

# Managing the Politics of Reform: Coalition Building and Public Procurement Reform in the Philippines



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Based on Ed Campos and Caby  
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# Promoting the Procurement Reforms: *Changing the Landscape*



**Bad equilibrium:**  
Archaic Legal Regime



**Desired Equilibrium:**  
New Radical Legal Foundation

# Promoting the Procurement Reforms: *Changing the Landscape*

Finance & TA

+

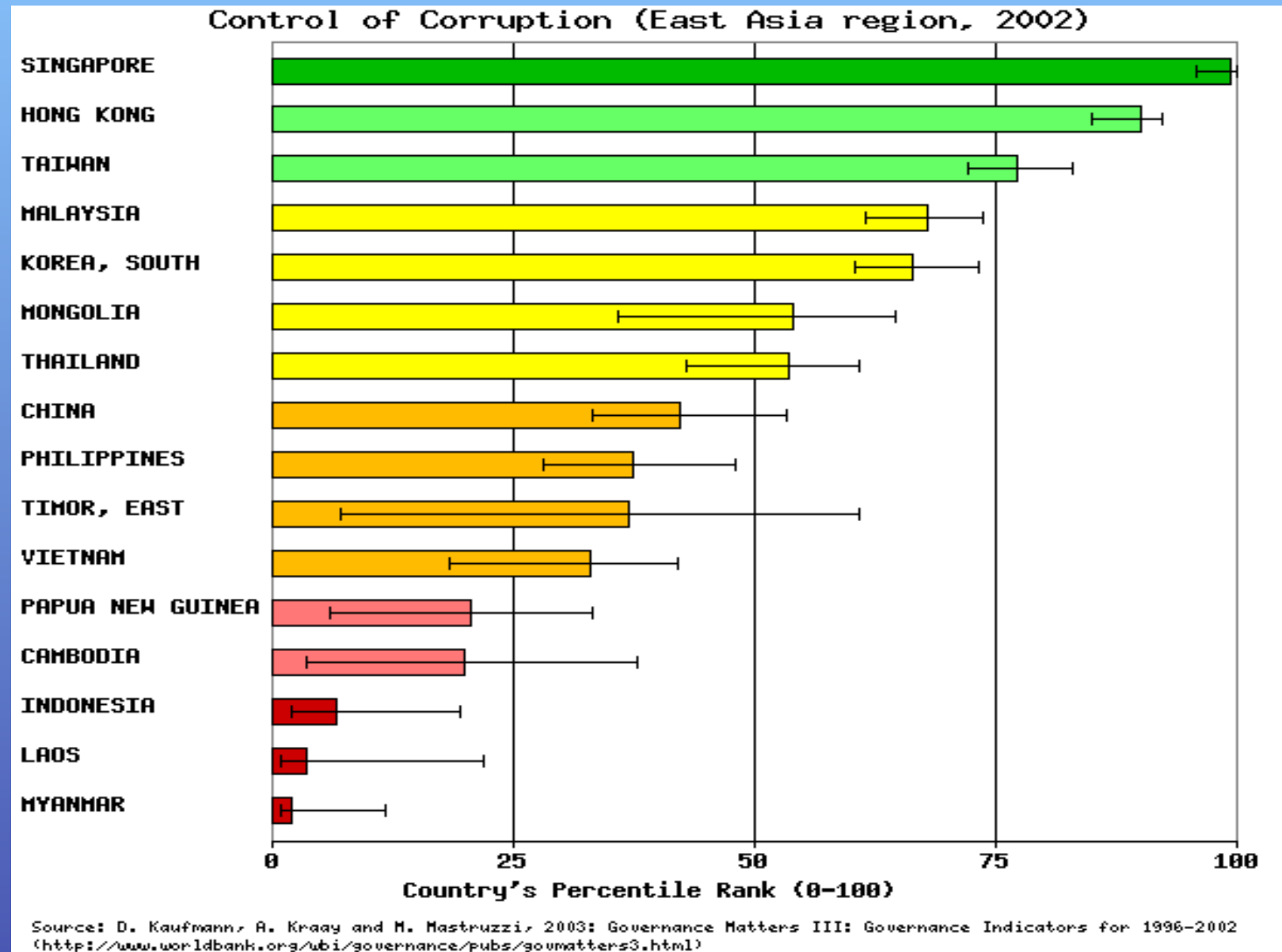


Bad equilibrium



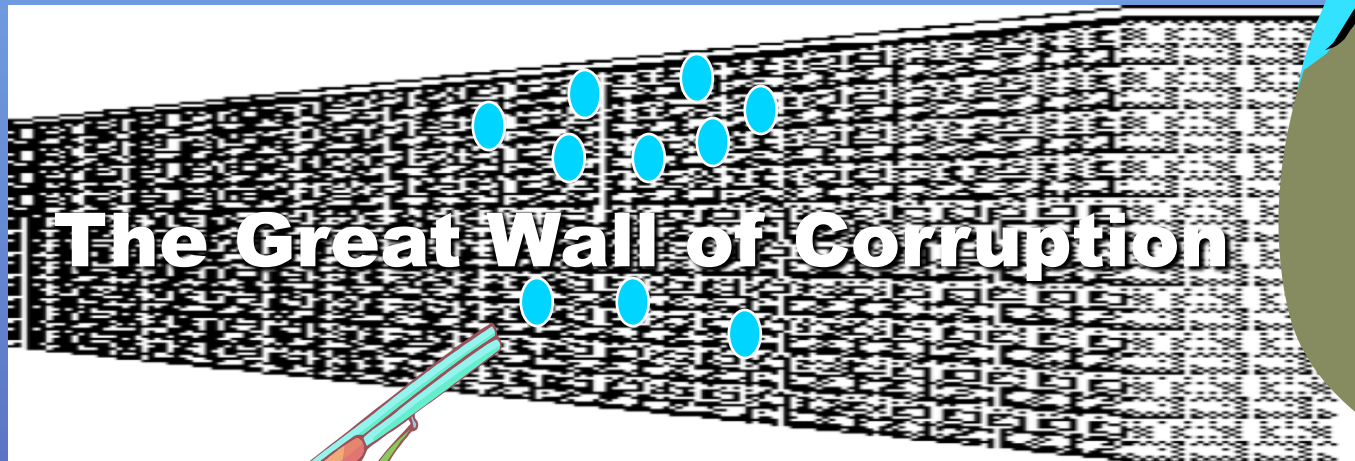
Desired equilibrium

# Background: Why Procurement Reforms?

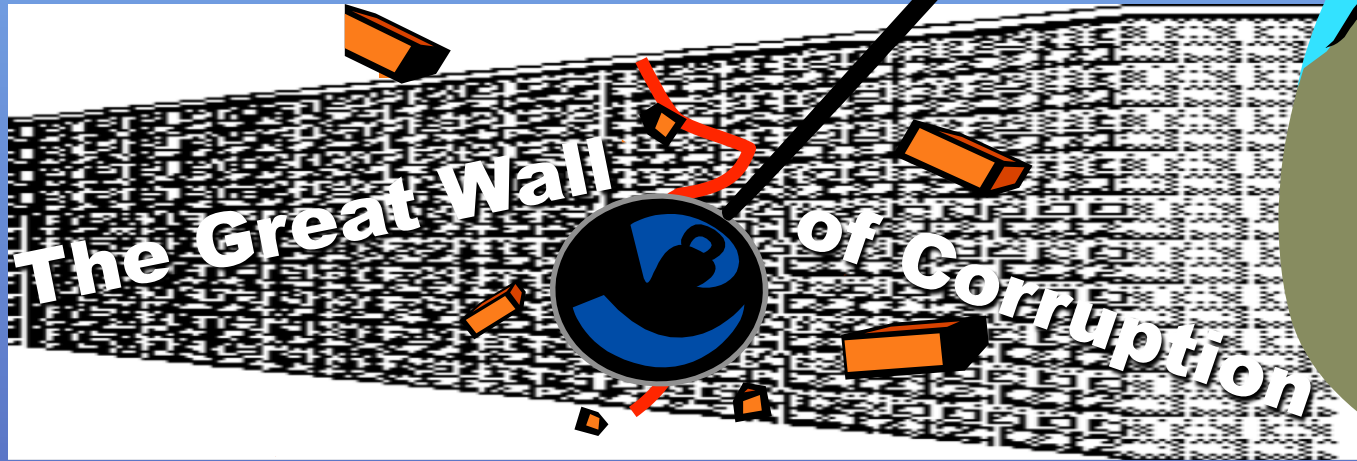




From 'Shot Gun' ...



... to 'Laser Beam' ...



# The **BAD** Equilibrium

## *Survey Findings*

**Government procurement and tax collection are perceived to be the major sources of corruption:**

- ◆ 4 of the top 5 most corrupt agencies featured prominently in government contracting
- ◆ Approximately 20% of govt. contracts go to kickbacks/ commissions
- ◆ Equivalent to P21 B in 2001 just for the national government; much larger if BOT transactions and local government are included

## *Legal Foundations a Mess*

**Over 100 laws, regulations, executive orders etc. governing public procurement**



# The *Desired* Equilibrium: An Overarching Law

## Civil Works

*From: 7.5 to 12 months*



*To: 2 to 3 months*

**Pre-qualification**



**Pre-bid Conference**



**Bid Analysis**



**Award of contract**

**Implementation**



CSO Monitoring



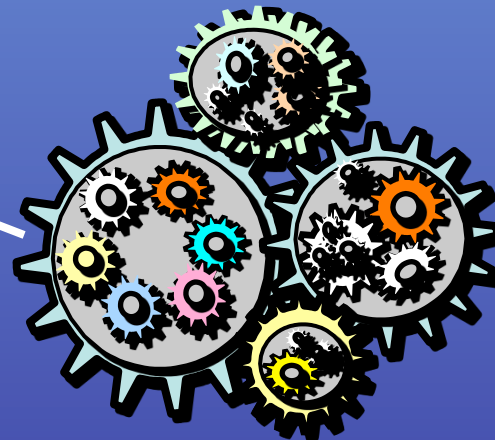
# Promoting the Procurement Reforms: *Changing the Landscape*



Bad equilibrium

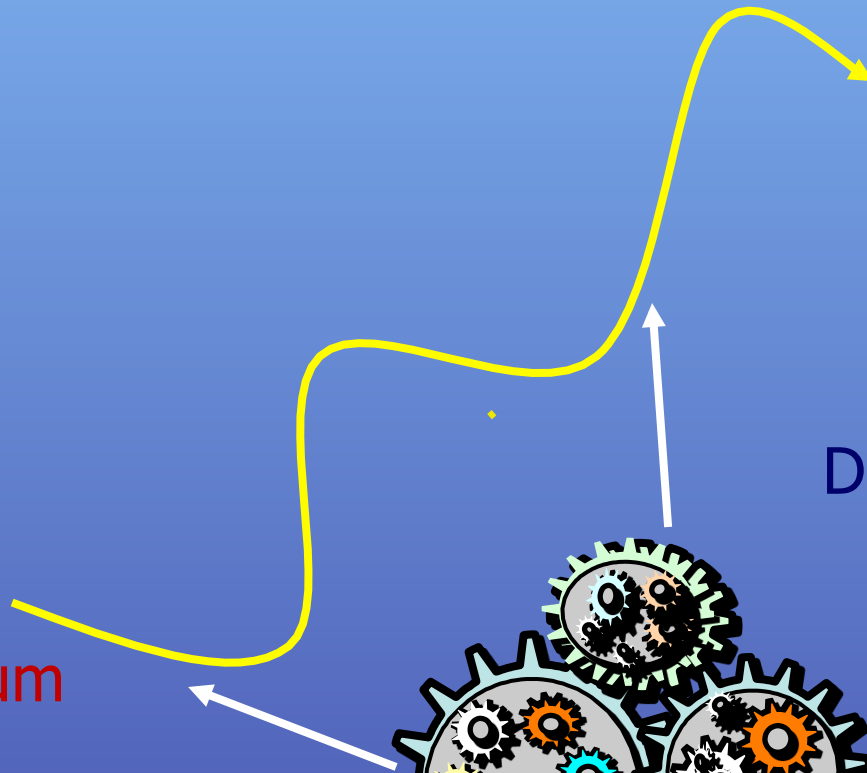


Desired equilibrium



Reform coalition

*"Well Oiled  
Machine"*



# Getting from “bad” to good”?: *Creating a Reform Coalition*



- *How to* unify the Executive branch?
- *How to* mobilize civil society groups?
- *How to* link CSOs and reformers in government?
- *How to* recruit “champions” in the Legislature?

# *How* to Unify The Executive Branch?

## Government Experts

• The “Ditch”

- *Lack of a shared vision*
- *Lack of trust*
- *Free rider*

• “Shoot down” workshop

• Series of workshops

• Formation of TWG

• Revival of dormant GPPB

*Enhancing their influence*



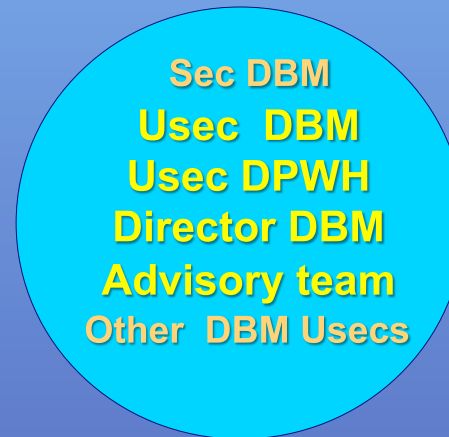


# Unifying the Executive Branch

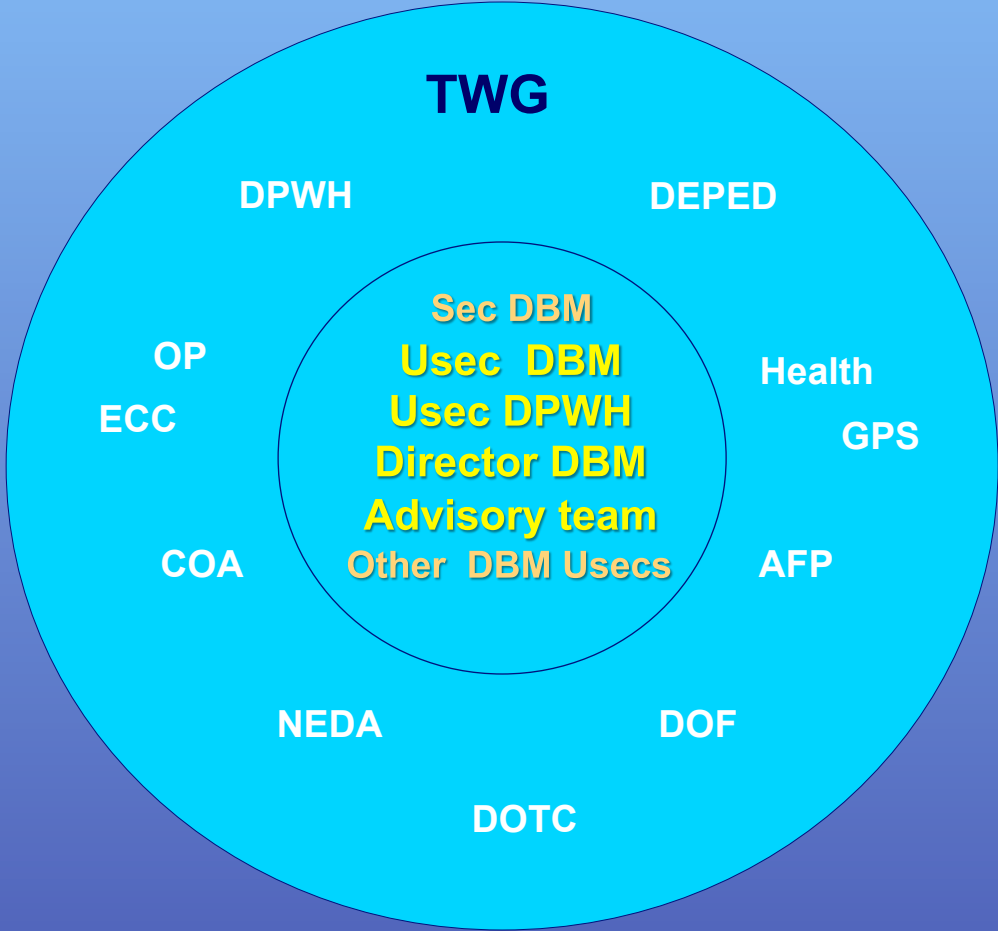




# Leadership Network & Coalition Structure



# Leadership Network & Coalition Structure



# How to Mobilize Civil Society?

• Diffused, disparate CSOs

- *Free Rider*
- *Asymmetric Information*

• Formation of PWI

Credibility: Government + CSOs

Credibility: Church, Media,  
General Public



# Mobilizing Civil Society -- Procurement Watch --



# Mobilizing Public Support



Transparency and Accountability  
Network (20+ member groups)

Walang Ku-Corrupt Movement  
(Youth)

PAGBA &  
AGAP  
(w/in  
Gov't)

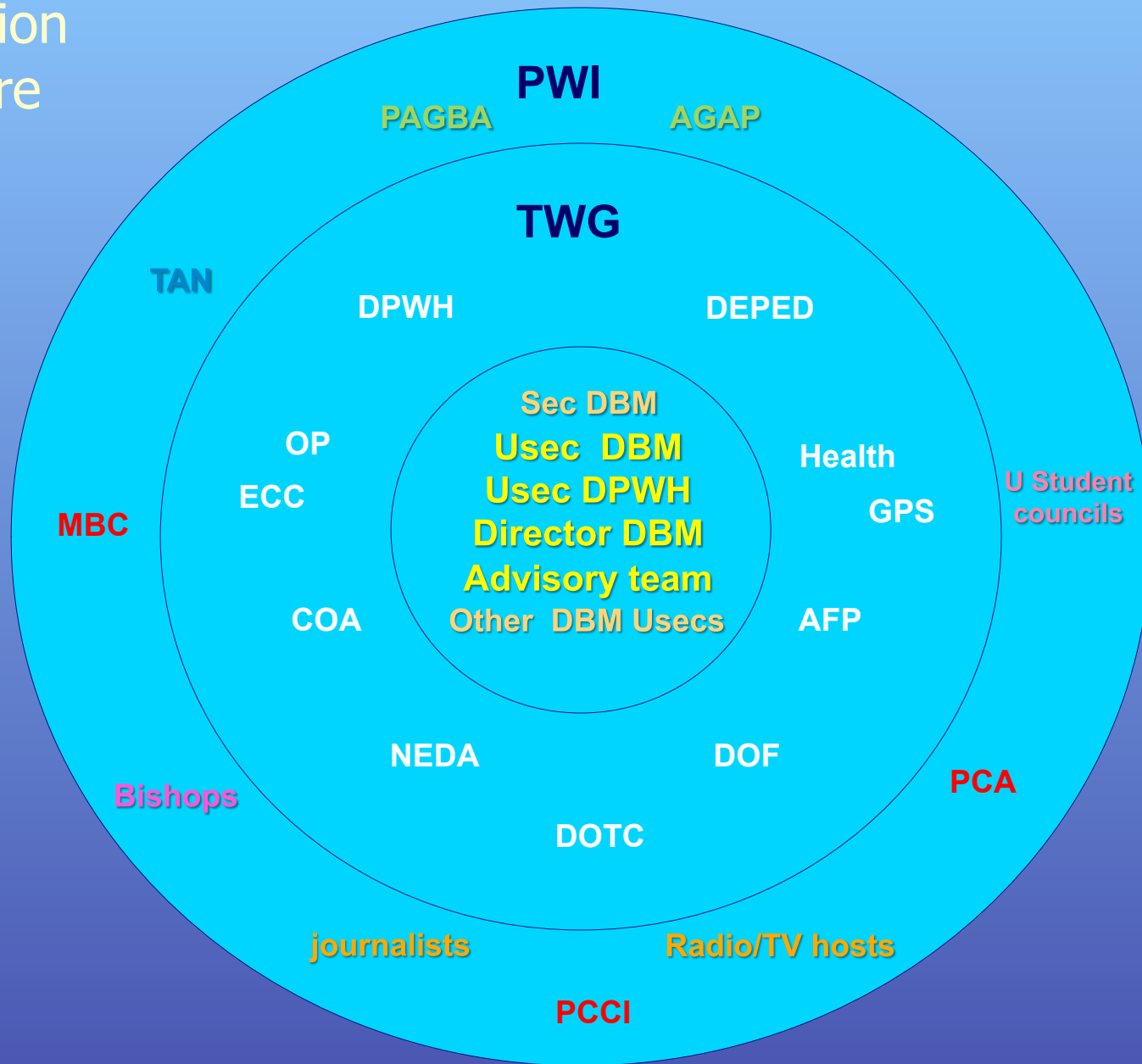
CBCP  
(Church)

Drew other disparate groups  
into the advocacy efforts and  
coordinated the activities

Local chambers of Commerce  
(Private sector)

Philippine Contractors  
Association  
(private sector – main  
stakeholder)

# Leadership Network & Coalition Structure



# *How* to Recruit “champions” in the Legislature

Highly individualistic  
Party is of no consequence



WIIFM !

champions: “*investing  
for the future*”  
strategic positions



Agenda Setting/Control

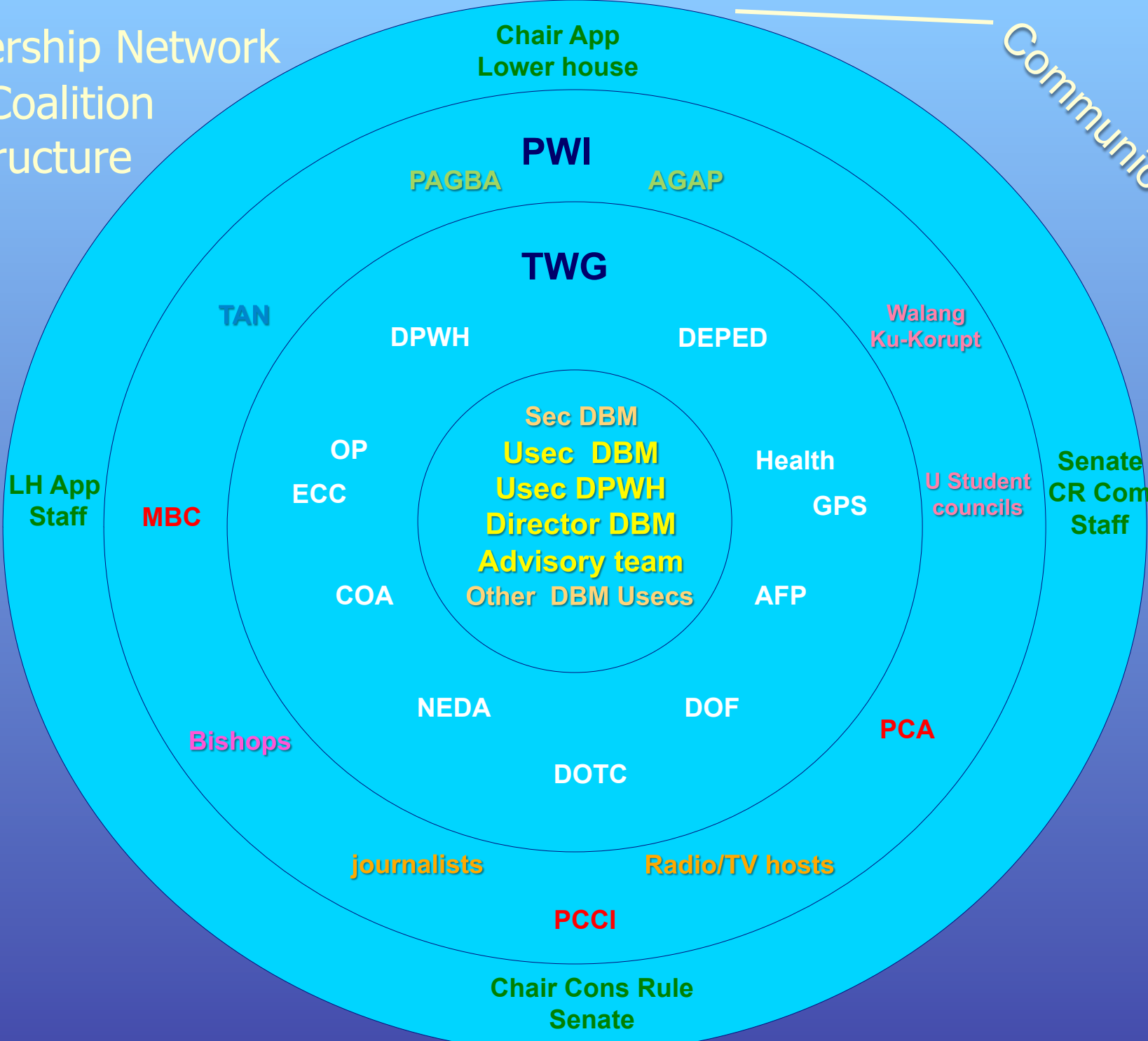


# Recruiting Champions in the Legislature





Leadership Network  
& Coalition  
Structure



Communications

# Sustaining the Reform Process: *The Media Campaign*

- *Became the 'Glue' that linked reformers in government, civil society, legislators, and the general public*
- *“Public relations drive + advertising blitz + political campaign”*
- *Needed local company with special skills to carry this out ...*

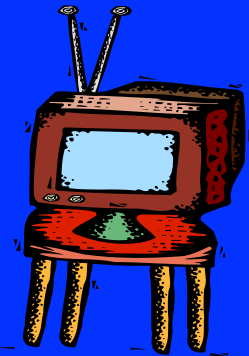
# The Media Campaign: *The Communications Strategy*



**Radio: The  
swath & the  
dagger**



**Reaching Out**



**TV: Raising the  
ante**



**Print Media:  
Amplifying the  
problem**



**Advertising: Creating  
a 'brand name'**



The World Bank, the Department of Finance, and the Transparency and Accountability Network Foundation, Inc. (TAN), a civil society anti-corruption coalition, signed a **grant agreement amounting to US\$1.01 million to promote the adoption of transparent and participatory procurement mechanisms**, which can help improve the delivery of poverty reduction programs in poor municipalities in the country.



# Thanks!

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