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2024 Philippines Update Paper Presenters, Chairs, and Discussants

Beyond Geo-Politics: The Philippines in the
New Marcos Era

30 – 31 October 2024



ANU Philippines Institute

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CRICOS Provider Code: 00120C

Day 1 – 30 October 2024

Political Update - The Marcos Jr. administration: From populism to reformism?

Carmel ‘Melay’ V. Abao, is an Associate Professor and Current Department Chair of the Department of Political Science at the Ateneo de Manila University. She completed a Master's Degree in Politics and Governance at the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Sussex and a PhD in Development Studies at the De La Salle University. She specializes in social movement studies, labour and migration, and international political economy. Before joining the academe, she was involved in a number of movements: as labour organizer and educator of the Workers' College, as deputy director of the Institute for Popular Democracy and as the founding Secretary General of the Akbayan (Citizens' Action Party).

Cleo Anne A. Calimbahin is a Senior Research Fellow at the Philippines Institute in the College of Asia and the Pacific (CAP) at the Australian National University (ANU). She is also a Professor of Political Science specializing in elections, corruption, and democracy studies at the Department of Political Science and Development Studies at De La Salle University-Manila (DLSU-Manila). She earned her PhD from the University of Wisconsin-Madison as a Fulbright Fellow. Among her notable publications are *Mapping the Philippines' Defective Democracy* with Julio Teehankee and *Democratic Backsliding in the Philippines: Are Voters Becoming Illiberal?* with Yuko Kasuya. She also co-edited *Patronage Democracy in the Philippines: Clans, Clients and Competition in Local Elections*, which received the 2024 Outstanding Book Award in the Social Sciences from the National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST). Cleo has held prestigious positions as a Research Associate with RAND in Washington, D.C., and as a Visiting Scholar at Stanford's Asia Pacific Research Center. She serves on the Advisory Council of Women in Southeast Asian Social Science and the International Editorial Advisory Board of *Asian Politics and Policy*.

Björn Dressel is an Associate Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University and the founding Director of the ANU Philippines Institute. His research spans comparative constitutionalism, judicial politics, governance, and public sector reform in Asia. Dr. Dressel has published in numerous prestigious international journals, including *Governance*, *Administration & Society*, *International Political Science Review*, and *Pacific Review*. He is the author of *Courts and Politics in Southeast Asia* (CUP, 2024) and the editor of *The Judicialization of Politics in Asia* (Routledge, 2012). He also co-edited *Politics and Constitutions in Southeast Asia* (Routledge, 2016) and *From Aquino II to Duterte: Continuity, Change, and Rupture* (ISEAS, 2019), as well as *Informality and Courts: Comparative Perspectives* (Edinburgh University Press, 2024). For updates on his work, follow him on X (formerly Twitter) @BjoernDressel.

Economic Update - Shaky recovery, misplaced priorities

Jan Carlo ‘JC’ Punongbayan is an Assistant Professor at the University of the Philippines School of Economics (UPSE). He earned his PhD from UPSE in 2021, where he also graduated summa cum laude in 2009 and was awarded the José Encarnación Jr. Award for Excellence in Economics and the Gerardo P. Sicat Award for Best Undergraduate Thesis. He

previously worked at the Securities and Exchange Commission, the World Bank Office in Manila, the FEU Public Policy Center, and the National Economic and Development Authority. His current research interests are macroeconomics, Philippine economic history, education economics, and development economics. JC writes a weekly economics column for Rappler.com. He is also co-founder of Usapang Econ and co-host of Usapang Econ Podcast. In 2023, his first book, *False Nostalgia: The Marcos "Golden Age" Myths and How to Debunk Them*, was published by Ateneo de Manila University Press. In 2024, JC received The Outstanding Young Men (TOYM) Award for economics.

Alfredo Paloyo is an Associate Professor of Economics at the School of Business of the University of Wollongong in Australia. His research interest is in the empirical analysis of issues related to human capital, particularly in the fields of labour, health, and education economics. His previous works have been published in, among others, the *European Economic Review*, *Economics of Education Review*, and *Oxford Economic Papers*. He received his Bachelor of Science, cum laude, and Master of Arts in Economics from the University of the Philippines School of Economics. He then obtained a European Master in Law and Economics (LL.M.) with the highest distinction, jointly awarded by the Erasmus University of Rotterdam (Netherlands), the University of Hamburg (Germany), and the University of Bologna (Italy). He earned his doctorate in 2011, summa cum laude, from the Ruhr University of Bochum within the framework of the Ruhr Graduate School in Economics in Germany. He was previously a researcher in the Division of Labor Markets, Education, and Population of the RWI – Leibniz Institute for Economic Research in Essen, Germany.

Antoinette R. Raquiza is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Philippine Development Studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines. She is the Convenor of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies Political Economy Program and Vice President of the Asia-Pacific Pathways for Progress Foundation, Inc. (APPF). Her research interests are on comparative political economy, governance, and contentious politics, as well as Philippine foreign policy; published works include *State Formation and Economic Development in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of the Philippines and Thailand*.

Social and Environmental Update - Departures and continuities in Philippine environmental trajectories

Kristian Karlo Saguin is an Associate Professor of Geography at the University of the Philippines Diliman who has engaged with the various political ecological dimensions of urban and environmental change in the Philippines. He is the author of *Urban Ecologies on the Edge: Making Manila's Resource Frontier* (University of California Press, 2022), which received the Harry J. Benda Prize from the Association for Asian Studies and the Meridian Book Award from the American Association of Geographers.

Emerson Sanchez is ARC Research Fellow at the Institute for Infrastructure in Society, ANU Crawford School of Public Policy. He researches social risk, environmental and natural resource politics, and social movements. He completed his PhD at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, University of Canberra where he studied environmental discourses surrounding Philippine mining disasters. He obtained an MA in International Public Policy at the University of Tsukuba and a BA in Journalism cum laude at the University of the Philippines Diliman. He published works on Philippine mining disasters, social movements under former President Rodrigo Duterte, and sovereign wealth funds for Philippine offshore energy resources.

Maria Tanyag is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of International Relations of the Australian National University and an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (DECRA) Fellow. She is author of *The Global Politics of Sexual and Reproductive Health* (Oxford University Press, 2024). Her research has been also published in various journals including *The Lancet*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, *Signs*, *Gender & Development*, and *Review of International Studies*. She has contributed Op-Eds in *The Guardian* and *The Conversation*. Maria specialises in critical and feminist approaches to global peace and security, focusing on the Asia Pacific region and the Philippines in particular. She was selected as one of the inaugural International Studies Association (ISA) Emerging Global South Scholars in 2019, as resident Women, Peace, and Security Fellow at Pacific Forum (Hawaii) in 2021, and as a British Academy Visiting Fellow in 2023.

Keynote Speech - Unrequited Love: Duterte's China Embrace

Marites D. Vitug, a leading Filipino investigative journalist and author, is editor-at-large for Rappler. She was editor of *Newsbreak* magazine, a trailblazer in Philippine investigative journalism. She has written nine books. Her latest is *Unrequited Love: Duterte's China Embrace*, co-written with Camille Elemia. Others include *Rock Solid: How the Philippines Won its Maritime Case Against China*, *Shadow of Doubt: Probing the Supreme Court* which exposed critical weaknesses in the country's highest court, a first in the Philippines by a journalist; and *Power from the Forest: The Politics of Logging*. Marites has a degree in A.B. Broadcast Communication from the University of the Philippines and a diploma in world politics from the London School of Economics. She was a Nieman fellow at Harvard University and a recipient of fellowships from the University of San Diego in California – the Pacific Leadership Fellow; the Rockefeller Foundation Writing Fellowship in Bellagio Center, Lago di Como, Italy; the International House in Tokyo – the Asia Leadership Fellow Program; the Australian National University, University of Kyoto and the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo. She has won the National Book Award and various awards for reporting on Philippine justice, security, and political affairs, including the Courage in Journalism Award from the US-based International Women's Media Foundation.

Day 2 – 31 October 2024

Memory, Community and Activism

Jocelyn ‘Joyce’ Martin teaches at the Université Catholique de l'Ouest in Angers, France, where she co-manages a Masters in “Conflict and Mediation” and is in charge of development of research with Asia. Polyglot, holder of a PhD in languages and literatures from the University of Brussels, Joyce is Advisory Board Member of the Memory Studies Association and is Managing Editor of *Kritika Kultura*. A scholar of Cultural Memory Studies in Southeast Asia, among others, she is preparing a volume on Memory Studies and the Philippines (DeGruyter) and a special issue on “Decolonizing Memory”. She has published on the history of “Memory/Memory Studies” (Bloomsbury encyclopaedia), on comfort women statues (Berghahn), and the vernacular as method (MSJ), among others. Former University of Ohio Zumkehr Lecturer, she received a “Most Outstanding Scholarly Award in the Humanities” in 2020 for her essay *R.I.P., Rest in Pieces: Mnemonic Transnationality, Travel, and Translation of the Marcos Burial in the Heroes' Cemetery*, and a “Scholarly Work with the Most Social Impact Award” in 2022 for *Triggered*, a book on children and the drug war.

Michael D. Pante is an associate professor at the Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University, and chief editor of *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*. He is the author of *A Capital City at the Margins: Quezon City and Urbanization in the Twentieth-Century Philippines* (Ateneo de Manila University Press; Kyoto University Press, 2019).

Soliman M. Santos Jr. is a retired Judge of the Regional Trial Court of Naga City, Camarines Sur, Philippines, serving in the judiciary there from 2010 to 2022. He has an A.B. in History cum laude from the University of the Philippines (U.P.) in 1975, a Bachelor of Laws from the University of Nueva Caceres (UNC) in Naga City in 1982, and a Master of Laws from the University of Melbourne in 2000. He is a long-time human rights and international humanitarian lawyer; legislative consultant and legal scholar; peace advocate, researcher and writer; and author of a number of books, including on the Moro and Communist fronts of war and peace.

Nicole Curato is Professor of Political Sociology at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. Her work examines the transformative power of deliberative governance in fragile and conflict-affected settings in the Philippines and the majority world. She has been awarded five Australian Research Council grants in the past ten years, including a DECRA, Discovery Project, Linkage Project, Special Research Initiative, and the Future Fellowship, published three books on deliberative democracy, numerous journal articles, public reports, and op-eds for outlets like *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *Australian Foreign Affairs*.

The Changing Nature of Oligarchic Politics

Cristina Regina Bonoan is a lawyer and senior lecturer at the University of the Philippines College of Law. Her research interests revolve around rights, access to justice, high courts, and the rule of law. She received her Master's in International Affairs, specializing in human rights and development, from the Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs. In addition, she holds a Juris Doctor from the University of the Philippines College of Law and a Bachelor of Science in Legal Management from the Ateneo de Manila University. She has

worked as a consultant for the United Nations OHCHR, the Commission on Human Rights, the Asian Development Bank, and other international and non-government organizations.

Antoinette R. Raquiza is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Philippine Development Studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines. She is the Convenor of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies Political Economy Program and Vice President of the Asia-Pacific Pathways for Progress Foundation, Inc. (APPF). Her research interests are on comparative political economy, governance, and contentious politics, as well as Philippine foreign policy; published works include *State Formation and Economic Development in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of the Philippines and Thailand*.

Marianne Juco Rodriguez is a Senior Researcher at the BSP Research Academy. She obtained her Ph.D. and master's degrees in Economics from the University of the Philippines, Diliman, School of Economics. Her dissertation is a study on politically connected corporations in the Philippines. Her research foci are institutional economics, macroeconomics, and public sector management. She has been engaged as consultant for the World Bank's macro-fiscal team for the Philippines, the Asian Development Bank's independent evaluation, East Asia and Sectors group, and the Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Paul Hutchcroft, a scholar of comparative and Southeast Asian politics, has written extensively on Philippine politics and political economy. He is professor of Political and Social Change in ANU's Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs (of which he was founding director, 2009-2013). While on a four-year secondment from ANU (2013-2017), Hutchcroft served as lead governance specialist with the Australian Embassy in Manila. From 2018 to 2021, he was the overall chief investigator of a A\$2.1 million Australian government grant to ANU to support a range of research and advocacy projects on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Southeast Asia. He is the author of *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines* (Cornell 1998); co-author of *Mobilizing for Elections: Patronage and Political Machines in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, 2022); editor of volumes on the peace process in Mindanao (2016) and electoral system redesign options in the Philippines (2019); and co-editor of two special journal issues on urban politics in Southeast Asia, one focused on COVID-19 (2021) and the other on government-business relations (2024).

Economic Resilience and Inclusive Growth

Joseph 'Dockoy' Capuno is a Professor of Economics at the University of the Philippines Diliman. In 2022, Dockoy took a temporary leave from purely academic pursuits to serve in government upon his secondment as the Undersecretary for Investment Programming of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA). As Undersecretary for Investment Programming, he is tasked to oversee the formulation of strategies for efficiency in linking the government's planning, programming and implementation of projects. He is also tasked to provide policy guidance in the project appraisal, monitoring and evaluation of big-ticket infrastructure projects of the national government, formulation of development plans and policies, and programming of the official development assistance (ODA), among others.

Maria Socorro Gochoco-Bautista is University of the Philippines Professor Emeritus. Her fields of specialization are monetary economics and open economy macroeconomics. She was named UP Scientist, a scientific productivity award, beginning in 2008 until her retirement in 2022, with the exception of 5 years (2010-2015) when she was on secondment at the Asian Development Bank as Senior Economic Advisor in the Office of the Chief Economist. Her previous

appointments include being a member of the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (2017-2021) and Chair (2017-2021), Senior Research Fellow at the Bank for International Settlements Asia and Pacific Office in HK (October 2006-March 2007), Visiting Scholar at the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco (June-October 1991), and Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Hawaii in Manoa (1984-1987). She gave up the latter tenure-track position and chose to return to the Philippines following the overthrow of Marcos Sr. and exile in Hawaii. She received a BA Economics degree (Magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa) from Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts, whose Alumnae Association awarded her the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Achievement Award in 2014. She holds a PhD Economics degree from Columbia University in New York.

Fermin D. Adriano, PhD is as an Adjunct Professor of the College of Public Affairs, UP Los Banos, where in the past he served as its Vice Chancellor for Planning and Development and Professor until his early retirement. He also served as the Undersecretary for Policy and Planning of the Department of Agriculture, a member of the Advisory Council of the Asian Development Bank Institute located in Tokyo, Japan, Board member of the Southern Philippines Development Authority, and Director of the UP Information System. For 19 years, he worked as consultant for the World Bank – Office in Manila helping address issues in agriculture, rural development, agrarian reform, Mindanao and Bangsamoro conflict, peace and security concerns, and social welfare issues such as the Bank’s conditional cash transfer and community driven development programs. He also served as policy adviser to successive Philippine Secretaries of Agriculture, Agrarian Reform, and Mindanao presidential assistants/advisers. He is currently affiliated as a fellow and policy adviser of the Foundation for Economic Freedom (FEF) Inc., fellow of the Social Weather Station (SWS), Inc., and adviser to the Go-Negosyo, Inc. He writes a weekly column on agriculture-related issues at the *Manila Times*.

Michael Reyes Cabalfin is a Research Fellow and Lecturer at the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet), ANU College of Asia and the Pacific. He is working on the ARC Future Fellowships project “Mobility Shocks: Understanding disruptions to Australian migration” and studying the impact of international migration on house prices. He convenes the course REGN8023: Governing Global Migration and guest lectures on quantitative methods. Before joining RegNet, Michael held roles as Supervising Research Specialist at the Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Assistant Professor in Economics at the University of the Philippines, Senior Economist at the Ateneo School of Government, and Division Chief Economist at the Philippine Department of Finance. Michael has consulted for various organizations, including the World Bank, UNICEF, and the Asian Development Bank. His research focuses on education, labour, migration, applied econometrics, and impact evaluation. He holds a PhD in Economics from ANU.

New Challenges & Critical Issues Ahead

Justin See is a lecturer in Development Studies at the School of Social and Political Sciences (The University of Melbourne). His research investigates the intersecting dimensions of power, injustice, and inequality reflected in the planning and implementation of climate change adaptation and mitigation projects implemented in the Global South. He draws upon climate justice, critical development, post-development, and decolonial theories to re-imagine how to do development interventions in a just, inclusive, and equitable manner. He is the author of several articles critically examining climate change adaptation interventions that have been published in *Global Environmental Change*, *World Development*, *Climatic Change*, *Climate and Development*, *Local Environment*, among others. Prior to joining the University of Melbourne, Justin worked as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Sydney Environment Institute at the University of Sydney

investigating the impacts of climate buffer infrastructures in the Tacloban City, Philippines (2023-2024), and as a research fellow at the Centre for Sustainable Communities at the University of Canberra, examining community engagement and participation within development projects in Western Province, Papua New Guinea (2021-2022).

Acram A. Latiph, is the Executive Director of the Institute for Peace and Development in Mindanao, MSU System, and faculty at the Department of Economics, Mindanao State University – Marawi Campus. He received his BS in Economics from San Beda College, MS in Finance from the University of the Philippines, Master Public Policy, and Advance Certificate in Conflict Resolution from the Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University, and his PhD from the Australian National University. He is a recipient of the Fulbright Scholarship and the Australian Leadership Award Scholarship. His research interests include economic development in Mindanao and the Bangsamoro, conflict resolution, poverty, rural development, fiscal autonomy, Islamic Economics, and Banking and Finance. Dr. Latiph is a consultant and resource person for various international institutions, foundations, civil society organizations, the BARMM Government, and local government units. He also contributes to crafting various regional and local development and rehabilitation plans in Bangsamoro.

Earvin Cabalquinto is an Australian Research Council DECRA Research Fellow and Senior Lecturer at Monash University in Australia. His research agenda is driven by critically exploring the dynamics and impacts of digital inclusion and exclusion among migrants and their networks who navigate an increasingly digital and global society. He was a Visiting Fellow in the Centre of Excellence in Research on Ageing and Care (CoE AgeCare) in the University of Jyväskylä, Finland (2021) and Centre for Mobilities Research in Lancaster University, United Kingdom (2019). He is an incoming Global Exchange Fellow in the Canada Excellence Research Chair (CERC) in Migration and Integration, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada (2024). He is the author of *(Im)mobile Homes: Family Life at a Distance in the Age of Mobile Media* (Oxford University Press) and *Philippine Digital Cultures: Brokerage Dynamics on YouTube* (Amsterdam University Press). His expertise lies in the intersecting fields of migration, digital media, im/mobility, and ageing. You can follow his works at www.ecabalquinto.com or via @earvsc.

Weena Gera is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines (UP) Cebu, and Convenor of the Urban Studies Program of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies. She is currently a Visiting Fellow at the ANU Philippines Institute. Weena obtained her PhD in International Development from the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University (2009) where she also received her MA (2006) in the same field. She was awarded the JSPS-UNU postdoctoral research fellowship at the United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability in Tokyo and the Integrated Research System for Sustainability Science of Tokyo University (2012-2014); and the OeAD-Ernst Mach Grants-ASEA-UNINET research fellowships at the Institute of Forest, Environmental and Natural Resource Policy at BOKU in Vienna (2016-2017) and the Vienna University of Technology (2022). She is recipient of the 2018 Gro Brundtland Award for Women in Sustainable Development; the 2019 Bernd Rode Award by ASEA-UNINET for her work on ecosystem services in the ASEAN; and the UP Scientist 1 rank under the UP Scientific Productivity System (2020-2022) as distinction for meritorious academic contributions. Weena has also served as Vice Chancellor for Administration (Feb-2019 to Jan-2022) at UP Cebu.

Steven Rood is a Fellow-in-Residence at Social Weather Stations and a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University's Department of Political and Social Change, Bell School, College of Asia and the Pacific. From 1981 to 1999, he served as a Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines Baguio, followed by nearly two decades as the Philippine Country Representative for The Asia Foundation (1999-2017). Since 2018, he has held his current positions at Social Weather Stations and ANU. Dr. Rood was a member of the International Contact Group for negotiations between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front from 2009 to 2013, and later joined the Third Party Monitoring Team (2013-2017). He is the author of *The Philippines: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2019) and co-editor (with Veronica Taylor) of *Contesting the Philippines* (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2024).