

**ΠΓΜ**

THE  
INAUGURAL  
NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE

**FRAMING THE NATION'S NARRATIVE**  
**THROUGH THE LENSES OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

OCTOBER 13-14, 2017  
NISMED AUDITORIUM  
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY

## MESSAGE

It is with pride and pleasure to welcome you to the first national conference of Pi Gamma Mu Honor Society in Social Sciences, Philippine Alpha Chapter. This conference is our way of celebrating the 85th anniversary of the Society.

Pi Gamma Mu Alpha Chapter based in the University of the Philippines was founded in 1932.

The National Conference with the theme "Framing the nation's narrative through the lenses of the Social Sciences" will be held on October 13-14, 2017 at the NISMED Auditorium, University of the Philippines Diliman.

At this important juncture of our nation's history, it is most apt that the different disciplines of the social sciences are harnessed to take stock of how they have contributed to being part of the nation's narrative. With this in mind, we have invited eminent scholars from the social sciences.

Welcome and thank you for making this historical National Conference part of your day.

(SGD.)

**MA. LUISA T. CAMAGAY, PhD**

*President*

Pi Gamma Mu

Philippine Alpha Chapter

## THE PI GAMMA MU INTERNATIONAL HONOR SOCIETY

Pi Gamma Mu was founded in 1924 by Dean Leroy Allen from Southwestern College in Kansas and Dean William A. Hamilton of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Seventeen founding chapters were organized simultaneously. It is the oldest, largest, and most significant of the honor societies concerned with the Social Sciences.

The Society was incorporated under the name “The National Social Science Honor Society, Pi Gamma Mu, Inc.” on April 5, 1929 as a non-profit corporation in Colorado. To acknowledge its chapters outside the U.S., the Board of Trustees took action in 1980 to change the name of the Society to “Pi Gamma Mu, International Honor Society in Social Science.”

The Society’s motto is: *Cognoscieties veritatem et veritas vos liberabit* (Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free).

## PI GAMMA MU PHILIPPINE ALPHA CHAPTER

The Philippine Alpha Chapter was founded on May 7, 1932, with Dr. W. Leon Godshall as the organizer. Dr. Godshall later became Pi Gamma Mu's third president, ascending to the post in 1951.

After the Second World War and the Japanese occupation, the Philippine Alpha Chapter resumed its activities in the University of the Philippines. The UP Alpha Chapter is active in upholding the seven ideals of Pi Gamma Mu – scholarship, science, social science, social idealism, sociability, social service, and sacrifice.

Annually, the Society invites to its fold junior, senior, or graduate students in the upper 10% of their class, who have completed at least two semesters' work in the social sciences. Outstanding professionals in the field of social sciences have also been nominated for membership. The Society has granted distinguished service awards to members who, until now, continue to uphold the vision of Pi Gamma Mu through their outstanding work and achievements. Among the illustrious members of the Philippine Alpha Chapter are two presidents of the Republic, several Supreme Court Justices, and a number of Cabinet members.

Among the Philippine Alpha Chapter's activities have been discussions, essay writing contests, lecture series, and symposia, continuing the tradition of seeking knowledge for illumination in the social sciences. The Chapter also publishes an annual newsletter which details the activities of the Society for the year.

The UP Pi Gamma Mu Alpha Chapter has consistently been cited, by the mother chapter, in its roll of distinction and, later, the roll of merit for the quality of its members and the scope of its activities.

## THE INAUGURAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PI GAMMA MU

In celebration of its 85th anniversary, The International Honor Society of Pi Gamma Mu (PGM) Philippine Alpha Chapter has launched the Inaugural National Conference of Pi Gamma Mu with the theme, “Framing the nation’s narrative through the lenses of the Social Sciences”, on 13-14 October 2017 at the NISMED Auditorium, University of the Philippines Diliman. The conference gathers leading academics in the various fields of the social sciences to deliver papers on various topics relevant to the present and pressing issues in the context of the Philippines. The Inaugural National Conference is going to host a number of delegates who are teachers, researchers, and students of social sciences throughout the country.

## PI GAMMA MU INAUGURAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

**Day 1: October 13 (Friday)**

8:00 - 9:00	REGISTRATION
9:00 - 9:30	<p>OPENING CEREMONY</p> <p><b>National Anthem</b></p> <p><b>Welcome Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Prof. MARIA BERNADETTE L. ABRERA, PhD</b> <i>Dean, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy</i> University of the Philippines Diliman</p> <p><b>Professor Emeritus MA. LUISA T. CAMAGAY, PhD</b> <i>President, Pi Gamma Mu Philippine Alpha Chapter</i> University of the Philippines Diliman</p>
9:30 - 10:30	<p>KEYNOTE LECTURE</p> <p><i>Social Science and Evidence-based Public Policy</i></p> <p><b>Professor Emeritus ELIZABETH R. VENTURA, PhD</b> UPD Department of Psychology</p>
10:30 - 11:00	BREAK
11:00 - 12:00	<p>PLENARY SESSION 1</p> <p><i>Populist Leadership and Creeping Authoritarianism in the Philippines</i></p> <p><b>Prof. MARIA SERENA I. DIOKNO, PhD</b> UPD Department of History</p>
12:00 - 1:30	LUNCH
1:30 - 2:30	<p>PLENARY SESSION 2</p> <p><i>Communicating Science: Finding Our Role and Doing It Well</i></p> <p><b>Prof. CLARISSA C. DAVID, PhD</b> UPD College of Mass Communication</p>

2:30 - 3:30	PLENARY SESSION 3 <i>A Nation's Narrative through the Lenses of Constitution-Building</i> Prof. MIRIAM CORONEL-FERRER UPD Department of Political Science
3:30 - 4:00	BREAK
4:00 - 5:00	PLENARY SESSION 4 <i>Hate Speech and Various Media</i> Prof. YVONNE T. CHUA UPD Department of Journalism
<b>Day 2: October 14 (Saturday)</b>	
9:00 - 10:00	PLENARY SESSION 5 <i>On the Recent Politicization of Indigenous Peoples</i> Prof. NESTOR T. CASTRO, PhD UPD Department of Anthropology
10:00 - 10:30	BREAK
10:30 - 11:30	PLENARY SESSION 6 <i>Who Cares? The Dilemma of Carework in Older Filipina Migrants' Narratives</i> Prof. MICHELLE G. ONG, PhD UPD Department of Psychology
11:30 - 1:00	PGM BUSINESS MEETING (for PGM Members) <i>President's Report</i> <i>Treasurer's Report</i> <i>Election</i>
11:30 - 1:00	LUNCH

1:00 - 2:00	<p>PLENARY SESSION 7</p> <p><i>The Changing Paradigm and Landscape of Philippine Higher Education</i></p> <p>Prof. MARIA CYNTHIA ROSE BANZON BAUTISTA, PhD UPD Department of Sociology</p>
2:00 - 3:00	<p>PLENARY SESSION 8</p> <p><i>What It Means to Age: Population and Individual Ageing in the Philippines</i></p> <p>Prof. JOSEFINA N. NATIVIDAD, DSc UPD Population Institute</p>
3:00 - 3:30	BREAK
3:30 - 4:30	<p>PLENARY SESSION 9</p> <p><i>When Populists Perform Foreign Policy: The Philippines under Duterte in Comparative Perspective</i></p> <p>Prof. ARIES T. ARUGAY, PhD UPD Department of Political Science</p>
4:30 - 4:40	<p>CLOSING REMARKS</p> <p>Prof. JESUS FEDERICO C. HERNANDEZ <i>Secretary, Pi Gamma Mu Philippine Alpha Chapter</i> University of the Philippines Diliman</p>

Keynote Lecture

## **SOCIAL SCIENCE AND EVIDENCE-BASED PUBLIC POLICY**

**Professor Emeritus Elizabeth R. Ventura, PhD**

This paper discusses what and how the social sciences can provide scientific evidence to inform current policy discussions and decisions. Social science concepts and methods are essential in analyzing the complexity of social phenomena in order to ultimately assist policy makers and others who intend to craft programs to improve the human condition. The discussion of specific cases can be seen in the topics covered by the papers to be presented in this conference.

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Dr. Elizabeth R. Ventura is Professor Emeritus at the UP Department of Psychology. As psychologist, she has received the Outstanding Psychologist Award in 2002 from the Psychological Association of the Philippines as well as the Gawad Sikolohiyang Pilipino from the Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino for pioneering work in Child Psychology and Health Psychology. In 2016 she was recognized as outstanding professional in the field of psychology by the Professional Regulation Commission and served as temporary adviser to WHO and consultant in UNICEF in connection with developing research agenda in Italy, Geneva, Fiji, and Tanzania. She has served UP as Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy and before that as Director of the Office of Admissions. She has served as President of the Philippine Association for the Gifted, Chairperson of the Social Science Division of the National Research Council of the Philippines, President of the Pi Gamma Mu International Social Science Honor Society and former member of the Philippine Health Research Ethics Board. Her research and publications are in the areas of developmental psychology, health psychology, and psychological measurement and assessment. Currently, she is Governor for the Asia-Pacific Region of the Pi Gamma Mu International Social Science Honor Society.

Plenary Session 1

## POPULIST LEADERSHIP AND CREEPING AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

Prof. Maria Serena I. Diokno, PhD

The election of President Rodrigo Duterte has raised the specter of authoritarian populism in the Philippines. While *dutertismo* exhibits some of the characteristics of populist leadership, in other ways it operates on plain old traditional forms of politics. My paper will demonstrate how this combination of populist leadership and traditional politics is exerting a creeping negative effect on human rights and democratic institutions in the country.

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Dr. Maria Serena I. Diokno is Professor of History at UP Diliman. Her research interests span 19th-century Philippines and Southeast Asian studies. Recent publications reflect her new interest in public history, having served as Chair of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines from 2011 until her resignation in November 2016. Prof. Diokno served as UP Vice President for Academic Affairs and remains active in the SEASREP Foundation, a network of Southeast Asian scholars committed to advancing Southeast Asian studies in the region.

## Plenary Session 2

### **COMMUNICATING SCIENCE: FINDING OUR ROLE AND DOING IT WELL** Prof. Clarissa C. David, PhD

Science communication is good for science

When we communicate science to broader publics, it benefits not only publics and stakeholders, but it also benefits scientists and their work. Science is a public endeavor, and much, if not all of what scientists do is for the benefit of society and mankind. Effective and deliberate public engagement by science can lead to better and faster research impact, as well as greater public support for scientific research.

Directed public engagement

There are multiple broad objectives for communicating science. Active outreach to the public can educate and increase appreciation for the important role that science and scientists play in improving public welfare. Transparency in scientific work builds the credibility of agencies and researchers, and cultures deeper trust in the various disciplines of scientific inquiry. Exposing young people to the work that scientists do inspires them to enter the profession.

While much of science communication is geared toward general education and awareness, in more recent years this has evolved toward active advocacy. Some toward specific issues, and others toward seeking greater political and funding support for the sciences. Recent high-profile issue-based advocacies intended to shift policies include those related to climate change, conservation, biotechnology and applications in medicine, along with all its related areas such as clean energy and sustainable agriculture.

Public engagement is a long-term investment in the sustainability of science

General publics have little immediate interest in matters of science, even though all people benefit from science in their daily lives. Scientists are used to operating within their own disciplines, away from public scrutiny, and in the nonpolitical spaces of laboratories and academic conferences. Increasingly, publics and politics have become consequential enablers or barriers to scientific inquiry.

Public opinion and court decisions have influenced the adoption of GMOs, the direction of energy policies, the participation of countries in international agreements, and in the on-the-ground implementation of national policies ranging from mining to modern contraception. Continued and effective engagement between scientific communities and the public can ease many of these frictions.

When science is constantly visible, we create advocates, constituencies, partners, and even fans.

Strategic communication: Allies of science

There are conventional and unconventional ways of connecting with audiences outside the scientific community. Strategic communication requires an audience-centered approach that is informed by a clear understanding of the options available to a public communicator. What are the media, what are the forms, who might be effective intermediaries, who should speak on behalf of the community, what are the outlets, and how do you craft the message? These decisions should always revolve around the specific objectives of a communication activity, its target specialized audiences, and the nature of the stakeholders pertinent to the work or institution involved.

Scientists do not have to do all of this alone, there are myriad partners in the promotion of science. Media will naturally gravitate toward newsworthy stories. Large educational ministries and institutions are important conduits when the goals are educational, specifically through strengthening of science education. Depending on the issue, there are issue-interest groups operating nationally or internationally, as well as commercial industries that have their own reasons for promoting science.

Media-centered advocacy entails training and engaging a group of journalists to specialize in science reporting. Media are the natural conduit to the general public, policy makers, and decision-makers. For key issue interest publics, communication is designed issue-by-issue. Each has a different set of audiences, and a different constituency. We can get farther in public engagement when we recognize this and proceed in a targeted segmented fashion. Not every piece of research would benefit from public engagement, and not every work of scientists will find an interested segment of the audience.

What is the role of Academies?

In some way, all scientists and scientific institutions have a role to play in communicating their science. What is the role of National Academies of Science? What are Academies and what are their strategic positions in reaching critical audiences? These are prestigious institutions with eminent scientists with decades of experience, an understanding of the systems and pipelines necessary to expand scientific work in a country, and a wealth of influence among more junior scholars in their field and among universities. They have a built-in high level of credibility and integrity. Moreover, Academicians have the breathing room to devote sufficient time to communication activities, and usually have the capacity to speak

with those outside the profession owing to having more experience interacting with larger publics.

Whichever role an academy chooses to play in communicating science, it is important to decide on that role, focus on it, and not get distracted by trying to do too many public engagement activities.

Academies have a unique position of influence at the national policy level, science education at the graduate level, agendas of scientific research in Universities and research institutions, and the broad national direction and prioritization of science and technology support in government. Their biggest constituency are all scientists in the country.

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Dr. Clarissa C. David is Professor at the College of Mass Communication, University of the Philippines Diliman (PhD, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania). She conducts research in public opinion, political communication, public interventions, and communicating policy. In addition to academic research, she conducts policy-oriented research and communication strategy consulting in the areas of public education, health, and governance in the Philippines. Her work has been published in some of the leading journals in communication, and her recent book “The RH Wars: Framing the Population and Health Debate” received the Philippine National Academy of Science and Technology’s (NAST) Outstanding Book Publication. In 2015, Dr. David was named one of the country’s Outstanding Young Scientists by the NAST and an E. Angara Fellow for Policy Research by the University of the Philippines.

## A NATION'S NARRATIVE THROUGH THE LENSES OF CONSTITUTION-BUILDING

Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer

A constitution is a nation's narrative. Therefore, constitution building, which includes the process of charter change, is a narrative in progress. The 1987 Philippine Constitution is a legacy of the resistance to the martial law regime of Ferdinand Marcos. It consciously placed features that would check abuse of power and enhance accountability of the Chief Executive, among other lofty goals. After 30 years, many of its features have been put to task by political developments that transpired under six presidents – for example, on martial law and impeachment. Attempts to revise or amend it have persisted but so far have not succeeded. My presentation will survey constitutional change initiatives in the post-Marcos period; several controversies that have tested the word and spirit of the 1987 Constitution; and the dynamics that confounded these issues and initiatives. I will conclude with a very tentative, constructed narrative of the contemporary nation, as reflected in these political dynamics around constitution-building.

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Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer began teaching at the UP Department of Political Science in 1992. She has published journal articles and edited books on civil society, democratization, and the Philippine peace processes. She also served as Director of the UP Third World Studies Center and convener of the UPCIDS Program on Peace, Democratization and Human Rights. In 2010, she was appointed by President Benigno Aquino III to the government peace panel for talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In 2014, with the signing of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, she became the first woman in the world to sign a major peace agreement as chief negotiator. An active peace and human rights advocate, she led the drafting of the National Action Plan on the UN Security Resolution 1825 which the government adopted in 2010, and co-chaired the Non-State Actors Working Group of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1997 Nobel Peace Prize winner. Among her awards are the Hillary Clinton Award for Women, Peace and Security, the UNDP N-peace Award, the Gawad Lagablab for Outstanding Philippine Science High School Alumni, and Xavier University's Fr. Wiliam Masterson, SJ Award.

## HATE SPEECH AND VARIOUS MEDIA

**Prof. Yvonne T. Chua**

Technology and the internet have abetted the amplification of hate speech. The problem gets magnified in the case of a media-savvy populist president who spouts rhetoric that borders on or constitutes hate speech. An uncritical state media, passive commercial media, and rabid social-media supporters, wittingly or not, become allies in the propagation of hate speech. Are there measures that the media and other sectors can take to help blunt the spread of incendiary speech? This paper builds on an unpublished study of the president's serial anti-Church polemic.

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Prof. Yvonne T. Chua is an assistant professor of journalism at the University of the Philippines and co-founder of VERA Files, an independent media organization that engages in in-depth journalism. She leads "VERA Files Fact Check," to date the only sustained political fact-checking initiative in the Philippines.

Prof. Chua began her journalistic career during the Marcos era as a reporter of a crony newspaper before moving to an alternative newspaper where she rose through the ranks to become the managing editor. She was the training director of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism for nearly a dozen years before she turned full-time academician.

**WHAT IT MEANS TO AGE:  
POPULATION AND INDIVIDUAL AGEING IN THE PHILIPPINES**  
Prof. Josefina N. Natividad, DSc

Population ageing is the consequence of two major human achievements: the control of unwanted fertility and the decrease in mortality and longer life expectancy, both leading to a high proportion of people of advanced age in the total population. While all countries are expected to eventually undergo this process, there is considerable variability in the pace of ageing. Individual ageing is the process of growing old or developing the characteristics of old age. As in population ageing, there is a wide variability in the way people age. This presentation examines the process of population and individual ageing in the Philippines based on secondary data sources like UN reports, Philippine census counts and projections, and survey data on a nationally representative sample of Filipinos aged 60 and over.

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Dr. Josefina N. Natividad is Professor of Demography at the Population Institute, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. She obtained her doctoral degree in Population and International Health from the Harvard School of Public Health. Her major research work and publications are on ageing and the youth.

**WHO CARES?**

**THE DILEMMA OF CAREWORK IN OLDER FILIPINA MIGRANTS' NARRATIVES**

**Prof. Michelle G. Ong, PhD**

In contrast to the focus on a largely autonomous (labour) migrant that permeates much of migration literature, this presentation follows feminist efforts at bringing attention to migrants as part of a family unit -- as embedded in a network of relationships that has an impact on decisions to migrate, on employment, and on settlement. This approach is especially useful for exposing women's particular challenges (e.g. finding work), their contributions (e.g. supporting their children's education and adjustment), and struggles with traditional gendered norms around paid and unpaid work. This presentation, based on New Zealand-based older Filipina migrants' stories of migration and ageing, focus on women's talk around a caring and cared-for body. In particular, I am interested in women's understanding of carework and in their conceptions of ideal care arrangements in old age. I demonstrate links between these individual accounts and the available cultural resources around carework and ageing, and discuss the centrality of the body to questions of who needs/deserves care and who should provide it. I argue that carework is a task women are conscripted to perform for others throughout their life, for the benefit of families, communities, and the state(s) they belong to; and yet, there is increasing demand for women to be responsible for their own care in ageing. The discussion engages with classic and current feminist literature on the gendered construction of carework, and the contemporary globalised, 'professionalised' context in which an increasing amount of it is performed.

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Dr. Michelle G. Ong is a full-time faculty member of the UP CSSP Dept. of Psychology. She earned her PhD from the University of Auckland's School of Psychology, working on Filipina migrants' embodiment of aging in New Zealand. In 2016 she received a grant from The Japan Foundation that allowed her to extend her project and collect data from Filipina migrants in Japan. She is currently working on gathering additional data on older Filipina migrants who were long-term labor migrants but have now settled back permanently in the Philippines.

## THE CHANGING PARADIGM AND LANDSCAPE OF PHILIPPINE HIGHER EDUCATION

**Prof. Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista, PhD**

This presentation provides an overview of Philippine higher education reforms against the political economic and discursive context of globalization and the world-wide paradigm shift in education. Specifically focusing on the country's higher education issues from a comparative perspective, the discussion touches on contemporary global and regional developments; the Philippine higher education landscape; reform imperatives and initiatives; and the challenges of sustaining reforms.

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Dr. Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista is Vice president for Academic Affairs of the UP System and Professor of Sociology at UP Diliman. She has led various multi-disciplinary, inter-institutional and international research teams in exploring a wide range of social and political economic concerns. Seconded to the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) as Commissioner from March 2012 to September 2016, she has also served as Dean of the UPD College of Social Sciences and Philosophy and long-time Executive Director of the University Center for Integrative and Development Studies, the UP System's policy research unit.

Beyond UP and CHED, Dr. Bautista has served on the Advisory Board, Management Board, Board of Trustees, or Executive Board of various institutions that include the National University of Singapore's Asian Research Institute; the Philippine Institute of Development Studies, the Human Development Network, the Philippine Social Science Council, the Asian Scholarship Foundation, the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, and the UNESCO National Commission's Social Sciences and Humanities Committee.

Dr. Bautista represented CHED in the Executive Committee of the ASEAN Quality Assurance Network until 2016. She also chaired the regional Task Force on the ASEAN Qualifications Reference Framework (AQRf) under ASEAN's economic secretariat and in this capacity shepherded the Framework through its finalization and endorsement by the ASEAN Economic, Education and Labour Ministers. She currently sits as a Philippine representative to the newly established AQRf (Referencing) Committee.

Dr. Bautista is currently Chair of the Expert Working Group for the Qualifications Framework component of the European Union's Support to Higher Education in the ASEAN Region, an ASEAN programme focusing on the development of ASEAN's credit transfer system and student mobility, quality assurance framework and qualifications reference framework.

For her work, Dr. Bautista has received several awards. These include the Outstanding Women in the Nation's Service; National Research Council of the Philippines' Achievement Award for the Social Sciences; the UP Alumni Association's Professional Achievement Award; the National Academy of Science and Technology's (NAST) Outstanding Young Scientist Award and the NAST Outstanding Publication Award.

Dr. Bautista obtained her BA degree from the University of the Philippines Diliman and her MS and PhD degrees from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

## ON THE RECENT POLITICIZATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Prof. Nestor T. Castro, PhD

Many Filipinos were taken by surprise when President Rodrigo Duterte threatened to bomb Lumad schools in Mindanao. While the Presidential Spokesman Ernesto Abella claimed that the President was only misquoted, this was followed by the Congress' initial decision to give the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples a mere PhP 1,000 annual budget. Some people wonder whether these pronouncements were related to the march to Manila by approximately 3,000 members of indigenous communities and their month-long protest camp at the University of the Philippines Diliman.

It was becoming more and more evident that indigenous peoples are becoming very critical of the Duterte Administration. It is no surprise that there is a strong militant tradition among Cordillera and Moro peoples. But the increased militancy of Lumad peoples is relatively new.

This paper looks at the factors that brought about the recent politicization of indigenous peoples movements in the Philippines. The character and direction of these ethnic-based movements will be assessed using an anthropological lens.

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Dr. Nestor T. Castro is Professor of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Specializing in Cultural Anthropology, his expertise includes ethnicity and indigenous peoples' issues, environmental and social impact assessment, and cultural heritage management. His works have been published in notable journals such as "Le Temps Modernes", "New Asian Visions", "Colloquium: The New Horizon of Contemporary Sociological Theory", "Philippine Social Sciences Review", and "Diliman Review".

Dr. Castro served as Chair of the UP Department of Anthropology, Associate Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Vice Chairman of Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, and Vice Chairman of the National Research Council of the Philippines – Social Sciences Division. At present, Dr. Castro is Vice Chancellor for Community Affairs of UP Diliman and President of the International Federation of Social Science Organizations.

**WHEN POPULISTS PERFORM FOREIGN POLICY:  
THE PHILIPPINES UNDER DUTERTE IN COMPARATIVE  
PERSPECTIVE**

**Prof. Aries A. Arugay, PhD**

With barely one year in office, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte has declared bold changes in the country's formerly conservative and predictable foreign policy. The contempt for the West, admiration toward unlikely allies such as Russia and China, and indifference toward international law and norms were all essential departures from the nation's previous positions. This populist turn in the Philippines has far-reaching repercussions on the conduct of foreign policy that has usually been guided by strategic caution and careful planning rather than spontaneous outbursts of its elected leaders. Previous populist performances in foreign policy as seen in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez and Thailand under Thaksin Shinawatra provide comparative examples.

This paper examines Duterte's pursuit of an independent foreign policy given major power rivalry in the region, ASEAN's midlife crisis, and leadership changes in other countries. It analyzes the firebrand president's foreign policy pronouncements through the prism of populism and performativity in two cases: the South China Sea dispute and Philippine-American security cooperation. It argues that domestic audience costs, political stability, and economic imperatives define limit his government's range of foreign policy options. In the end, the realization of a more independent Philippine foreign policy needs to be reconciled with existing strategic realities, institutional logics, and the trajectory of Philippine domestic politics. Moreover, the sustainability of performative (rather than principled) foreign policy depends on reconciling the tensions and overlaps between the audiences and constituencies of the chief architect of foreign policy performances. Any successful defense and promotion of the national interest will also be contingent on the ability of the foreign policy bureaucracy to implement the policy content of his performances.

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Dr. Aries A. Arugay is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines Diliman. He obtained his PhD in Political Science from Georgia State University. His doctoral dissertation compared civil society mobilization and regime legitimacy crises in four young democracies: Bolivia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Venezuela. His research interests are comparative

democratization, contentious politics, security sector reform, and international relations in the Asia-Pacific. In 2015, he was selected as a Young Southeast Asian Fellow by the Southeast Asia Research Group. Earlier this year, he was Visiting Fellow at the National Institute of Defense Studies of the Japan Ministry of Defense.

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PHILIPPINE ALPHA CHAPTER**

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## NOTES

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