



A COLLOQUIUM

THE CHANGING POLITICAL ECONOMY of the PHILIPPINES & ASIA

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

20 Oct 2017, 8:30am–5 pm
UP Asian Center, QC

Free and Open to the Public

CONTEXTS & RATIONALE

9:00 am–9:30 am

PANEL 1: DETERMINANTS OF GROWTH

9:30 am–11:00 am

PANEL 2: STATES AND MARKETS

11:00 am–12:40 pm

PANEL 3: SOCIAL POLICY & INCLUSIVE GROWTH

1:40 pm–3:40 pm

KEYNOTE

3:45 pm–4:25 pm

The Changing Political Economy of the Philippines and Asia: Contexts and Colloquium Rationale

The Political Economy of Foreign Investment and Industrial Development: The Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand in Comparative Perspective

The Role of Energy Revenues in National Economic Growth and Development: The Case of Myanmar and Iran
Infrastructure, Growth, and Inequality: Is Asia Different?

Rapid Growth and Rising Inequality:
Political Economy of the Philippines and Indonesia

A Comparative Historical Analysis of Urban Revitalization in Marikina and Surakarta in the Post-Authoritarian Era
Leap Forward? National Interests and Regional Stakes in the ASEAN Economic Community

Intra-ASEAN Labor Migration and the ASEAN Economic Community: Patterns, Prospects, and Conflicts

Gender Roles in Disaster Management:
Stories from Southeast Asian Communities

Is There an Asian-Style War on Drugs?

Health, Inequality, and Inclusive Development:
Philippines and India from a Comparative Perspective

Vedi Renandi Hadiz, Ph.D.

Professor of Asian Studies, Asia Institute
University of Melbourne



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The Changing Political Economy of the Philippines and Asia: Contexts and Colloquium Rationale

Antoinette Raquiza, PhD | Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman

Since the 2000s, Asia has been at the center of world politics and the global economy. Much of the interest comes from the dramatic changes unfolding in the region, but where it is headed remains open-ended. Asia is home to some of the world's biggest and fastest growing economies, yet it continues to be weighed down by age-old problems: growing inequality within and across countries, relatively low technology and productivity, unsustainable energy consumption and environmental degradation, and poor governance. As such, as the push toward regional integration gains momentum, there is a need to examine how this interacts with national actors, interests, and institutions in order to get a more-grounded appreciation of how the transition is unfolding. There is a need to examine emerging development problems, patterns, and paradigms and to examine and update analytical frameworks identified with Southeast Asian and Asian development; to identify new institutional arrangements structuring the interaction among national and regional actors, interests, and processes in relation to specific policy domains; to provide a space for an exchange of ideas and perspectives toward advancing a political economy approach to the study of national and regional development dynamics, and; to explore how the Philippines can benefit from opportunities and minimize risks arising from the changes in the region.

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Panel 1

DETERMINANTS OF GROWTH

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The Political Economy of Foreign Investment and Industrial Development: The Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand

Manuel Montes, PhD, South Centre, Geneva, and Jerik Cruz, Ateneo de Manila University

This study evaluates the role of foreign investment on Philippine industrial development in the last two decades, in the context of the Philippine development experience against two of its ASEAN neighbors: Malaysia and Thailand. Moving beyond analyses that view a failure to attract foreign direct investment as a binding development constraint, we focus more on the appropriateness of actual or potential foreign investment flows for industrial development goals. We underscore the role of political economy factors — in particular, the presence of timely, appropriate, and effective state interventions — as a prime distinguishing feature of countries that have been able to leverage FDI for more successful industrial growth and upgrading. Without discounting prominent flaws in the design and execution of these policy interventions in Thailand and Malaysia, we find that such sustained forms of government involvement have been vital in driving both countries' strong investment attraction and industrial growth records relative to those of the Philippines, which since the 1980s has opted for a scattershot-liberalization investment policy agenda. Revived industrial policy initiatives in developing Asia would be well-advised to heed to these lessons on investment-related intervention, so as to reform their investment policies and programs for maximum impact on industrial development in the years ahead.

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The Role of Energy Revenues in National Economic Growth and Development: The Case of Myanmar and Iran

Henelito Sevilla, Jr., PhD | Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman

The strategic use of energy sources, particularly oil and gas, has become subject to various policy and academic debates in recent decades. One may look at it from the standpoint of how energy and oil producing countries utilize their resources to introduce economic change in the country, eradicate poverty, and minimize wealth gaps in society. While some countries look at energy resources as advantageous to economic growth and development, many countries still remain poor and underdeveloped in spite of being rich in extractive energy resources. This study compares the oil- and gas-producing countries of Iran and Myanmar and argues that in transforming extractive resources into a “blessing,” rather than a “curse,” institutions matter to counter international price volatility and other external shocks. The study discusses Iran’s buffer or emergency fund, derived from oil and gas revenues as one such institution, from which liberalizing Myanmar could gain lessons in inclusive resource management.

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Infrastructure, Growth and Inequality: Is Asia Different?

Margarita Debuque-Gonzales, PhD | UP School of Economics

This paper examines the relationship between infrastructure (stocks and public investment), economic growth and economic inequality, with emphasis on how Asia differs from the rest of the world. The paper first documents the historical evolution of infrastructure and public investment in Asian economies in periods, specifically before and after the Asian crisis. Using a global sample, it then estimates the impact of infrastructure and public investment on growth and investigates if certain types of infrastructure are more likely to improve income distribution, and whether these results are the same for Asia. Finally, an attempt is made to identify exogenous public investment (largely comprising infrastructure) to assess the macroeconomic impact of these public investment shocks in Asian economies.

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Panel 2
**STATES
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Rapid Growth and Rising Inequality: Political Economy of the Philippines and Indonesia

Antoinette Raquiza, PhD | Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman

East Asia has long been a source and crucible of development models. Once associated with state-led industrialization and growth with equity development patterns, the region today is home to so-called emerging markets that have attained rapid growth despite having relatively low productivity and low per capita income. What would account for this pattern of rapid growth? The paper examines Indonesia and the Philippines, two low middle-income countries that since the 2000s have been among the world's fastest growing economies. Indonesia grew due to the commodity boom (notably, palm oil and coal), while the Philippines has thrived based on its international trade in services (i.e., labour export and services outsourcing industries). Noteworthy, rapid growth, propelled by an expanding middle class and private consumption, has also seen high inequality. The paper examines the broad features of this specific development pattern and argues that, in the two cases, the causal mechanism linking rapid growth and high inequality is industrialization. Finally, the paper undertakes a comparative analysis of Indonesia's commodity export economy and the Philippines' service export economy, and suggests that variations in the sectoral bases of growth have different implications on equitable and sustainable development goals.

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A Comparative Historical Analysis of Urban Revitalization in Marikina and Surakarta in the Post-Authoritarian Era

Bryan Joseph G. Ortiz | Former Social Science Instructor, Holy Angel University

The fall of authoritarian rule and devolution of power from the national government generated challenges for urbanizing local governments in the Philippines and Indonesia. This paper aims to explain how the local governments of Marikina and Surakarta (Solo), particularly under the leadership of then Mayors Bayani Fernando (BF) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi), undertook revitalization programs as a solution to rapid urbanization. Taking off from the works of Richard Snyder’s elucidation of the capacity for “reregulation” at the subnational level even in the advent of neoliberal reforms as well as Peter Nas’ reference to individuals as “directors of urban change” with the capacity to influence the restructuring of urban space, the paper argues that the two cities’ capabilities are derived from BF and Jokowi’s vision for their localities, ties created by local governments as local states with social groups, and the alliances forged with state elites at the national level within a devolved context. An important factor ensuring local communities are engaged in the local states’ revitalization efforts is the existence of long-standing social movements— a circumstance allowing the two mayors to secure broad support.

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Leap Forward? National Interests and Regional Stakes in the ASEAN Economic Community

Hansley A. Juliano | Ateneo de Manila University

The ASEAN Economic Community's (AEC) pursuit of regional economic integration (while maintaining the national sovereignty and interests of its member nation-states) is visibly affected by the institutional developments ASEAN experienced over the decades. This paper will outline and discuss whether the AEC's current configuration (dominated as it is by state and capital-focused policies and priorities) serves as the space for the negotiation, adjustment, meeting and clashing of the ASEAN member-states' national interests, while also pursuing and developing its project of closer regional economic coordination. In turn, the work shall touch on the implications of such institutional dynamics—particularly on whether the current directions of the AEC address the actual demands of the member-states—not only based on government perspectives, but also on the demands and material concerns of interest groups and social actors within these respective countries. Four ASEAN member-countries are discussed in this study: the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

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Panel 3

**SOCIAL
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Intra-ASEAN Labor Migration and the ASEAN Economic Community: Patterns, Prospects, and Conflicts

Geoffrey Ducanes, PhD | Research Fellow, UP CIDS

This study assesses the possible impact on ASEAN labor market integration of two ASEAN initiatives: first, the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which, among other things, aims for a freer flow of skilled labor by implementing Mutual Recognition Agreements (MRA); and the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers (Declaration), which was signed by heads of state in Cebu in January 2007, and which will impact lower-skill workers more. The study argues that the two initiatives are unlikely to have a great impact on labor market integration, first, because MRAs are notoriously very difficult to implement, especially among a set of countries with a very wide disparity in governance, regulatory, and training institutions, and second because conflicting self-interests and the ASEAN Way of consensus and consultation are unlikely to lead to a legal instrument that gives much teeth to the Declaration.

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Gender Roles in Disaster Management: Stories from Southeast Asian Communities

Carmela Abao | Ateneo de Manila University

According to a 2007 London School of Economics' study of 41 countries over the period 1981 to 2002, natural disasters and their subsequent impact kill, on average, more women than men, or kill women at an earlier age than men in relation to women's lower socio-economic status (Neumayer and Plumper, 2007). This study seeks to examine and enhance previous understandings of the impact of disaster on women, as well as the role of women in disaster management. The study is a ten-country report prepared by five researchers from the Department of Political Science of the Ateneo de Manila University on gender mainstreaming (or the lack thereof) in all ten ASEAN member countries. It highlights women's vulnerability to risks, how women cope with disaster, and the roles women play before, during and after disaster. The study relies heavily on stories generated from the field as all five researchers went to different communities for data gathering: Ma. Lourdes Rallonza (head researcher and researcher for Singapore and Cambodia), Melissa Lao (for Philippines and Malaysia), Diana Mendoza (for Vietnam and Myanmar), Liberty Chee (for Laos and Brunei), and Carmela V. Abao (for Indonesia and Thailand). Focus will be given to the community component of gender and disaster management in the context of these countries.

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Is There an Asian-Style War on Drugs?

Clyde Ben Gacayan | University of the Philippines, Visayas

Amidst Indonesia's pronouncement of a narcotics emergency, longer prison terms in Myanmar, and Thailand's 'zero tolerance' policy, the Philippines has launched a controversial and human rights-stained "war on drugs." Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong also consider meth as a "primary drug of concern" albeit with different levels of police interdiction and interventions. Taken together, an uncivil war on drugs seems to gradually risen to dominate Southeast Asian and East Asian politics – a trend promoted by a rising tide of 'politics against disorder' (Pepinsky 2016) and populist tendencies in electoral cycles. This paper uses a constructivist approach on regime building (Archaya 2001 & Busee 1999) in order to understand the distinct type of War on Drugs, shared by ASEAN member states. Additionally, the ASEAN regional framework for dangerous drugs is revisited to see how this lines up with international policy that stresses decriminalization and public-health interventions. The paper finds that the challenge for drug policy reform in the ASEAN region remains bleak because of opposing norms and values at the international and domestic levels and suggests that the transition from a criminal justice approach toward illegal drug control and governance needs to begin not by mainstreaming Western-style policy reform but by retreating to cultural values and identities that inform state interest and public perception towards illegal drugs and associated problems attached to it.

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Health, Inequality, and Inclusive Development: Philippines and India from a Comparative Perspective

Maria Dulce Natividad, PhD | Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman

In recent years, the Philippines has experienced sustained growth not seen in many decades, earning recognition as one of the fastest growing economies in Southeast Asia. In South Asia, India has shown even higher growth rates and is expected to surpass China's economic expansion. The dynamism of the service economy, particularly the boom in information technology-business processing outsourcing (IT-BPO), has been credited for the rapid growth of both countries. However, a tension point for emerging economies such as the Philippines and India is how to ensure equity in the face of growth. Implicated in this is the issue of health and health care and to what extent they become a measure of (or a precondition for) inclusive development. This paper interrogates the notion of inclusive development by examining the relationship between health and economic growth. Specifically, it asks the following questions: How has rapid economic growth contributed to health equity in fast-rising economies such as India and the Philippines? What are the differential impacts of social and economic policies on health outcomes and health equity? An important part of this examination is determining the role of the state in influencing health equity goals.

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Southeast Asian Democracy between Neoliberalism and Populism

Vedi Hadiz, PhD | University of Melbourne

Democratic struggles in Southeast Asia in the present-day are complicated by an increasingly inhospitable context and which belies previously fashionable concepts such as ‘waves of democratisation’. On the one hand, processes of neoliberal globalisation ensure that new social dislocations and marginalisations continue to be accompanied by forms of political exclusion associated with technocratic politics. On the other hand, populist politics, especially in their right wing expressions, have undermined liberal democracies even in the advanced industrial countries, a development related to growing social inequalities resulting from the erosion of the welfare state. In significant and varied parts of the world, populism has produced new kinds of politics underpinned by notions of political inclusion/exclusion on the basis of ethnic or religious solidarities or hyper-nationalist hyperbole. But neoliberalism and populism are not mutually contradictory, as prior experiences in Latin America have shown and present examples in countries such Turkey and India reveal. Within Southeast Asian polities, combinations of different elements of neoliberal and populist strategies can be harnessed by ruling elites to insulate themselves against popular challenges or to domesticate and co-opt them according to specific exigencies. What remains largely absent are cross-class political movements that are able to cultivate sufficiently broad and deep social bases of support for progressive political projects, linked to a continuing dearth of cultural resources through which to develop and mount effective ideological challenges.

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