmenta-lists in government bodies and political institutions. Contreras (2003, p. 148) warned that, in the Philippines, "[t]he danger of bureaucratization and co-optation is all too real". The Philippine environmental movement too struggles to make its version of socio-environmentalism popular among, and relevant to, people. Its leftist-intellectual origins are reflected in idealist vocabulary and at times utopian visions about the restructuring of societal organisation. Hence, Filipinos may show strong support for the environment when asked in surveys and take pride in the fact of being the most active country in the 2009 Earth Hour (WWF 2009), whereas green movements often fail to get their socio-environmental message across and people involved.

To conclude, the strengths of the Philippine environmental movement are also its weaknesses. First, its socio-environmental approach neatly combines environmental and socio-economic concerns but often remains highly conceptual and not always relates to Filipinos who would potentially support green causes. Second, the responsiveness of the state to green issues and activists provides participatory channels for the movement, but given the lack of policy implementation and the

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potential of co-optation of individual greens who are "separated from the herd", environmentalists should consider that their current involvement might merely help to "greenwash" the government.

As will be argued, the establishment of a green party can prevent the co-optation of individual greens and help pool resources to increase the weight of the green voice. Such a party could also raise awareness among wider publics of green solutions to the challenges the Philippines is facing, as long as these solutions offer more than an eco-socialist mantra of "back to basics".

3.   Profit and Programmes: Party Politics in the Philippines, Past and Present

It would be wrong to call the Philippines a "new democracy". In fact, "[n]o country in Asia has more experience with democratic institutions than the Philippines", (Hutchcroft and Rocamora 2003:259) starting as early as 1898 at the end of Spanish and the dawn of American colonial rule.

However, as Hicken (2009:1) notes, "among the numerous tasks involved in the transition to and consolidation of democracy, the building of an effective and supportive party system has arguably proved the most difficult and elusive". The same holds true for the Philippines where parties have in the past failed to aggregate and represent the political will of their voters and are

> [c]haracterized by factionalism, frequent party switching [...], and party labels that generally mean little to voters and candidates. [...] Philippine parties are generally organized around a powerful leader, or a temporary alliance of leaders, and tend to be primarily concerned with distributing the spoils of government to themselves and their local supporters (Hicken 2009:151-52).

It has been generally accepted that the origin of the political dominance of self-serving oligarchs in the Philippine party system can be traced to the introduction

of electoral politics by U.S. colonisers at an early stage and in a process that strengthened the power of existing *mestizo* elites at the local level:

> The fragile nature of Philippine political parties stems from the introduction, during the colonial period, of American political institutions in the context of an iniquitous economic structure sustained by a culture of patronage (Manacsa and Tan 2005:748).

The dominance of a landed oligarchy has continued to this day in a U.S.-style institutional setting: presidentialism, a bicameral legislature and a plurality first-past-the-post voting system. Federalism was not adopted.

After the end of U.S. colonial rule and World War II, the party system was dominated by the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party alternating in power but offering no political choices or programmes to the electorate. When President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972, three developments led to a substantial change:

> first, traditional, mainstream parties fell apart, and were succeeded by a larger number of anti-Marcos coalitions; second, the Communist Party of the Philippines emerged as an important political force; and third, many civil society groups became politicized (Bevis 2006:98).

Although after the 1986 People Power uprising and the fall of Marcos the old elite returned to power, the two-party system could not be re-established. Two recent works (Hicken 2009; Kasuya 2009) argue that the introduction of a single term limit for the presidency caused the disintegration of the party system. Since, as Kasuya (2006:5) argues, "the party affiliation behaviour of legislative candidates is influenced by presidential elections", the term limit "fragmented presidential competition and introduced frequent change in party labels from one election to another" (Kasuya 2009:6).

Another factor leading to the proliferation of new parties was the introduction of a party-list system which provided for the election of underrepresented sectors to the Congress. Party list groups are supposed to make up 20 per cent of the membership of the Lower House and are elected under a proportional representation (PR) voting system while the five biggest parties are banned from participating. Since the groups are elected on the base of the policies they offer, it was hoped that the party list system would encourage a shift to programme-oriented politics. As Wurfel (1998) put it: „It holds out the prospect that marginalized groups will have a chance for substantial representation in the legislature that they seldom have today".

However, due to specific interpretations of the law many party list seats remained vacant since the first party list elections in 1998. Only recently the Supreme Court changed the rules and ordered all of the 54 party list seats to be filled. Furthermore, bigger parties were not prevented from establishing smaller "ghost parties" to contest for them. Most importantly, the party list law contains both a floor – parties have to get at least 2 per cent of the votes – and a ceiling or cap – each party can get only a maximum of 3 seats. The relatively low floor provides few incentives for party list groups to join forces, whereas the three seats cap is unfavourable to bigger groups (Bevis 2006:122, Manacsa and Tan 2005:758). Wurfel (1997:27) suspects that the purpose of these provisions is "to divide mass-based organizations and progressive groups". 160 party list groups are already registered for the 2010 elections (Lim Ubac 2009).

Manacsa and Tan (2005:759) believe that provisions like these explain the flaws in current Philippine politics:

> Just as institutional choices have historically inhibited the development of strong parties by denying the articulation of certain cleavages and impeding the rise of counter-elites, certain current structures are inimical to the creation of strong parties: the dominance of the executive office, the 'synchronized' system of elections and the defects of the party list law.

Historically, they cite the 1901 Anti-Sedition-Law – which prohibited the formation of left-leaning political groupings – as well as the ban on the activities of leftist parties after World War II as "institutional factors [which] effectively inhibited the formation of a counter-elite that would articulate the main cleavage line of society into policy positions" (Manacsa and Tan 2005:754).

However, the persistence of *underground* resistance over the course of the 20th century proved advantageous when compared to neighbouring countries. Bevis (2006:380) argues that "[l]eft traditions have inculcated in Philippine socialists and (former) communists a belief in the importance of political parties for the representation of non-elites". Hedman (1997:589) agrees: "The remnants of (former) radical networks and (peasant, student, and labour) organizations suggest themselves as putative and possibly important influences upon future oppositions." In comparison with, for example, Thailand, the Philippine "Chinese-mestizo bourgeoisie has encountered greater counter-hegemonic challenges than its Thai counterpart. In this regard, the Philippines presents a particularly rich tradition of peasant rebellions and, for the region, organized labour" (Hedman 1997:587).

This might explain why it is the Philippines – and not Thailand or Malaysia – that produced the first grassroots-based and programmatic green party in Southeast Asia as a challenge to the dominant development paradigm. However, as already became clear, current institutional factors are setting limits to participation. Neil Carter (2007:100-101, 105) has summarized the electoral rules that were conducive to the success of the German green party: 1) a five per cent threshold that is attainable but high enough to encourage unification of green groups; 2) proportional representation; 3) federalism that provides multiple access points; 4) a political vacuum on the left; 5) an electoral law that refunds campaign costs. The fact that the *Partido Kalikasan* lacks resources in the absence of public funding and that it has to

compete with established parties on the political left in a very limited and defective party list PR system makes political competition difficult. The final unfavourable factor is the form of government:

> [I]n presidential systems in which the President is fairly independent of parliamentary politics and/or where party coherence is weak and coalitions unstable and changing, small parties like the Greens will also find it extremely difficult to exert any lasting influence via the parliamentary route (Rihoux and Rüdig 2001:35).

It should have become clear that to become successful, a Philippine green party has to join those forces that call for a constitutional convention to overhaul the political system in order to eliminate the hurdles for programmatic parties. As Neil Carter (2007:110) puts it, a public that expresses concern for the environment is not a sufficient condition: "[T]here is no straightforward relationship between high levels of environmental consciousness and green party success." A change of political structures has to be a main agenda of green party politics in the Philippines.

4. Case Study

4.1 Let's Have a Party: The Case of the Partido Kalikasan

4.1.1 History:

The *Partido Kalikasan* calls itself an "emerging green party in the Philippines" (PK website). The party was founded on 6 December 2003 as *Ang Partido Kalikasan, Inc.* (APKI) when it held its first National Assembly at Skyline Riverbend Hotel and Convention Center in Barangka, Marikina City. The gathering was composed of more than fifty NGO-activists and academics and was initiated by three respected environmentalists:

- Delfin Ganapin, who was chairing the Philippine Federation of Environmental Concerns (PFEC), the oldest federation of environmental NGOs established during martial law in the 1970s. He first proposed the formation of a party. Ganapin later became undersecretary for the Minister of the Environment.

- Dr. Angelina "Nina" Galang, who was heading the Environmental Studies Institute at Miriam College, a Catholic institution of learning, and who eventually acted as vice-president of the PK. She later became the coordinator of Green Convergence, a coalition of green networks.

- Vic Milan, who is running a well-known environmental radio programme. He became Secretary General of the PK.

The party's first chairperson was Pepito "Pepz" Cunanan who, during that time, was the executive director of the FPE (Foundation for the Philippine Environment) – a funding institution which financed activities during the formative stage of the APKI such as the National Assembly.

The preamble of the Draft Constitution that was discussed at length at the assembly summarized the aim of the party as follows:

> We, with the aid of the Creator, come together in the Spirit of Solidarity and Good Faith as citizens of the Philippines and the Earth, under the banner of a political party; who commit to the noble mission of engaging in a political process that mobilizes citizens toward good governance and sustainable development through peaceful means (APKI 2003:75).

Notably, the preamble did not expressly state the aim of participating in elections and the assembly's proceedings suggest that the nature of electoral engagement was a point of contention (APKI 2003). Although organising committees were established in 24 local areas throughout the Philippines by their respective

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representatives at the assembly – which would have qualified APKI to register as a national party – in the end it was not clear whether APKI would be a party list group or a full-blown political party and if it would run in the 2004 elections or not. The Draft Constitution only mentions the group's aim to support green candidates in local and national elections but not the objective of party members to contest elections themselves. Early concerns raised regarding the lack of staffing and funding have haunted the party ever since. Discussions that led to the replacement of "Almighty God" with "Creator" in the preamble reflect that the role of the Christian Faith in the party was unsettled. Hence, the seeds of future debates had been sown at the National Assembly.

The APKI died shortly after the National Assembly anyway. Delfin Ganapin, Nina Galang and Peps Cunanan all left due to conflicts of interest. Cunanan because he was managing a funding institution that had supported APKI of which he was chairman, Ganapin because he entered government, and Galang because she wanted to maintain her academic independence and later decided to concentrate on the green movement rather than the party. Vic Milan, the only one left among the "intellectual fathers" of the green party, was hesitant to take a leading role because, as a media representative, he had to remain in the background to maintain an image of neutrality. The party was beheaded, but the heart continued beating. Roy Cabonegro, Secretary General of the Partido Kalikasan Institue, remembers:

> Even if the centre […] disseminated, the local formations continued, they continued to pressure us. And so finally we decided to set it up, put up the PKI [Partido Kalikasan Institute], and when the PKI was established we reconnected with the local party groups. That's how we came about with the fifteen [local party chapters of today] (Cabonegro 2009c).

In practice, Vic Milan approached Roy Cabonegro who was a young environmentalist in his early 30s and who had co-founded the APKI as head of YSDA

Pilipinas (Youth for Sustainable Development Assembly). The two "hijacked" the party (Cabonegro 2009c), revived it as *Partido Kalikasan*, and set up the *Partido Kalikasan Institute* (PKI) which they registered as an NGO, giving the grouping legal recognition for the first time. Still, the party was not officially registered with the Commission on Elections (COMELEC).

The successful pressure from the provinces lends credibility to the PK as a grassroots-based green party. 15 local PK chapters exist to this day and most of them participate in the Second General Assembly which is currently being held online over a period of several weeks due to the lack of funding for a face-to-face meeting. It was already decided to finally officially register the party.

4.1.2 Organisational Structure and Membership:

The PK has an estimated membership of about 3000. The party chapter in Cagayan de Oro/Northern Mindanao is by far the largest with a projected membership of 2000 since here a whole movement, Task Force Macajalar (TFM), joined the party. TFM was established in 1979 to protest environmental destruction in and around Macajalar Bay, North of Cagayan de Oro. Its founders successfully mobilised fishermen and farmers for their advocacies and protests against environmental destruction. Hence the PK, as a grassroots-based party, can proudly claim that the majority of its followers are rural people.

However, it is not clear whether all members within TFM are actually aware of their membership in PK. As environmental lawyer Maning Ravanera, co-founder of TFM and PK chairman in Northern Mindanao puts it: "Only the leaders are really part of it [the PK]" (Ravanera 2009). There seems to be no party identity yet that would make people feel attached to the PK. The main reason is, according to Ravanera, the undecided stance on the party's direction in the past: "Partido Kalikasan was formed,

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not formed, not registered…" (Ravanera 2009). However, as soon as the party is registered as a political party with the COMELEC, Ravanera plans to hold seminars and workshops and to distribute party IDs to the members in Cagayan de Oro. According to him, these would help to foster identity development: "They have to be card-bearing members" (Ravanera 2009).

The party's internal rules already stipulate that seminars should be part of the membership application process but practice seems to lag behind theory. The PK has comparably ambitious rules for prospective members: "There shall be no automatic membership and everyone must apply and be subject to screening by the membership committee […]" (Partido Kalikasan n.d.). The annual fees are supposed to be PhP 1000 for founding members of new local chapters, PhP 300 for other members – a membership fee equivalent to a lunch at a decent restaurant – and PhP 100 for students and unemployed. However, membership fees are still not consistently collected, thus contributing to the party's financial difficulties.

The internal party structure is divided into national, bio-regional and district levels as well as small operating units, the cells and caucuses. The local party chapters are internally organized along bio-regions. These bioregions are supposed to reflect traditional communities based on geographical and biological rather than political boundaries, for example water- and airsheds, rivers, bays, islands and lakes. However, as soon as PK participates in elections, the bio-regions will remain relevant only internally, while externally the organising will be along established electoral districts. The autonomous nature of local PK chapters allows for the adoption of bioregional platforms of governance that will define locally-specific positions on particular issues. However, the danger here is that a structure which is too loose and localised prevents the development of a common party identity.

At the national level, the Council of Local PK leaders is supposed to be the most important day-to-day decision making body. Its meetings are held online once a month via yahoo messenger chat – a creative solution born out of necessity. The lack of resources as well as the scattered geography of the Philippine archipelago make frequent face-to-face meetings impossible.

Generally, online communication and text messaging via cell-phone are heavily used by the PK. The party has an own informative website and its members are present on social networking sites and are writing several blogs. However, many of these sites are updated infrequently. Blogs are opened and then, after a few entries, no longer maintained. The lack of staffing does not only make a more consistent use of the internet difficult but also the party's accessibility via telephone. Roy Cabonegro, the only full-time but unpaid staff member, is aware that unanswered phone calls and emails are hurting the party's credibility. Hence, he recently welcomed the recruitment of an office assistant by Dr. Ernie Gonzales, PKI board member and lecturer at the Asian Social Institute in Manila, with whom Cabonegro shares an office.

This shared office is the seat of the *Partido Kalikasan Institute*. The PKI was established as a support organization for the party. Since PKI is a registered NGO, funds could in future be channelled through the institute. Only if and when such resources become available can the PK concentrate on developing a comprehensive ideology and party programme.

4.1.3   Ideology and Programme:

As of the time of writing the PK was still working on its party platform (Appendix C). According to Cabonegro (2009c) the absence of an elaborate programme is both, an advantage and a disadvantage. For one, deciding on issues

case by case instead of on the basis of a fixed platform prevents dogmatism within the party. Cabonegro (2009c) points to the party principles, a short document comprising the five PK guiding principles on two pages (see Appendix B) and argues that, at present, a more comprehensive programme "doesn't matter really because at this point having so few members and the system is not yet working".

However, the limitations of such an approach are obvious. When the party discussed its stance on the controversial government plan to activate the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant (BNPP) which was constructed 25 years ago in a volcanic and earthquake-prone area but never operated,

> we realized that there were two [of the 15 local PK chapters] who are open to [the] nuclear option. And then we realized… yeah, in the past have we really discussed what our positions are on this? And come to think of it, we haven't! (Cabonegro 2009b).

It is clear that, to live up to its self-definition as a new progressive Philippine party, the PK urgently needs a programme to set itself apart from the indistinguishable political machines that dominate the country's political landscape and to offer comprehensible alternatives to voters. Furthermore, party work is made easier if decisions can be based on a platform the majority of party members have once agreed upon. Surely this will also foster party identity.

The first glimpse of the yet unfinished "Program of Governance" – six topics are still empty – gives the impression of a detailed document combining national as well as locally-oriented policy aims. The platform, which is still being debated in the ongoing online assembly, uses many technical terms, surely due to the academic background of many of its drafters, and includes aims such as agrarian reform; implementation of environmental laws; energy self-sufficiency through renewable, non-nuclear power; limitations on presidential control over state finances; as well the still to be discussed clauses on political reform and constitutional change.

Apart from the party platform the PKs programmatic approach to environmental problems can be discerned from its stated party principles, interviews, as well as the history and literature that influenced PK members.

The party's unifying principles are 1) ecological integrity; 2) social justice; 3) national solidarity and active non-violence; 4) participatory democracy; and 5) personal integrity. Although this sounds similar to the famous four pillars *Die Grünen* built their first party platform on (ecological responsibility, grassroots democracy, social justice and non-violence), Cabonegro (2009a) tries to distinguish the PK from other green parties:

> Although, in fairness, the four basic principles of the Greens emanated from Germany and [have been] adapted by many Greens. We did look into that […] [but] we ended up with a different set. Like, for example, […] we have an integrity of creation clause which I don't think you will find in many green parties. Here in the Philippines there is a […] belief system of creation and spirituality, the nature was created, there is a design, there is a higher being...

Although the principles briefly mention "creation" and "spirituality", it is not clear what the concrete differences are to, for example, the first party platform of *Die Grünen*. Here, we find the same rhetoric calling, essentially, for a "back to basics" approach. When the Partido Kalikasan states that "[w]e will organize and build the capacity of communities to defend the world of nature" (see Appendix B) they mean basically the same as *Die Grünen* who stated that "[o]ur politics is a politics of active partnership with nature and humans. It works best in autonomous and self-sustaining manageable economic and administrative entities" (Die Grünen 1980:5). Both emphasise communities and their supposedly more harmonious relationship with nature. When asked where the party ranks itself on the political spectrum, Cabonegro (2009a) answers: "Neither left nor right but for the community", in a modification of the green slogan "neither left nor right but in front". The community is also at the core

of the PK party platform which mentions community empowerment and devotes an entire clause to "Decentralisation and Ancestral Domain".

According to PK thinking, the historical roots of environmental problems are to be found in Spanish colonisation. Pre-colonial times are depicted as a golden age when communities were ruled sustainably by benevolent chieftains who were elected by a council of elders who represented the families within the communities. But during Spanish rule, the colonial system made local chieftains accountable to those above them, no longer to those below them. The community-focus was lost.

> [T]he root is that we have lost the way we used to do it before, and if we do not change that… The fundamental [change has to happen] at the community level, do not expect any change at the higher. […] [T]he entire nation is really just composed of communities and the real territories are communities. There is no territory of a national [scale] […] [T]his is what we used to have and that was the first thing that was destroyed and therefore whatever we create now simply does not fall within our socio-cultural frame that has worked for us before (Cabonegro 2009a)

According to Cabonegro (2009a), the question of how this community-focus will feed the families of prospective PK members and voters "is a legitimate question and anyone who wants to serve communities and people must have an answer". The party's answer is to provide incentives and to use PK meetings to sell organic goods produced by party members at low prices. The party becomes an alternative economic enterprise:

> And the party members who come to the meeting don't need to grocery shop after a meeting because they can buy their stuff there. […] And the system will also allow the more entrepreneurial people within the party to resell and set up small businesses […] [O]ur aim is both, consumers and producers, are party members (Cabonegro 2009a).

To further localise environmentalism some party members are searching for potential heroes in Philippine history. Here, Macliing Dulag is recognized as a central

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figure – a tribal chieftain who was active in the movement against the Chico Dam project before he was assassinated in 1980. Thus, on Earth Day 2009, Cabonegro (2009) called on Filipinos to put the "Earth Day spirit in a Philippine context" as "we must remember that we should evolve our own 'Kalikasan' movement from within our cultural experience and history". Hence, he wrote: "[L]et us reflect together [...] on that wisdom [of Macliing Dulag] and his sacrifice and the sacrifices of many others, known and unknown, who fought for our communities and our environment".

Emphasising communities and the local has long been a feature of green thought around the world. It is no coincidence that some PK members rank *Small is Beautiful* by Ernst Friedrich Schumacher among their favourite books, and that the manifesto *Society, Ecology, and Transformation* by the Philippine Greens (see below) was influential among PK members. Both are critical or outright hostile to globalisation and the state and praise decentralisation and community-based action as solutions to environmental problems.However, this approach has been criticised from within the green movement itself. As Carter (2007:59) notes:

> [T]here may be drawbacks about life in a small community. Social control mechanisms may prove oppressive [...]. Discrimination against minorities or non-conformist opinion may be rife. Small parochial societies may also be intellectually and culturally impoverished, perhaps reducing innovation and clean technologies. So, ironically, the homogenous decentralized society may lack the diversity that ecologists values. Another difficulty with decentralization is that many environmental problems are best dealt with at the national or international level. Global commons do not respect the political boundaries between existing nation states, let alone small bioregions. [...] Co-operation within a community may not result in a benevolent attitude towards the outside world.

Instead of promoting a collective international consciousness and sense of shared responsibility a fetishisation of the local *potentially* fosters a simplified bipolar worldview of local versus global, or the South against the North. Furthermore, social

romanticism that honours the role of the family as the basic unit of community life but has nothing to say about gender equity and rights of, for example, sexual minorities runs the risk of becoming reactionary rather than progressive (in fact, neither PK documents nor its members seem to find gender equality a matter of particular concern. The Global Gender Gap Report (Hausman et al 2007:7) does rank the Philippines sixth after the Scandinavian countries and New Zealand and one ahead of Germany, but in all these countries there's still a considerable gender gap.).

Considering the leftist roots of Philippine green activists – and given the ineffectiveness of the state that time and again disappoints Filipinos – their retreat to the local and their faith in collectives becomes clear. Perhaps communism minus blind faith in industrialism leaves communitarianism. Furthermore, if one considers the agricultural sector as a main constituency of the PK, an emphasis on rural lifestyles and indigenous knowledge may be understandable – yet, the 15% and 50% (World Factbook 2009) of Filipinos working in the industrial and service sectors, respecttively, too have to be convinced to vote for the PK. Here, the more concrete and nationally-oriented policy aims of the soon to be finished party programme might be used to stress the practicality of PK programmes since more utopian visions of so-ciety often "jump *too far* into a projected future to be likely to carry most […] peoples", as Eckersley (2004:200) notes with regard to an opposite, cosmopolitan approach.

Even if indigenous knowledge may often be an asset, there is no reason to uncritically call for a "back to the roots"-approach. If Philippine environmentalists point to the ancient rice-terraces of Northern Luzon as an example of sustainable agriculture they also have to acknowledge what biologist Lawrence Heaney recently noted:

> [T]he Cordillera tradition of burning the forest adjacent to the rice terraces in order to control the rat population was one of the worst things they could do. In natural forests, the native species are competitively dominant and they don't go into the rice terraces (Lichauco de Leon 2009).

In the same article he was quoted as saying that the "dramatic population growth in the country" is one of the main threats to the country's biodiversity. With regard to marine fisheries, other commentators pointed out that widespread poverty in the Philippines is a main reason for overfishing. "As long as the Philippine economy remains in this state, the marine fisheries will continue to absorb excess labor from other sectors" (DA-BFAR 2004:348).

These are, of course, not problems that can be solved entirely at the community level since they are national in scale. Certainly, promoting the spread of organic farming and local enterprises is one way of tackling environmental problems but this local approach is not a universal remedy. Of course, every party starts with utopian visions which are then fine-tuned to real socio-political and economic conditions and opportunities. This process of *realization* – of becoming more realistic – is an important element of a party's political maturation and maybe provides the most convincing argument for an involvement of green movements in party politics.

4.1.4   Party Building Strategies:

At the First National Assembly PK co-founder Nina Galang argued against participating in the 2004 General Elections "since we are not yet that ready" (APKI 2003:77). Six years later, at a PK Metro Manila Core Group meeting in July 2009, chairwoman Victoria "Vicky" Segovia argued against participating in the 2010 General Elections since "we are not yet ready" (see Appendix A).

The pace of party building is slow. Without party funding and a substantial membership base an early involvement in elections might indeed be unsuccessful.

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However, after years of delay, other PK followers are getting impatient and believe that there are reasons enough to finally register and field candidates in elections. PK member Albert Banico (2009) is worried that other groups and parties will capture the green label while the PK is hesitant to act:

> [Our constituency] is growing because of climate change […]. [W]hat we need to do is to be aggressive, to capture this constituency and the growing critical mass to be there when the time is ripe. […] People will not wait for us, whether it is PK or Philippine Greens. If these people who are ideologically capable will not start others will raise their voices, others will raise green agendas.

Especially KALIKAS, the party's youth arm, was pushing the leadership to take the last step and register the party as well as to officially join the Global Greens. Its members lose patience with the older generation of party leaders who seem to carry a historical baggage that makes them slow to act. In an open letter KALIKAS (2009) members recently noted:

> Because of the multitude of issues that we are constantly and sporadically addressing, we have lost our sight on the real issue at hand – carving a niche for the party in the Philippine political setting. […] Also, it would seem as if we are treating the party as another NGO and not a political party. These few examples among many others are symptomatic of old and traditional politicking.

In the past the party was trapped in an identity crisis reflective of the wider movement's history. Disillusioned with the radicalisation and centralising tendencies within the communist party many Philippine activists found a new home in the environmental movement in the late 80s and early 90s. These people understandably find it difficult today to shift their focus again from issue-based civil society campaigns back to party politics. The idea of many that PK is merely a politicised NGO seems to slow down the transition to party politics.

However, although the PK practically often acts like a civil society group, in theory it realises that issue based campaigns are not sufficient to advance the green cause. As Cabonegro (2009a) explains:

> So we have realised that if we do the same thing as what other environmental NGOs have done: advocacy, public education, passing a law… To be honest, these are good but these are not the buttons that make things work. It has not worked for us. We have so many good laws, we have so many advocacy groups but still the problem remains.

This perception fits Bevis' (2006:61) argument that a programmatic party is formed when its founders believe that "other vehicles, like civil society groups, are likely to be less effective means of achieving reform goals". According to Bevis (2006:52), the time for party building has come when "structural factors provide enabling conditions", and when *institutional changes* and *crises* are *interpreted* as advantageous by the groups concerned, thus giving relevance to agency. The PK seems to judge structural factors such as societal change and the rise of environmental consciousness as sufficient to allow for a potential green party success. Institutional changes like the introduction and recent strengthening of the party list system, as well as the constantly looming political and environmental crises are likewise interpreted as developments conducive to the rise of alternative green politics in the Philippines.

The concrete party building strategy reflects the party's attachment to the local. Apart from the above mentioned PK plan to set up organic enterprises within the party, another approach is to promote direct governance at the local level. The aim is to create a shadow government in localities where the PK is present which will then monitor the actual decision makers. As Cabonegro (2009a) explains:

So within the party structure there will be a village-head, a committee-head, and the role of these groups of people in the party is to follow day-to-day what is happening […]. [If] the politicians are not doing the right thing, we will expose and oppose. And when the opportunity is ripe we will replace.

However, it is unclear where the necessary expertise and manpower for such an undertaking would come from.

Another strategy stressing the local proved technically difficult. Initially it was planned to register regional parties but this turned out to be harder than registering PK nationally. To be a regional party a group has to be present in the majority of provinces within a region, as a national party the party needs to have chapters in the majority of the 16 regions. Although the PK will consequently be a national party it will most likely only field candidates at the local level in the 2010 elections, probably in Mindoro, Northern Mindanao, Zambales, Albay and Pateros. However, other voices within the party have raised the issue of running nationally for the party list, arguing that the PK would finally get national attention and might even be successful in the party list elections (see Appendix A).

Even if the PK decides to run for the party list it faces a dilemma. Since some PK members feel that the PK should represent underprivileged sectors one idea is to field fishermen and farmers as party list candidates. "We simply don't want to make that compromise [of speaking for the sector we represent]", says Cabonegro (2009a). However, talks with major alliances of farmers and fishers were taken up too late or encountered difficulties due to already existing loyalties within these organisations.

Apart from fielding candidates at the local level and possibly in the party list, PK's involvement in the 2010 General Elections might involve the endorsement of green-oriented senatorial candidates like Nereus Acosta and Danny Lim who, if successful, would be receptive to the PK agenda, or so it is hoped. The decision of

well-known environmentalist Nicanor "Nicky" Perlas to run for the presidency provides PK with another potential starting point for electoral involvement. Building connections with distinguished green personalities and groups may pay off in the long run.

4.1.5 Relationship With Other Groups:

The PK operates in a setting of vigorous civil society activism. Among the most important societal actors is the Catholic Church which is omnipresent in this only predominantly Christian country in Asia. In the case of the PK, the church is not only an external player. When asked about factions within the party, Cabonegro (2009b) answers:

> I wouldn't call it faction, because the difference enriches the debate internally… I think the biggest are those who are supportive of the Catholic Church, and those who draw their loyalty from religious base… spiritual base structures.

The dominance of the church within some party chapters has the potential to shape the future direction of the PK. However, so far "the more vocal people within the [party] leadership have always been critical about" church-based activism, as Cabonegro (2009b) explains. Population control presents probably the greatest potential for conflict between green and Catholic perspectives. The opposition of the Catholic Church to contraception as well as its promotion of natural family planning is being criticized for instance by PK member Cynthia Estrada (2009): "[Natural planning] has not proven effective. Abstinence does not work." However, not only would an open opposition to the Church alienate the religiously motivated factions within the PK, it is also made difficult by the fact that leading PK members have been educated at elite universities that have been in the hands of Jesuits since their

inception. As Hedman (2006:30) argues in her account of how a dominant bloc of capitalists, the U.S. government and the Catholic Church secured its hegemony in the Philippines:

> As members of the religious order historically least cloistered in the monastery and closed off to ideological and intellectual currents outside the Catholic Church, the Jesuits were best suited to serve as midwives in the reproduction of "intellectual leaders" of civil society in the Philippines.

There is no doubt that Christianity has left an imprint on Philippine political and civil society. As Ravanera (2009), PK leader in Cagayan de Oro recounts:

> I entered the Society of Jesus, you know, the Jesuits, at Ateneo [de Cagayan University]. […] My brothers were also schooled there […]. Some of them [the Jesuits] were activists. The Jesuits here – and the Jesuits also in Latin America – most of them were into fighting against oppressive governments. And so a lot of ideas came out how to take care of the oppressed. Most of us, [my] brothers and sisters, became activists [as well]. […] And so, every time we met we exchanged ideas, […] And after a while we thought: Why don't we try protecting the environment?

However, apart from the Jesuit influence Ravanera refers to Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, communist ideology and Hegel as having had an influence on his personal development. "The bible is good as it is. Jesus Christ, his principles are right. But you have to separate it […]. Theocracy has never proved to be good", says Ravanera (2009). As it seems, Catholic education does not necessarily translate into uncritical acceptance of Catholic positions. If the PK continues to critically reflect on the role of the Church within its ranks the threat of being "hijacked" by a hegemonic power remains manageable.

A church-based group, called KAALAGAD (Kaalagad Katipunang Kristiyano), was also behind previous attempts to unite several environmental groups in one unified green political formation. In mid-2008, KAALAGAD brought the Philippine Greens together with another NGO, PEPE (Popular Empowerment for People's

Education), in a preparatory committee that was later joined by the PK. The groups discussed the formation of a political bloc, possibly a party. This was not the first time such ideas were considered. In fact, already in 2007 a group of local donors, the Green Team, tried to facilitate cooperation between the PK and the Philippine Greens. Back then one PK member even wrote that an alliance of both groups and a formation of a national green party was imminent (Ellorin 2007). However, these plans failed due to different perceptions of political opportunity structures: PK is pro, the Philippine Greens against party building at this time. As PK Secretary General Cabonegro explains:

> [W]hen you talk about the principles we have basically the same positions on issues [as the Philippine Greens]. […] [But] [t]hey are purists. […] The basic strategy difference is that they believe we are not yet ready to form a party. On the other hand Partido Kalikasan believes that we can only build the party if we are already a party structure. […] We told them, we need to offer an alternative, not hide behind movement building. […] To my mind it's a legitimate difference in strategy. Because they think of it that way we have to respect them in the same way that they are respecting us (Cabonegro 2009a).

> We are one with them when they say right now we're not ready [to be a successful green party]. Of course we're not ready. But our view is that pushing party structure and engaging elections could be a strategy for building the party and the movement together (Cabonegro 2009c).

The case of the PK and Philippine Greens makes Bevis aforementioned emphasis on agency and individual interpretations of political opportunities especially relevant.

Apart from domestic religious and environmental groups, the PK is also not immune to international influences. Participation in networks like the Global Greens connects the party to groups in other parts of the world. Still, PK leaders tend to stress the distinctiveness of Philippine environmentalism. The focus on the local is one reason why the interest in, and knowledge of, the history and developments of European green parties is not as pronounced as one might expect. Conversely, the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation – a German political foundation affiliated with *Bündnis90/*

Die Grünen and present in Southeast Asia with a regional office in Thailand – has too not reached out to the PK as it currently has no focus on the Philippines.

Another explanation for the lack of sustained interest in European green parties might be the disenchantment with the performance of these parties in government. As Albert Banico (2009) notes about the German case: "When we were younger we read literature on the success of the Green Party in your country and we really admire how this party composed of young people penetrated a parliament." However, in the same interview he states: "What I understand, the Green party in Germany, particularly the agenda and some personalities, were absorbed in the mainstream parliament and it led to a natural process of decay or decline". The process of adaptation to parliamentary politics of *Bündnis90/Die Grünen* in Germany is not viewed as a necessary step but as a bad compromise.

However, the PK obviously tries to overcome its reservations regarding parochial tendencies within sections of the Philippine environmental movement. Hence, the PK would accept foreign funding channelled through the PK Institute if they were offered such support.

For the party institute – which, aside from its research and capacity-building work, "will be the conduit for whatever funding" (Cabonegro 2009a) – the PK took Akbayan as a model, a progressive programmatic party which has regularly won party list seats in previous elections. Members of Akbayan founded the Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD) which, apart from being a research institution, reportedly also acts as a support base for the party.

Although Akbayan's relative success is considered by many within PK as something to emulate, its development is also seen critically. As PK member Albert Banico (2009), former member of Akbayan and the IPD, puts it:

> The original Akbayan […] was really inspired by what is being done in Europe, particularly the left formations in Europe. […]The problem with Akbayan today is that they are carried away by the politics that is being engaged in the mainstream politics.

As in the case of European green parties, PK members seem to be uncomfortable with the necessary political compromises that parliamentary politics demand from political parties. This fear of having to relinquish an ideal vision of community-based politics has surely contributed to the PK's reluctance to speed up the process of party building.

4.2 Not (yet) in the Mood: The Philippine Greens

The Philippine Greens were officially founded on November 30 1996, 100 years after the death of national hero José Rizal in "an effort to link our movement and our group to earlier efforts by Filipinos for self-determination" (Verzola 2000:60). This attempt to put environmental activism in the Philippines in a line with anti-colonial struggles already reflects the core of the grouping's ideology which is further elaborated in a manifesto published on the founding day. Entitled *Society, Ecology and Transformation*, this piece is essentially a radical eco-socialist pamphlet against globalisation which is described as "nothing but the relentless and ruthless transfer of wealth from poor countries to global elites" (Philippine Greens 2006).

Hence, the local is at the centre of the authors' attention:

> The institutional core of the Greens' development efforts will be the community: a web of relations between real human beings and their natural environment. Against the ideology of greed, we advocate "enoughness" or "sapat" (Philippine Greens 2006:16).

Against "profit-driven corporate-led capitalist models as well as the centrally-planned socialist models of development", the Philippine Greens (2006:25) are "consciously shifting […] human values from competition and monopolistic control to

cooperation and sharing" and "rejecting globalization and joining our people's struggle against the intrusion of destructive global forces". Regarding concrete economic policies, "Filipino labor and capital must continue to receive from the government protection against competition from their foreign counterparts". Furthermore, the authors single out decentralisation, participation, natural harmony, indigenous knowledge and spiritualism as opposed to materialism as part of their worldview. Notably, the manifesto has nothing to say about overpopulation in the Philippines.

Although the Philippine Greens do address some very real problems and dependencies, their radical parochial rhetoric hardly offers feasible solutions in an age when the global cannot simply be locked out. However, that the manifesto was influential is reflected in the PK programme which seems to have been at least partly inspired by it. PK member Albert Banico (2009) talks of the manifesto as "an exciting paper", "a beautiful text".

With regard to their political strategy, the Philippine Greens (2006:22) were planning to start with building a mass constituency, winning local political power "to build robust Green communities" until

> [a]t the proper time, we will enter national politics. By this time, we will have prepared a comprehensive and fully-tested program of action that can mobilize millions of people in struggle over local and national issues. […] We will then be ready to fight for nationwide Green governance. The majority of Filipinos should then be looking forward to the day when Green principles become the guideposts for national development.

Whereas back then the formation of a green party was expressly on the agenda of the Philippine Greens, this has now changed. As Roberto Verzola (2009a), founder and former Secretary General of the Philippine Greens, recently stated with respect to forming or joining a green political party:

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> We did set certain conditions before this could happen, like an organized constituency of significant size, a proven capacity for mobilization, and a clean, honest electoral process. These necessary conditions have not materialized. In addition, I have since felt that politics, especially fulltime politics, seems to have a strong corrupting influence on politicians. […] We in the Philippine Greens are probably farther away today from joining elections than we were when we first discussed the idea.

This is then followed by another call for a retreat to the local: "In fact, why do we have to follow the Western model of political parties at all? Communities have governed themselves without political parties."

Verzola himself admits in the same source that, coming from a leftist background, he brought militant ideas into the environmental movement but that he has learned over time that "a positive advocacy is often better than a negative one. […] Today, for instance, my main message is pro-organic, and the anti-GMO [genetically modified organism] portion comes as a 'by the way…'." Especially in personal interviews the ideological rhetoric gives way to well-founded concerns. Against green party politics at too early a stage Verzola argues that, besides of losing elections, "[t]he other danger is that the media will treat you as a kind of a sideshow. […] I'm afraid [of] not being taken seriously" (Verzola 2009b). Rei Panaligan (2009), the current Secretary General of the Philippine Greens, adds that repeated electoral defeats will harm the green movement:

> [I]f you identify yourself as a green party and every time you participate in the national election you always loose, that's not good. Then you develop a looser feeling. That's the reason why, for us, there is no need to rush things. We all recognize that there is an untapped potential between the youth and the environmental movement and the ecumenical sector.

With respect to the potential for a green electorate Verzola (2009b) agrees that "[t]here is a huge natural constituency for green thinking. Especially with all these disasters coming in because of deforestation, pollution, climate change – the people will think even more environmental". However he adds that, in the current political

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environment of money politics and corruption, even if a green party were in a position to win, "you are cheated out of that victory". As Secretary General of *Halalang Marangal*, a citizen network for clean elections, Verzola has experienced that the corrupted political system as it works now is not favourable to programmatic parties.

In the long term, however, the Philippine Greens do aim to join forces with other environmentalists, namely the PK and others who participated in the preparatory committee organized by KAALAGAD. Panaligan (2009) explains that "one of the main goals of the process is to come up with a basic document that will be agreed upon by the different groups. [B]ut the thing is that, because PK is already moving for the 2010 [elections] […] the process will be slowed down". Verzola (2009b) adds with respect to the unification process:

> [M]y suggestion was that the process should try to pull in other groups, like for example, Nicky Perlas. So my idea was that all the other groups who should have been included in that process should be drawn in and that would really take time because there are histories of working and not working [together]. So it has to be worked out but if you rush things then […] all [greens will] run separately.

Again, when it comes to the relationship of the Philippine Greens with green groups in the rest of the world the lack of interest in the development of European green parties is noteworthy. However, even though Verzola (2009b) states that he does not "know enough actually of the German Greens to make a strong statement" on its performance in government, he adds that he "had a strong feeling when they were part of the decision to bomb the whole Yugoslowia, that was the wrong decision". Also, the Philippine Greens reject the idea of foreign funding, although this has long been debated internally. "My personal attitude is that we have to find our legitimacy here, not from abroad."

Interestingly, when asked among which groups the Philippine Greens seek to enhance their legitimacy, Panaligan, who belongs to a younger generation of environmentalists, provides a surprising analysis as he suddenly shifts the emphasis from peasants and fishers to another group, the youth:

> One of the challenges right now for us is really how you can connect the youth in this environmental consciousness because as you may already realize that, for example, the farming communities are already dwindling, the fisherfolk communities are already dwindling…

5. Party or Protest? Opportunities and Dangers of Institutionalised Environmentalism in the Philippines

As was shown, the institutionalisation of the Philippine environmental movement in a political party carries dangers and opportunities. The risks include the co-optation and taming of the movement through parliamentary politics, loss of face, prestige and confidence due to repeated electoral defeats as well as unfavourable media coverage, and a waste of limited resources for a corrupted political competition that is unfavourable to smaller parties.

However, the reasons in favour of green party building outweigh the disadvantages. Rihoux and Rüdig (2001:4) turn the argument of co-optation through party politics on its head and argue that it is precisely

> [t]he unwillingness of the greens to form parties, maximise its electoral support and then come out bargaining in coalition politics […] [which] offered established parties, in particular those in government, an opportunity to co-opt individuals Greens into government thus killing two birds with one stone: making use of the popular support of greens on the one hand while causing division within the green parties, weakening their ability to mount a proper electoral and political challenge later on.

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However, it seems that, in the Philippines, the awareness of the limits of civil society action and the inclusion of individual progressives in policy-making boards is increasing, as reflected in repeated calls for concerted political party activism among progressives. Whereas the anti-Marcos movement which led to the ouster of a dictator "moved civil society to the centre of political discourse and practice" (Bevis 2006:131) and fostered a normative preference for civil society over political parties, recent commentators point out that "[t]his kind of approach misses the more intimate, complex and dynamic relationships that exist between civil society groups and parties, and the important role civil society can play in the formation of political parties" (Bevis 2006:391), or, as Philippine analysts recently put it:

> [T]here is a need to consider serious political party building efforts. […] Significant political power remains in the hands of the same privileged few, despite the active and vibrant works of different groups and forces in civil society. This proves the limit of associational and counterweight civil society work and gives much relevance and urgency on the need for societal forces to contest state power (PODER 2009).

The PK is right when it argues that the current rise of green consciousness will be tapped if not by genuine greens then by those who will merely use it to "greenwash" their image and to capitalize on the popularity of environmentalism. However, it is clear that a small group like the PK alone will have a hard time capturing voters' attention. There is a need for the green movement to join forces, to overcome old animosities and reservations, and build a united green party.

Strategically, the community-approach runs danger of being too conceptual, offering little in the way of concrete policy propositions that would actually be feasible under present conditions. Verzola is right in his analysis that advocacy framed in positive terms is more fruitful than an endless repetition of doomsday predictions. The PK platform that is currently being developed points into the direction of such a positive overall strategy that could combine locally-oriented policies such as the reduction of intermediaries between local producers and consumers and the fostering

of local control mechanisms to prevent the tragedy of the commons from materializing, *as well as* lobbying for constitutional change, ridding the political system of corruption, implementing land reform and existing environmental laws, introducing methods of birth control, building competitive green industries to capitalise on the global rise of green consumerism and importing and developing sustainable technologies in partnership with other eco-conscious countries.

To be sure, there is nothing wrong with translating environmentalism into local terms and symbols, but to build a green ideology solely on the idea of a past golden age of harmonious communities does not only run danger to take on nationalist and parochial tendencies, it also ignores that, as Eckersley (2004:91) writes in citing Bull: "[V]iolence, insecurity, injustice, and ecological degradation pre-date the state system […]".

It seems as if the younger PK members are oriented towards a broader definition of green politics as exemplified by their open letter to the party leadership – similar to the German case where, in 1999, younger party members spoke out against the older generation and called in an open letter for party professionalisation and orientation towards the future rather than the past. Their central argument was: „A movement is perfect for those who demand what is right. A party is right for those who try to achieve what is possible" (Kröcher and Wagner 1999).

Of course, in the Philippines where the state has failed the people in the past it is more difficult to imagine that current structures could be turned into effective tools. However, "[g]iven the seriousness and urgency of many ecological problems […], building on the state governance structures that already exist seems to be a more fruitful path to take than any attempt to move beyond or around states in the quest for environmental sustainability", as Eckersley (2004:91) rightly argues against a bioregionalist approach. The path should be to "navigate between undisciplined political imagination and pessimistic resignation to the status quo" (Eckersley 2004:13).

Conclusion: From Grassroots to Government?

As the first country in Southeast Asia, the Philippines produced a green party born out of civil society activism. After its establishment in 2003, the *Partido Kalikasan* went through a phase of death and, later, resurrection mainly due to pressure from environmental groups in the provinces which gave the PK a special grassroots-imprint. Since the First National Assembly, the timing and nature of political involvement was a particularly controversial subject within the party. A lack of resources and the particular history and setting of the Philippine environmental movement contributed to the hesitance in party building which seems to have been overcome recently in advance of the 2010 elections.

At the same time, attempts to unite with other green groups and thus build a stronger political force were unsuccessful due to differing assessments of political opportunities. The Philippine Greens fear that a participation in the electoral process at this time comes at the expense of ideological purity, movement-building and unification, political credibility, and already scarce financial and organisational resources.

Acknowledging these legitimate objections, it was however argued that the time has come for a green party in the Philippines. Civil society activism has achieved a lot, but not enough. In fact, the hesitance of the green movement to build a green party has increased the likelihood of individual greens being co-opted into the government. Electoral engagement at the national level, even if not outright successful, can raise awareness of green issues at a time when the environment is increasingly seen as a relevant and timely issue by people across all sectors. If the PK at the same time joins those groups that are currently pushing for constitutional

reform it will be ready as an existing party if and when the legal framework of electoral politics changes in its favour.

As was argued, in the Philippines it is more the political environment than a lack of postmaterialist values that sets limits to green party success. That the first grassroots-based green party in Southeast-Asia has been registered in the Philippines and not in one of the economically more successful neighbouring countries puts Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis into question. Surveys have shown that Filipinos express even more concern for the environment than, for example, people in Germany. It seems as if environmentalism can potentially be rooted as much in affluence as in deprivation. The environmental consciousness of local communities has been realised by the PK and constitutes its main ideological and strategic base. However, the more immediate the threat of climate change becomes, the less it makes sense to maintain the division of materialist and postmaterialist reasons for green action anyway.

Hence, the PK will benefit from continuing to broaden its focus to include not only fishers, farmers and local communities but half of Filipinos living in urban areas and working in the service sector, as well as young and global-minded voters who constitute a growing electoral base. A positive future-oriented rhetoric as well as locally *and* nationally relevant policies will be conducive to green party success in the Philippines.

Appendices

Appendix A: Excerpt from a Discussion on Party Strategy, PK Metro Manila Officers Meeting, 4. June 2009

Roy: Anyway, the question before us is, what is our view, as leaders of PK Metro Manila, in our engagement in 2010 at least at the level of national. Let me remind you that, whatever we come out here could probably be a suggestion. And I think we have to consult the rest of the membership because we only have 31 members, so, for god's sake, we have options to give them. We better consult them. It's not as if we had 10.000 members.

Vicky: Even if you have 10.000 members you consult them.

Roy: Unfortunately we don't have an option yet to offer them. So what do you think? How should we engage 2010.

Vicky: You know what we will tell them? Look around, study some more, open your eyes, be critical observers, and then we come to a conclusion after some time because this is too early.

Roy: Well, not if you consider that some of the processes have already begun. For example, if you feel that it's too early, the People's Primary[1] process feels it's too late because of their initial process, so at least for the option of People's Primary we have to make this decision a little bit earlier whether we are in or out, because it is already moving.

Vicky: In or out of what?

Roy: We have two options in the People's Primary. We can either join in the non-partisan mechanism to organize district level People's Primary just like Green Convergence is doing it. Or we can opt to be partisan and have PK members run in the People's Primary. Now, are we fit to run a presidential [?], unless probably we get Nicky, I don't think so…

Cynthia: Do we join party list or do we make our own...? We are our own party why join the party list? I mean…

Roy: No, no. This isn't party list, this is the People's Primary process which will… presidential, vice-president, senator and probably local.

Vicky: We have to join them, we have to join the People's Primaries.

Roy: As what? As partisan?

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[1] The People's Primaries are supposed to produce progressive-minded candidates at all levels throughout the country in a process modeled after the U.S. Primaries wherein local voters at the district-level will vote on candidates for positions in the 2010 General Elections.

Vicky: As green, as PK.

Roy: As partisan, then we have to field candidates. It's a national [process]…

Cynthia: We have one in Pateros.

Roy: Well, that's local.

Roy: Now, by the way, by the way. Among the membership of PK outside Metro Manila, I mean the other groups, we know that Zambales is considering fielding a governor.

Cynthia: For president?

Roy: Governor.

Cynthia: For governor.

Roy: We know that Maning Ravanera is interested – in Northern Mindanao – is interested for con-con delegate if that is part of the election in 2010.

[…]

Roy: But anyway. Going back. That's the thing: If we join the People's Primary we either push president, vice-president or senator.

[…]

Vicky: [For] senator… maybe Nereus [Acosta], because maybe we can really convince Nereus to join us if we are strong enough. Because he has the heart for it, he has the ideal for it.

Roy: In fact, during the formative stage of PK he was with us. He was part of the original membership.

Vicky: It's just that for convenience he is Liberal.

Cynthia: Ah, but we feel that Nereus is green under…

Roy: So are we opening that options? We are opening that option.

Vicky: At least we can have some green minded senators…

Roy: Why don't we set a meeting with him? It's early...

Roy: So party list, Nicky Perlas, Green Agenda… these are too early to decide on, right? But at least People's Primary.

Vicky: We'll Nicky Perlas can run for senator and I will back him up, as senator. But not as president.

Roy: What do you think, because we can suggest that to Nicky.

Vicky: He is an idealist, he is a visionary, he can make good laws, but he will not lead. He has no leadership quality.

Ariel: I'm sure most of these candidates among who declared themselves presidents would slide down to the senator area. They'll realize that they don't have any chance. But by declaring he has the media…

Roy: Besides Nereus Acosta [for senator], who else are we thinking of suggesting. See, Attorney Oposa, attorney [Antonio] Oposa…

Vicky: Is he running?

Roy: Here's the thing. He's a party member. He's well-known because of his intergenerational equity… I've talked to him. He tells me: "Now Roy, I don't believe in new laws. I believe that the laws that we have should be implemented properly. That's why he is filing these 200 plus environmental cases. But, well, I talked with him about the con-con delegate… He is interested.

Vicky: Ok, he has ideas, these people have good ideas. And they have to be… even Nicky Perlas can run for con-con.

Roy: So can we at least float this idea with them? As an initial process?

Cynthia: Tell me a little more about the con-con. Sorry, I'm lost.

Roy: Con-con, there might be... if con-ass will not push through, the next logical thing for those proponents of constitutional change to do is to con-con.

Cynthia: How different is that from con-ass?

Roy: Yeah, they will include the con-con delegate election in the 2010 election…

Vicky: It is different because these are the bastards in Congress that will constitute the Assembly. But in con-con you will elect your con-con delegates. That's the difference. And that's why we would rather have it. And besides, con-con will be after Gloria has stepped down. So she cannot influence the constitution anymore. Because Gloria is just wanting the con-ass so that she can stay in power.

Cynthia: I see, ok.

Roy: Ok, I'm currently, as PKI, that's our institute. Remember, I have two roles. So I have to tell you as PKI. I sit as part of the technical working group of the People's Primary, so I'm heavily involved in the details of the People's Primary. I'm doing that as part of Green Convergence. Now Green Convergence has decided to be part of the facilitators group, the non-partisan group running the primaries. If we decide as a party-group to engage this as a partisan, I have to resign from the technical working group, because we will now be partisan.

Vicky: Why, can you not do both things together?

Roy: We can… but as a representative of a partisan group in the technical working group. Not as a rep of Green Convergence, cause right now PKI is a rep of Green Convergence. Nina Galang, Dr. Galang has to assign someone else as a non-partisan. This is ok then, I mean, that's not really a problem. It's just that they will need someone else from Green Convergence.

Now if that is how we see this, and we can ask the others how they view this, but if this is an option, let's tell Nina Galang already on Monday that we might move into this, so she better talk to the other Green Convergence who to assign besides me. Eventually, if we decide to do so, because we have to consult the other members, we might be ready to do that.

Ok, party list. Too early. By the way, the Party Institute, our view is this, when the board met: Between endorsing an individual green candidate, even Nicky Perlas, and joining the Primary to get this into one common [?], we would rather that the PK support the coalition, the People's Primary, rather than endorse…

Cynthia: Cause we don't have a clear candidate so why are we going to bust our ropes going that way, it's not pragmatic, we got to be practical. We cannot waste our small resources on that.

Roy: And Nicky, is not really a party member. So unless we start with that, that we invite him to be a party member, it would not be very good if we start endorsing him.

Ok, so are we happy with this. That for 2010 engagement, this groups suggestion to the membership is that we support the People's Primary as a partisan group and try to talk top Nereus Acosta whom we will try to get back…

Vicky: Also Danny Lim, you try to talk to him he might become green.

Cynthia: Yeah, let's just thicken our ranks while we're acting…

Roy: Maybe that's too far off. He has never been with us.

Ariel: Danny Lim is... well, he's securing a meeting with our group…

Vicky: Oh, just tell him to become green.

Cynthia: So you carry the PK when you go there.

Vicky: You tell Danny Lim that the Greens are willing to support you, but you have to be green also. I mean, you have to develop being green..

Cynthia: Yeah, let's thicken our ranks in this political exercise but not step out them, the Primaries…

Roy: Can we at least affirm our rule on, because we don't have a rule on adapting a candidate. We have not done this before. We have been adapted as candidate by other parties in other PK groups, but PK has not adapted anyone.

Vicky: Now we are adapting.

Roy: Now that's the question. Are we setting that as a policy. Because, if you ask me, it will be more logical that we only endorse a party member, whose accountability is secure.

Vicky: No, no. There are people who are good also, who can be our champion.

Cynthia: Oh we can recruit them. I always feel… let's thicken our ranks. Let's thicken our ranks.

Vicky: We recruit them or we ally with them.

Roy: Will allying with them mean that they will be running under us or endorsing…

Vicky: No, no. We can endorse them, we cannot force them to run under…

Cynthia: We're still in the, we're just Primary, we are not in the party list…

Roy: But you're not talking about…

Cynthia: We don't have the money, we don't have the people. We're just gonna bust our… trying to run our candidates…

Roy: But you're not necessarily disagreeing, right? Because we're talking about two different things. Vicky is talking about endorsement of allies. Now you're talking about them running as members.

Cynthia: I want to have allies. […] I don't know if we can run any kind of candidate. We don't have the money, we gonna bust ourselves up doing that. We have to be pragmatic, we don't have the money, we don't have the people. We don't have the org to run a candidate.

Vicky: We are not yet ready. Although if there are some people in the local level who can think that they can run, they have the resources, they have the charisma, let them. Let them carry the green banner.

Cynthia: Local, local

Appendix B: Partido Kalikasan (PK) – Declaration of Unifying Principles

1. Ecological Integrity:

    We believe that development must always be in harmony with nature and should respect the integrity of creation. In our relationship with nature, we reject the concept of conquest and domination of nature and advancing instead the concept of living as integral part of, and in harmony with, nature. We will organize and build the capacity of communities to defend the world of nature from further abuse and restore the richness and diversity of life in our mountains, forest, rivers, lakes, seas, farms and other ecosystems.

2. Social Justice:

    We will promote equity in the enjoyment of the natural resources, vowing to help the poorer segment of our society first as a "bubble up" approach to providing direct benefits. We shall continue the heritage of struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression and corruption, uniting with the oppressed and the exploited in their struggles, and paying special attention to the interest of the basic sectors. We must quickly narrow the gap between the rich and the poor and break up the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

3. National Solidarity and Active Non-Violence:

    As we promotes national solidarity through respect for the diversity of cultures and the practice of active non-violence, we will work to transform conflicts and resolve them through peaceful dialogue, negotiations and democratic decision-making. We will work with other social movements, including other green movements at the national and international levels towards this end.

4. Participatory Democracy:

    As caretakers of the earth, we will uphold environmental protection & sustainability as a key political agenda and strengthen various forms of basic democratic communities wherein citizens participate directly and regularly in bioregional development and subidiarity, active engagement in *barangay* (village), municipal/city and provincial governance, and eminence of indigenous peoples over ancestral domain. As a result, we will build a government that is fully accountable to the public for its decisions & actions.

5. Personal Integrity:

    We will exert effort to continue learning and living an ecological life style; consciously shifting in human values from competition and monopolistic control

to cooperation and sharing, and advocating a simple but spiritually-rich style or living against materialist acquisitiveness and wasteful patterns of production and consumption.

What we are for:

- Clean air
- Clean waters
- Sustainable agriculture
- Ecological waste management
- Renewable energy
- Self-sufficient in basic needs
- Integrity of Philippine biodiversity/ landscape as a source of wealth and pride
- Strengthening positive Filipino values and traditions
  Respect for the integrity of creation

What we are against:

- Wasteful production and consumption
- War as a means of resolving conflict
- Domination/ exploitation of poor countries by rich countries; of local by national economies
- Unsound technologies and unfair trade practices

Appendix C: Partido Kalikasan (PK) – Program of Governance

Reforming the Development Framework (Fiscal Management, Trade Policies, Asset Reforms & Green Productivity)

- Prioritize local economic development and *tangkilikan* including massive promotion & implementation of "buy local and buy Filipino products" This includes providing financial, technical and market support services for the development of viable and affordable local "green" products and services with priority to small and medium scale enterprises.

- Full implementation of Philippine Agenda 21 (PA21) through the implementation of constitutional provisions on people participation in development planning & implementation through the local councils for sustainable development (transformed local development councils into CSDs) requiring national development plans to be developed from local (*barangay*/village up to regions) sustainable development plans.

- Promote massive inter-community sharing of best practices on green productivity, fair trade and green enterprise development systems, approaches and mechanisms

- Fully implement the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) within the 5-year extension period and mobilize the improved capacity of CARP bene-ficiaries towards sustainable agriculture and other related sustainable enterprises

- Repeal of Presidential Decree (PD) 1177 or the Automatic Appropriations Act that requires at least 40% of our national income to be automatically set-aside for debt payments as this has led to economic programs that erode our natural resource base.

- Amend the Philippine Administrative Code towards full decentralization of tax management and empower communities to raise the necessary resources from tax revenues to finance their local development plans.

- Abolish the "pork barrel" of both congress and the executive (PDAF, CA, PSF and others). Re-affirm the role of the legislature purely in national policy formulation and necessary oversight functions and away from priority-setting beyond the General Appropriations Act (GAA).

- Limit the power of the President to bulk allocations of large public funds and instead subject this to detailed allocation within the GAA process. Congress'

PDAF and CA allocation must instead be used to increase allocation of LGUs internal revenue allotments to promote equitable sharing of development resources.

- Push both houses of Congress to form, together with an independent 3rd party a multi-sectoral body for a pro-active and comprehensive review of all treaties and agreements entered into by the Philippine government to determine their negative impacts to our local economy, public health and environment; optimize existing provisions of these agreements for redress and to mitigation of negative impacts.

- Pass rules, regulations and necessary comprehensive legislation to require multi-sectoral and nationwide consultative mechanisms for succeeding treaties and agreements entered into by Philippine government subject to transparent coverage and monitoring by mass media & other interested CSOs based on the right to information and precautionary principles.

- Establish an independent monitoring system on the impacts of the JPEPA (Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement) implementation that can be used by the Philippine Senate for determine cause for early revocation of this specific trade agreement.

- Push for the appropriate action of LGUs to optimize the provision of JPEPA providing leeway for local communities to allow exemptions on specific provisions for each locality by way of local ordinances to protect themselves against any negative impacts of the implementation of JPEPA provision in their jurisdiction.

Actions for Climate Change

- Ensure that low-carbon, climate-sensitive and sustainable development pathways are upheld in national and local policies, plans. actions and projects.

- Push climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction as an overall framework for determining priority for the General Appropriations Act (GAA) for the next five years.

- Promote nationwide research, sharing & replication of community best practices on local climate change adaptation measures; with priority on eco-agricultural practices to counter increasing threats of food production shortages.

- Ensure broader public education and participation in community-level climate change adaptation planning, mobilization and consultation on national positions

in the ongoing global climate change negotiations for a stronger global accord in Copenhagen and beyond

Pushing for Renewable Energy

- Self-sufficiency and independence from fossil-fuels and oil/coal importation through non-nuclear and non large hydro renewable sources of energy such wind, solar, geothermal, micro/mini-hydro, bio-mass and others

- Decentralize energy system optimizing in off-grid system to ensure full electrification of all communities

- Accelerate the implementation of the Renewable Energy law providing incentives for more priority investments on renewable energy technologies and development

- Cautious development of agro and bio-fuels that should not compete with the priority of food sovereignty and biodiversity conservation and should be limited to domestic utilization

- Oppose the use of large tracts of agricultural lands to plant crops for bio fuels at the detriment of producing food crops and instead turn to non-food plants (like algae) for biodiesel which; adding 5% CME from coconut, will produce one of the best biodiesels in the world without sacrificing even our coconuts as a food source.

- Rejection of the nuclear energy development option and the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant (BNPP) revival bill.

Managing our Freshwater Ecosystems

- Full protection of watersheds used as source of drinking water and irrigation

- Rehabilitation of all major freshwater ecosystems

- Conservation of freshwater resources through appropriate technology on alternative sources of water for non drinking water uses (e.g. rainwater harvesting, ban of use of ground water for irrigation,etc.)

- Oppose mega dam projects (e.g. Laiban Dam) proposed to ensure water security over options for serious demand-side management, water conservation, improving systems loses and more sustainable watershed sources of water requirements

Stronger Management of Logging

- Impose a 25-year nationwide ban on all forms of commercial logging. In this ban, non-commercial use by IP communities and CBFM holders shall be allowed subject to close monitoring by local multi-sectoral bodies to be created to implement the ban.

- Adopt with full financial, technical, institutional and legal support the community-based forest management (CBFM) as our national framework for forest ecosystem management.

- Build sufficient capacity & effective law enforcement against illegal logging.

Re- orientation on Mining

- Scrap the Mining Act of 1995 and the national minerals plan and pass a new law to Filipinize mining; implement a moratorium while a more ecological and equitable mining law is being finalized

- During the ban, forest line delineation and a national land use plan must be implemented and developed.

- All potential islands for mineral exploration must be subjected to comprehensive natural resource valuation to determine its viability considering multiple land use options and current environmental services in current use.

- A long-term mineral industry sectoral development plan must be developed as part of a broader National Industrialization Program based on low-carbon economy and the development of mineral recycling technologies and industry.

- Conduct a comprehensive and nationwide rehabilitation of abandoned mining sites including the coordination and funding of massive "rainforestation" nationwide

Actions on Public Health

- Institutionalize a nationwide free public basic health care program for all children 5 years old and younger including nutritional education program for mothers and feeding programs

- Upgrade all community health care centers, ensure universal access of Botika sa *Barangay* (village pharmacy) and improve school feeding programs

- Full implementation and further expansion of the Cheap Medicine law and further technical, financial and market development support to the production of local generic medicines

Ecologically Managing Wastes and Toxics

- Use clean production as a framework to achieve closed-loop, non-toxic economy phase out (e.g. ban single-use plastic products and packaging that have low or non-existent recycling levels)

- Adopt and fund a national solid waste management system anchored on waste prevention, volume and toxicity reduction, segregation at source, reusing, recycling and composting, and not on costly and polluting landfills and incinerators.

- Immediate closure of all dump sites and the full implementation of the waste reduction, segregation at source, community MRF (materials recovery facility) in every *barangay* as priority and the last resort, "residual waste management-only policy" for landfills.

- Implement incentives & disincentives to stop biodegradable waste from being sent to dumpsites and generally reduce production of household wastes; including scheme for "pay as you throw"

- Strictly implement all existing rules and regulations on toxics and impose a stronger ban on toxic ingredients in household products

- Shut down existing incinerators and in turn cease and desist from allowing the combustion of municipal, healthcare and industrial discards as alternative fuels in cement kilns, which contravenes the incineration ban

- Recognize and integrate the informal sector, particularly the waste pickers, as formal partners in ecological waste management to raise their social standing and improve their conditions

Ensuring Safe and Adequate Food

- Assert food sovereignty as basis of food system development with organic agriculture based on minimal food mile as priority and non co-existence policy between organic with chemical and GMO (Genetically Modified Organisms)-based agriculture

- Prioritize technical, financial and market development support services for organic & natural agriculture and intensify existing initiatives; including upland ecological farming through a national legislation implementing programs for sustainable agriculture

- Ban the use, development of recombinant DNA technology or GMOs in food & agriculture

- Pass mandatory labeling laws on GMO products

- Preserve and promote endemic seeds and indigenous organic farming practices and systems

- Strengthen monitoring systems of the government especially in regulatory agencies that allow food such as GMOs to enter our food and feed systems.

- Promotion of household and village-level food production and self-sufficiency both in rural and urban communities

Strengthening Clean Air Actions

- Full implementation the Clean Air Act (CAA) with parallel efforts to pursue legal & administrative cases against implementors who are remiss in their responsibilities under the CAA

- Amend the law, where necessary, to further give it more teeth against violators, especially government officials and allocation of specific and sufficient source of funds.

- Pass a law to ban aerial spraying as a means to apply pesticides in farms.

Education for Sustainability

- Further increase budgetary allocation to education commensurate to the growing needs of the public educational system.

- Multi-lingual and local culture sensitive education for sustainable development that is focus on assessment and solving local community sustainable development problems and implementation barrier

- Institutionalize education for sustainable development for all sectors (formal, non-formal and informal sectors) including life-long education for all training

professionals, technocrats and entrepreneur on sustainability knowledge, skills and practices

- Setup office for the specific responsibility of overseeing environmental education/sustainable development within the Department of Education (DepEd), with sufficient budget and personnel.

Governance for Ecosystem Management

- Separate the natural resource regulatory and environmental protection functions of the DENR (Department of Environment and Natural Resources) into two distinct line agencies to ensure proper check and balance

- Increase budgetary support for the operations of both agencies

- Strengthen the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) system

- Full operationalization of all national protected areas with community-based natural resource management (CBNR) as main strategy for conservation and rehabilitation

- Expansion of protected areas system through the bio-diversity corridor approach with appropriate utlilizaton of CBNRM strategies.

Reforming Our Legal-System

- Strengthening the Green Courts with sufficient capacity building and operating budget to ensure fast resolution of environmental cases

- Amending the rules of court to integrate precautionary principles in the rules of evidence putting the burden of proof to the negative impacts of development actions to the environment to the proponent of the development rather than the communities, persons and generations affected or to be affected in the future.

- Codifying local traditions, practices, justice mechanisms and updating based on modern and human principles

Waging All-Out Peace

- Immediate cessation of all military offensives against all armed groups waging rebellion or secessionists acts against the state and putting all military units in defensive positions and putting local police force back to peace and order work in conflict areas.

- Completion of peach negotiations among all armed groups waging rebellion or secessionists acts against the state including but not limited to the CPP-NPA-NDF (Community Party of the Philippines-New Peoples Army-National Democratic Front), MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) towards long-term solution to the fundamental causes of these rebellious and secessionists acts.

- Supporting peace education and reconciliation among communities affected by conflicts.

Greening the Information Sector

- Institutionalize the citizen's right to know asserting government's duty to inform its citizens about matters that directly affect them, the citizens right to access these information and against the use of "national security", "confidentiality of commercial transactions" or "trade secrets" to curtail this right.

- Prohibit the patenting of life forms, micro biological materials, biological and microbiological processes, whether or not modified.

- Ensure protection of the moral rights of intellectuals such as the right to be recognize for creating an intellectual work or originating an idea; protecting against claims of authorship of works or ideas they did not originate; the right against being force to release or modify a work or idea he/she is not willing to do so.

- Promote universal access of citizens to information and global knowledge by setting up library and information centers in all *barangay*s/villages connected to the internet and the adoption of compulsory licensing system where government itself licenses others to copy righted materials for sale to the public, but compels the licensees to pay the patent or copyright holder a government-set royalty fee.

Decentralization and Ancestral Domain

Labor and Employment

Corporate Accountability

International Relations and National Defense

Reforming the Political System

Amending the 1987 Constitution

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