## GPC Members Meeting 2018: Building Trust for Philanthropic



**Impact** 

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## Bridging Leadership for Sustainable Impact

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DULANY: Good. So, I have to preface this by saying that this is my favorite subject and these are two of my favorite people.

(LAUGHTER)

So, if I start like bouncing in my seats and this subject that we're going to be talking about is at the heart of Synergos.

And so, I'm going to jump in with a little history and maybe begin -- no, I should begin with Ernie because our first interaction -- I don't even remember what year it was, but when you mentioned this last night, when we put together this global team to try to figure out what was bridging leadership ...

GARILAO: Yes.

DULANY: .. and the Philippines, for those of you who haven't been or don't know the Philippines, it's like the bridging leadership capital of the world. Everybody is a bridging leader and everybody talks about it and does it.

So, before we even began the work together in the Philippines, we had this rather academic -- and Ernie is among other things in academic, interaction. We met in different parts of the world because the team was composed of people from all over the world.

But, Ernie, can you remember back that far? And how did we even start the conversation? Because we came from such different perspectives, but to you it was like just natural ground.

GARILAO: Well, sometime in 1999...

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: David Winder and Steve Pierce came to the Philippines and when they started explaining what the global research on bridging leaders was all about, it was really to address why intractable problems.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: It is complex. You know, some problems are really very hard to crack. And they were very hard to crack because the solutions we threw at the problems were the same old solutions. Or the leadership frame used to address these problems was the traditional frame.

So the promise of the Synergos global initiative was to take a look at what's happening on the ground, especially in looking at the characteristics of bridging leaders and what innovative things they do to address hard issues.

Old solutions for old problems won't work. So, you need new leadership style to address the persistent problems. Now, you know, that Synergos initiative really resonated with me at that time because...

DULANY: You had already been Minister of Agrarian Reform.

GARILAO: I just finished my term as minister but I kept on saying, why are we (Filipinos) still like this? Why can't we get our act together to address wicked issues?

Here was a great opportunity with the Synergos initiative to learn collaborative work to address what they call now wicked problems.

DULANY: Wicked problems.

GARILAO: Yes.

DULANY: Yes. Yes.

GARILAO: And since then after that, we had started doing case studies.

DULANY: Yes. We did I think 30 case studies from...

GARILAO: 7 cases from the Philippines.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: We got a small grant from Synergos to do seven Philippine cases on bridging leaders. And with that, we started running pilot bridging leadership seminars.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: By the third run, that's when the BL (bridging leadership) framework emerged in addressing societal

inequities.

DULANY: A what? Oh, bridging leadership.

GARILAO: In the bridging leadership approach, the leader must own the wicked problem in his locality. You know, he cannot say that's not my problem. He must realize that the issue is his; and he is part of this wicked problem and he is also part of the solution.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: And once he owns the problem, he then uses systems thinking to analyze the problem.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: And he makes a response to the problem. He acknowledges his role in the problem and what he needs to do to address the issues. After that, he brings different stakeholders to co-create solutions to the problem.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: This is the co-ownership, both his internal and external stakeholders. And at the end, what new institutional arrangements will they co-create towards the new reality. So, essentially, that's the sense of bridging leadership.

DULANY: Yes. That was -- right.

And so, "Dinky", let me turn to you for a minute because although we knew each other long before this, it was when you were Minister of Social Development that we went together to Mindanao which was in the process of a war and -- with Ernie.

And already you had identified -- we talk about their allies in every sector -- you had identified who among the guerrillas was willing to talk, who among the military might be a bridging leader, what business leader, what politician, et cetera. Can you just tell a little of that story and how it evolved?

SOLIMAN: As Ernie had said, we -- in a -- during the dictator time, many of us were already looking at how to bring back democracy. And the main method that was running through all of the strategies was that we had to work together despite ideological divides, despite income divides, despite regional divides. Because we have so many regions and regionalism is also quite strong in the Philippines.

So, that kind of practice was ongoing. So, when we were in Mindanao, prior to being there with you, one of the things that had happened in our life in the fight against the dictator, both Ernie and I found ourselves working in

Mindanao at our early stages of our profession.

He was in Davao, I was in Bukidnon. These are two provinces that are in that area which was already in conflict

with our Muslim brothers and sisters who were seceding.

So, it was even -- it was at that time that we started to have -- I started to have relationships with church

leaders, with some of the Muslim brothers and sisters who were part of the secessionist movement, and

community people who were working in that area.

The Muslim brothers and sisters who were part of the secessionist movement, we were working on training on community organizing. Because that was my work and that was my main job. And that's how I knew them, and I met them and worked in that area where we went to build two things; community organizations that will claim

programs and services from government, and help especially the women who in the culture of the tribe. So this

is not Islam itself, but the tribe in Mindanao, because there are at least three major tribes, had women not in an

equal position with men.

And so, we were working on community organizing, informed by Islam and informed by gender lens. So, this is

how we started getting the trust of the women in the community. And that's how we were able to go in and

have some conversations with the guerillas. And wanted to know what would be the way forward on the peace

process that we were working with with other colleagues.

And at that same time, I already was working with government. And because of the access I had to the military,

we were able to negotiate with some people who had some sense of working for peace.

And I forget now, Ernie, if some of them already had gone through the bridging leadership of AIM (Asian

Institute of Management), like (General) Dolorfino.

DULANY: I think so. Yes.

SOLIMAN: Dolorfino.

GARILAO: Yes.

SOLIMAN: The general.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: Yes. Well, just to add, beginning 2004 to 2005, we (at AIM) did train a lot of military leaders in bridging leadership. As a matter of fact, the current Chief of Staff now is a graduate of that BL fellowship program.

Most of the military people trained eventually they became Army and Marine generals. And were really in a position to influence the military pressence on the ground. They realized that military action alone will not solve insurgency.

DULANY: That's a pretty key thing if the military realizes that military action alone...

SOLIMAN: Yes, and that general we were referring to, he started what he called peace soldiers, using basically bridging leadership values and methods. Which is really going into the village and, for example, just to be very concrete, the mosque that was destroyed because of an infighting, they rebuilt.

And so, that's part of building trust; that we're not here to kill you, we're not here to fight you, we're also here to rebuild and we're rebuilding one of the most treasured possessions of the community which is the mosque.

So, we -- that's the kind of work that we were doing and bridging these different divides. But the most important thing I think, looking back, is the fact that the social -- the capital that we had on social relationship, and the trust that I had -- and the trust that they had with me. Where I can go in in these areas where we're not supposed to be in but nothing happens to me, because they will take care of you. They will defend you and they will tell you, OK, don't go there because it's not -- it's difficult.

But the point I think I want to make is that it was because of the trust relationship that we had with each other at different levels, including the military because General Dolorfino can see that the leadership that we were -that I was doing in mobilizing the bureaucracy was to make the bureaucracy serve the people.

And from their point of view, as Ernie had said, it is really addressing the needs of the people that would really bring down conflict and actually avoid war. And this is part of what they had to struggle inside their own organization, you know, the hawks and the doves. And at that particular moment in our history, there were more doves in the area where we were working on than unfortunately now.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: The other interesting result is that the military used bridging leadership to generate new stakeholders.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: And they started developing relationships with the other side, I mean, the Moro National Liberation Front...

DULANY: Liberation Front.

GARILAO: ...and even the...

SOLIMAN: MILF.

GARILAO: Moro Islamic Liberation Front, not the Abu Sayyaf.

SOLIMAN: No.

GARILAO: Sometimes they need to conduct military operations against the Abu Sayaf, the Abu Sayaff will move closer to the camps of the MILF.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: The military would then call their MILF contacts to move out of the area beyond the area of military operations.

DULANY: Wow. That's pretty unusual.

GARILAO: Yes. That way the military avoid unnecessary collateral damage.

DULANY: Yes.

SOLIMAN: And...

DULANY: Go ahead.

SOLIMAN: And actually, that really is because that the training was with military but the bridging leadership workshops was also given to many of the bureaucracies like Agrarian Reform, the health sector and also Social Welfare and Development and civil society organizations who were willing to, you know, work on this kind of approach.

And because I must say that the history of civil society organizations and the military has been very conflicted, and it was really again building trust and wanting to reach out and find a new way of dealing with it. That's why some of the CSO started to work.

And really it is identifying the common interest that they don't want to have war where all the children and all of the women are in. And that's when they text each other and say, can you evacuate? And I recall that one of the things that we were doing as part of trust building, is that when that happens ahead of time, at that time as

a Minister of Social Welfare and Development, we would pre position food for everyone in the place where they would go.

So, that trust building is not just fluffy airy type. It's actual delivery of services that recognizes their dignity and humanity.

DULANY: And how would you characterize the role of business, even going back to the Marcos regime and forward? In terms of how did you bridge the gap with business? And then what role, either positive or negative, did they play in this ongoing process?

SOLIMAN: The first one, you should answer this. He used to head the Philippine Business for Social Progress. That was before he became minister and he's the executive director of that organization.

GARILAO: Well, it's hard to say. I think a lot of them, with exceptions really, do not go beyond their comfort zones, especially in doing their philanthropies.

Many still tend to be on safe grounds and are very hesitant to address wicked problems.

DULANY: Are you talking now or during Marcos or?

GARILAO: During Marcos times and even now.

DULANY: Yes.

SOLIMAN: Especially now I think.

GARILAO: Very hard to take a look at wicked problems specifically if they are influenced by their corporate foundations.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: When you have a corporate foundation then the businesses interest naturally comes in.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: And they really tend avoiding very hard issues. That's why in our particular case, their (Zuellig) family decided to form a family foundation when it moved to public health.

DULANY: Sensibility. Yes.

GARILAO: ...to be able to address that.

DULANY: But during the People Power, there was a very interesting...

GARILAO: Yes.

SOLIMAN: Yes.

DULANY: ...meeting of the minds and common purpose, right? Can you tell me what that?

GARILAO: Yes.

SOLIMAN: I think the business community will be the last to take the risk. But they will take the risk when the risk of having undemocratic processes go and impact their business.

So, in the last years of the dictator, all businesses were down. And it was very hard for them to even think of a business plan because everything was really just going down. And it was not predictable anymore, given the dictator's way of dealing with old issues.

Unfortunately, it's not different from what it is today also in the Philippines. But going back to that time; that was when business started to work with some of the groups who were willing to be out there but would need support. Out there meaning out in the streets, holding Marcos accountable, and making sure that the human rights abuses were being known to others, that you actually do some rescue work also to make sure that people don't get killed.

And so, they would come in and support. And they would be providing resources. They would be providing safe houses. They had provided safe space for people. And in a way, up to the last year, there was confluence of resources, agreements and action which brought the business with private sector, civil society organizations, faith-based organizations coming together and saying, enough. We are not going to allow the dictator to rule us.

And the snap election came. Everybody supported the candidate that was going to bring in the democratic process. And we threw the dictatorship -- the dictator out.

Now, after that, I think the challenge was, what role will business have now in rebuilding democracy? And there were businesses who started to work on addressing some level of equity issues, some level of supporting good governance programs through the league of corporate foundations.

And then, of course, basically working on the social services aspect, which is really the comfort level of business and corporate foundations. That has been their main work so far.

But I'd like to end it with a challenge that really, we also partly discussed it and Raza made reference to it earlier in the board meeting yesterday, where we said that there is need to have a difficult conversation on the elephant in the room. That many of us here in the philanthropy world is able to give and be philanthropists because of a system that could very well be actually doing negative impact on the planet, negative impact on labor, probably supporting some slavery kind of work.

And that difficult conversation is really going to move us forward into really getting into solution of addressing poverty and scalable and have a sustainable solution. So, I really think that that's part of what we're grappling with also in the Philippines.

Some conversations with the next gen on what can be a more sustainable way of doing business, a fair and just way of dealing with labor, how do we use the resources in the Philippines. And I'm happy to say that there's hope in some of the next gen in the Philippines that I know because that's what I know. I don't know that lay of the land in the United States and in Europe.

But some of the younger generation care about environment, for example. The person who comes to mind is a young woman who's an elected mayor in one of our best tourist spots in Palawan. And she's actually preserving her -- the town that she comes from, which is San Vincente.

We worked with her when I was in government. And we were addressing the needs of the poor communities around and she's making sure that no big, tall casino and/or big, tall resort is going to be built in the area which will endanger the beauty of the place. So, she's an example of what's going on in terms of the consciousness of this group.

Some of those who went to the bridging leadership initiative of Synergos there, are also along that line. I just can't think of an exact example but something like that is also happening.

DULANY: Yes. So, I wanted to just mention two things and then begin to open it up to the group. One, I remember that one of the trust building things that happened was that during the People Power conflicts, you went away on a weekend retreat with some of the business leaders and you sang, do you remember this?

SOLIMAN: Yes.

DULANY: A lot of singing in the Philippines.

SOLIMAN: Yes. Yes.

DULANY: And I might add that when you're trying to get really deep in what your purpose is, to your soul's purpose in life, the soul doesn't respond to logical language. It responds to singing, poetry, dancing, dreaming, being in the wilderness, et cetera.

So, to me, I've always remembered that example as a really beautiful example of a way to bring what had been two pretty conflicting groups, which is civil society and business, together for a particular common purpose which was to get Marcos out of there.

SOLIMAN: Yes.

DULANY: But I also wanted to mention that in this room, we have a number of young Brazilians who've just completed, or some of them may be in the middle of, a new form of offering that Synergos has, which we're calling a bridging leadership workshop, which again, the Philippines proceeded us on by several generations. And the people that Dinky was just referring to are -- some of them are graduates of that program.

So, I think a lot of what we're talking about is very relevant to the next generation. Because -- and I'm hoping that someone among the Brazilians will have the courage to speak up about this, but being second-generation members of families that are in business that are probably doing it in the traditional ways, probably also involved in philanthropy, probably also in a traditional way, and in talking with them at a dinner we had at Daniela's house two or three years ago, when we talked about this approach of bridging, they said, well actually, that's what we're interested in. That's what we want to learn about and figure out how to bring that into our impact investing, or our businesses, or our philanthropy, or even into our families.

And so, there's a continuity. I'm not sure the Brazilians know that a lot of this started in the Philippines. But I wonder whether anyone of you would want to comment about your experience getting to think about these issues? And as we move from specifically focusing on the Philippines to the experience that some of you might have had in your own countries? Let's begin to talk about what can result this.

This is a pretty extreme example. I mean, we are talking about a Civil War and the bridging role that these two played in that Civil War. Not every bridging opportunity is quite as difficult.

So, is there anyone from the Brazil group that would be willing to say anything about your experience, or the issues you're facing in Brazil? I'm trying not to name names, or even look at individual people.

So, if you wouldn't...

SOLIMAN: There's a hand.

DULANY: Oh yay, OK.

ZAHER: Hi, I'm Thiciana. I would like to say my experience in bridging leadership program which has been such -- first, Peggy, you are an inspiration for me. After I met you, I just realized this is really what I want to do in my life; be like you. I hope so.

And for me, after I went to do the first meeting of the bridging leadership, I found my purpose. So, this is being such -- I'm trying to find the right word because it's always so emotional and inspirational being part of this circle.

And I hope I can bring -- I can make connections and networks to find the ways to make a better world to my country, but also seeing all these people doing these amazing, amazing projects and seeing you speak, I believe in a better world and that we can do a lot.

Because in Brazil now, we are having a problem with trust because of the corruption. And so, this year is the year of election and, wow, this -- all this is being such an inspiration for us. I don't know for you, but for me, it's being such a good moment to talk about trust because of what we are pressing through in Brazil. It's -- I hope we can trust someone to be our president and change the -- what we are facing now in our country.

DULANY: And let me just follow up and this could be you or someone else in the group. But I know from my own experience when I was a lot younger, you feel so powerless in the face of these big issues. So, what have you learned, either through being part of a group, or the process, or this group, or whatever that enables you to feel more may be self-confident or at least more daring to reach out to ask for help to share your experience?

That's what I want to know because this is part of becoming a good bridger is you know, allowing ourselves to be vulnerable enough to admit what we don't know, and then work with others and build the trust so that we do have a sense that maybe together we can do something.

ZAHER: Yes. Someone want to talk more? OK. Yes. Well, so, for me, I'm new in this philanthropy space. So, I didn't know much and when I start to see, again, what all these people are doing, I start to feel like I can do, too, I can do to my country.

So, this is the most contribution that this network brings to me; that the feel that I can do more. And I hope my colleagues from Brazil here can help me to get a good network to do what we need to do and what we want to do.

DULANY: Thank you.

ZAHER: Thank you.

DULANY: Any comments from you two?

GARILAO: Maybe I will link this, Peggy, to the work on --- to inner...

SOLIMAN: Inner work.

DULANY: Inner work.

GARILAO: ..work.

DULANY: Which it took you a little while to bridge it, right?

GARILAO: Right. I was a slow starter.

DULANY: We had many debates on this.

GARILAO: You know we work with publicly-elected leaders because if they are transformed (to address wicked issues) they really make a lot of difference.

They go through the same bridging leadership formation process. The first part is finding your purpose and finding your mission. For many of them, they have not really articulated what their personal purpose was.

And once they are able to articulate their personal purpose and mission, then they look at what they have done and achieved in their context. And when they consider their education, their contacts, their social and leadership capital they realize they have done very little considering all the blessings that were given to them.

And this was a realization. In a sense the process is inner work, although not as deep as you would have wanted it to be. When they link mission to the work, then they bring a lot of energy and passion to the work.

Further this passion is what is required when they move towards equitable health outcomes. You need interior work processes to help them get their purpose and mission.

DULANY: So, what's the connection? How do they get from finding their purpose to promoting equitable outcomes?

GARILAO: Well, we have a 2 year program to get to equitable health outcomes. We use a health systems scorecard with metrices. And the mayors are given training and coaching interventions to fix the health system that results in equitable health outcomes. We encourage them to visualize and what their constituents have to achieve in development outcomes by the end of their terms and how they intend to achieve them.

For instance, we had a governor in Bataan and he understands HDI, he understands...

DULANY: What's HDI?

GARILAO: Human Development Index, and he says, I want to my province to have the highest Human Development Index in the Philippians but I'm lagging behind in terms of life expectancy and his goal is to move it from 70 to 75 years life expectancy. When you increase to 75, you have to do something about mortalities, who's dying of what, and what age; and what you can do to reduce or delay mortalities.

And I said, that is political capital. That you can give your constituents 5 more years of good health and good life.

DULANY: Yes.

GARILAO: So the political mayor is accountable for improvements in the human development indicators, metrices are critical.

SOLIMAN: And building on that, for civil servants and for the civil society organizations, making that effort also brings in the social capital to each other higher, because now you really are collaborating to reach that goal that you've agreed upon, which is part of your vision and mission as civil society organization.

And as a civil servant, if in the past your passion to serve had not been high, that it's just a job for you, getting into that moment gives you the passion. And so, you're not just doing a job, you're doing a mission, you're part of government service making sure that poverty isn't (ph) increased. Because when the metrics are there and the measurements come, and you do this accountability session with each other, it's both a trust building exercise and a realistic approach to the wicked problem, as Ernie said.

But it's also a celebration. For every little movement you get on mortality, on health metrics, it's a celebration for the CSO, for the civil servant, for the local government unit ,because you actually see the development happening because you collaborated with each other.

I just wanted to say to our colleagues from Brazil; it is really an emotional investment and it's something that will always be there. I always say to my colleagues both in the ministry and in the civil service and also CSOs, if you do not get disturbed when you see a child in the street, or you feel like crying when you see something in the papers about the war and the impact on women and children and men, then that means you have not been touched by the vision. That you have to be disturbed all the time because if you're not disturbed, then you're not willing to take the risk.

I just wanted to tell the story that what Peggy was referring to as the three of us moving into Mindanao. I think one of her surprises when we -- Mindanao is that island where the conflict is. When we got there, there were three tanks and a battalion of soldiers waiting to protect the three of us.

So, as the -- and I remember Peggy saying, why are there so many tanks? And, you know, these are really army tanks. I mean, you know, the big tanks. So, I think I went to one of the generals and said, can you lessen -- can you take away the two tanks? It's scaring my guests.

GARILAO: She's a high-value target.

SOLIMAN: She is. I mean, you know, we had to say because also it's our responsibility, because she's a high-value target. Ernie is and me, too. So, there were all these three tanks. And that's part of the risk, too, because it's like -- I think many people thought that we were crazy bringing Peggy into Mindanao.

In fact, I got a little sermon from some of the people in the business world to say that, you know, why did you do that? But it was because Peggy wanted to go.

DULANY: I know Molly wants to ask a question here or make a comment.

QUESTION: Thank you so much for this great conversation and for sharing your experiences on the bridging leadership.

Stating the obvious, we live in an interdependent globalized world. And you have also understandably talked about largely national components of bridging leadership in Brazil and in the Philippines, and the personal relationships and social collateral and how personal that is, right? Both not only your own mission, but how you deliver and build relationships that are person-to-person, and that those are essential.

And I wonder -- and this is really a question to all three of you, I wonder -- or challenge even, I wonder how you take that learning on a national level, on a personal level, and build those bridges across cultures and nationalities, so that we as a human community have a better chance of successfully managing the opportunities and challenges that we face that are transnational in nature, right, where no one country can fix this?

And so, it would be really great to hear from you how you think about that. Or what lessons you've learned on a local level that might be something that could blossom globally.

GARILAO: You have to start.

DULANY: No. No. No. I'm with them all the time. This is your opportunity.

SOLIMAN: Well, I'll begin. I think the connections are very important. And so, it's a very conscious effort to begin to link and work with in the beginning, like-minded groups.

So, I'm actually involved in working with regional networks, that's working on rural development and also networks working on issues of migrant workers. A I'm working in Myanmar right now. Bringing -- and, you know, working in those areas right now, very consciously bringing what I have seen work in the Philippines, but not to copy paste it. Because every country, every society, every community has its own soul and its own way of doing things.

So, in Asia, we remove our shoes when we go into the house. And that's like the action I think in our minds, in the way we do things. We remove our shoes so we don't step on other people's history and other people's culture. And we listen first.

So, that to me is important and that's important in the work that we do. And fortunately, having been brought back -- having come back to Synergos board, there is this possibility now of working with a network of emerging philanthropists from China and in the Southeast Asia region. Because we are going to have a big reflection, a national reflection session in the Philippines on bridging leadership, bringing in the bridging leaders together.

And it can -- I think we're working on having some of our Synergos partners to come and join us and then reflect together. So, that I think...

DULANY: December 6th and 7th if anyone is interested.

SOLIMAN: Right. Serge just said yes.

GARILAO: We get invitations to move it outside the Philippines; like Indonesia. But our Board is always hesitant since there is always a need for local content and local context. We are however open to make available a training methodology with them.

And the reason why the bridging leadership moved fast in the Philippines was because we developed a local capacity to do bridging leadership.

As a matter of fact, we transferred the bridging leadership framework to eleven (11) regional academic universities so that they can be tapped by regional institutions. Once you have developed that national capacity, which developed the national bridging leaders, these national bridging leaders can begin talking to other bridging leaders in other countries. It is easier for the regional leaders to talk to one another if they have the same leadership framework.

DULANY: So, I would say that's what we aspire to build right in this room. Somebody else?

SOLIMAN: Yes. There's a hand.

DULANY: Yes?

QUESTION: I just wonder -- can you hear me? In the Philippines, you've had both really vibrant democracy in previous administrations and, of course, strict authoritarianism now. You've got your own president killing people in the streets, no due process, et cetera, et cetera.

But the reason I bring it up is, is it an unusual situation to have worked with both. And around the world, we're seeing authoritarian tendencies grow, not only in the U.S. but also in India, in China, in Turkey, all around the world.

How do you -- yet you want to do good whichever regime is there. What suggestions or what have you found works better with the authoritarian side of governments?

GARILAO: It's not authoritarian at the local level. As a matter of fact, when you talk to these local chief executives, you know, they will just shake their heads when we discuss the president.

So, his strong -- his perceived strongman tactics do not occur at the lower level, except maybe in police work. If you deliver governance that addresses equitable outcomes, the strong man will not show up.

They show up because people want stronger action towards equitable outcomes. At the end of the day, people look for equitable outcomes; and if the equitable outcomes can be delivered by non-authoritarian leadership, then an authoritarian regime will not prosper.

I think that's my thesis because before when we were starting out (in the 1970s and 1980's), there were two models; the Duterte model in Davao City and the Robredo model in Naga City...

SOLIMAN: Naga City.

GARILAO: Whose leadership styles were completely opposite. But the Naga model, which is the Robredo model, the husband of the Vice President now, was the participatory way with a lot of people participation. Yet it was producing equitable outcomes. And the other one (Duterte of Davao) was delivering peace and order through stronghanded tactics.

It's just a question of how do you empower mayors to do governance that gives you equitable outcomes? Then you have these strongmen will have a hard time emerging.

SOLIMAN: But right -- if I can add, right now, the situation is, as Ernie said, in local governance in far places it can happen. But in places where politically it matters to him, then it becomes an arena for very strong and violent means of stopping the critics.

So, I think what we're doing is that we're building the resistance to this abuse, using all the legal processes that we have in country and internationally. But at the same time, making sure that the voices of the -- those who have been -- who survived the violence should be brought to fore and hold them accountable. So that there is a balance to -- not balance, there is an action to hold him accountable and all the other people who have been doing the abuse that we are experiencing now.

Otherwise, you know, even what we're doing at the local government level will dissipate because at some point, when the strongman tactic becomes the way of governance, then criticism voices will all be shut off.

DULANY: Thank you. Mohamed.

AMERSI: Thank you very much. These last two days, we focused on two words; one is bridge and one is trust. And if I can share some perspectives which I see happening around me globally, and then see how you can reconcile those two words with what we see happening, it would be very interesting.

So, when you look at trust for example, we have social media. And it's very hard today to distinguish what is real and what is fake. And once you are in that sort of situation, then how does trust really work? Who do you trust? What do you trust? And how do you verify whether what is being said is something that you can put your trust into? So, that's one aspect.

Secondly, we see the rise of populism and we see a very big breakdown of democracy. And where there is democracy, you know -- hopefully, Malaysia, they have elections. The results will be announced tomorrow. But it's highly questionable how truly democratic those elections were when you change boundaries and you change the rules of the game to suit people in power to stay in power.

And the same trend has been followed in so many places; China, Russia, Turkey will have its elections in June. So, how do you actually start to bridge, because instead of building bridges, I see the world breaking bridges? I see the world becoming very isolationist and seeing becoming very selfish and looking at its own interests first.

SOLIMAN: First on social media, I think that's -- it's a very important component of why we are where we are today. I think the recent information that's coming out of Cambridge Analytica, the way it has been manipulated, the issues that you're raising about your own election here and the influence of Russia, all of that played a very important role, including in our -- in the Philippines.

We know there is evidence to show that the machinery of Duterte had links with some of the trolls, as we call them, in Macedonia. That was where most of the information was coming out.

And the base that he had, in terms of votes, he got 16 million votes, there were four candidates, so he's not a majority president, because I think roughly about 50 million people voted so 16 million votes went to him.

QUESTION: Sixteen or 60?

SOLIMAN: One six. So, he's not a majority president. But the ones who voted for him were basically families of overseas Filipino workers, whose main source of information is the social media. And that's where we really got, you know, pummeled, the Aquino administration with all of fake news that was coming out. And that continues to this day.

And I think that's the same thing that happened in most of the other societies. So, one of the things that we are doing, together with some of the international and some of them are here in U.S. base, is to you know, come out with apps on fact checking, and just the consciousness of checking and making sure that your source is credible.

Just to make that critical thinking come into light is something that I think is important to do, especially with young people. Because the profile that voted him also said 18 to 25 predominantly male, college and at least two years in college out of a study that was done by Social Weather Station and one of the TV networks called The Exit Interview. So, that's on the social media.

I think it's harder to think about -- I will admit, I cannot think of bridging with Duterte at all at this point. So, it seems to me that what we really need to build is the voices of the majority who wants democracy to work. And that to me is the most important work that we can do now, because in a way, that's the bridge to the common humanity.

I don't think anybody want -- I don't think a majority of people wants what's going on now. But it has to be the courage to say I don't want this, especially in the Philippines where you get killed when you say that.

DULANY: Yes. So, we have to actually end this discussion because I think they're preparing lunch for us but that doesn't mean we need to end it permanently. It's just we need to shift to a different room.

This is obviously...

UNKNOWN: One more session. One more member insight.

DULANY: That's right. Before we go to -- yes. Sorry about that. I keep screwing up on the agenda.

But, obviously, this is a really big issue for all of us no matter where we live in the world. And I know we'll take away both a lot of learnings, and also a lot of questions. And I hope that this dialogue continues among this group in large and small segments in different parts of the world.

Thank you so much to Ernie and Dinky.

(APPLAUSE)