

Chen, Martha Alter (Ed.); Carré, Françoise J. (Ed.)

Book — Published Version

The informal economy revisited: Examining the past, envisioning the future

Routledge Explorations in Development Studies

Provided in Cooperation with:

Taylor & Francis Group

Suggested Citation: Chen, Martha Alter (Ed.); Carré, Françoise J. (Ed.) (2020) : The informal economy revisited: Examining the past, envisioning the future, Routledge Explorations in Development Studies, ISBN 978-1-315-70921-5, Routledge, London, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315709215>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/270811>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>



ROUTLEDGE
HANDBOOKS



Routledge Handbook of the Contemporary Philippines

Edited by Mark R. Thompson and Eric Vincent C. Batalla

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF THE CONTEMPORARY PHILIPPINES

The Philippines is a fascinating example of a “poor country democracy” where issues of economic development and poverty, political participation and stability, as well as ethnicity and migration are crucial. The *Routledge Handbook of the Contemporary Philippines* provides a comprehensive overview of the current political, economic, social, and cultural issues of the country. The *Handbook* is divided into the following four sections concentrating on a different aspect of the Philippines:

- domestic politics;
- foreign relations;
- economics and social policy;
- cultures and movements.

In terms of domestic politics, chapters discuss clientelism, bossism, dynasties, pork barrel and corruption, as well as institutions – the presidency, congress, the judiciary, the civil service, political parties, and civilian–military relations. The Philippines is confronted with many overseas challenges, with the foreign relations section focused on the country’s relationship with China, Japan, and the USA as well as assessing the impact of the Filipino diaspora community around the world. Regarding economics and social policy, authors examine industrial policy, capital flight, microfinance, technocracy, economic nationalism, poverty, social welfare programs, and livelihoods. The final section on Philippine cultures and movements highlights issues of customs, gender, religion, and nationalism while also examining various social and political forces – the peasantry, the middle class, indigenous peoples, NGOs, the left, trade unionism, the women’s movement, and major insurgencies.

Written by leading experts in the field, the *Handbook* provides students, scholars, and policy-makers of Southeast Asia with an interdisciplinary resource on the evolving politics, society, and economics of the Philippines.

Mark R. Thompson is Professor and Head, Department of Asian and International Studies and Director of the Southeast Asia Research Centre at the City University of Hong Kong.

Eric Vincent C. Batalla is Professor and Chair of Political Science at De La Salle University, Philippines.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF THE CONTEMPORARY PHILIPPINES

*Edited by Mark R. Thompson and
Eric Vincent C. Batalla*

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 selection and editorial matter, Mark R. Thompson and Eric Vincent C. Batalla;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Mark R. Thompson and Eric Vincent C. Batalla to be identified as the
authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has
been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in
any form or by any electronic, matter, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or
retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered
trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to
infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Thompson, Mark R., 1960– editor. | Batalla, Eric C., editor. | Container of
(work): Abinales, P. N. Problem with the national(ist) method.

Title: Routledge handbook of the contemporary Philippines / edited by
Mark R. Thompson and Eric Vincent C. Batalla.

Description: New York : Routledge, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and
index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017040875 | ISBN 9781138892347 (hardback) |
ISBN 9781315709215 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Philippines–Politics and government–21st century. | Philippines–Social
conditions–21st century. | Philippines–Economic conditions–21st century. |
Philippines–Foreign relations.

Classification: LCC DS686.614 .R687 2018 | DDC 959.905–dc23
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017040875>

ISBN: 978-1-138-89234-7 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-70921-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>xviii</i>

Introduction	1
--------------	---

PART I

Domestic politics	15
--------------------------	-----------

1 Clientelism revisited <i>Masataka Kimura</i>	17
2 Patrons, bosses, dynasties, and reformers in local politics <i>John T. Sidel</i>	26
3 The political party system <i>Allen Hicken</i>	38
4 Combating corruption <i>Jon S.T. Quah</i>	55
5 The civil service: weaknesses and constructive informal practices <i>Rupert Hodder</i>	73
6 House of clans: political dynasties in the legislature <i>Julio C. Teehankee</i>	85

7	Pork transmogrified: the unending story of particularistic spending <i>Ronald D. Holmes</i>	97
8	Congress: separate but not equal <i>Diana J. Mendoza and Mark R. Thompson</i>	107
9	The presidency: a relational approach <i>Mark R. Thompson</i>	118
10	The judiciary under threat <i>Eric Vincent C. Batalla, Michelle Sta. Romana, and Karen Rodrigo</i>	130
11	Civil-military relations: norming and departures <i>Rosalie Arcala Hall</i>	144
PART II		
Foreign relations		159
12	Foreign relations between the Philippines and the United States <i>Howard Loewen</i>	161
13	From antagonistic to close neighbors? twenty-first century Philippines–China relations <i>Renato Cruz de Castro</i>	172
14	Towards strategic partnership: Philippines–Japan relations after seventy years <i>Dennis D. Trinidad</i>	186
15	Diaspora diplomacy <i>Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III</i>	197
PART III		
Economics and social policy		209
16	Bypassing industrial development <i>Eric Vincent C. Batalla</i>	211
17	Capital flight <i>Edsel L. Beja Jr.</i>	225
18	The changing configuration of capitalism <i>Antoinette R. Raquiza</i>	235

19	Economic nationalism and its legacy <i>Yusuke Takagi</i>	254
20	Technocracy and class politics in policy-making <i>Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem</i>	262
21	The allure of <i>Pantawid Pamilya</i> : the conditional cash transfer program <i>Ma. Victoria R. Raquiza</i>	273
22	Informality and legality in women's livelihoods in Baguio City <i>B. Lynne Milgram</i>	284
23	Persistent poverty and elite-dominated policymaking <i>David G. Timberman</i>	293
24	From <i>pamilya</i> to <i>grasya</i> : microfinance <i>Asuncion Sebastian</i>	307
PART IV		
	Cultures and movements	319
25	A syncretic culture <i>Paul A. Rodell</i>	321
26	Gender, nation, and Filipino Catholicism past and present <i>Coeli Barry</i>	330
27	Between rights protection and development aggression: indigenous peoples <i>Oona Paredes</i>	341
28	The resilience of the peasantry <i>Eduardo C. Tadem</i>	352
29	The middle class in society and politics <i>Temario C. Rivera</i>	363
30	NGOs in the post-Marcos era <i>Gerard Clarke</i>	376
31	Crossovers double-crossed: NGOs, semi-clientelism and political reform <i>Ben Reid</i>	386
32	The left: struggling to make a comeback <i>Nathan Gilbert Quimpo</i>	396

Contents

33	Trade unions: “free” but weak <i>Carmel Veloso Abao</i>	405
34	The women’s movement: policy issues, influence and constraints <i>Diana J. Mendoza</i>	418
35	<i>Bangsamoro</i> secessionism <i>Rizal G. Buendia</i>	427
36	<i>Moro</i> insurgency and third party mediation <i>Bruce E. Barnes</i>	439
37	The problem with a national(ist) method <i>Patricio N. Abinales</i>	448
	<i>Index</i>	462

FIGURES

3.1	Electoral volatility pre- and post-martial law	41
3.2	Number of parties (seats)	43
3.3	Birth and death rates	43
10.1	Judiciary's share of the national budget, 2000–2016	139
14.1	Japan's exports to and imports from the Philippines	190
15.1	Cash remittances, 2015	200
16.1	Debt service burden (DSB) as a percentage of GDP and gross national income (GNI), 1985–2015	216
16.2	DSB as a percentage of current account receipts, 1985–2015	217
16.3	OFW remittances, 1989–2015	220

TABLES

3.1	Party system institutionalization	39
3.2	Electoral volatility in Asia	40
3.3	Party birth and death rates during house elections (seats)	42
3.4	Vote differentials between first and last place candidates	45
4.1	Performance of the Philippines on three corruption indicators, 1995–2016	57
4.2	Salaries of constitutional officials in the Philippines	58
4.3	Salaries of most junior officials (SG 1–5) in the Philippines	58
4.4	Ease of doing business rank in the Philippines, 2010–2016	59
4.5	OMB’s staff–population ratio and per capita expenditure, 2005–2014	61
4.6	Staff–population ratios of five Asian ACAs, 2005–2011	62
4.7	Per capita expenditures of five Asian ACAs, 2005–2011	62
4.8	Growth of OMB personnel, 2004–2014	63
4.9	Comparing the personnel and budget of the OMB and ICAC, 2004	63
4.10	OMB’s 2012 budget output by function	67
6.1	Dynastic composition of the House of Representatives, 1987–2016	87
6.2	Percentage of political clan members affiliated with the ruling party, 1984–2010	88
10.1	Average time (in years) taken to resolve criminal cases	136
10.2	Selected statistics on the performance of trial courts, 2005–2012	137
10.3	Lower court salary scale (in Philippine pesos), actual and projected	138
10.4	Budget appropriation for the judiciary from FY 2011–2016	139
14.1	Volume of trade with major trade partners, 2010–2013	188
14.2	Cumulative FDI in the Philippines by source country	190
15.1	Top ten destinations, 2013	199
16.1	Average annual growth rates of GNI by expenditure shares, by presidential administration, 1986–2015, at constant 2000 prices	218
16.2	Average annual growth and shares of gross value added by industrial origin, 1998–2014, at constant 2000 prices	219
16.3	Employment by industry, 2014 (in thousands)	221
16.4	Political stability and economic performance by presidential administration since 1992	222
17.1	Balance of payments of the Philippines	230

Tables

17.2	Balance of payments of the Philippines, adjusted for unreported flows	232
18.1	Gross domestic product growth rate and sector, value added	238
18.2	Breakdown of net capital inflows	239
18.3	Top ten wealthiest business individuals and families	240
18.4	Banks and flagship real estate companies owned or controlled by the business groups	241
18.5	Business elites and flagship corporations or subsidiaries in service industries	243
18.6	Business groups and wholly or partially owned companies in power, utilities, and gas	246
18.7	Ten business groups' net worth in 2006 and 2013	247
18.8	Business groups and their listed flagship holding companies	248
21.1	<i>Pantawid Pamilya</i> allocation and percentage of DSWD budget, 2008–2017	277
21.2	Performance of Philippine municipalities/cities with CCT on meeting Department of Health standards (as of November 2010)	280
21.3	Performance of Philippine elementary schools on meeting Department of Education standards in CCT-covered areas (as of November 2010)	281
23.1	Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty lines	294
23.2	Philippine income shares	295
24.1	Summary of microfinance models in the Philippines	312
24.2	Effects of social capital on MFIs	314
24.3	Common variables between the two highly effective MFIs	315
30.1	Types of non-stock corporation by average annual income, 2006	379
30.2	Self-defined membership of civil society organizations in the Philippines by social class (subjective)	380
33.1	Union membership and union density (1980–2012)	412
33.2	CBA coverage (1980–2012)	413
33.3	Strike coverage (1980–2011)	414
37.1	Philippine underground economy to GDP, 1960–2011	452

CONTRIBUTORS

Carmel Veloso Abao is an instructor of political science at the Ateneo de Manila University and is currently completing a Ph.D. in Development Studies at the De La Salle University, Manila. Her research focuses on social movements and international political economy. Before joining the academe in 2009, she was involved in a number of social movements in the country – as a labor organizer for Workers’ College (now defunct), as deputy director of the Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), and as the founding national secretary general of Akbayan (Citizens’ Action Party).

Patricio N. Abinales is a professor at the School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawaii–Manoa. The second and expanded edition of *State and Society in the Philippines*, which he co-authored with his late wife Donna J. Amoroso, has just been published by Rowman & Littlefield.

Bruce E. Barnes is an associate professor at the Matsunaga Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, University of Hawaii. His research focuses on conflict, culture, and mediation in the Asian Pacific. His recent publications include (with Fatahillah Apdul Syukur) “Mediating Contemporary, Severe Multicultural and Religious Conflicts in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand” in Dale Bagshaw and Elisabeth Porter, eds., *Mediation in the Asia Pacific Region* (Routledge, 2009) and “Essays on Mediation: Dealing with Disputes in the 21st Century,” in Ian Macduff, ed., *The Roles of Cultures* (Kluwer, 2016).

Coeli Barry teaches at the Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies at Mahidol University, Thailand. She has published extensively on contemporary political and cultural life in both Thailand and the Philippines. She is currently writing about life as an educator through the prism of motherhood, race, and nationality in Southeast Asia.

Eric Vincent C. Batalla is professor in and chair of the Department of Political Science of De La Salle University, Manila. His research covers a variety of policy issues in governance and development in East Asia and the Philippines. He is a member of the Philippine government’s reciprocal working committee for social and economic reforms in peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. He has served as director of the Commission on

Higher Education Zonal Research Center based at De La Salle University and as dean of the School of Management and Information Technology at the De La Salle College of St. Benilde. He holds Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in Economics from Hiroshima University as well as an M.B.A and B.A. in History–Political Science at De La Salle University.

Edsel L. Beja Jr. is professor of economics at Ateneo de Manila University. His research areas are macroeconomics, political economy, and welfare and well-being. He was the recipient of the Outstanding Young Scientist Award (2008) and the Outstanding Book Award (2016) of the National Academy of Science and Technology, Philippines. Dr. Beja holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Rizal G. Buendia, Ph.D., is an independent consultant and researcher in Southeast Asian politics and international development based in London. Former chair of the Political Science Department, De La Salle University, Manila, and teaching fellow in politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, he is the author of *Ethnicity and Sub-nationalist Independence Movements in the Philippines and Indonesia* (De La Salle University Press, 2002) and *The Politics of the Bangsamoro Basic Law* (De La Salle University Press, 2015), and is currently working on a new monograph, “The Prospect of the Bangsamoro Basic Law under Duterte and Beyond.” He has been a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, and USAID, among others.

Renato Cruz de Castro is a full professor in the International Studies Department, De La Salle University, Manila where he also holds the Charles Lui Chi Keung Professorial Chair in China Studies. He was the US–ASEAN Fulbright Initiative Researcher from the Philippines based at the East–West Center in Washington, D.C. from September to December 2016. He has written 85 articles on international relations and security published in scholarly journals and edited volumes.

Gerard Clarke is associate professor of politics and international development at Swansea University, Wales. He is the author of *The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines* (Routledge, 1998) and *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates* (Routledge, 2013). He has long-standing research interests in NGOs and civil society in the Philippines.

Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III, Ph.D., is Mayor George Christopher Professor of Government and Society and chair of the Public Administration Department at the Edward S. Ageno School of Business of Golden Gate University in San Francisco, California. For close to a decade, Dr. Gonzalez served as San Francisco Commissioner for Immigrant Rights.

Rosalie Arcala Hall is a professor of political science at the University of the Philippines Visayas. She has completed research projects on civil-military relations during counterinsurgency and disaster response, rebel and gender integration, and Philippines–US military relations. Her most recent work includes “Guardians Reinvented: The Philippine Army’s Non-traditional Engagements in Panay Island, Philippines,” *Philippine Political Science Journal* 37(2), 2016 and chapters in the edited volume *Local Security in the Contested Bangsamoro Zone* (The Asia Foundation, 2017).

Allen Hicken is the Ronald and Eileen Weiser Professor of Emerging Democracies and the Director of the Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies at the University of Michigan. He is

the author of *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and the co-editor of *Party System Institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadow of the Past* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Rupert Hodder is a professor and associate dean in the School of Economics and Management at the Harbin Institute of Technology (Shenzhen), China. He writes and teaches on economic development in Pacific Asia and Europe, with emphasis on the implications of social change for political, bureaucratic, and economic life. Recent publications include *High-Level Political Appointments in the Philippines* (Springer, 2014), and “Global South and North: Why Informality Matters,” *New Global Studies* 10(2), 2016. He is currently working on a study of small businesses.

Ronald D. Holmes is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science of De La Salle University, Manila. He is also president of the opinion research organization, Pulse Asia Research Inc. He is currently completing his dissertation on the political economy of pork barrel in the Philippines at the Department of Political and Social Change of the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, The Australian National University.

Masataka Kimura is professor of international relations at Ibaraki University, Japan. He has published a number of works on Philippine politics such as *Elections and Politics Philippine Style: A Case in Lipa* (De La Salle University Press, 1997) and “Toward a More Workable Philippine Party-List System: Addressing Problems of Sectoral and Proportional Representation,” *Philippine Political Science Journal* 34(1), 2013. His current research interests include representation of social and demographic diversity and electoral systems.

Howard Loewen is visiting full professor at the Institute of Political Science, the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany and senior research fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, the University of Hamburg. His research focuses on the international relations and the international political economy of East Asia. Before joining the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg in 2013, Dr. Loewen was associate professor of international relations and director of research in the School of Politics, History, and International Relations at the University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus. He is the author of books on transregional cooperation (Dr. Kovac, 2003, in German) and on the political system of the Philippines (Springer VS, 2017, in German) as well as, with Anja Zorob, of *Initiatives of Regional Integration in Asia in Comparative Perspective* (Springer, 2017).

Diana J. Mendoza is assistant professor and chair of the Department of Political Science, Ateneo de Manila University. She had earlier served as associate chair of the department and concurrently as director of the Ateneo Southeast Asian Studies Program. She obtained her Ph.D. from the City University of Hong Kong. Her recent publications include “Corazon Aquino: The Reluctant First Female President of the Philippines,” in *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies* (Palgrave, 2017) and she was a contributor to *Asian Integration: History, Contemporary Integrative Efforts, Implications on State Formation, and Reconfiguration* (Ateneo Center for Asian Studies, 2017). She is a member of the Executive Board of the Philippine Political Science Association (2015–2017) and the Board of Directors of the Ateneo Center for Asian Studies (2015–2018).

B. Lynne Milgram is professor of anthropology at OCAD University, Toronto. Her research in the northern Philippines analyzes the cultural politics of social change regarding women’s

work in crafts, the Hong Kong–Philippine secondhand clothing trade, and street and public market vending. Professor Milgram investigates urban public space transformations and issues of informality, governmentality, and extralegality regarding livelihood rights and food security. Milgram’s recent co-edited book (with Karen Hansen and Walter Little) is *Street Economies of the Urban Global South* (SAR Press, 2013).

Oona Paredes is an assistant professor in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. Her current research focuses on traditions of authority and governmentality in the upland Philippines, with a focus on datuship among the Higaunon Lumads of northern Mindanao. She is the author of *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao* (Cornell SEAP, 2013).

Jon S.T. Quah is a retired professor of political science at the National University of Singapore and an anti-corruption consultant based in Singapore. His recent books on corruption include *Curbing Corruption in Asian Countries: An Impossible Dream?* (Emerald, 2011) and *Hunting the Corrupt “Tigers” and “Flies” in China* (Carey School of Law, 2015).

Nathan Gilbert Quimpo is an associate professor in political science at the University of Tsukuba, Japan. He is the author of *Contested Democracy and the Left in the Philippines after Marcos* (Ateneo University Press, 2008) and the co-author of *Subversive Lives: A Family Memoir of the Marcos Years* (Ohio University Press, 2016). His research interests include democratic governance, conflict and peace, and political corruption.

Antoinette R. Raquiza is an associate professor at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman and does research on political economy of late development and comparative political institutions. She is the author of *State Formation and Economic Development in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of the Philippines and Thailand* (Routledge, 2012).

Ma. Victoria R. Raquiza is an assistant professor at the National College of Public Administration and Governance, University of the Philippines, where she specializes in social policy, poverty eradication, and structural transformation. She is a co-convenor of Social Watch Philippines and is a member of the Social Watch International Working Group. Dr. Raquiza obtained her M.A. in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague, Netherlands) and her Ph.D. from the City University of Hong Kong.

Ben Reid is currently a visiting researcher at RMIT University Melbourne, Australia. He has conducted extensive research and published widely on the political economy of development and the role of collective action and social movements in the Philippines. He is the author of *Philippine Left: Political Crisis and Social Change* (Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers, 2000). His article “Securitising Participation in the Philippines: KALAHI and Community-driven Development” was runner-up paper of the year for 2011 in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*.

Temario C. Rivera is a retired professor and former chair of the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines. His major works include *Landlords and Capitalists: Class, Family and State in Philippine Manufacturing* (University of the Philippines Press, 1994) and *Chasing the Wind: Assessing Philippine Democracy* (CHRP and UNDP, 2nd ed., 2016) as co-editor.

Paul A. Rodell is professor of history at Georgia Southern University where he teaches undergraduate and graduate courses on Southeast Asia. His interests include religion (indigenous or

adopted including both Christianity and Islam), historical and contemporary protest theater, revolutionary movements, Southeast Asian intra-regional relations, and the work of international voluntary organizations in the region. He is the author of *Culture and Customs of the Philippines* (Greenwood Press, 2002), edited a special issue of the *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* on issues of identity in Southeast Asia, and has published a number of articles on these and other topics.

Karen Rodrigo is a lecturer at De La Salle University, Manila. She has a J.D. from the University of the City of Manila and also holds a Master of Human Rights from Malmö University, Sweden. She has research interests in democracy, constitutionalism, political law, and human rights.

Michelle Sta. Romana is a graduate student at the Political Science Department, De La Salle University, Manila. She has been involved in research and staff work at the De La Salle Institute of Governance, the Money Politics research project organized by the Australian National University, and a democracy assessment project sponsored by the USAID. Her research interests and pending publications cover topics on local electoral dynamics, transitional justice in Asia, and the role of politics in bureaucratic institutions.

Asuncion Sebastian, Ph.D., was an associate professor at De La Salle University, Manila, Political Science Department. Having devoted decades to both business and development research, she was a contributor to *Dynamics of International Business Asia-Pacific Business Cases* (Cambridge University Press in Australia, 2013) and presented her latest study “Non-Financial Services as Tools for Inclusive Development” at the Third International Forum on Innovative Collaborative Learning (Manila, 2017). Her research interests include microfinance, social enterprises and innovations, and business in development.

John T. Sidel is the Sir Patrick Gillam Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is the author of *Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines* (Stanford University Press, 1999), (with Eva-Lotta Hedman) *Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Postcolonial Trajectories* (Routledge, 2000), and *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 2006). He is currently finishing a book manuscript titled *Republicanism, Communism, Islam: Cosmopolitan Origins of Revolution in Southeast Asia*.

Eduardo C. Tadem, Ph.D., is a professorial lecturer of Asian Studies at the University of the Philippines Diliman and former editor-in-chief of *Asian Studies (Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia)*. He is president of the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) and a member of the International Committee of the NGO Forum on the Asian Development Bank (ADB). His latest academic publications are: “Technocracy and the Peasantry: Martial Law Development Paradigms and Philippine Agrarian Reform,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45(3), 2015; “Political Dynasties in the Philippines: Persistent Patterns, Perennial Problems” (with Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem), *Southeast Asia Research* 24(3), 2016; and *Living in Times of Social Unrest: Bart Pasion and the Philippine Revolution* (University of the Philippines Press, 2017).

Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem, Ph.D. is professor of political science at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Her current research interests include the politics of technocracy and social movements and democratization. She is editor of *Localizing and Transnationalizing Contentious Politics: Global Civil Society Movements in the Philippines* (Lexington Press, 2009).

Yusuke Takagi is an assistant professor at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Tokyo. His publications include *Central Banking as State Building: Policymakers and Their Nationalism in the Philippines, 1933–1964* (Ateneo de Manila University, National University of Singapore Press, and Kyoto University Press, 2016).

Julio C. Teehankee is full professor of political science and international studies at De La Salle University, Manila where he also served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 2013 to 2017. He is president of the Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) and is the executive secretary of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) – the regional professional organization of scholars in political science, international relations, and allied disciplines. He completed his postdoctoral studies at the Graduate Schools of Law and Politics at the University of Tokyo, Japan and obtained his Ph.D. in Development Studies from De La Salle University. He is co-authoring a book on the Philippine presidency with Mark R. Thompson.

Mark R. Thompson is professor at and head of the Department of Asian and International Studies, and director, Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC), both at the City University of Hong Kong. He was an exchange student at the University of the Philippines in 1984–1985 and a visiting fellow at the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1986–1987. He was the Lee Kong Chian NUS–Stanford University Fellow on Contemporary Southeast Asia, 2008–2009. He is the author of *The Anti-Marcos Struggle* (Yale University Press, 1996), *Democratic Revolutions* (Routledge, 2004), co-editor of *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia* (LIT Verlag, 2013), and has written a number of journal articles, including several on Philippine politics, most recently as editor of a 2016 special issue on the early Duterte presidency in the open access *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. He is currently completing a manuscript on the Philippine presidency with Julio C. Teehankee.

David G. Timberman (B.A. Tufts University, M.A. Columbia University) is an independent scholar and development practitioner with 30 years of experience analyzing and addressing political, governance, and conflict-related challenges in Southeast Asia, particularly the Philippines. Currently he is writing a book on key aspects of the Philippine political economy. He was the Lee Kong Chian NUS–Stanford University Fellow on Contemporary Southeast Asia, 2016–2017. In 2015–2016 he was a visiting professor of political science at De La Salle University, Manila. Over the course of his career he has held positions with Management Systems International, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the National Democratic Institute, the Asia Foundation, and the Asia Society. He has edited or co-edited multi-author volumes on the Philippines, Cambodia, and economic policy reform in Southeast Asia.

Dennis D. Trinidad (Ph.D., University of Tsukuba, Japan) is associate professor and coordinator for the Japanese Studies Program in the International Studies Department of De La Salle University, Manila. His research focuses on impacts of asymmetrical foreign aid relations on development and diplomacy, and on understanding the politics of economic reform.

FOREWORD

We would like to thank Lily Brown, Jillian Morrison, and Dorothea Schaefer from the Routledge team for “roping us” into and supporting this project. Although it took much longer than we expected, it has, we believe, yielded a useful overview of the contemporary Philippines in terms of its politics, foreign relations, economy, and social policies, as well as cultures and movements. Written by leading experts in the field, the aim of this *Handbook* is to provide students, scholars, and policymakers of Southeast Asia an interdisciplinary resource on a number of these issues.

Inevitably however much has much been left out, in part because of space considerations but also because many overburdened scholars we approached were too busy to contribute. Thus there is much room for future efforts to put together a volume which covers areas that could not be addressed here. That said, we are very grateful to the talented group of academics we were able to win over to write chapters based on their current research (and for their patience during the long process of completing the manuscript as chapters came in up to the deadline). In that sense this volume is not just a summary of key issues but also a collection of cutting edge scholarship in various aspects of the contemporary Philippines. We believe this helps compensate for some of the unevenness in terms of coverage and makes it a useful contribution to understanding of this Southeast Asian nation.

We would also like to express our thanks to our hardworking research assistants, Anthony Lawrence Borja, Michelle Sta. Romana, and Alyssa Claire Go Uy of the Department of Political Science, De La Salle University in Metro Manila, and to Kitty Chan, research assistant, and Wong Chi Man (Patrick), student assistant, in the Department of Asian and International Studies (AIS), the City University of Hong Kong. Without their invaluable editorial assistance this volume would have taken even longer to complete. Finally, Mark Thompson would like to acknowledge that his work for this *Handbook* was supported by the Hong Kong government Research Grants Council, General Research Grant numbers 9042600 and 9041939.

INTRODUCTION

The Philippines is a fascinating example of a “poor country democracy” where issues of economic development and poverty, political participation and stability, as well as ethnicity and migration are crucial. The *Routledge Handbook of the Contemporary Philippines* attempts to provide a comprehensive overview of the current political, economic, social, and cultural issues facing the country. It not only has a domestic focus but also offers analysis of the key aspects of the country’s foreign relations. Written by leading experts in the field, the aim of this *Handbook* is to provide students, scholars, and policymakers of Southeast Asia with an interdisciplinary resource on the evolving politics, foreign relations, society, and economics of the Philippines.

The *Handbook* is divided into four sections concentrating on themes of domestic politics, foreign relations, economics and social policies, as well as cultures and movements. Individual chapters in the politics section of the *Handbook* discuss the major institutions of government (the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court, the military, and the civil service) as well as political parties. Other chapters focus on informal (and often much criticized) arrangements in politics: clientelism, bossism, political dynasties, corruption, and congressional pork barrel. The second section concerns foreign policy with chapters on Philippine relations with the US, China, and Japan as well as “diaspora diplomacy.” In terms of the economy and social policy, chapters discuss the nature of Philippine capitalism, (the lack of) industrialization, capital flight, efforts at poverty alleviation, informality in women’s livelihood projects, microfinance, economic nationalism, and conditional cash transfers. The final part of the *Handbook* examines cultures (syncretic Philippine culture, the influence of Catholicism on local culture, indigenous cultures, and peasant culture) and movements (middle class, women’s, labor, NGO, left, and Bangsamoro).

Domestic politics

“People Power” which overthrew the corrupt dictatorship of Ferdinand E. Marcos in the Philippines nearly 30 years ago put this Southeast Asian country in the international spotlight. Known in the Philippines as EDSA (named after the major avenue on which the largest crowds gathered), the February 1986 uprising influenced a number of other popular revolts against dictatorships in Asia and beyond: South Korean activists in 1987–1988, Burmese protesters in 1988, and Chinese student demonstrators in 1989. Even where the origins of the term “People

Power” were forgotten, commentators applied it to uprisings such as in Serbia in 2000, Georgia in 2003, Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, and the Ukraine in 2014. Yet for many Filipinos who remain poor and disillusioned with the post-Marcos order, this “heroic” transition to democracy appears to be little more than political folklore, as shown by the dwindling crowds at recent annual official celebrations of the uprising. In the Philippine case, as in many other countries after peaceful revolutions that brought down dictators, People Power has been followed by a troubled transition to democracy.

In the midst of a major economic crisis and the institutional decay of the late dictatorship period, Corazon (Cory) C. Aquino’s government was nearly toppled by military rebels who turned against her administration after she opened negotiations with the communist insurgents who had grown in strength during martial rule. The economy sputtered as foreign, particularly Japanese investors skipped the country, preferring the Philippines’ more stable Southeast Asian neighbors such as Malaysia and Thailand. Aquino’s successor as Philippine president, former General Fidel V. Ramos, brought the military under civilian control, restored political stability, and undertook key reforms during his 1992–1998 presidency, leading to a return to economic growth. The populist president Joseph E. Estrada, a former movie star whose “proletarian pot-boilers” that portrayed him as a lonely fighter for the disadvantaged against malicious upper class villains had won him a mass fan base easily transformed into votes, triumphed in the 1998 presidential election by the largest margin in post-Marcos Philippines. Faced with corruption charges leveled by his elite enemies, Estrada was overthrown in what was known as “EDSA Dos” but which was actually more of a “People Power coup,” driving Estrada from power in early 2001 despite his continued popularity among the poor. Discredited by a number of corruption scandals of her own, Estrada’s elite-backed successor, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, proved to be the most unpopular post-Marcos president. Benigno S. “Noynoy” Aquino III revived calls for good governance (which he dubbed the “straight path”), using the unpopular Arroyo administration as a convenient foil. The son of Cory Aquino, Noynoy Aquino was a political “descendent” of People Power, with strong upper class backing. Rodrigo R. Duterte’s presidency, which began in mid-2016, already represents a sea change in Philippine politics. Duterte moved quickly to replace the “liberal reformist” political order with its emphasis on civil liberties, if limited political participation, with an illiberal regime. A strongman committed to a bloody fight against the drug scourge, Duterte was long a local politician (as mayor of or the power-behind-the throne in Davao city) who then began implementing this policy nationally.

But for many scholars of Philippine politics, such personality-centered, macro descriptions of Philippine politics are secondary to underlying localized clientelist structures. In his chapter revisiting the clientelist paradigm of politics in the Philippines, Masataka Kimura, who has been studying Philippine politics for over three decades, shows the continued relevance of the “traditional” clientelist model of politics, “one involving an affective, diffuse pattern of exchange [typified by the] vertical dyad in the landlord-tenant relationship in traditional Philippine rural communities.” But the breakdown of these traditional clientelist ties has seen the emergence of class-based politics (in the form of a communist insurgency and a moderate social reformism) as well “machine politics” based on more instrumental, short-term dyadic ties and “bossism” in which violence replaces voluntary ties.

In his chapter on local politics, John T. Sidel offers a more critical assessment of the clientelist model. The results of the 1987 congressional and 1988 local elections proved to be a “harsh reality check” as “entrenched ‘provincial warlords’ and local ‘political dynasties’ who had attracted such attention and condemnation for their wielding of ‘guns, goons, and gold’ in defence of the Marcos regime” managed to regain seats in Congress and local offices in large numbers. Sidel’s study of “bossism” is an attempt to solve the puzzle of explaining the “enduring

entrenchment” of “subnational authoritarianism” even as a transition to electoral democracy was occurring nationally.

Distrustful and dismissive of earlier accounts of “patron-client relations” as the underlying basis of local politics, scholars of the 1990s instead noted the accumulated advantages of incumbency, the dull compulsion of economic relations, the structural logic of monopoly, the ubiquity of vote-buying and electoral fraud, and, more broadly, the importance of coercion – rather than clientelism or consent – as the basis of local “guns, goons, and gold,” or understood more subtly as embedded within the everyday fabric of social relations in localities across the archipelago.

In his chapter on Philippine political parties, Allen Hicken shows that the party system is relatively under-institutionalized. He argues that “the introduction of early elections in an environment rich in oligarchic elites but lacking a mobilized citizenry or mass organizations, hindered institutionalization” as did the “adoption of a particular set of electoral institutions [that] reinforced this tendency.” Furthermore, there were key institutional changes that weakened the party system – the creation of the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (New Society Movement) by Marcos during his martial law rule as a hegemonic party, the ban on presidential reelection in the post-Marcos era, and the idiosyncrasies of the party list system. Hicken suggests this low level of institutionalization adversely affects democratic governance because parties have “narrow constituencies and short time horizons – both of which are problematic for the provision of needed public goods” and it “undermines the ability of voters to hold politicians individually and collectively accountable. This can lead to voter disillusionment, providing opportunities for political outsiders with anti-party and sometimes anti-democratic sensibilities to rise to power,” such as Marcos and Duterte.

In his chapter on political corruption, Jon S. T. Quah documents the pervasiveness of corruption in the Philippines, identifying chief causes as low salaries, lack of effective detection and punishment, the importance of family and cultural values, and the lack of political will. He documents the ineffectiveness of many anti-corruption agencies since independence in 1946 but acknowledges that public perceptions toward corruption have improved during the administrations of Fidel Ramos and Noynoy Aquino. Nevertheless, he argues that the country’s anti-corruption model based on multiple anti-corruption agencies continues to be ineffective. Instead, Quah proposes the creation of a well-funded, adequately staffed single agency, which he dubs the Philippine Anti-Corruption Agency. Accordingly, a single anti-corruption agency for the Philippines would eliminate problems of coordination and overlapping functions as well as competition for resources that characterize the existing multiple agency model.

Writing about the Philippine civil service, Rupert Hodder offers a more optimistic take on Philippine bureaucratic performance. Despite the prevalence of models of “elite capture or patrimonialism” and “anarchic families,” he found “constructive informal practice” to be widespread both among permanent civil servants or political appointees. There are often high quality appointments and using “their authority to overcome inertia and entrenched habits within a department is woefully inadequate, most especially given the short time they have to turn a department around and set it on a new course.” Understanding the potential advantages of such informality “may even prove to be essential if the Philippine civil service is to be transformed thoughtfully and imaginatively, and its efficacy improved.”

In his chapter on political dynasties, Julio C. Teehankee argues that through a process of adaptation they have been able to “maintain their dominance in Philippine congressional politics.” He distinguishes between traditional, new, and emerging political dynasties with the

national legislature as the “nexus for national and local power dynamics, the mechanism by which political clans acquire, sustain, and reproduce power.”

In his chapter on congressional “pork barrel,” Ronald D. Holmes provides an overview of a hundred years of national patronage politics in the Philippines before analyzing this phenomenon in the post-Marcos era. In elections, pork barrel allows incumbent politicians to target voters by directing pork funds to their constituencies. But politicians also regularly siphon off funds for direct use in their campaign in order to “maintain a clientelistic network by dispensing various forms of assistance finance by such funds, or for personal enrichment.” Finally the pressure for “pork” means that all post-Marcos presidents must yield to legislators’ demands for particularistic projects in order to secure Congressional support for their preferred legislative programs.

In their chapter on the Philippine Congress, Diana J. Mendoza and Mark R. Thompson suggest that the national legislature is largely subordinated to the president due in part to its reliance on patronage distributed by the chief executive as well as the lack of programmatic political parties. The overwhelmingly elite character of representatives and senators contributes to its reactive character, aimed at protecting the oligarchy’s interest rather than passing innovative legislation. Yet Congress does have some tools with which to challenge presidents: congressional oversight hearings, impeachment/conviction, and other powers. It also has occasionally passed landmark legislation, particularly in areas of gender equality thanks in part to the successful efforts of the women’s movement.

The chapter on the presidency by Mark R. Thompson picks up on the debate about the role of clientelist politics and pork barrel in the post-Marcos Philippines. While recognizing its explanatory power, he warns against reducing “the presidency to its function as patronage dispenser.” He points out that the winners of post-Marcos presidential elections are not necessarily the candidates with the best patronage machinery but rather those with the more compelling campaign narrative. Moreover, he points out that effective patronage distribution cannot guarantee a president’s survival because extra-electoral elite strategic groups can oust them from office through a people-power coup such as against Joseph E. Estrada in 2001. Thompson also critiques a “presidential-style” approach which assumes personality characteristics are crucial, missing key constraints facing presidents. As a supplement to clientelist and presidential style approaches he offers the relational concept of presidential regimes, using a modified version adapted from U.S. political scientist Stephen Skowronek. This allows the evaluation of presidential performance not just in terms of personal and persuasive qualities, but also on the basis of sequencing the presidency within a political regime and analyzes the cycle of presidential challenges within the context of strategic moments that lie between regime structures and agents’ choices.

The chapter on the Philippine judiciary by Eric Vincent C. Batalla, co-authored with Michelle Sta. Romana and Karen Rodrigo, locates the courts in the country’s political system, noting that despite enhanced powers of judicial review and measures to strengthen its impartiality under the 1987 Philippine Constitution, the judiciary remains a politicized institution that is highly vulnerable to executive and legislative pressures. The chapter recounts the tension between the Noynoy Aquino government and the Supreme Court, leading to the impeachment and conviction of Chief Justice Renato Corona. Likewise, it traces problems of political vulnerability and judicial inefficiency to existing institutional practices and budget constraints.

In the chapter on civil-military relations in the Philippines, Rosalie Arcala Hall shows how they have evolved within the context of “the semi-democratic nature” of post-Marcos politics. Despite being based on a “Western template focused on a set of constitutional-legal civilian control mechanisms and a professional military, the elite-dominated and clientelistic nature of

Philippine politics” adversely affects the military’s relations to civilian authority. The military has been used for internal security and election monitoring as much as it has for external defense making the military “the state’s brokers to local power holders, and tying them inevitably into the murky civilian politics.” Since Marcos’ martial law rule the military has become increasingly politicized with factions emerging that have linked up to civilian groups trying to seize power.

Foreign relations

Philippine diplomacy in the post-Marcos period often seemed to revolve exclusively around the axis of its U.S. ties, but the chapters in this section show that the nature of Philippine foreign relations has been more complex. After supporting the Marcos dictatorship (only partially and tentatively pressuring it shortly before its fall), the U.S. provided support for the fledgling Philippine democracy (that culminated in indirect intervention to help the Philippine government fend off a major coup attempt in 1989). But this was soon overshadowed by the Philippine’s Senate’s decision not to renew the U.S. bases treaty, a legacy of the colonial era, forcing the Americans to withdraw from two of their largest military facilities abroad in 1992. Philippine relations warmed with China economically, particularly in the early 2000s during the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. But a series of corruption scandals linked to contracts with Chinese companies and China’s increasingly aggressive stance toward the South China Sea (dubbed the “West Philippine Sea” by Filipinos), led her successor, Noynoy Aquino, to move back toward closer ties with the U.S. while growing increasingly hostile to China. This seems to have changed under Duterte, though it is still unclear whether policy will actually mirror his anti-U.S. and pro-China rhetoric given China’s continued territorial claims in the South China Sea and the links built up over decades of close Philippines–U.S. ties. Throughout the post-Marcos period, the Philippines’ links to Japan have been of great importance.

In his chapter on Philippines–U.S. relations, Howard Loewen argues that there has been much continuity and limited change in this bilateral linkage. These ties evolved from the colonial era and the fight against the Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II. The 1951 “Mutual Defense treaty” has long been the basis of the Philippines–U.S. link. Yet when the Philippines decided not to renew the U.S. bases treaty, the Philippines looked more to Southeast Asia to increase regional cooperation. But in 2001 after the 9/11 attacks cooperation with the U.S. again increased as part of the international anti-terror effort. Loewen argues that even the anti-US rhetoric of the current president Rodrigo Duterte is unlikely to lead to “structural change” in Philippines–U.S. relations. Close relations are based on a “normative consensus” in foreign policy, particularly in terms of military cooperation and geo-strategic considerations.

In his discussion of Philippines–China relations, Renato Cruz de Castro contends that efforts to improve relations between the two countries have been inhibited by the South China Sea dispute and the presence of the United States as a Pacific power. Philippine concerns about Chinese maritime expansion waned briefly in the early twenty-first century as Philippines–China economic relations improved dramatically during the Arroyo administration which hoped for major economic benefits brought about by closer ties with China. But this Chinese “charm offensive” was undermined by continued “suspicions of China’s territorial ambitions in the South China Sea” which peaked during the presidency of the Noynoy Aquino administration.

Dennis Trinidad argues that in the twenty-first century the Philippines and Japan have worked towards deepening their strategic partnership. Domestically, Japan has seen the rise of hawks, particularly Abe Shinzo, at a time when the role of the prime minister in security

policymaking was growing. Both countries have been alarmed by China's more aggressive stance in both the East China Sea (particularly its dispute over the Senkaku islands with Japan) and South China Sea (with the Spratlys as a key point of contention with the Philippines) and this common threat has been a factor bringing the Philippines and Japan together. Both countries also (at least until the recent election of Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines) have had close security ties with the U.S. But Filipino leaders, including Duterte, who as of this writing has both visited Japan and invited Abe to his home city of Davao, have pragmatically looked upon Japan as a source of overseas development assistance (ODA) and foreign direct investment (FDI) to assist in the country's economic development.

In an innovative chapter, Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III argues that Philippine foreign relations should no longer be seen as one based exclusively on security alliances, economic cooperation, and trade but also one which takes into account the influence of large Filipino diaspora communities around the world who far outnumber Philippine foreign service officers in diplomatic missions. The impact of the Filipino diaspora is significant in a number of ways, including through membership in churches and other religious organizations, professional associations, non-governmental organizations, interest and advocacy groups, and other civil society groups. Moreover, migrants from the Philippines influence occupational practices, products, and services in many international cities. Gonzalez contends that a global "Filipinization" process, parallel to earlier Americanization, has a growing impact through the Philippine diaspora diplomacy on many major urban centers around the world.

Economics and social policy

The Philippines has enjoyed strong economic growth (averaging over 6 percent for nearly a decade and a half). Noyoy Aquino's administration won plaudits not only from Philippine big business and civil society groups but also from international credit agencies and aid organizations, while its rating by Transparency International improved. But the former president's reformist platform – itself a legacy of the call for good governance that has dominated the post-Marcos era – was eroded by a major pork barrel scandal, rampant smuggling, selective justice, poor infrastructure, and a lack of systematic institutional reforms, as well as criminality and still festering insurgencies (communist and Muslim secessionist in the southern Philippines). Moreover, despite a huge increase in funding for a conditional cash transfer scheme (which critics say is often used for political patronage), poverty and unemployment remain stubbornly high in the Philippines. Agricultural productivity has stagnated and industrialization is very limited while the country has become heavily reliant on the service sector, a property boom, and, in particular, on remittances from an estimated ten million overseas foreign workers (about 10 percent of the country's population). Another growth engine has been the booming business process outsourcing sector, largely global call centers; although this boom may prove temporary as other developing countries with large English-speaking populations compete with lower labor costs.

After recovering from its worst economic crisis in recent history (1983–1987), setting the Philippines back decades and similar to the current Greek economic crisis in magnitude, there was only moderate recovery through to the Asian financial crisis (1988–2001) despite major economic reforms. But for the past 15 years the Philippines has been one of the high growth Asia economies and is now often touted as "new economic tiger." Yet despite a doubling of the size of the economy in the last decade and a half the distribution of wealth remains highly unequal.

In his chapter on the Philippine economy, Eric Vincent C. Batalla writes that the country's recent accelerated growth is mainly a product of various government reforms and initiatives

since the 1990s that stimulated the inflow of overseas remittances, the growth of the business process outsourcing and information technology (BPO-IT) industries, and the remarkable increase in government revenues. Huge foreign exchange earnings from overseas remittances and the BPO-IT industries have helped relieve the country of the foreign exchange and debt-service difficulties it experienced starting in the early 1980s. Despite its recent impressive growth record, serious economic challenges and weaknesses (e.g., poverty and economic inequality) remain. Given that the Philippines has bypassed the traditional route of industrialization for capital accumulation, the chapter reiterates the need to reconsider reviving the industrial sector as a national priority in order to sustain accelerated growth and absorb the still large and growing labor surplus.

While the economy has advanced in recent years, the chapter of Edsel Beja takes on the often ignored problem of capital flight. Using a new computational methodology, he shows that unreported foreign exchange flows amounted to more than US\$600 million during the period 2000–2013. Beja traces this problem to the weakness of the existing regulatory framework, arguing that “there are now more opportunities for trade mis-invoicing and financial flight today.” As such, he challenges government to rethink this framework and revisit its capital flow management techniques in order to reduce economic vulnerabilities.

Antoinette Raquiza examines how the Philippine big business exploited economic opportunities to gain dominance in the emerging service economy. The explosive growth of the service economy in the last two decades should also take account of the responses of the business sector to the changing economic and policy environments. Regardless of their sectoral origins, Philippine business groups established holding companies and used strategic partnerships, mergers, and acquisitions to gain entry and dominance in the services sector. These institutional arrangements, Raquiza contends, along with other business practices allow for a more nuanced study of the changing nature of Philippine capitalism.

The chapter on economic nationalism by Yusuke Takagi provides an alternative to the view that nationalist economic policies from the 1930s to the early decades of political independence reflected the influence of, or capture by, vested interests. He argues instead that the leading policymakers were influenced by policy ideas prevalent at the time. The framers of the 1935 Constitution decided on a strong executive branch of government and protectionist policies in reaction to the Great Depression and the rise of the Soviet Union. The 1950s adoption of import-substitution industrialization and retail trade nationalization reflected the leading and worldwide policy prescriptions and ethnic sentiments during this era. Furthermore, the autonomy of policymakers from the powerful economic interests was demonstrated when the government imposed foreign exchange controls which were opposed by the mighty sugar bloc. Takagi finds it relevant in this regard that most economic bureaucrats and economists did not come from the elite but from the middle class.

Teresa Tadem writes about the persistence of neo-liberal, technocratic policies but argues that elite class politics (i.e., inter-elite and intra-class conflicts) have impacted on technocratic policymaking in the post-Marcos era. This has produced mixed results, suggesting unpredictability caused by contention between the neo-liberal agenda and local vested interests. For instance, during the Cory Aquino administration, powerful technocrats sympathetic to the policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank defeated a proposal made by other technocrats for selective debt repudiation. On the other hand, “crony capitalists” in Aquino’s administration allowed the survival of monopolies such as the Philippine Long Distance Company (PLDT), which is controlled by her natal family, the Cojuangcos. But the neo-liberal agenda has been significantly advanced since the Ramos presidency. Tadem sees class dynamics and populist politics still leading to the appointment of socially minded technocrats to

government whose interests are not necessarily aligned with those of the dominant neo-liberal technocrats.

The chapter of Ma. Victoria R. Raquiza questions the effectiveness of the conditional cash transfer (CCT) program, the flagship anti-poverty program of the Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and Noynoy Aquino administrations, and backed by the World Bank as well as the Asian Development Bank. She argues that technocrats have favored it because of its consistency with the neo-liberal project. Yet evaluations of the CCT program in the Philippines have not shown a reduction in poverty levels or a significant impact on health and education outcomes. Under the Duterte administration, although the CCT still forms part of the government's ten point socio-economic agenda, a faction of socially minded technocrats is seeking its phase-out in favor of implementing a more universal poverty alleviation strategy.

The chapter by Lynne Milgram probes the used clothing retail trade run by women in the streets of Baguio City. Milgram provides a picture of the blurred boundaries between formal and informal economies as well as between legal and illegal practices surrounding the livelihoods of the marginalized. Despite local ordinances against street vending, street vendors do not consider their means of earning their livelihood to be illegal but a right to make a living. Through location-based associations, they are able to secure concessions from the city government to sell in the streets and aisle locations in public markets so long as they pay the daily rent. Milgram argues that both government authorities and urban vendors are "complicit" in creating gray spaces of livelihood practice that serve both parties.

In his chapter on poverty alleviation, David Timberman argues that the root problem of poverty in the Philippines is principally one of politics/governance and less one of economics. Timberman notes the durability and power of a "hybrid elite" whose policies have disregarded and even damaged the interests of the poor, as reflected in their perennial unwillingness to support family planning, inclusive growth, and end armed conflicts. Government spending has been chronically inadequate and misused, and agriculture neglected, with a rice policy that raises the cost of this dietary mainstay for poor Filipinos. Accordingly, how to overcome elite and special interest dominated policymaking is a fundamental challenge, with the chapter offering some suggestions in this direction.

Financing plays a crucial role in poverty alleviation and in the development of the livelihoods of the entrepreneurial poor. The chapter by Asuncion Sebastian looks into microfinance as an alternative to government and other private sources of credit. Noting that microenterprises comprise more than 90 percent of the total number of enterprises in the Philippines, she argues that keeping the microfinance sector robust is critical to the economy. However, Sebastian makes a distinction between successful and less-successful microfinance institutions (MFI) based on loan repayment delinquency rates and MFI sustainability, arguing that success does not depend on lending methodology nor on social capital alone, as emphasized in the microfinance literature. Her research suggests that the more successful microfinance institutions combined social capital with efficient credit management systems.

Cultures and movements

As suggested by the chapters in the economy and social policy section, culture and ideas play an important role in the country's political, social, and economic development. The Philippines also has a wide variety of social movements that aim to bring significant change to Philippine culture and society.

Paul Rodell provides a short introduction to Philippine culture, which he labels as syncretic, as Filipinos have adapted various historical and external influences to produce their own

distinctive cultural adaptations. The chapter elaborates on fundamental values evident in everyday Filipino life – family and kinship, food, and music. The discussion of the latter two demonstrates Rodell’s argument about the syncretic nature of Philippine culture, which is enriched and not necessarily overcome by historical and external influences. Despite strong family traditions, Rodell observes changing gender relations that “promise to reshape the future Filipino family,” with fathers spending more time with their children and being more openly affectionate and mothers pursuing professional careers after birthing resulting in household duties being increasingly shared between the parents.

Coeli Barry analyzes Catholicism’s profound influence on the Philippines’ cultural, political, and social fabric. The chapter discusses nationalism and Church–State relations as well as focusing on gendered social norms that ensure the continuity of Catholic religiosity. A critical aspect of this continuity is the preponderance of Catholic schools founded by women’s orders which strengthen ideals of family and values of “motherly sacrifice and female virtue” among the daughters of the elite and of the growing middle class admitted to these schools. Barry shows the powerful role the Church has played in shaping the country’s history since the Spanish times. In fact, the country in the early decades of independence identified itself with Catholicism and proudly proclaimed itself as the only “Catholic country in Asia.” However, the expression of anti-Church sentiments, especially by many nationalist politicians and intellectuals, has likewise been a significant part of the country’s political history. The recent passing of the Reproductive Health Bill in 2012 signifies the increasing complexity in the relations between Church leaders and the laity which Barry believes has implications for the country’s traditional identity as a Catholic nation as well as its economic development. She writes that “there is a great deal that remains to be seen about how the country’s economic development may be affected and great hope that reduced family size might help reduce the high levels of poverty in the country.”

The chapter written by Oona Paredes deals with the Philippines’ indigenous peoples (IPs), a sector of society threatened by what she terms “development aggression” and often caught in the crossfire between the military and insurgent groups. Yet IPs, aided by a law that further protected their ancestral domains, have had some success in preserving their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities. However, social discrimination and economic marginalization are forcing young IPs to move out of their ancestral domains and pursue mainstream educational and employment goals. Thus, despite government support for their rights, IPs face a serious challenge of retaining their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness.

Eduardo Tadem examines the peasant moral economy in a province north of Manila which shows the resiliency of the peasantry as a class despite the decline of the peasant mode of production. Accordingly, against the backdrop of a rapidly changing social and economic landscape, the peasants of the Sacobia villages in Pampanga province retained their class character and community identity which distinguished them from rural workers in service-related occupations. Their resilience was supported by the observance of traditional cultural norms, which placed a high value on traditional concepts of land property rights and dispute resolution; on family and kinship ties as well as cooperative and reciprocal forms of labor; on the special status of village elders; and on informal credit systems. Tadem’s chapter calls for a rethinking of government policy which, with its prolonged urban and industrial development biases, has neglected the agricultural sector and the peasantry as a class.

Temario Rivera chronicles the rise of the middle class and its participation in the country’s political development. While not a cohesive group, the middle class has demonstrated its influence through its participation in critical political episodes and led various social and political movements from the 1950s through the Marcos and post-Marcos periods. During the term of president Noynoy Aquino, middle class civil society organizations figured prominently in the

passage of key legislation such as the Reproductive Health Law, Human Rights Victims Compensation Law, and the Sin Tax Law. They were also in the forefront of the public outrage against controversies involving government corruption and incompetence such as handling of the disaster wrought by Typhoon Haiyan, the pork barrel scandals, the *tanim-bala* (bullet-planting) at the airports, and the Mamasapano incident. Rivera argues that the Aquino administration's failure to address the travails of the middle class helped enable Rodrigo Duterte to win the presidency in 2016. He notes that the election of the new president opened up new opportunities but also new risks for the middle class.

Gerald Clarke provides a comprehensive background on NGOs, covering that community's bright and dark sides in the "neo-Tocquevillian environment" of the post-Marcos Philippines. After its explosive growth in the 1990s, Clarke observes that the NGO community is now "diffused and fragmented." Despite its weakening arising from political differences and the decline in foreign and government funding, this community has retained its relevance in the country's institutional landscape, serving as an important political actor and likewise responding to state weaknesses in promoting sustained and broad-based development. An important development in government-NGO relations, according to Clarke, is the interchange of personnel between government and the NGO community. He regards appointments of NGO personnel to government as beneficial, bringing "progressive NGO developmental perspectives into government while helping NGO peers to negotiate the labyrinthine features of Philippine bureaucracy and to organise and lobby with political guile."

By contrast, Ben Reid considers such NGO "crossovers" as having limited efficacy, especially in the context of the Philippines' exclusionary, elite-based politics. In his chapter based on research on the Estrada to the Aquino administrations, Reid instead sees elements of clientelism at work in government-NGO alliances. Select NGO groups and leaders are able to gain access to government and reap select advantages. Despite the rhetoric of reform, such alliances with government have failed to produce broad-based gains in social reform. Reid argues that the experience of crossovers supports the Gramscian perspective about civil society in that NGOs are "critical to maintaining the hegemony of elite over society and ensuring consent."

In his chapter on the Philippine left, Nathan Quimpo discusses the decline of the movement in the post-Marcos era but argues that the Philippines still offer opportunities for rejuvenation for the Philippine left's program for structural change because of continuing widespread poverty and economic inequality as well as political instability. The chapter provides historical background and analysis of the democratic and revolutionary left, particularly the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA). Quimpo notes that because of changed political conditions and organizational strife in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the CPP-NPA has weakened and has had little impact in the Philippines recently, with an estimated armed strength of less than 4,000 in the 2010s. As such, the CPP has opted to support the participation of national democratic (ND) groups in elections and has used peace negotiations with government for tactical purposes while waging its strategic, protracted war. However, splintered, non-ND left groups, which distinguish themselves from the CPP and regard themselves as the Democratic Left (demleft), have experienced gains as party-list groups in Congress. Nevertheless, given their limited mass base, Quimpo argues that they remain ineffective in countering the strategies and "dirty" tactics of traditional politicians during elections.

Social movements emerging from the influence of the Philippine left are similarly fragmented and have had a mixed impact on state and society. The chapter by Carmela Abao discusses the Philippine labor movement, once a powerful countervailing force against big business and government. Since the mid-1990s, the movement has experienced considerable decline, both in terms of numbers and militancy. Trade union density peaked in 1994 with 31 percent

of the total number of wage/salary workers. By the 2010s, union membership registered less than 9 percent of the total number of wage workers. Similarly, unionists going on strike were less than 1 percent of union membership in 2011 as compared to 4 percent in 1981. Abao attributes the decline of trade unions in the Philippines principally to “contractualization,” or temporary employment arrangements.

Diana J. Mendoza writes about the women’s movement, its history, and performance. The movement, initially spawned by national and social democrats but now joined by independent feminists, has brought about dramatic changes in a conservative Philippines despite opposition from powerful institutions like the Catholic Church. Although fragmented, women’s movement organizations have demonstrated their ability to unite and influence policy. They have been instrumental in the passage of important legislation including the Magna Carta for Women, the Anti-Rape Law, the Anti-Violence against Women and Children Law, and the Reproductive Health Law. Notwithstanding these significant advances, Mendoza argues that restrictive laws and policies still exist, including the ban on divorce and abortion and the delisting of emergency contraception.

An area in Philippines studies that has received increased attention in recent years is the Mindanao conflict, more particularly the Bangsamoro conflict. In his chapter, Rizal Buendia discusses two competing perspectives on territorial rights that are at the root of the conflict, namely: the right of the sovereign Philippine state and the Moros’ right to self-determination. Buendia argues that the controversy over self-determination has led peoples and states to armed conflict, including in the Philippines. Although not able to transcend their separate ethnic identities, the Moro aspiration for a nation-state continues, spawning secessionist armed movements from various groups. Buendia points out that Moro secessionism faces resistance not only from the Philippine state but also from other states confronted with similar problems. Buendia argues a more appropriate institutional framework of political governance that would accommodate social and ethnic diversity is necessary, suggesting the failure of the unitary system of government to establish lasting peace in Mindanao.

The chapter written by Bruce Barnes discusses third party mediation in local and international initiatives to resolve the Bangsamoro conflict since the 1970s. Traditionally, third party mediators were Muslim countries and organizations including the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), Libya, Indonesia, and Malaysia. In 2009, the consortium International Contact Group assumed the role of mediator in the peace talks, thus breaking the traditional practice of having solely Muslim countries and organizations as mediators. The chapter points to the political, cultural, historical, legal, and institutional complexities that were present in negotiations for peace since the 1970s. Drawing from these experiences, Barnes stresses the need to take account of diverse cultures, personalities, religions, and political mechanisms in the design and conduct of mediation.

Patricio Abinales contests dominant views of state-building and nation formation that mainly come from the “cosmopolitan metropolis” and not from the body politic’s “backwaters,” arguing that such perspectives only tend to reinforce marginality of certain people in the national narrative. He points to the problematic character of writing from a national perspective “when political actors, processes and institutions that are based in the ‘unsafe’ frontiers and in minority communities, are factored in.” He examines this difficulty by looking “through the eyes of a Muslim woman with Chinese lineage, a smuggler and whose family members are ‘spread’ all over the world as overseas workers.” Abinales also touches on the need to dwell on the political and economic netherworld populated by smugglers, drug lords, and assassins. He argues that the illicit sector has been indispensable to the success of every major Filipino political leader since the time of Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon. Abinales also points to factors indicating that these “fissiparous tendencies can be reversed.”

Conclusion

Returning to the theme of the challenges facing democracy in a poor country, chapters in this *Handbook* document a number of the dilemmas the country faces. While its electoral system is competitive, the Philippines is still characterized by extensive clientelism, bossism, and weak parties, with Congress dominated by dynasties, the Supreme Court subordinated to the President, and Presidents sometimes facing coup attempts by discontented elites. Efforts to combat corruption in government have met with only limited success, but informal practices in the civil service have often proved constructive.

In terms of diplomacy, the post-Marcos Philippines, like other relatively weak developing countries in the region, has attempted to “balance” between rival great powers – an effort complicated by a nationalist reaction against the U.S. (a legacy of the colonial period and of American intervention) and the need to rely on the U.S. to counter a rising China, with close relations with Japan also a part of this balancing strategy.

Despite the return to strong economic growth in the past 15 years – after a major economic crisis in the 1980s and only slow recovery in the 1990s – the Philippines continues to suffer from widespread poverty and high levels of inequality, in large part a legacy of the failure of the country to industrialize. Efforts to combat this with government programs by socially minded technocrats, such as the Conditional Cash Transfer scheme, have produced only limited success with a neo-liberal economic paradigm still hegemonic. Agricultural productivity and industrialization have stagnated while the country, and a new breed of leading capitalists, have become heavily reliant on the service sector, a property boom, and on remittances from overseas foreign workers (who also make up a politically significant diaspora that influences the country’s foreign relations). Even under a self-proclaimed “leftist” president, Rodrigo Duterte, there are few signs of the revival of nationalist economic policies, prominent from the 1930s to the 1950s.

The Philippines has long been dominated by a “hybrid elite” whose policies have disregarded the interests of the poor, with government spending chronically inadequate and often misused, and agriculture neglected. A key challenger to elite interests, the Philippine left movement, has been in decline in the post-Marcos era but continues to highlight the need for structural change given continued widespread poverty and economic inequality. The Philippine labor movement, once a powerful counterpoint to both big business and government, has suffered major setbacks, both in terms of membership and the frequency of strikes, with “contractualization,” or temporary employment arrangements, being a major reason for the decline. This however has not meant that at the grass roots level, ordinary people have not been active in trying to improve their own welfare as the example of female street vendors shows. Microfinance has played a crucial role in improving the livelihoods of the entrepreneurial poor, particularly in ones that combine social capital with efficient credit management systems.

Filipino culture can be understood as syncretic, with Filipinos adapting external influence to produce their own distinctive cultural adaptations. Although indigenous peoples in the Philippines have been threatened by “development aggression,” with many young people leaving to seek opportunities outside their communities, thanks to legislation that protects their ancestral domains, indigenous peoples have had some success in preserving their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities. Similarly, resilience in the Philippine peasantry can be found, supported by the traditional concepts of land property rights and dispute resolution, on family and kinship ties as well as on cooperative and reciprocal forms of labor, the special status of village elders, and on informal credit systems. A relatively small but influential middle class has had a major influence on the country’s political development.

Although the “neo-Tocquevillian environment” of the immediate post-Marcos Philippines has given way to fragmentation and diffusion, NGOs have brought progressive perspectives to issues of political, social, and economic development. Yet in the context of elite-based politics, the “crossover” of NGO leaders into government has often failed to produce broad social gains, but rather served to maintain elite hegemony.

The influence of Catholicism in the country has been particularly profound, influencing Church–State relations and working to uphold gendered social norms. Yet anti-Church sentiments by nationalist politicians and intellectuals have also been an important part of the country’s history. The women’s movement, by contrast, has been quite successful in pushing forward its agenda despite opposition from conservatives, particularly in the Catholic Church.

In terms of the country’s major religious minority, Muslim Filipinos, although often unable to transcend their distinct ethnic identities, the Moro aspiration for a nation-state or substantial autonomy remains. Despite the involvement of third party country mediators, particularly from the Organization of Islamic Countries, conflict between Muslim rebels and the Philippine state remains one of the country’s most important unresolved problems.

Finally, dominant national narratives from the “cosmopolitan metropolis” of Metro Manila have reinforced the marginality of a number of groups: women, overseas workers, Moro separatists, and criminals, despite the importance they have played, usually behind the scenes, in the country’s recent history.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Clientelism revisited

- Ileto, Reynaldo C. 2001. Orientalism and the Study of Philippine Politics. *Philippine Political Science Journal* 22 (45): 1–32.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict J. 1991. *Everyday Politics in the Philippines: Status and Class Relations in a Central Luzon Village*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Kimura, Masataka. 1995. Rise and Fall of BANDILA: A Study of Middle Force Alliance and the Urban Middle Class in Philippine Politics. *Pilipinas* 24: 1–31.
- Kimura, Masataka. 1997. *Elections and Politics Philippine Style: A Case in Lipa*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Kimura, Masataka. 2006. The Federation of Free Farmers and Its Significance in the History of the Philippine Peasant Movement. *Southeast Asian Studies* 44 (1): 3–30.
- Landé, Carl H. 1964. *Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Landé, Carl H. 1973. Networks and Groups in Southeast Asia: Some Observations on the Group Theory of Politics. *The American Political Science Review* 67 (1): 103–127.
- Machado, K. G. 1974. From Traditional Faction to Machine: Changing Patterns of Political Leadership and Organization in the Rural Philippines. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 33 (4): 523–547.
- Scott, James C. 1969. Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change. *The American Political Science Review* 63 (4): 1142–1158.
- Scott, James C. 1972. Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review* 66 (1): 91–113.
- Scott, James C. 1986. Everyday Form of Peasant Resistance. In Scott, James C. and Benedict J. Kerkvliet, eds. *Everyday Form of Peasant Resistance in Southeast Asia*. London: Frank Cass.
- Scott, James C. and Benedict J. Kerkvliet. 1977. How Traditional Rural Patrons Lose Legitimacy: A Theory with Special Reference to Southeast Asia. In Schmidt, Steffan W., Laura Guasti, Carl H. Lande and James C. Scott, eds. *Friends, Followers, and Faction: a Reader in Political Clientelism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Patrons, bosses, dynasties, and reformers in local politics

- Abinales, P. (2000). *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Anderson, B. (1988). Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams. *New Left Review*, 169, pp. 3–31.
- Billig, M. (2003). *Barons, Brokers, and Buyers: The Institutions and Cultures of Philippine Sugar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Doronila, A. (1992). *The State, Economic Transformation, and Political Change in the Philippines, 1946–1972*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Gutierrez, E. (1994). *The Ties That Bind: A Guide to Family, Business and Other Interests in the Ninth House of Representatives*. Pasig: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Hodder, R. (2000). Business, Politics and Social Relationships in the Philippines: A Gentle Revolution? *South East Asia Research*, 8, 2, pp. 93–145.
- Kawanaka, T. (2002). *Power in a Philippine City*. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization.
- Kerkvliet, B. (ed.) (1974). *Political Change in the Philippines: Studies of Local Politics Preceding Martial Law*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Kerkvliet, B. (1990). *Everyday Politics in the Philippines: Class and Status Relations in a Central Luzon Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kerkvliet, B. and Mojares, R. (1991). From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Kimura, M. (1998). Changing Patterns of Leadership Recruitment and the Emergence of the Professional Politician in Philippine Local Politics Re-examined: An Aspect of Political Development and Decay. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 36, 2, pp. 206–229.
- Lacaba, J. (1995). *Boss: 5 Case Studies of Local Politics in the Philippines*. Pasig: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Landé, C. (1965). *Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.

McCoy, A. (ed.) (1993). *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Center for Southeast Asian Studies.

Mejia, P. (2000). *Peasants, Merchants, and Politicians in Tobacco Production: Philippine Social Relations in a Global Economy*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Mojares, R. (1986). *The Man Who Would Be President: Sergio Osmeña and Philippine Politics*. Cebu City: Maria Cacao.

Paredes, R. (ed.) (1989). *Philippine Colonial Democracy*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Rivera, T. (1994). *Landlords and Capitalists: Class, Family, and State in Philippine Manufacturing*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

Shantz, A. (1972). *Political Parties: The Changing Foundations of Philippine Democracy*. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Sidel, J. (1999). *Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Trounstein, J. (2009). *Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, A. (1981). *Center, Bureaucracy, and Locality: Central-Locality Relations in the Philippines*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.

The political party system

1

Anderson, Benedict. 1988. "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review* 169: 3–33.

Banlaoi, Rommel C. and Clarita R. Carlos . 1996. *Political Parties in the Philippines: From 1900 to the Present*. Makati: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Carlos, Clarita R. 1997. *Dynamics of Political Parties in the Philippines*. Makati: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Choi, Jungug. 2001. "Philippine Democracies Old and New: Elections, Term Limits, and Party Systems." *Asian Survey* 41: 488–501.

Commission on Elections (COMELEC) . 1992. *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President and Congress of the Republic of the Philippines on the Conduct of the Synchronized National and Local Elections of May 11, 1992*. Manila: Commission on Elections.

Commission on Elections (COMELEC) . 1995. *Report of the Commission on Elections to His Excellency President Fidel V. Ramos and to Congress of the Republic of the Philippines on the Conduct of the National and Local Elections of May 8, 1992*. Manila: Commission on Elections.

Commission on Elections (COMELEC) . 1998. *Election results from the 1998 National and Local Elections*. Data on Diskette. Manila: Commission on Elections.

Commission on Elections (COMELEC) . 2001. *Election results from the 2001 National and Local Elections*. www.comelec.gov.ph/results_main.html.

Commission on Elections (COMELEC) . 2004. *Election results from the 2004 National and Local Elections*. www.comelec.gov.ph/results_main.html.

de Castro Jr., Isagani. 1992. "Money and Moguls: Oiling the Campaign Machinery." In Lornal Kalaw-Tirol and Sheila S. Colonel , eds. *1992 & Beyond: Forces and Issues in Philippine Elections*. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism and Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs.

Geddes, Barbara and Erica Frantz. 2007. "The Effect of Dictatorships on Party Systems in Latin America," unpublished manuscript, UCLA.

Grossholtz, Jean. 1964. *Politics in the Philippines: A Country Study*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Hartmann, Christof , Graham Hassall and Soliman M. Santos Jr. 2001. "Philippines." In Dieter Nohlen , Florian Grotz and Christof Hartmann , eds. *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook*. Volume II: South East Asia, East Asia and the South Pacific. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawes, Gary. 1992. "Marcos, His Cronies and the Philippines Failure to Develop." In Ruth McVey , ed. *Southeast Asian Capitalists*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.

Hicken, Allen. 2008a. "The Politics of Economic Recovery in Thailand and the Philippines." In Andrew MacIntyre , T. J. Pempel and John Ravenhill , eds. *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, pp. 206–230.

Hicken, Allen. 2008b. "Political Engineering and Party Regulation in Southeast Asia." In Benjamin Reilly et al. eds. *Political Parties in Conflict-Prone Societies: Regulation, Engineering and Democratic Development*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Hicken, Allen. 2009a. *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hicken, Allen. 2009b. "Political Parties and Party Systems in Southeast Asia." In Aurel Croissant and Marco Bónite, eds. *The Crisis of Democratic Governance in Southeast Asia*. New York: Palgrave.

Hicken, Allen. 2015. "Party Systems and the Politics of Development." Forthcoming in Carol Lancaster and Nicolas van de Walle, eds. *Handbook on the Politics of Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199845156.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199845156. Accessed October 12, 2017.

Hicken, Allen and Erik Kuhonta. 2011. "Reexamining Party Institutionalization Through Asian Lenses." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(5) (May): 572–597.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hutchcroft, Paul D. 1998. *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hutchcroft, Paul D. 2000. "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords: Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900–1913." *Journal of Asian Studies* 59(2) (May): 277–306.

Hutchcroft, Paul and Joel Rocamora. 2003. "Strong Demands and Weak Institutions: The Origins and Evolution of the Democratic Deficit in the Philippines." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 3(2) (May–August): 259–292.

Kasuya, Yuko. 2001. "Presidential Connection: Parties and Party Systems in the Philippines." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, March 23–25.

Landé, Carl H. 1965. *Leaders, Factions and Parties*. New Haven, CT: Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University.

Landé, Carl H. 1996. *Post-Marcos Politics: A Geographic and Statistical Analysis of the 1992 Philippine Elections*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Levitsky, Steven. 1998. "Institutionalization and Peronism." *Party Politics* 4(1): 77–92.

Liang, Dapen. 1970. *Philippine Parties and Politics: A Historical Study of National Experience in Democracy*. San Francisco: The Gladstone Company.

Lijphart, Arend, Ronald Rogowski and Kent Weaver. 1993. "Separation of Powers and Cleavage Management." In R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman, eds. *Do Institutions Matter: Government in the United States and Abroad*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 1995. "Introduction." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Mainwaring, Scott and Mariano Torcal. 2006. "Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization." In Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds. *Handbook of Political Parties*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 204–227.

Mainwaring, Scott and Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Historical Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies." *Party Politics* 13(2) (March): 155–178.

Montinola, Gabriella. 1999. "Parties and Accountability in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 10(1): 126–140.

Panebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Porcalla, Delon. 2016. "It's Final: LP to Be Minority." *The Philippine Star*. July 20. www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/07/20/1604752/its-final-lp-be-minority. Accessed January 10, 2017.

Putzel, James. 1993. "Democratisation and Clan Politics: The 1992 Philippine Elections." Mimeo.

Quezon, Manuel L. 1940. *Addresses of His Excellency Manuel L. Quezon on the Theory of a Partyless Democracy*. Manila: Bureau of Print.

Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert. 2005. "Yellow Pad: Trapo Parties and Corruption." *BusinessWorld*. October 10.

Randall, Vicky and Lars Svasand. 2002. "Party Institutionalization in New Democracies." *Party Politics* 8(1): 5–29.

Revised Election Code of 1947, Article XI, Section 149, No. 19.

Samuels, David J. and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Shefter, Martin. 1994. *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1999. "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Provision of Public Goods in Less-Developed Countries." *Constitutional Political Economy* 10(1): 53–88.

Sicat, Loreta M. 1973. "The 'Fair Hope of the Fatherland,'" *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* 17 (October): 437.

Sidel, John T. 1996. *Capital Coercion and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

SWS . 2006. Attitudes Towards Political Parties in the Philippines. A joint production of Social Weather Stations, Ateneo School of Government, with the Support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_20518-1522-2-30.pdf?100917093840. Accessed October 12, 2017.

Tancangco, Luzviminda. 1992. The Anatomy of Electoral Fraud. Manila: MLAGM.

Ufen, Andreas. 2008. "Political Party and Party System Institutionalization in Southeast Asia: Lessons for Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand." *The Pacific Review* 21(3): 327–350.

Welfling, Mary B. 1973. Political Institutionalization: Comparative Analyses of African Party Systems. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Wurfel, David. 1988. Filipino Politics: Development and Decay. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

WVS (World Values Survey) . 2001. www.worldvaluessurvey.org/.

Combating corruption

Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J.A. 2012, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, Profile Books, London.

Amorado, R.V. 2007, *Fixing Society: The Inside World of Fixers in the Philippines*, Research and Publication Office, Ateneo de Davao University, Davao City.

Amorado, R.V. 2011, *Kakistocracy: Rule of the Unprincipled, Unethical and Unqualified*, Research and Publication Office, Ateneo de Davao University, Davao City.

Asia Pulse . 2005, 'Philippines Anti-corruption Drive Can Work, Says Senator', 4 April.

Asian Institute of Strategic Studies (AISS) . 2003, *Grappling with Graft and Corruption*, AISS, Quezon City.

Asian Intelligence . 2001, 'Corruption in Asia in 2001', No. 579, 7 March, pp. 1–5.

Asian Intelligence . 2008, 'Regional Overview: Corruption Trends and Prospects', No. 750, 12 March, pp. 2–7.

Asian Intelligence . 2015, 'Regional Overview: Annual Review of Corruption in Asia – 2015', No. 920, 1 April, pp. 1–5.

Asian Intelligence . 2016, 'Regional Overview: Annual Review of Corruption in Asia – 2016', No. 944, 30 March, pp. 1–5.

Batalla, E.V.C. 2001, 'De-institutionalizing Corruption in the Philippines', in A.C. Pedro Jr (ed.), *Combating Corruption in East Asia*, pp. 150–185. Yuchengco Center, De La Salle University, Manila.

Batalla, E.V.C. 2015, 'Treading the Straight and Righteous Path: Curbing Corruption in the Philippines', *Asian Education and Development Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 51–75.

Beschel, R.P. 1999, *Corruption, Transparency and Accountability in the Philippines*, Asian Development Bank, Manila.

Cayabyab, M. 2011, 'PH Ombudsman Behind Other Anti-corruption Agencies in Asia', *VERA Files*, 10 May.

CBC News . 2008, 'Imelda Marcos Acquitted After 17-year Trial', 10 March.

Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) . 2006, *Annual Report 2005*, New Delhi.

CBI . 2012, *Annual Report 2011*, New Delhi.

Chandler, R.C. and Plano, J.C. 1988, *The Public Administration Dictionary*, ABC-Clio, Inc., Santa Barbara, CA.

Channel News Asia . 2016, 'Fixing Crime, Corruption Top of Agenda for Philippines' Duterte', 11 May.

Chua, Y.T. and Rimban, L. 1998, 'Gatekeeper', in S.S. Coronel (ed.), *Pork and Other Perks: Corruption and Governance in the Philippines*, pp. 150–185. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Quezon City.

Co, E.E.A. , Lim, M. , Lao, M.E.J. and Juan, L.J. 2007, *Minimising Corruption: Philippine Democracy Assessment*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Philippine Office, Pasig City.

Coronel, S.S. and Kalaw-Tirol, L. 2002, *Investigating Corruption: A Do-It-Yourself Guide*, Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Quezon City.

Dancel, R. 2016, 'Duterte Picks "Men of Integrity" for his Cabinet', *Straits Times*, 1 June, p. A16.

Davidson, S. , Juwono, V. and Timberman, D.G. 2006, *Curbing Corruption in Indonesia 2004–2006: A Survey of National Policies and Approaches*, Center for Strategic and International Studies and United States-Indonesia Society, Jakarta and Washington DC.

Del Mundo, F. 2010, 'Ali Baba Is Gone', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 17 February.

Diamond, J. 2005, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive*, Penguin Group, London.

Economist . 2006, *Pocket World in Figures 2007 Edition*, Profile Books, London.

Gomez, J. 2011, 'Philippine Lawmakers Impeach Chief Anti-corruption Investigator', *Associated Press*, 22 March.

Gonzalez, E.T. and Mendoza, M.L. 2004, 'Anti-corruption Initiatives in the Philippines: Breakthroughs, Limits, and Challenges', in V. Bhargava and E. Bolongaita (eds), *Challenging Corruption in Asia: Case Studies and*

a Framework for Action, pp. 77–133, Chapter 3. World Bank, Washington, DC.

The Guardian . 2016. 'Editorial: The Guardian View on Elections in the Philippines: A Leap into the Unknown', 15 May.

Harden, B. 2008, 'In Rural Philippines, a Dearth of Doctors: Thousands of Physicians, Retrained as Nurses, Take Jobs Abroad', Washington Post, 20 September, pp. A13–A14.

Hodess, R. 2004, 'Introduction', in R. Hodess, T. Inowlocki, D. Rodriguez and T. Wolfe (eds), *Global Corruption Report 2004*, pp. 11–18. Pluto Press, London.

Holmes, R.D. 2007, 'Combating Corruption in the Philippines: The Difficulty and Danger of Organisational Reform/Human Resource Development Initiatives', in M.C.P. Alfiler and E.E. Nicolas (eds), *Public Administration plus Governance: Assessing the Past, Addressing the Future*, pp. 173–197. National College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

ICAC . 2011, 2011 Budget, Hong Kong, available from: www.budget.gov.hk/2011/eng/pdf/head072.pdf [8 August 2015].

ICAC . 2012, 2011 Annual Report, Hong Kong.

Johnston, M. 2010, *Political and Social Foundations for Reform: Anti-Corruption Strategies for the Philippines*, Asian Institute of Management, Manila.

Johnston, M. 2015, Email correspondence with author, 30 July.

Landingin, R. 2007, 'Estrada Pardon Bolsters Belief that Powerful Are Above Law', *Financial Times*, 29 October, p. 3.

Langston, R.L. 1991, *Bribery and the Bible: Applied to the Philippines*, Campus Crusade Asia Limited, Singapore.

Lee, K.Y. 2000, *From Third World to First, The Singapore Story: 1965–2000*, Times Media, Singapore.

Lindner, S. 2013, 'Salary Top-ups and their Impact on Corruption', *U4 Expert Answer*, No. 398, 17 December, pp. 1–9.

Marcelo, S.V. 2005, 'Combating Corruption in the Philippines: Are We Plundering Our Chances or Doing it Better?', *Combating Corruption in the Philippines: Working Paper Series No. 2*, National College of Public Administration and Governance, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, pp. 1–26.

Mauro, P. 1997, *Why Worry about Corruption?*, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC.

Newsbreak Online . 2006, 'The Street Ombudsman', 21 November.

Ocampo, R.B. 2010, 'Wicked Problems, Government Failures: Corruption and Lesser Evils', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 54, nos. 1–2, pp. 44–86.

Olague, R.J.A. 2006, *Fighting Corruption*, University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, Manila.

OMB (Office of the Ombudsman) . 2005, *Annual Report 2004*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2006, *Annual Report 2005*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2007, *Annual Report 2006*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2009, *Annual Report 2008*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2010, *Annual Report 2009*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2011, *Annual Report 2010*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2012, *Annual Report 2011*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2013, *Annual Report 2012*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2014, *Annual Report 2013*, Quezon City.

OMB . 2015, *Annual Report 2014*, Quezon City.

Official Gazette . 2012, 'Executive Order No. 76, S. 2012', Annex A 'Fourth Tranche Monthly Salary Schedule for Civilian Personnel of the National Government, Effective June 1, 2012 (in Pesos)', p. 5, Manila, available from: www.gov.ph/2012/04/30/executive-order-no-76-s-2012 [8 August 2015].

Oyamada, E. 2005, 'President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's Anti-Corruption Strategy in the Philippines: An Evaluation', *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 81–107.

Padilla, P.L. 1995, 'Low Salary Grades, Income-augmentation Schemes and the Merit Principle', in P.D. Tapales and N.N. Pilar (eds), *Public Administration by the Year 2000: Looking Back into the Future*, pp. 186–214. College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Paterno, B. 2016, 'What Does Rodrigo Duterte's Victory Say about the Philippines' Experience with Corruption?' *The Global Anticorruption Blog*, 20 May, pp. 1–4.

Philippine Headline News Online . 2003, 'Lacson Proposes New Commission vs Corruption', 20 October.

Philstar.com . 2005a, 'GMA: 3 Years to Win War vs Graft', 13 May.

Philstar.com . 2005b, 'Manila Can Wipe Out Corruption – HK Graftbuster', 18 May.

Pramudatama, R. 2012, 'KPK Looks to Public in House Row', *Jakarta Post*, 23 June.

Quah, J.S.T. 1982, 'Bureaucratic Corruption in the ASEAN Countries: A Comparative Analysis of their Anti-corruption Strategies', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 153–177.

Quah, J.S.T. 1999, 'Comparing Anti-Corruption Measures in Asian Countries', *Asian Review of Public Administration*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 71–90.

Quah, J.S.T. 2009a, 'Civil Service and Corruption', in A.K. Rajivan and R. Gampat , (eds), *Perspectives on Corruption and Human Development*, vol. 2, pp. 802–838. Macmillan Publishers India, Delhi.

Quah, J.S.T. 2009b, 'Benchmarking for Excellence: A Comparative Analysis of Seven Asian Anti-Corruption Agencies', *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 171–195.

Quah, J.S.T. 2010, 'Curbing Corruption in the Philippines: Is This an Impossible Dream?' *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 54, nos. 1–2, pp. 1–43.

Quah, J.S.T. 2011, *Curbing Corruption in Asian Countries: An Impossible Dream?*, Emerald Group Publishing, Bingley, UK.

Quah, J.S.T. 2015, 'Evaluating the Effectiveness of Anti-corruption Agencies in Five Asian Countries: A Comparative Analysis', *Asian Education and Development Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 143–159.

Quimson, G. 2006, *National Integrity Systems Transparency International Country Study Report Philippines 2006*, Transparency International, Berlin.

Republic of Singapore . 2012, *Singapore Budget 2012: Annex to the Expenditure Estimates*, Budget Division, Ministry of Finance, Singapore.

Reuters India . 2009, 'Economists Say Graft Weakens Philippine Bureaucracy', 20 May.

Richter, L.K. 1987, 'Public Bureaucracy in Post-Marcos Philippines', *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 57–76.

Riggs, F.W. 1970, 'Administrative Reform as a Problem of Dynamic Balancing', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 101–135.

Rocamora, J. 1998, 'Introduction: Corruption in the Philippines: A Beginner's Guide', in S.S. Coronel (ed.), *Pork and Other Perks: Corruption and Governance in the Philippines*, pp. 8–31. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Quezon City.

Sosmena, G.C. Jr. 1995, *Breaking the Cocoon: Bureaucracy Reborn*, Local Government Development Foundation, Manila.

Straits Times . 1987, 'Govt Files Graft Charges against Aquino's Uncle', 7 November, p. 44.

Timberman, D.G. 1991, *A Changeless Land: Continuity and Change in Philippine Politics*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

Transparency and Accountability Network (TAN) . 2009, *The Office of the Ombudsman: Is There Institutional Weakness?* PHDR Issue 2008/2009, No. 2, pp. 1–5.

Transparency International . 2016, 'Corruption Perceptions Index 1995–2015', Berlin, available from: www.transparency.org [3 June 2016].

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) . 2012, *Country Review Report of the Philippines, Review by Bangladesh and Egypt of the Implementation by the Philippines of Articles 15–42 of Chapter III 'Criminalisation and Law Enforcement' and Articles 44–50 of Chapter IV 'International Cooperation', of the UNCAC for the review cycle 2011–2012*, Vienna, available from www.ombudsman.gov.ph/docs/uncac/Philippines%20Country%20Report.pdf [8 August 2015].

UNODC . 2015, 'UNCAC Signature and Ratification Status as of 1 December 2015', Vienna, available from: www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/signatories.html [3 June 2016].

Ursal, S.B. 2006, *Anti-Graft Guidebook*, Good Governance Books, Quezon City.

World Bank . 2009, *Doing Business 2010*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2010, *Doing Business 2011*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2012, *Doing Business 2012*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2013a, *Doing Business 2013*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2013b, *Doing Business 2014*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2014, *Doing Business 2015*, Washington, DC.

World Bank . 2015, 'Worldwide Governance Indicators, 1996–2014', Washington, DC, available from: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports> [3 June 2016].

World Bank . 2016, *Doing Business 2016*, Washington, DC.

The civil service

Abueva, J.V. 1965, 'Social background and recruitment of legislators and administrators in the Philippines', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 9, pp. 10–29.

Abueva, J.V. 1970, 'Administrative culture and behavior and middle civil servants in the Philippines', in E.W. Weidner (ed.), *Development Administration in Asia*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Alfiler, M.C.P. 1979, 'Administrative measures against bureaucratic corruption: The Philippine experience', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 23, pp. 321–349.

- Alfiler, M.C.P. 1985, 'Corruption control measures in the Philippines', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 29, pp. 180–220.
- Anderson, B. 1988, 'Cacique democracy in the Philippines: Origins and dreams', *New Left Review*, vol. 169.
- Arce, W.T. and Poblador, N.S. 1981, 'Formal organizations in the Philippines: Motivation, behavior, structure and change', in N. Pilar and R. Rodriguez (eds), *Readings in Human Behavior in Organizations*. JMC Press Inc., Quezon City.
- Blau, P. 1973, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies*, revised edition. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- Brillantes, A.B. 2009, 'Philippines', in P. Kim (ed.), *Public Administration and Public Governance in ASEAN Member Countries and Korea*, pp. 183–224. Daeyoung Moonhwasa Publishing Company, Seoul.
- Brillantes, A.B. and Mangahas, J.V. 2006, 'Philippines: Restructuring, reorganization and implementation', in Ho Khai Leong (ed.), *Rethinking Administrative Reforms in Southeast Asia*. Marshall Cavendish Academic, Singapore.
- Brillantes, A.B. and Pancho, A. 1988, 'The bureaucracy', in R.P. de Guzman and M.A. Reforma (eds), *Government and Politics of the Philippines*, pp. 180–206. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Briones, L. 2013, 'From Pinoy to P'Noy: Specific solutions to corruption', in *Pinoy Solutions to Corruption USAID Report 2013*, pp. 135–137.
- Cariño, L.V. 1975, 'Bureaucratic norms, corruption and development', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 19, pp. 278–292.
- Cariño, L.V. 1985, 'The politicization of the Philippine bureaucracy: Corruption or commitment?', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol. 51, pp. 13–18.
- Cariño, L.V. 1990, 'Philippine public administration: A westernized system in an authoritarian Asian setting', in V. Subramaniam (ed.), *Public Administration in the Third World: An International Handbook*. Greenwood, New York.
- Cariño, L.V. 1992, *Bureaucracy for Democracy*. Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Manila.
- Cariño, L.V. 1994, 'Enhancing accountability in the Philippines: The continuing quest', in J. Burns (ed.), *Asian Civil Service Systems: Improving Efficiency and Productivity*. Times University Press, Singapore.
- Corpuz, O.D. 1957, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines*. Institute of Public Administration, Manila.
- Dans, A.M. 1977, 'The Philippine civil service: Structure and policies', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 21, pp. 283–302.
- De Guzman, R.P. 2003, 'Is there a Philippine public administration?', in V.A. Bautista, M.C.P. Afiler, D.R. Reyes and P.D. Tapales (eds), *Introduction to Public Administration in the Philippines*, pp. 3–11. NCPAG, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.
- Downs, A. 1967, *Inside Bureaucracy*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.
- Dunleavy, P. 1991, *Democracy, Bureaucracy and Public Choice: Economic Explanations in Political Science*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.
- Endriga, J.N. 2001, 'The national civil service system in the Philippines', in J. Burns and B. Bowornwathana (eds), *Civil Service System in Asia*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Northampton, MA.
- Fabella, R. and Faustino, J. et al. 2011, *Built on Dreams, Grounded in Reality: Economic Policy Reform in the Philippines*, The Asia Foundation, Manila.
- Fiorina, M. and Noll, R. 1978, 'Voters, bureaucrats and legislators: A rational choice perspective on the growth of bureaucracy', *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 9, pp. 239–254.
- Golden, M. 2003, 'Electoral connections: The effects of the personal vote on political patronage, bureaucracy and legislation in postwar Italy', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 33, pp. 189–212.
- Haque, M.S. 2007, 'Theory and practice of public administration in Southeast Asia: Traditions, directions and impacts', *International Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 30, pp. 1297–1327.
- Hayden, R. 1933, 'Higher officials in the Philippine civil service', *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 27, pp. 204–221.
- Heady, F. 1957, 'The Philippine administrative system: A fusion of East and West', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 1, pp. 27–45.
- Hollnsteiner, M. 1963, *The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine Municipality*. Community Development Research Center, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.
- Hutchcroft, P. 1991, 'Oligarchies and cronies in the Philippine state: The politics of patrimonial plunder', *World Politics*, vol. 43, pp. 216–243.
- Hutchcroft, P. 1998, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Hutchcroft, P. 2001, 'Centralisation and decentralisation in administration and politics: Assessing territorial dimensions of authority and power', *Governance*, vol. 14, pp. 23–53.
- Hutchcroft, P. and Rocamora, J. 2003, 'Strong demands and weak institutions', *Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 259–284.

- Jones, D. 2013, 'Procurement reform in the Philippines: The impact of elite capture and informal bureaucracy', *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, vol. 26, pp. 375–400.
- Kerkvliet, B.J. 1995, 'Toward a more comprehensive analysis of Philippine politics: Beyond the patron-client, factional framework', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 26, pp. 401–419.
- Landé, C. 1965, *Leaders, Factions and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics*. Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Landé, C. 1973, 'Networks and groups in Southeast Asia: Some observations on the group theory of politics', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 67, pp. 103–127.
- Landé, C. 1996, *Post-Marcos Politics: A Geographical and Statistical Analysis of the 1992 Presidential Election*. St Martin's Press, New York.
- Landé, C. 2001, 'The return of "People Power" in the Philippines', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 12, pp. 88–102.
- Landé, C. 2002, 'Political clientelism, developmentalism and post-colonial theory', *Philippine Political Science Journal*, vol. 23, pp. 119–128.
- McCoy, A.W. (ed.) 1993, *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI.
- Miranda, F. 2011, 'Conceptualizing and measuring democracy', In F. Miranda , T. Rivera , M. Ronas and R. Holmes (eds), *Chasing the Wind: Assessing Philippine Democracy*. Commission on Human Rights/UNDP, Quezon City.
- Peters, B.G. 1995, 'Bureaucracy in a divided regime: The United States', in J. Pierre (ed.), *Bureaucracy in the Modern State*, pp. 18–38. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.
- Pinches, M. 1997, 'Elite democracy, development and People Power: Contending ideologies and changing practices in Philippines politics', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 21, pp. 104–120.
- Putzel, J. 1999, 'Survival of an imperfect democracy in the Philippines', *Democratization*, vol. 6, pp. 198–223.
- Quimpo, N. 2009, 'The Philippines: Predatory regime, growing authoritarian features', *The Pacific Review*, vol. 22, pp. 335–353.
- Rebullida, M.L. and Serrano, C. 2006, *Philippine Politics and Governance*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Manila.
- Reyes, D.R. 1990, *Bureaucracy in Action: Case Studies in Executive Leadership in Philippine Government*. College of Public Administration, Quezon City.
- Reyes, D.R. 1994, 'Reinventing government and bureaucracy in the Philippines: Old themes and new image', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 38, pp. 77–87.
- Reyes, D.R. 1999, 'Public administration in the Philippines: History, heritage and hubris', in V.A. Miralao (ed.), *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation*, vol. 1, pp. 243–260. The Philippine Social Science Council, Quezon City.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. , Desierto, D. and Volosin, N. 2011, 'Hyper-presidentialism: Separation of powers without checks and balances in Argentina and the Philippines', *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 29, pp. 246–333.
- Schurman Commission . 1900. *Report of the Philippine Commission*, I. Washington, DC.
- Sidel, J.T. 1999, *Capital, Coercion and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Sta. Ana, F. III 1996, 'Re-engineering the bureaucracy, Philippine-style', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 40, pp. 217–230.
- Sto. Tomas, P.A. 1995, 'Client satisfaction as a performance measure in the Philippine civil service', *Asian Review of Public Administration*, vol. 7, pp. 597–608.
- Taft Commission . 1901, *Report of the Philippine Commission*, II. Washington, DC.
- Thompson, M.R. 1995, *The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Tillah, M. 2005, *Globalization, Redemocratization and the Philippine Bureaucracy*. Discussion paper Series No. 2005–9, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Manila.
- Varela, A.P. 1992, 'Personnel management reform in the Philippines: The strategy of professionalisation', *Governance*, vol. 5, pp. 402–422.
- Veneracion, J.B. 1988, *Merit or Patronage? A History of the Philippine Civil Service*. Great Books Trading, Quezon City.
- Weber, M. 1997, 'Bureaucracy', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds and trans), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, pp. 196–244. Routledge, London.

House of clans

- Albert, J.R.G. , Cruz, J.F. , Mendoza, R. , and Yap, D.B. (2015). Regulating political dynasties toward a more inclusive society. Philippine Institute for Development Studies. Online. Available HTTP: <https://dirp3.pids.gov.ph/webportal/CDN/PUBLICATIONS/pidspn1514.pdf> (accessed December 4, 2016).
- "Aquino environment adviser guilty of misusing pork barrel." (2016). Rappler. Online. Available HTTP: www.rappler.com/nation/127284-nereus-acosta-guilty-pdaf-graft (accessed December 3, 2016).
- Araneta, S. and Cruz, M. (2016). "No more probes": PNoy's House allies reject SAF 44 quiz resumption. The Standard. Online. Available HTTP: <http://thestandard.com.ph/news/headlines/196175/-no-more-probes-.html> (accessed December 4, 2016).
- Arcanghel, X. (2015). LP exec says Pope Francis gave PNoy's "Daang Matuwid" a thumbs-up. GMA News Online. Online. Available HTTP: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/414211/news/nation/lp-exec-says-pope-francis-gave-pnoy-s-daang-matuwid-a-thumbs-up#sthash.2XbvMQbi.dpuf (accessed December 4, 2016).
- Asako, Y. , Iida, T. , Matsubayashi, T. , and Ueda, M. (2011). Dynastic politicians: Theory and evidence from Japan. Online. Available HTTP: www.yasushiasako.com/dynasty.pdf (accessed September 11, 2011).
- Cayabyab, M.J. (2016). Albay Rep. Lagman sued for plunder. Philippine Daily Inquirer. Online. Available HTTP: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/789564/albay-rep-lagman-sued-for-plunder> (accessed December 4, 2016).
- Chhibber, P. (2011). Dynastic parties: Organization, finance and impact. *Party Politics*, 19(2), 277–295.
- Collins, K. (2004). The logic of clan politics: Evidence from Central Asian trajectories. *World Politics*, 56, 224–261.
- Coronel, Sheila S. , Chua, Yvonne T. , Rimban, L. , and Cruz, Booma B. (2004). *The Rulemakers: How the Wealthy and Well-Born Dominate*. Congress, Quezon City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Cruz, C. , Labonne, J. , and Querubin, P. (2015). Politician family networks and electoral outcomes: Evidence from the Philippines. Online. Available HTTP: http://cpd.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Family_Networks_web.pdf (accessed December 5, 2016).
- Dal Bó, E. , Dal Bó, P. , and Snyder, J. (2009). Political dynasties. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 76(1), 115–142.
- David, C.C. and San Pascual, M.R.S. (2016). Predicting vote choice for celebrity and political dynasty candidates in Philippine national elections. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 37(2), 82–93.
- Davidson, M.W. , Hicken, A. , and Ravanilla, N. (2014). Familial networks as a source of electoral advantage: Evidence from the Philippines. Online. Available HTTP: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2486123 (accessed December 6, 2016).
- De Dios, E.S. (2007). Local politics and local economy. In H. Hill and A.C. Balisacan (Eds.), *The dynamics of regional development: The Philippines in Southeast Asia*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- De Dios, E.S. (2012). Political dynasties: Cause or consequence? *Businessworld.com*. Online. Available HTTP: www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Opinion&title=political-dynasties-cause-or-consequence&id=59629 (accessed December 5, 2016).
- Fegan, B. (1994). Entrepreneurs in votes and violence: Three generations of a peasant political family. In A. McCoy (Ed.), *An anarchy of families: State and family in the Philippines* (pp. 33–107). Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Gutierrez, E.U. , Torrente, I.C. , and Narca, N.G. (1992). *All in the family: A study of elites and power relations in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Institute for Popular Democracy.
- Hagopian, M. (1984). *Regime, movements and ideologies: A comparative introduction to political science* (2nd ed.). New York: Longman.
- Machado, K.G. (1974). Changing patterns of leadership recruitment and the emergence of the professional politician in Philippine local politics. In B. Kerkvliet (Ed.), *Political change in the Philippines* (Studies of local politics preceding martial law) (pp. 77–129). Hawaii: Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii.
- Mackie, J. and Villegas, B. (1993). The Philippines: An unusual case. In J.W. Morley (Ed.), *Driven by growth: Political change in the Asia-Pacific Region* (pp. 97–118). New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Magno, A.R. (1994). Filipino politics in the electronic age. *Kasarinlan*, 10(1), 31–40.
- Magno, F.A. (1986). Traditional and new politics in the Philippines. *Praxis*, 1(1–2), 1–11.
- Marcelo, E. (2016). Ombudsman urged to probe Lagman, daughter for possible plunder. GMA News Online. Online. Available HTTP: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/569071/news/nation/ombudsman-urged-to-probe-lagman-daughter-for-possible-plunder#sthash.4hf6Hlm9.dpuf (accessed December 4, 2016).
- McCoy, A. (1994). An anarchy of families: The historiography of state and family in the Philippines. In A. McCoy (Ed.), *An anarchy of families: State and family in the Philippines* (pp. 1–32). Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Mendoza, R. , Beja, E. , Venida, V. , and Yap, D. (2012). Inequality in democracy: Insights from an empirical analysis of political dynasties in the 15th Philippine Congress. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 33(2), 132–145.

Mendoza, R.U. , Beja Jr., E.L. , Venida, V.S. , and Yap, D.B. (2016). Political dynasties and poverty: Measurement and evidence of linkages in the Philippines. *Oxford Development Studies*, 44(2), 189–201.

Panao, R.A.L. (2016). Tried and tested? Dynastic persistence and legislative productivity in the Philippine House of Representatives. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 8(3), 394–417.

Pedrasa, I. (2010). SC asked: Stop Truth Commission. ABS-CBN News. Online. Available HTTP: <http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/08/12/10/sc-asked-stop-truth-commission> (accessed December 5, 2016).

Querubin, P. (2013). Family and politics: Dynastic incumbency advantage in the Philippines. Online. Available HTTP: <https://sites.google.com/site/pabloquerubin/research> (accessed December 6, 2016).

Rivera, T.C. (1994). Landlords and capitalists: Class, family, and state in Philippine manufacturing. Quezon City: Center for Integrative Development Studies/University of the Philippines.

Rivera, T.C. (2011). In search of credible elections and parties: The Philippine paradox. In F. Miranda , T. Rivera , M. Ronas , and R. Holmes (Eds.), *Chasing the wind: Assessing Philippine democracy* (pp. 46–89). Quezon City: Commission on Human Rights/UNDP.

Solon, J.O.C. , Fabella, R.V. , and Capuno, J.J. (2009). Is local development good politics? Local development expenditures and the re-election of governors, in the Philippines in the 1990s. *Asia Journal of Political Science*, 17(3), 265–284.

Tadem, T.S.E. and Tadem, E.C. (2016). Political dynasties in the Philippines: Persistent patterns, perennial problems. *South East Asia Research*, 24(3), 328–340.

Teehankee, J.C. (2001). Emerging dynasties in the post-Marcos House of Representatives. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 22, 55–78.

Teehankee, J.C. (2007). And the clans play on. Online. Available HTTP: <http://pcij.org/stories/and-the-clans-play-on/> (accessed September 20, 2011).

Tiongson-Mayrina, K. and Villarta, A. (2010). Members of same clans running against each other. GMA News Online. Online. Available HTTP: www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/189799/members-of-same-clans-running-against-each-other/story/ (accessed December 4, 2016).

Wadi, J. (2008). Moro political dynasty. In B.M. Tuazon (Ed.), *Moro reader: History and contemporary struggles of the Bangsamoro people* (pp. 148–158). Quezon City: Policy Study Publication and Advocacy, Center for People Empowerment in Governance in partnership with Light a Candle Movement for Social Change.

Wurfel, D. (1983–1984). Trends in national political elite composition – Causes and consequence: The Philippines since the 1960s. *Annuario/Annales*, 12(1–2), 39–67.

Pork transmogrified

Ansolahehere, S. and J. M. Snyder . 2006. "Party Control of State Government and the Distribution of Public Expenditures." [In English]. *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 108.4: 547–569.

Bickers, K. N. 1991. "The Programmatic Expansion of the U.S. Government." *The Western Political Quarterly* 44.4: 891–914.

Bueno de Mesquita, B. , A. Smith , R. Siverson and D. Morrow . 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Calvo, E. and M. V. Murillo . 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market." *American Journal of Political Science* 48.4: 742–757.

Carey, J. , and M. Shugart . 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote." *Electoral Studies* 14.4: 417–439.

Carino, Ledivina V. 1966. "The Politics and Administration of the Pork Barrel." *Local Government Studies* 3. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Local Government Center.

Costa-i-Font, J. , E. Rodriguez-Oreggia and D. Lunapla . 2003. "Political Competition and Pork-Barrel Politics in the Allocation of Public Investment in Mexico." [In English]. *Public Choice* 116.1–2: 185–204.

Cullinane, M. 1975. "Implementing the 'New Order': The Structure and Supervision of Local Government during the Taft Era," in N. Owen (editor), *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines under American Rule*. 9–34. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House.

Curto-Grau, M. , A. Herranz-Loncan and A. Sole-Olle . 2012. "Pork-Barrel Politics in Semi-Democracies: The Spanish 'Parliamentary Roads,' 1880–1914." [In English]. *Journal of Economic History* 72.3: 771–796.

Denemark, D. 2000. "Partisan Pork Barrel in Parliamentary Systems: Australian Constituency-Level Grants." [In English]. *Journal of Politics* 62.3: 896–915.

Diaz-Cayeros, A. , B. Magaloni and F. Estevez . 2012. "Strategies of Vote Buying: Democracy, Clientelism and Poverty Relief in Mexico." Web accessed:

<http://web.stanford.edu/~magaloni/dox/2012strategiesvotebuying.pdf>.

Dixit, Avinash , and John Londregan . 1996. "The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics." *The Journal of Politics* 58.4: 1132–1155.

Esplanada, Jerry. 1996. "Ex-COA Chair Says Solons Wasted P 20 B." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 22.

Evans, Diana. 2004. *Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Golden, Miriam , and Brian Min . 2013. "Distributive Politics around the World." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 73–99.

Hutchcroft, Paul D. 2014. "Linking Capital and Countryside: Patronage and Clientelism in Japan, Thailand and the Philippines," in Diego Abente Brun and Larry Diamond (editors), *Clientelism, Social Policy and Quality of Democracy*. 174–203. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kwon H. Y. 2005. "Targeting Public Spending in a New Democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 35.2: 321–341.

Luo, R. F. , L. X. Zhang , J. K. Huang and S. Rozelle . 2010. "Village Elections, Public Goods Investments and Pork Barrel Politics, Chinese-Style." [In English]. *Journal of Development Studies* 46.4: 662–684.

Manila Bulletin "Cut public works bill, pork barrel," May 17, 1949.

Manila Bulletin "Senators urge five years' suspension of pork barrel," March 25, 1950.

Manila Bulletin "P 12.5 million pork barrel agreed on," April 28, 1951a.

Manila Bulletin "P 4,912,000 pork barrel released," October 23, 1951b.

Manila Bulletin "Emergency powers used: President sets aside P 49 million for public works," November 12, 1952.

Manila Bulletin "Puyat bill will end pork barrel," 1953.

Manila Bulletin "Legislators rap pork barrel bill," May 13, 1955a.

Manila Bulletin "Solons seek loan for pork barrel," January 22, 1955b.

Manila Bulletin "Congressman pass record works bill," May 17, 1961a.

Manila Bulletin "Senate butchers public works measure," May 17, 1961b.

Manila Bulletin "F.M. filing bill on barrio fund to replace pork barrel," March 11, 1966a.

Manila Bulletin "Pork laden works bill is approved," May 19, 1966b.

Matsubayashi, Tetsura , and Jun Deh Wu . 2012. "Distributive Politics and Voter Turnout." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 22.2: 167–185.

Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

McCarty, Nolan M. 2000. "Presidential Pork: Executive Veto Power and Distributive Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 94.1: 117–129.

Shepsle, K. A. , and B. R. Weingast . 1981. "Political Preferences for the Pork Barrel: A Generalization." *American Journal of Political Science* 25.1: 96–111.

Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1999. "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less Developed Countries." *Constitutional Political Economy* 10.1: 53–88.

Stokes, Susan , Thad Dunning , Marcelo Nazareno and Valeria Bursco . 2012. *Brokers, Voters and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Supreme Court of the Philippines 1953. G.R. No. L-6266 , February 2, 1953. Accessed at www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1953/feb1953/gr_l-6266_1953.html.

Supreme Court of the Philippines 2013. G.R. No. 208566/G.R. No. 208493/G.R. No. 209251. Accessed at <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/pdf/web/viewer.html?file=/jurisprudence/2013/november2013/208566.pdf>.

Tavits, Margit. 2009. "Geographically Targeted Spending: Exploring the Electoral Strategies of Incumbent Governments." *European Political Science Review* 1.1: 103–123.

Congress

Agpalo, Remigio E. 1975a. "Legitimacy and the Political Elite in the Philippines." *Philippine Political Science Journal* 2, no. 2, pp. 1–16.

Agpalo, Remigio E. 1975b. "The Roles of Legislators in the Philippine Political System." *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 3, no. 4, pp. 44–64.

Ansing, Renan Lapinig. 2013. "Siquijor Widow of Pernes Proclaimed Winner for Congress Seat." *Philippine Star*, May 16, available at: www.philstar.com/region/2013/05/16/942657/siquijor-widow-pernes-proclaimed-winner-congress-seat [accessed October 11, 2017].

Arugay, Aries A. 2016. "Duterte's Plan to Revive Philippine Democracy." *New Mandala*, October 28, available at: www.newmandala.org/dutertes-plan-revive-philippine-democracy/ [accessed October 11, 2017].

Bautista, Cynthia. 2006. "Democratic Consolidation and the Challenge of Poverty in the Philippines." In Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao , ed. *Asian New Democracies: The Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan Compared*. Taiwan: Taiwan Foundation for Democracy.

Bernas, Joaquin. 1999. "The Fear of Martial Law." In J. G. Bernas , ed. *A Living Constitution: The Ramos Presidency*, 34–36. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc.

Caoili, Olivia. 1991–1992. "The Philippine Congress: Executive-Legislative Relations and the Restoration of Democracy." *Philippine Political Science Journal*, nos. 33–36 (June 1991–December 1992).

Case, W. (ed.) 2015. *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*. London: Routledge.

Coronel, Sheila, Yvonne T. Chua , Luz Rimban , and Booma B. Cruz . 2004. *The Rulemakers: How the Wealthy and Well-Born Dominate Congress*. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.

Coronel-Ferrer, Miriam. 2004. "Elections and the Zigzag Path to Democratic Consolidation in the Philippines." Paper read during the Philippine Political Science Association Conference, October 22–23. Manila.

Corrales, Nestor. 2016. "Duterte's Wish: Martial Law Sans Congress, SC Nod." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 22, available at: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/855823/duterte-martial-law-should-bedeclaredsans-congress-sc-nod#ixzz4TfGr18fe> [accessed October 11, 2017].

De Venecia Jr., Jose. 1993. "The Stalemate of Democracy and the Two-Stage Parliamentary Process." Keynote speech in the Second National Conference on Parliamentary Government. Westin Philippine Plaza, December 13–14.

Doronila, Amando. 1998. "A Blueprint of the President's Agenda." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, September 9.

Franco, J. C. 2001. *Elections and Democratization in the Philippines*. London: Routledge.

Guidaben, Agatha. 2007. "Senators of 13th Congress: Far Too Many Hearings, Very Few Reports." *GMA News Online*, August 6, available at: www.gmanews.tv/story/54576/Senators-of-13th-Congress-Too-manyhearings-very-few-reports [accessed August 10, 2007].

Gutierrez, Eric , Ildefonso C. Torrente , and Noli G. Narca . 1992. *All in the Family: A Study of Elites and Power Relations in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Institute for Popular Democracy.

Kasuya, Y. 2005. "Patronage of the Past and Future: Legislators' Decision to Impeach President Estrada of the Philippines." *The Pacific Review* 18, no. 4, pp. 521–540.

Mendoza, R. U. , Edsel L. Beja Jr. , Victor S. Venida , and David B. Yap . 2012. "Inequality in Democracy: Insights from an Empirical Analysis of Political Dynasties in the 15th Philippine Congress." *Philippine Political Science Journal* 33, no. 2, pp. 132–145.

Nocum, A. , and C. Avendano . 2006. "High Court Strikes Down Major Parts of EO 464, Court Votes 14-0." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 21, available at: http://news.inquirer.net/nation/index.php?index=1&story_id=73216 [accessed October 11, 2017].

Rappler . 2013. "LP Ousts Siquijor Political Dynasty." *Rappler*, May 14, available at: www.rappler.com/nation/politics/elections-2013/29199-lp-ousts-siquijor-political-dynasty [accessed October 11, 2017].

Reyes, Socorro. 1991–1992. "The Role of Women Legislators in the Democratization Process: A Case Study of the Philippines." *Philippine Political Science Journal*, nos. 33–36 (June 1991–December 1992).

Rivera, Temario. 2006. "The Crisis of Philippine Democracy." In Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao , ed. *Asian New Democracies: The Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan Compared*. Taiwan: Taiwan Foundation for Democracy.

Stauffer, Robert. 1970. "Congress in the Philippine Political System." In A. Kornberg and L. D. Musolf , eds. *Legislatures in Development Perspective*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Velasco, Renato. 1997. "Does the Philippine Congress Promote Democracy?" In Felipe Miranda , ed. *Democratization: Philippine Perspectives*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

The presidency

Agpalo, R.E. 1996, "The Philippine executive," in R.E. Agpalo (ed.), *Adventures in political science*, pp. 1–18. University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City, Philippines.

Anderson, B. 1988, "Cacique democracy in the Philippines: Origins and dreams," *New Left Review* vol. 169, no. 3, pp. 3–31.

Aquino, B. 1999, *The politics of plunder: The Philippines under Marcos*, The University of the Philippines, Diliman.

Asia Sentinel . 2013, "Noynoying," slowly, on Philippine infrastructure. Available from: www.asiasentinel.com/econ-business/noynoying-slowly-on-philippine-infrastructure/. [March 17, 2013].

Bacungan, F.M. (ed.) 1983, *The powers of the Philippine president*, University of the Philippines Law Center, Diliman, Quezon City.

- Blondel, J. 2015, *The presidential republic*, Palgrave, London.
- Bolongaita Jr., E.P. 1995, "Presidential versus parliamentary democracy," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 105–123.
- Chua, Y.T. and Orlarte, A. 2006, "10 reasons to doubt the 2004 election results," *Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ)*, blog post. Available from: <http://pcij.org/blog/2006/04/05/10-reasons-to-doubt-the-2004-election-results>. [June 19, 2016].
- Cortes, I.R. 1966, "The Philippine presidency: A study of executive power," Ph.D. diss., College of Law, University of the Philippines.
- de Dios, E.S. 1999, "Executive-legislative relations in the Philippines: Continuity and change," in Barlow, C. (ed.), *Institutions and economic change in Southeast Asia: The context of development from the 1960s to the 1990s*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, pp. 132–149.
- de Dios, E.S. and Esfahani, H.S. 2001, "Centralization, political turnover, and investment in the Philippines," in Campos, J.E. (ed.), *Corruption: The boom and bust of East Asia*, University of Hawai'i Press, Manila, pp. 101–130.
- Dressel, B. 2011, "The Philippines: How much real democracy?" *International Political Science Review*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 529–545.
- Elliott, J. 2005, *Using narrative in social research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Evers, H. 1973, "Group conflict and class formation in South-East Asia," in Evers, H. (ed.), *Modernization in South-East Asia*, Oxford University Press, Singapore and New York, pp. 108–131.
- Evers, H. , Schiel, T. , and Korff, R. 1988, *Strategische Gruppen: Vergleichende Studien zu Staat, Bürokratie und Klassenbildung in der Dritten Welt*, D. Reimer, Berlin.
- Hicken, A. 2009, *Building party systems in developing democracies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK and New York.
- Hinchman, S. and Hinchman, L.P. (eds.) 1997, *Memory, identity, community: The idea of narrative in the human sciences*, State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Hutchcroft, P.D. 1998, *Booty capitalism: The politics of banking in the Philippines*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Hutchcroft, P.D. 2011, "Reflections on a reverse image: South Korea under Park Chung Hee and the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos," in B. Kim and E.F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee era: The transformation of South Korea*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA and London, pp. 542–572.
- Kasuya, Y. 2005, "Patronage of the past and future: Legislators' decision to impeach President Estrada of the Philippines," *The Pacific Review*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 521–540.
- Kasuya, Y. 2008, *Presidential bandwagon: Parties and party systems in the Philippines*, Keio University Press, Tokyo.
- Kawanaka, T. , 2013, "Trading compromises: Interaction of powers in the Philippine presidential system," in Y. Kasuya (ed.), *Presidents, assemblies and policy-making in Asia*, Palgrave, London, pp. 89–106.
- Kerkvliet, B.J. 1995, "Toward a more comprehensive analysis of Philippine politics: Beyond the patron-client, factional framework," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 401–419.
- Landé, C.H. 1965, *Leaders, factions, and parties: The structure of Philippine politics*, Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- Landé, C.H. 1996, *Post-Marcos politics: A geographical and statistical analysis of the 1992 presidential election*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
- Manacsa, R.C. and Tan, A.C. 2005, "Manufacturing parties: Re-examining the transient nature of Philippine political parties," *Party Politics*, vol. 11, no. 6, pp. 748–765.
- Mills, C.W. 1956, *The power elite*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Patterson, M. and Monroe, K.R. 1998, "Narrative in political science," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 315–331.
- Quimpo, N.G. 2005, "Oligarchic patrimonialism, bossism, electoral clientelism, and contested democracy in the Philippines," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 229–250.
- Rebullida, M.L.G. 2006a, "Executive power and presidential leadership: Philippine revolution to independence," in N.M. Morada and T.S.E. Tadem (eds.), *Philippine politics and governance: An introduction*, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, pp. 117–152.
- Rebullida, M.L.G. 2006b, "The Philippine executive and redemocratization," in N.M. Morada and T.S.E. Tadem (eds.), *Philippine politics and governance: An introduction*, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, pp. 179–216.
- Romani, J.H. 1956, *The Philippine presidency*, Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, Manila.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. and Desierto, D.A. 2011, "Hyper-presidentialism: Separation of powers without checks and balances in Argentina and Philippines," *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 246–333.

Skowronek, S. 1997, *The politics presidents make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Skowronek, S. 2008, *Presidential leadership in political time: Reprise and reappraisal*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KS.

Teehankee, J.C. 2002, "Electoral politics in the Philippines," in G. Bruns, A. Croissant, and M. John (eds.), *Electoral politics in Southeast and East Asia*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Singapore, pp. 149–202.

Teehankee, J.C. 2010, "Image, issues, and machinery: Presidential campaigns in post-1986 Philippines," in Y. Kasuya and N. Quimpo (eds.), *The politics of change in the Philippines*, Anvil Press, Manila.

Teehankee, J.C. 2011, "From Aquino to Aquino: Transitional challenges and presidential leadership in democratizing Philippines." Available from: www.icird.org/2011/files/Papers/ICIRD2011_Juliopercent20C.Percent20Teehankee.pdf. [January 2, 2013].

Teehankee, J.C. 2013, *The stories presidents tell: Campaign narratives of Barack Obama and Benigno Aquino III*, John Gokongwei Sr. Professorial Chair in Asian Studies Lecture, De la Salle University, Manila. [April 16].

Thompson, M.R. 1995, *The anti-Marcos struggle: Personalistic rule and democratic transition in the Philippines*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Thompson, M.R. 2010, "Reformism vs. populism in the Philippines," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 154–168.

Thompson, M.R. 2014, "The politics Philippine presidents make: Presidential style, patronage-based or regime relational?," *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, pp. 433–460 [September].

Velasco, R.S. and Saludo, R.L. 2010, *Beating the odds: The Philippines stands up to terror, drugs, dreadful disease, coup d'etat, economic storms and intractable conflict at the gates of the twenty-first century*, Future Templates Enterprises, Manila.

The judiciary under threat

Albert, J.R.G. 2013, "The Philippine Criminal Justice System: Do We Have Enough Judges to Act on Filed Cases?," The Philippine Statistics Authority. Available from: http://nap.psa.gov.ph/beyondthenumbers/2013/06132013_jrga_courts.asp. [October 12, 2017].

Asian Development Bank 2009, *Background Note on the Philippine Justice System*, ADB, Mandaluyong.

Bakker, J.W. 1997, *The Philippine Justice System: The Independence and Impartiality of the Judiciary and Human Rights from 1986 till 1997*, PIOOM, Leiden.

Balana, C.D. 2011, "House Body Tightens Noose on SC Justice, Impeachment Case vs. Del Castillo Deemed Valid," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 8. Available from: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/106805/house-body-tightens-noose-on-sc-justice>. [January 8, 2012].

Balana, C.D. and Cabacungan, G. 2011, "188 Solons Impeach Corona," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 13. Available from: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/109793/188-solons-impeach-cj-corona>. [October 12, 2017].

Bernas, J. 2003, *The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines: A Commentary*, Rex Bookstore, Manila.

Caparas, E.L. and Feliciano, F.P. 1987, "The Problem of Delay in the Philippine Court System," *Philippine Law Journal*, vol. 62, pp. 201–225.

Carpio, A.T. 2012, "Judicial Reform in the Philippines," speech before the Central Luzon Regional Convention of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, June 29. Available from: www.scribd.com/doc/98639760/Justice-Antonio-T-Carpio-Judicial-reform-in-the-Philippines [March 31, 2016].

Department of Budget and Management 2009, *General Appropriations Act FY 2009*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/?page_id=4499. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2010, *General Appropriations Act FY 2010*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/?page_id=4499. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2011, *General Appropriations Act FY 2011*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/?page_id=619 [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2012a, *General Appropriations Act FY 2012*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/GAA/GAA2012/JUD/JUD.pdf. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2012b, *Glossary of Terms*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/BESF/BESF2012/GLOSSARY.pdf. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2013, *General Appropriations Act FY 2013*, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-

content/uploads/GAA/GAA2013/JUDICIARY/JUDICIARY.pdf. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2014, General Appropriations Act FY 2014, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/GAA/GAA2014/JUDICIARY/JUDICIARY.pdf. [October 12, 2017]

Department of Budget and Management 2015, General Appropriations Act FY 2015 with UACS Code, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/GAA/GAA2015/GAA%202015%20Volume%201%20with%20UACS/JUDICIARY.pdf. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Budget and Management 2016, General Appropriations Act FY 2016 with UACS Code, Department of Budget and Management. Available from: www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/GAA/GAA2016/UACS/JUDICIARY.pdf. [October 12, 2017].

Department of Justice Executive No. 201 , 2016, Modifying the Salary Schedule for Civilian Government Personnel and Authorizing the Grant of Additional Benefits for Both Civilian and Military and Uniformed Personnel. Available from: [www.doj.gov.ph/files/2016/memorandum/MC%20007%20\(Salary%20Standardization%20Law%20SSL%202015\)%20February%2024,2016.pdf](http://www.doj.gov.ph/files/2016/memorandum/MC%20007%20(Salary%20Standardization%20Law%20SSL%202015)%20February%2024,2016.pdf). [October 17, 2017].

Diaz, J. 2015, "Judiciary Budget up by P5.6 B.," The Philippine Star, September 19. Available from <http://philstar.com>. [September 20, 2016].

Dizon, D. 2011, "Corona Impeachment 'Mother of all Blackmails' – Lagman," ABS-CBN News, December 12. Available from: <http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/12/12/11/corona-impeachment-mother-all-blackmails-lagman>. [October 12, 2017].

Doronila, A. 2011, "The President's Bullying of the Supreme Court," Philippine Daily Inquirer, December 11. Available from: <http://opinion.inquirer.net/18979/the-president%E2%80%99s-bullying-of-the-supreme-court>. [January 8, 2012].

Escresa, L. and Garoupa, N. 2013, "Testing the Logic of Strategic Defection: The Case of the Philippine Supreme Court – An Empirical Analysis (1986–2010)," Asian Journal of Political Science, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 189–212.

Haynie, S. 1998, "Paradise Lost: Politicization of the Philippine Supreme Court in the post-Marcos Era," Asian Studies Review, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 459–473.

Manila Bulletin 2016, "287 PHL Lower Courts to Benefit from eCourt System by End-2016," Manila Bulletin, August 28. Available from: www.mb.com.ph/287-phl-lower-courts-to-benefit-from-ecourt-system-by-end-2016/. [October 12, 2017].

Marquez, J.M. 2011, "Unyielding Allegiance to the Constitution," ABS-CBN News, December 11. Available from: <http://news.abs-cbn.com/insights/12/11/11/unyielding-allegiance-constitution>. [January 8, 2012].

Nonato, V.A. 2016, "Wanted: Court Decongestion Officers," BusinessWorld, January 13. Available from: www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Nation&title=wanted-court-decongestion-officers&id=120910. [March 17, 2016].

Pellegrina, L.D. , Escresa, L. , and Garoupa, N. 2014, "Measuring Judicial Ideal Points in New Democracies: The Case of the Philippines," Asian Journal of Law and Society, vol. 1, pp. 125–164.

Supreme Court 2013, Annual Report, Volume 1. Available from: <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/pio/annualreports/2013%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%20I.pdf>. [October 12, 2017].

Tate, N. 1994, "The Judicialization of Politics in the Philippines and Southeast Asia," International Political Science Review, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 187–197.

Tiglao, R. 2011, "Noynoy Out to Reclaim Luisita Through CJ's Impeachment," The Daily Tribune, December 16.

Torres, T. 2011, "De Lima Warns SC: Aquino to Reclaim Court for the People," Inquirer.net, December 15. Available from: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/111603/de-lima-warns-sc-aquino-to-reclaim-court-for-the-people>. [October 17, 2017].

World Bank 2013, Philippine – Judicial Reform Support Project (English), World Bank. Available from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2013/09/18417529/philippines-judicial-reform-support-project>. [October 17, 2017].

World Economic Forum 2015, Global Competitive Report 2015–2016 – Reports – Philippines – World Economic Forum. Available from: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-report-2015-2016/economies/#economy=PHL>. [October 17, 2017].

Philippine Jurisprudence: David vs. Arroyo, G. R. No. 171396, May 3, 2006.

Philippine Jurisprudence: Estrada vs. Desierto, G. R. No. 146710–15, March 2, 2001.

Philippine Jurisprudence: Gudani vs. Senga, G. R. No. 170165, August 15, 2006.

Philippine Jurisprudence: Laurel vs. Garcia, G. R. No. 92013, July 25, 1990.

Philippine Jurisprudence: Senate vs. Ermita, G. R. No. 169777, April 20, 2006.

Philippine Jurisprudence: Supreme Court En Banc Resolution, UDK-15143, January 14, 2015.

Civil-military relations

- Abinales, P. (2005). Life after the Coup: The Military and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Philippines. *Philippine Political Science Journal* 26, 1: 27–62.
- Aguja, M.J. (2008). Role of Parliament in Defence Budgeting in the Philippines. Presentation made during the Expert Workshop on the Role of Parliament in National Security Policy and Defence Budgeting in ASEAN Member States. May 22, 2008. Accessed at <http://ipf-ssg-sea.net/userfiles/Explanatory%20Background%20Note%20Philippines.pdf> [October 10, 2017].
- Arugay, A. (2009). Linking SSR and Peace Building: The Case of Bohol. In *Developing a Security Sector Reform Index in the Philippines: Towards Conflict Prevention and Peace Building*. Manila: Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP).
- Beeson, M. (2008). Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia and the Philippines: Will the Thai Coup Prove Contagious? *Armed Forces & Society* 34, 3: 474–490.
- Cacanindin, D. and A. Tingabngab . (2003). Establishing the Role, Functions and Importance of Program Managers and Program Management Teams in the AFP Modernisation Program Acquisition Process: A Comparative Analysis with the US DOD System. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.
- Casper, G. (1995). *Fragile Democracies: The Legacies of Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Chalk, P. (2014). *Rebuilding While Performing: Military Modernisation in the Philippines*. Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute.
- Chambers, P. (2012). A Precarious Path: The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in the Philippines. *Asian Security* 8, 2: 138–163.
- Croissant, A. , D. Kuehn and P. Lorenz . (2012). *Breaking with the Past? Civil-Military Relations in Emerging Democracies in East Asia*. Washington, DC: East West Centre.
- Crouch, H. (1997). Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia. In Larry Diamond , Marc Plattner , Yun-Han Chu and Hung-mao Tien , eds. *Consolidating Third World Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. Volume 1. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 207–235.
- De Castro, R. (1999). Adjusting to the Post-US Military Bases Era: The Ordeal of the Philippine Military's Modernisation Program. *Armed Forces & Society* 26, 1: 119–138.
- De Castro, R. (2010). The Twenty-first Century Armed Forces of the Philippines: Orphan of Counter-insurgency or Military Geared for the Long War of the Century? *Contemporary Politics* 16, 2: 153–171.
- Desch, M. (1996). Threat Environments and Military Missions. In L. Diamond and M. Plattner , eds. *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Dressel, B. (2011). The Philippines: How Much Real Democracy? *International Political Science Review* 32, 5: 529–545.
- Feaver, P. (2003). *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fitch, J. Samuel . (1998). *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gloria, Glenda . (2003). *We Were Soldiers: Military Men in Politics and the Bureaucracy*. Manila: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Philippines Office.
- Hall, R. (2004). Exploring New Roles of the Philippine Military: Implications to Civilian Supremacy. *Philippine Political Science Journal* 25, 48: 107–130.
- Hall, R. (2006). Politics in the Frontline: Local Civil-Military Engagements in Anti-Communist Insurgency Operation in Three Iloilo Communities. *Philippine Political Science Journal* 27, 50: 1–30.
- Hall, R. (2012). Modern Soldierly Interrogated: Cataloguing the Local Military's Task and Their Perception of Local Civilian Actors. *Philippine Political Science Journal* 33, 1: 1–21.
- Hall, R. (2016). Guardians Reinvented: The Philippine Army's Nontraditional Engagements in Panay Island, Philippines. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 37, 2: 1–24.
- Hall, R. and A. Cular . (2010). Civil-Military Relations in Disaster Rescue and Relief Operations: Response to the Mudslide in Southern Leyte, Philippines. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 38, 2: 62–88.
- Hall, R. and J.C. Espia . (2015). *The Response to Typhoon Haiyan. In Frameworks and Partnerships: Improving HA/DR in the Asia Pacific*. Seattle, WA: Peace Winds America.

Hall, R.A. and L. Advincula-Lopez . (2013). Philippines. In Giuseppe Caforio , ed. *Soldiers Without Frontiers: The View from the Ground. Experiences of Asymmetric Warfare*. Rome, Italy: Bonnano Editore.

Heiduk, F. (2011). From Guardians to Democrats? Attempts to Explain Change and Continuity in the Civil-Military Relations of Post-authoritarian Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. *The Pacific Review* 24, 2: 249–271.

Hernandez, C. (1979). *The Extent of Civilian Control of the Military in the Philippines 1946–1976*. PhD dissertation, State University of New York – Buffalo.

Hernandez, C. (1987). *The Philippine Military in the 21st Century*. In *A Filipino Agenda for the 21st Century* (papers, discussions and recommendations of the Solidarity Conference, February 7–8, 1987, Manila). Manila: Solidarity Publications House.

Hernandez, C. (2008). *Rebuilding Democratic Institutions: Civil-Military Relations in the Philippine Democratic Governance*. In Hsin Huang Michael Hsaio , ed. *Asian New Democracies: The Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan Compared*. Taipei: Taiwan Foundation for Democracy and Centre for Asia Pacific Area Studies RCHSS Academia Sinica.

Huntington, S.P. (1967). *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Janowitz, M. (1960). *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Kiba, S. and R.A. Hall . (2014). *Regional Cooperation on Civil-Military Coordination in Disaster Response – Crisis or Opportunity?* In Jennifer Santiago-Oreta , ed. *Modern Defense Force Book. Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and Ateneo de Manila University Working Group on Security Sector Reform*.

Lotte-Hedman, E. (2001). *The Philippines: Not So Military, Not So Civil*. In Mutthiah Alagappa , ed. *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Lotte-Hedman, E. and J. Sidel . (2000). *Philippine Politics and Society in the 20th Century: Colonial Legacies, Post Colonial Trajectories*. New York and London: Routledge.

Loveman, B. and T.M. Davies, Jr. (1989). *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*. 2nd edition. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Mangahas, M. (2011). *Petty, Big, Routine Graft: A Lucrative Trade at AFP*. Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism. February 23. Accessed at <http://pcij.org/stories/petty-big-routine-graft-a-lucrative-trade-at-afp/> [October 13, 2017].

McCoy, A. (1999). *Closer than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy*. Manila: Anvil Publishing.

Miranda, F. (1992). *The Politicization of the Military*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies.

Miranda, F. and R. Ciron . (1987). *Development and Military in the Philippines: Military Perception in a Time of Continuing Crisis*. Diliman, Quezon City: Social Weather Station.

Pion-Berlin, D. (2010). *Informal Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Why Politicians and Soldiers Choose Unofficial Venues*. *Armed Forces and Society* 36, 3: 526–544.

Russell, D.R. (2013). *Civil Military Operations (CMO) in the Philippines: Examining Battle Space Management in the Past and the Present*. PhD Dissertation. Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies. Waseda University.

Sales, P. (2009). *State Terror in the Philippines: The Allison Report, Human Rights and Counterterrorism under the Arroyo Administration*. *Contemporary Politics* 15, 3: 321–336.

Salvador, A. (2014). *Convergence and Handover*. *Business World*, April 28. www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Opinion&title=convergence-and-handover&id=86637 [October 13, 2017].

Schiff, R. (2009). *The Military and Domestic Politics: A Concordance Theory of Civil-Military Relations*. New York: Routledge Press.

Selochan, V. (1989). *The Armed Forces of the Philippines: Its Perceptions on Governing and Prospects for the Future*. Canberra: Monash University Center for Southeast Asian Studies.

Selochan, V. (2004). *The Military and Fragile Democracy in the Philippines*. In R.J. May and Vibrato Selochan , eds. *The Military and Democracy in Asia and the Pacific*. Canberra: Australia National University E-Press, pp. 59–69.

Stepan, A. (1986). *The New Professionalism in Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion*. In Abraham Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch , eds. *Armies and Politics in Latin America*. Revised Edition. New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 134–150.

Stepan, A. (1988). *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Welch, C. (1976). *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Wong, P.N. (2008). Towards a More Comprehensive Analysis of Warlord Politics: Constitutive Agency, Patron-Client Networks and Robust Action. *Asian Journal of Political Science* 16, 2: 173–195.

Yagil, L. (2012). A Revised Model of Civilian Control of the Military: The Interaction Between the Republican Exchange and the Control Exchange. *Armed Forces & Society* 38, 4: 529–558.

Foreign relations between the Philippines and the United States

Abinales, Patricio N. and Amoroso, Donna J. (2005) *State and Society in the Philippines* (Pasig: Anvil).

Abueva, Jose V. (1997) "Philippine Democratization and the Consolidation of Democracy since the 1986 Revolution: An Overview of the Main Issues, Trends and Prospects," in: Felipe B. Miranda (ed.), *Democratization: Philippine Perspectives* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press), 1–82.

Agoncillo, Theodoro A. (1990) *Philippine History* (Quezon City: Garotech Publishing).

Busse, Nikolas (1998) *Die Entstehung von kollektiven Identitäten. Das Beispiel der ASEAN-Staaten* (Baden-Baden: Nomos).

Cook, Malcom (2015) "The Philippines: The More Things Stay the Same," in: Daljit Sing (ed.), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2015* (Singapore: ISESA), 263–276.

Ferdinand, Peter (2012) *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma* (New York: Continuum), 129–140.

Hawes, Gary (1986) "United States Support for the Marcos Administration and the Pressures that Made for Change," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June), 18–36.

Hemmer, Christoph and Katzenstein, Peter (2002) "Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer), 575–607.

Larson, Donald F. and Borrell, Brent (2001) *Sugar Policy and Reform*, The World Bank, Development Research Group, Rural Development (Policy Research Working Paper 2602).

Morales, Natalia Maria Lourdes M. (2006) "Post-EDSA Philippine Foreign Relations, 1986–2001," in: Noel M. Morada and Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem (eds.), *Philippine Politics and Governance: An Introduction* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines), 517–535.

Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, August 30, 1951 (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/phil001.asp).

North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C., April 4, 1949 (www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm).

Pattugalan, Gina Rivas (1999) "A Review of Philippine Foreign Policy under the Ramos Administration," *Kasarinlan*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 131–146.

Ricklefs, M.C. (ed.) (2010) *A New History of Southeast Asia* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Ronas, Malaya C. (2006a) "Philippine Foreign Relations, 1946–1972," in: Noel M. Morada and Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem (eds.), *Philippine Politics and Governance: An Introduction* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines), 487–500.

Ronas, Malaya C. (2006b) "Philippine Foreign Relations, 1972–1986," in: Noel M. Morada and Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem (eds.), *Philippine Politics and Governance: An Introduction* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines), 501–516.

USA, Department of State (1998) *Agreement between the United States of America and the Philippines. Visiting Forces Agreement*, signed at Manila, October 9, 1998 (www.state.gov/documents/organization/107852.pdf).

Wall Street Journal (2016). "U.S. Set to Deploy Troops to Philippines in Rebalancing Act," *Wall Street Journal*, March 20.

Wurfel, David (1990) "Philippine Foreign Policy," in: David Wurfel and Bruce Burton (eds.), *The Political Economy of Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia* (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 146–176.

From antagonistic to close neighbors?

Al Jazeera . 2004. Philippine Withdrawal Angers U.S. Al Jazeera, p. 1. Available at: <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/554FAF3a-B267-A27A-B9EC-54881BDE0A2E0A2.htm/printguid>.

Ba, Alice D. 2003. China and ASEAN: Reinvigorating Relations for a 21st-Century Asia. *Asian Survey*, 43(4), p. 633.

Baginda, Abdul Razak. A. 1991. PRC-ASEAN Relations: Strategic and Security Implications. In T. C. Carino (Ed.), *China ASEAN Relations: Political, Economic and Ethnic Dimensions*. Manila: China Studies Program, p. 89.

Baviera, A. 2000. Turning Predicament into Promise: A Prospective on Philippines-China Relations. In A. S. Baviera (Ed.), *Comprehensive Engagement: Strategic Issues in Philippines-China Relations*. Quezon City: Philippine-China Development Resource Center, p. 23.

BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific . 2005a. Chinese President Predicts China-Philippine Trade Increase. BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific (April 28), p. 1. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=49&did=828416651&SrchMode=1&Fmt=3>.

BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific . 2005b. Chinese Premier Meets Philippine, Cambodia PM. BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific (December 11), p. 1. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=10&did=939921311&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3>.

BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific . 2011. China Wants Philippines to Seek Permission before Spratlys Oil Search. BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific (June 10). Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=281&did=2370661661&Sr>.

BBC Monitoring Asia-Pacific . 2015. China Not to Accept Third Party Decision over Sea Dispute with Philippines. BBC Monitoring Asia-Pacific (July 14), p. 5. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1695962448?accountid=28547>.

BBC Monitoring Newsfile . 2015. Philippines Scores against China in South China Sea Arbitration Case – Paper. BBC Worldwide Limited (October 30), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1728148041?accountid=28547>.

Callar, Michaela. 2015. China's Historical Claim over South China Sea Invalid under UNCLOS. The Philippines News Agency (July 8), pp. 1–2. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1694690512?accountid=28547>.

Cheng, Joseph. Y. S. 2001. Sino-ASEAN Relations in the Early Twenty-First Century. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 23(3), p. 424.

Ching, Frank. 2015. Seeking a South China Sea Solution. *News Straits Times* (July 30), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/169973814?accountid=28547>.

Chong, William. 2012. Path to Scarborough Far From Fair: South China Sea Rivals No Match for China's Economic, Military Clout. *The Strait Times* (April 21), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1008636649/fulltext/1368A3A>.

De Jesus, Edilberto. C. 2011. The Philippines in 2010: Reclaiming Hope. In D. Singh (Ed.), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2011*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 223. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=96&did=2307204961&Src>.

Department of Foreign Affairs . 2013. Notification and Statement of Claim to the United Nations Convention of Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) Arbitral Tribunal (January 22). Manila: Department of Foreign Affairs, pp. 12–14.

Esguerra, Christian. V. 2011. Philippines Gets Japan Support on Spratly Dispute. *Tribune Business News* (September 28), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/894306416/13A34DA4D4DFF70>.

Fed News Service . 2007. VOA News: Chinese Premier Ends Philippine Visit, After Signing Billions of Dollars in Projects. *U.S. Fed News Service* (January 16), p. 1. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=34&did=1195558101&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt>.

Franco, Joseph. Raymond. S. 2007. Military Assistance: Bane or Boon. In *Digest: A Forum for Security and Defense* (2nd and 3rd Quarter 2007), p. 12.

Garamone, Jim. 2014. US-Philippine Pact Expands Defense Cooperation. *Targeted News Service* (April 28), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1519453450/17CC0F621D4441CBPQ/55?accountid>.

Hookway, James. 2012. Philippine, China Ships Square Off. *The Wall Street Journal Asia* (April 12), p. 2. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1008636649/fulltext/1368A3A>.

Hookway, James and Koh, Yoree. 2011. Japan, Philippines Seek Tighter Ties to Counter China. *Wall Street Journal* (September 27), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/894125705/13A349E13622FC>.

Jane's Country Risk Daily Report . 2011. Japan and Philippines Strengthen Maritime Security Ties. No. 3 (Jane's Country Risk Daily Report 18(195) (September 9), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.prospect.com/docview/894795349/13A384763AF488>.

McIndoe, Alastair. 2011. Manila Ups the Ante in Spratly Tussle. *Tribune Business News*, 14, 2. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=156&did=2373539321&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt>.

National Security Council . 2011. *National Security Policy 2011–2016*. Quezon City: National Security Council, p. 39.

Office of the Asia-Pacific Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs . 2007. *R.P.-China Trade*. Pasay City: Department of Foreign Affairs, p. 1.

Office of the Deputy Chief-of-Staff . 2011. *Armed Forces of the Philippines: Strategic Intent*. Quezon City: Camp Aguinaldo, p. 27.

Philippine News Agency . 2014. New Defense Agreement Enhances Philippine, U.S. Alliance on Security Challenges – DND Chief. The Philippines News Agency (April 28), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1519443096?accountid=28547>.

Robles, Raisa. 2004. Warming Ties Mark Arroyo's Beijing Visit: China Emerges as the Philippines' New Foreign Ally after Manila's Pullout from Iraq. South China Morning Post (September 1), p. 7.

Storey, Ian. James . 1999. Creeping Assertiveness: China, the Philippines and the South China Sea Dispute. Contemporary Southeast Asia, 21(1), 98.

The Philippine Star . 1999. VFA Will Ensure Security. The Philippine Star (May 16), p. 5.

The Wall Street Journal Asia . 2013. Manila Takes a Stand. The Wall Street Journal Asia (January 25), p. 1. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1272368093?accountid=28547>.

Thompson, M. R. 2016. The Specter of Neo-Authoritarianism in the Philippines. Current History, September, 220–225.

Torode, Greg. 2011. U.S. Under Pressure Over Sea Dispute: Washington Has Stopped Short of Specifics on its Position Under a Defense Pact with Manila on Recent Incursion by China in the South China Sea. South China Morning Post (June 17), p. 2. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=177&did=2376593311&Sr>.

Villanueva, Marichu. 1999. Pentagon: VFA Ratification First, Then AFP Modernization. The Philippine Star (January 9), p. 2.

Wall Street Journal . 2011. Singed by the Dragon; the Philippines Discovers that it Doesn't Pay to Appease China. Wall Street Journal (March 31), p. 1.

Xinhua News Agency . 2005a. Sino-Philippine Ties Undergoing Quick Development. Xinhua News Agency (April 25), pp. 1–2. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=58&did=826999641&1SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3>.

Xinhua News Agency . 2005b. Chinese President Calls for Further Expanding and Deepening Cooperation with Philippines. Xinhua News Agency (April 27), p. 1. Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqweb?index=54&did=828380501&SrchMode=1&si=1&sid=1&Fmt=3>.

Yuyitung, Rizal. C. K. 1991. Philippine Perception of the People's Republic of China. China ASEAN Relations: Political, Economic and Ethnic Dimensions, 138–140.

Zha, Daojiong and Valencia, Mark. J. 2001. Mischief Reef: Geopolitics and Implications. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 31(1). Available at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=13&did=68456722&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3>.

Towards strategic partnership

Aldaba, R. M. and Aldaba, F. T. , 2010. Do FDI Inflows Have Positive Spillover Effects? The Case of the Philippine Manufacturing Industry. Philippine Journal of Development, 37(2), pp. 21–33.

Arase, D. , 1995. Buying Power: The Political Economy of Japan's Foreign Aid. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Baldwin, D. A. , 1985. Economic Statecraft. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ballescás, R. , 2003. Filipino Migration to Japan, 1970s to 1990s. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. Philippines–Japan Relations. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 546–575.

Constantino, R. , 1989. The Second Invasion: Japan in the Philippines. Quezon City: Karrel.

David, R. , 1991. Filipino Workers in Japan: Vulnerability and Survival. Kasarinlan, 6(3), pp. 9–23.

De Castro, R. , 2009. Exploring a 21st-Century Japan-Philippine Security Relationship: Linking Two Spokes Together?. Asian Survey, 49(4), pp. 691–715.

De Castro, R. , 2015. The Philippines Confronts China in the South China Sea: Power Politics vs. Liberalism-Legalism. Asian Perspective, 39(1), pp. 71–100.

Dizon, N. , 2014. Aquino Backs Abe's Bid to Amend Japan Charter for Stronger Military. Inquirer.net, June 25. [Online]. Available at: <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/107009/aquino-backs-japans-larger-military-role> [accessed October 17, 2017].

Goodman, G. K. , 1976. Davao: A Case Study in Japanese-Philippine Relations. Kansas: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Kansas.

Greene, M. , 2014. Japan's Role in Asia: Searching for Certainty. In: D. Shambaugh and M. Yahuda , eds. International Relations of Asia. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 197–222.

Hill, C. , 2003. The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy. Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ikehata, S. , 2003. Japan and the Philippines, 1885–1905: Mutual Images and Interests. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. Philippines–Japan Relations. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 19–46.

Iwao, S. , 1943. Early Japanese Settlers in the Philippines. Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan.

Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) , 2013. The 23rd Survey of Investment Related Costs in Asia and Oceania (FY2012 Survey). [Online]. Available at: www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/survey/pdf/2013_05_01_biz.pdf [accessed June 24, 2015].

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) , n.d. JICA Activities. [Online]. Available at: www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/thematic_issues/governance/activity.html [accessed June 25, 2015].

Kelly, T. and Kubo, N. , 2015. Testing Beijing, Japan Eyes Growing Role in South China Sea Security. [Online]. Available at: www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/11/us-japan-southchinasea-idUSKBN0M62B920150311 [accessed June 25, 2015].

Kimura, M. , 2013. Japan's Politicians Have a Problem with "Comfort Women." [Online]. Available at: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/15/japan-politicians-problem-comfort-women [accessed June 29, 2015].

Kyodo News International , 2004. The Free Library. [Online]. Available at: www.thefreelibrary.com/Philippines+backs+Japan's+bid+for+UNSC+permanent+seat.-a0125414827 [accessed June 11, 2015].

Maragtas, A. S. , 1992. Japanese Industrial Relations Interface in the Philippines. Quezon City: School of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of the Philippines.

McKinlay, R. and Little, R. , 1977. A Foreign Policy Model of U.S. Bilateral Aid Allocation. *World Politics*, 30(1), pp. 58–86.

National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) , 2013. ODA Portfolio Review 2013. Pasig: Monitoring and Evaluation Staff, National Economic and Development Authority.

O'Rourke, R. , 2015. China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities – Background and Issues for Congress. [Online]. Available at: www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33153.pdf [accessed June 25, 2015].

Rivera, T. C. , 2003. The Politics of Japanese ODA to the Philippines, 1971–1999. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. *Philippines–Japan Relations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 509–545.

Rivera-Yu, H. , 2009. *A Satire of Two Nations: Exploring Images of Japanese in Philippine Political Cartoons*. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

Rodriguez, M. C. P. , 1994. *The Philippine Sinter Corporation (PSC): A Case Study of the Japanese Investment Program in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines-Diliman.

Shinoda, T. , 2013. *Contemporary Japanese Politics: Institutional Changes and Power Shifts*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications , 2015. Japan Statistical Yearbook. [Online]. Available at: www.stat.go.jp/english/data/nenkan/index.htm [accessed June 18, 2015].

Talev, M. and Mattingly, P. , 2014. U.S., Philippines Sign Defense Pact Amid China Tensions. [Online]. Available at: www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-04-27/philippines-to-sign-defense-deal-with-u-s-amid-china-tensions [accessed June 30, 2015].

Tecson, G. , 2000. Japanese Investment Strategy in the Philippines: A Case Study of the Hard Disk Drive Industry in Philippines and Japan. In: L. Yu-Jose and R. Palanca-Tan , eds. *Philippines and Japan: Directions and Challenges*. Selected Papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Japanese Studies. Quezon City: Japanese Studies Program, Ateneo de Manila University.

Tecson, G. R. , 2003. Postwar Japanese Direct Investments. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. *Philippines–Japan Relations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 443–483.

The Embassy of Japan in the Philippines , 2012. J-BIRD. [Online]. Available at: www.ph.emb-japan.go.jp/pressandspeech/press/pressreleases/2012/JBIRD.pdf [accessed June 24, 2015].

The Japan Times , 2014. Chinese Ships Enter Japanese Waters Near Senkakus for 23rd Time This Year. [Online]. Available at: www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/09/20/national/chinese-ships-enter-japanese-waters-near-senkakus-for-23rd-time-this-year/#.VYt-lxuqqkq [accessed June 25, 2015].

Trajano, J. C. I. , 2013. RSIS Publications: CO13037 Japan-Philippine Relations: New Dynamics in Strategic Partnership. [Online]. Available at: www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/nts/1927-japan-philippine-relations-ne/#.VXjuKfmqqko [accessed April 12, 2015].

Tullao, T. J. and Shujiro, U. , 1995. *Foreign Direct Investment: Gearing Towards Philippines–Japan Economic Relations in the 1990s and Beyond*. Manila: Yuchengco Institute of Philippines–Japan Relations, De La Salle University.

Villacorta, W. , 2003. Political Relations between Japan and the Philippines during the Aquino and Ramos Administrations. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. *Philippines–Japan Relations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 576–608.

Yamato, I. , 1931. International Migration of the Japanese. In: W. F. Willcox , ed. *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations* (pp. 617–636). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). Available at: <http://papers.nber.org/books/will31-1> [accessed October 25, 2017].

Yoshikawa, Y. , 2003. War Reparations Implementation, Reparations-Secured Loans and a Treaty of Commerce. In: S. Ikehata and L. Yu-Jose , eds. *Philippines–Japan Relations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 377–442.

Zha, D. and Valencia, M. J. , 2001. Mischief Reef: Geopolitics and Implications. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 31(1), pp. 86–103.

Diaspora diplomacy

1

Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2014, *Compendium of Statistics*, CFO, Manila.

Fraser, M. 2005, *Weapons of mass distraction: soft power and American empire*, St. Martin's, New York.

Gonzalez, J. 2016, "Filipino American voting," in *Minority voting in the United States*, K.L. Kreider and T.J. Baldino (eds.), ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA.

Karns, M.P. 2008, "Multilateralism matters even more," *SAIS Review*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 3–15.

Kiehl, W.P. (ed.) 2006, *America's dialogue with the world*, Public Diplomacy Council, Washington, D.C.

Matsuda, T. 2007, *Soft power and its perils: U.S. cultural policy in early postwar Japan and permanent dependency*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Nye, J.S. 2004, *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*, Public Affairs, New York.

Rugh, W. 2005, *American encounters with Arabs: the "soft power" of U.S. public diplomacy in the Middle East*, Praeger, Westport, CT.

World Bank 2015, "Remittances growth to slow sharply in 2015, as Europe and Russia stay weak; pick up expected next year," World Bank, April 13. Available from: www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/04/13/remittances-growth-to-slow-sharply-in-2015-as-europe-and-russia-stay-weak-pick-up-expected-next-year. [April 13, 2015].

Bypassing industrial development

Balisacan, A. and Hill, H. 2003, "An Introduction to the Key Issues," Chapter 1 in A. Balisacan and H. Hill (eds.), *The Philippine Economy: Development, Policies, and Challenges*, pp. 3–44. Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas 2015, *Results of the 2013 Survey of Information Technology-Business Process Outsourcing (IT-BPO) Services*. Available from www.bsp.gov.ph/downloads/publications/2013/ICT_2013.pdf. [April 1, 2016].

Batalla, E.V.C. 2011, "Japan and the Philippines' Lost Decade: Foreign Direct Investments and International Relations," Chiba, Japan: Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization, VRF Series No. 464. [February].

Batalla, E.V.C. 2016, "Divided Politics and Economic Growth in the Philippines," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 161–186.

Canlas, D. 2012, "Business Fluctuations and Monetary Policy Rules in the Philippines: with Lessons from the 1984–1985 Contraction," University of the Philippines School of Economics Discussion Paper, No. 2012–10. University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Cham, M.R.M. 2007, "The Philippine Power Sector: Issues and Solutions," *The Philippine Review of Economics*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 33–63.

De Dios, E. and Hutchcroft, P. 2003, "Political Economy," Chapter 2 in A. Balisacan and H. Hill (eds.), *The Philippine Economy: Development, Policies, and Challenges*, pp. 45–73. Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

Diokno, B.E. 2010, "Philippine Fiscal Behavior in Recent History," *The Philippine Review of Economics*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 39–87.

Dohner, R. and Intal, P. 1989, "Debt Crisis and Adjustment in the Philippines," in J.D. Sachs (ed.), *Developing Country Debt and the World Economy*, pp. 169–192. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Available from www.nber.org/chapters/c7525. [February 20, 2016].

Fitzgerald, G.V.K. 1996, "Editor's Introduction," in R. Vos and J. Yap (eds.), *The Philippine Economy: East Asia's Stray Cat? Structure, Finance and Adjustment*. MacMillan Press and St. Martin's Press, London and New York.

Lamberte, M. 1989, "Assessment of the Problems of the Financial System: The Philippine Case," Philippine Institute for Development Studies Working Paper Series No. 89–18. PIDS, Makati.

Lim, J. 2009, "Macroeconomic Management," Chapter 4 in D. Canlas, M.E. Khan, and J. Zhuang (eds.), *Diagnosing the Philippine Economy: Towards Inclusive Growth*, pp. 101–124. Asian Development Bank, Mandaluyong.

Noland, M. 2000, "The Philippines in the Asian Financial Crisis: How the Sick Man Avoided Pneumonia," Asian Survey, Vol. 40. No. 3 (May–June), pp. 401–412.

Paderanga, C.W. Jr. 2011, Private Sector Assessment: Philippines, Asian Development Bank, Mandaluyong.

Paderanga, C.W. Jr. 2014, "Macroeconomic Impact of Remittances in the Philippines," paper presented at the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas. Available from: www.bsp.gov.ph/events/pcls/downloads/2014s2/BSP_4a_paderanga_paper.pdf. [March 2, 2016].

Philippine Exporters Confederation, Inc. 2015, The Philippines: General Economy and Export Industry. Available from www.philexport.ph/philippines-economy. [May 2, 2016].

Usui, N. 2011, Transforming the Philippine Economy: "Walking on Two Legs," ADB Economics Working Paper Series, No. 252. [March].

Zanini, G. 1999, Philippines: From Crisis to Opportunity. World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, Country Assistance Review, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Capital flight

Ajayi, I. and Ndikumana, L. 2015, Capital flight from Africa: Causes, effects, and policy issues, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Anthony, M. and Hallett, H. 1992, "How successfully do we measure capital flight? The empirical evidence from five developing countries," Journal of Development Studies, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 538–556.

Beja, E. 2005, "Capital flight from the Philippines, 1970–2002," Philippine Review of Economics, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 1–26.

Beja, E. 2006, "Capital flight and the hollowing out of the Philippine economy in the neoliberal era," Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 1–20.

Beja, E. 2007, "Brothers in distress: Revolving capital flows of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand," Journal of Asian Economies, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 904–914.

Beja, E. 2009, "Capital flight and economic performance of the Philippines," Journal of Current Issues in Finance, Business and Economics, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 13–28.

Boyce, J. 1992, "The revolving door? External debt and capital flight: Philippine case study," World Development, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 335–349.

Boyce, J. 1993, The political economy of growth and impoverishment in the Marcos era, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Manila.

Boyce, J. and Ndikumana, L. 2001, "Is Africa a net creditor? New estimates of capital flight from severely indebted Sub-Saharan African countries, 1970–98," Journal of Development Studies, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 27–56.

Boyce, J. and Zarsky, L. 1988, "Capital flight from the Philippines, 1962–1986," Journal of Philippine Development, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 191–222.

Cuddington, J. 1986, "Capital flight: Estimates, issues and explanation," Princeton Studies in International Finance, No. 58, pp. 1–40. Princeton University, New Jersey.

Dooley, M. 1986, "Country specific risk premiums, capital flight, and net investment income payments in selected developing countries," International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C., unpublished manuscript.

Dooley, M. 1988, "Capital flight: A response to differential financial risks," IMF Staff Papers, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 422–436.

Epstein, G. 2005, Capital flight and capital controls in developing countries, Edward Elgar, Northampton.

Epstein, G. , Grabel, I. , and Jomo, K.S. 2005, "Capital management techniques in developing countries: An assessment of experiences in the 1990s and lessons for the future," in G. Epstein (ed.), Capital flight and capital controls in developing countries, pp. 301–333. Edward Elgar, Northampton.

Erbe, S. 1985, "The flight of capital from developing countries," Intereconomics, Nov/Dec, pp. 268–275.

Gulati, S. 1987, "A note on trade misinvoicing," in D. Lessard and J. Williamson (eds.), Capital flight and the Third World debt, pp. 68–78. Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC.

Lamberte, M. , Lim, J. , Vos, R. , Yap, J. , Tan, E. , and Zingapan, M. 1992, Philippine external finance, domestic resource mobilization and development in the 1970s and 1980s, Philippine Institute of Development Studies, Makati.

Lessard, D. and Williamson, J. 1987, Capital flight and the Third World debt, Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC.

Lopez, J. 1998, "External financial fragility and capital flight in Mexico," International Review of Applied Economics, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 257–270.

Morgan Guaranty Trust Company 1986, "LDC capital flight," World Financial Markets, Mar, pp. 13–15.

Palma, Gabriel. 2003, "The three routes to financial crises: Chile, Mexico and Argentina [1], Brazil [2]; and Korea, Malaysia and Thailand [3]," in H. Chang (ed.), Rethinking development economics, pp. 347–376.

Anthem Press, London.

Pastor, M. 1990, Capital flight and the Latin American debt crisis, Economic Policy Institute, Washington, DC.

Rodrik, D. 1998, "Who needs capital-account convertibility," Princeton Essays in International Finance No. 207, pp. 55–65. Princeton University, New Jersey.

Stiglitz, J. 2002, Globalization and its discontents, WW Norton, New York.

Vos, R. 1992, "Private foreign assets accumulation, not just capital flight: Evidence from the Philippines," Journal of Development Studies, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 500–537.

Vos, R. and Yap, J. 1996, The Philippine economy: East Asia's stray cat?, St. Martins, New York.

World Bank 1985, World development report, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Zheng, Y. and Tang, K. 2009, "Rethinking the measurement of capital flight: An application to Asian economies," Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 313–330.

The changing configuration of capitalism

Abinales, P.N. and Amoroso, D.J. 2005, State and society in the Philippines, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD.

Aguilar, O. and Biondi, J.E. 2010, Three steps to sustainable and scalable change, Deloitte Development LLC. Available from: www.deloitte.com/assets/Dcom-UnitedStates/Local%20Assets/Documents/us_consulting_threestepstosustainableandscalablechangeprt1_080508.pdf. [20 November 2013].

Ang, Alvin P. , Guntur Sugiyarto , and Shikha Jha . 2009, 'Remittances and household behavior in the Philippines', ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 188, Metro Manila.

Aquino III, B.S. 2014, Speech delivered at the good governance summit. Available from: www.gov.ph/2014/01/15/speech-of-president-aquino-at-the-good-governance-summit/. [15 January 2014].

Arrighi, G. 2007, Adam Smith in Beijing: lineages of the twenty-first century, Verso, London.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) 2014, Asian development outlook 2014, Metro Manila.

Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) n.d. Overseas Filipinos' remittances. Available from: www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/keystat/ofw.htm. [16 March 2014].

Batalla, E.V. 2012, 'Continuity and change in the Philippine business landscape', Journal of International Cooperation Studies, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 1–30.

Bloomberg Businessworld 2014, Available from:

<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/people/person.asp?personIdÓ11079805&tickerÓICT:PM>. [16 March 2014].

Cabuag, V.G. 2013, 'Philippine drug store sector likely to consolidate – Robinsons Retail', Business Mirror, 26 August.

Cabuag, V.G. 2014, 'Ayala land starts using Wellworth brand', Business Mirror, 2 March.

Carino, T.C. 2004, 'The Philippines', in T.E. Gomez , H. Hsin , and M. Hsiao (eds), Chinese business in Southeast Asia: contesting cultural explanations, researching entrepreneurship, Routledge, Oxon and New York, pp. 101–123.

Carney, M. , Gedajlovic, E. , and Yang, X. 2009, 'Varieties of Asian capitalism: toward an institutional theory of Asian enterprise', Asia Pacific Journal of Management, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 361–380.

Carroll, J.J. 1965, The Filipino manufacturing entrepreneur: agent and product of change, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Chang, H.J. 2002, Kicking away the ladder: development strategy in historical perspective, Anthem Press, London.

Cuaresma, B. 2013, 'PHL retail industry seen as "hot spot" in int'l. investment', Business Mirror, 17 August.

de Dios, E.S. and Williamson, J.G. 2013, 'Deviant behavior: a century of Philippine industrialization', University of the Philippines School of Economics Discussion Paper No. 2013–03. Available from: www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/93539/1/742481026.pdf. [18 October 2017].

Desiderio, L.D. 2014, 'Gov't plans 15 PPP projects worth over \$14 B', The Philippine Star, 8 April.

Doebele, J. , Vorasarun, C. , Ramakrishnan, J. , and Nam, S. 2006, 'Philippines 40 richest', Forbes. Available from: www.forbes.com/global/2006/1225/039.html. [18 October 2017].

Doner, R.F. 1991, 'Approaches to the politics of economic growth in Southeast Asia', The Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 818–849.

Dumlao, D.C. 2012, 'Razon eyes more casino projects in Philippines, overseas', Philippine Daily Inquirer, 25 June.

Dumlao, D.C. 2013, 'Puregold sets up subsidiary for minority investments in other food retail firms', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 3 July.

Dumlao, D.C. 2014a, 'Ayala Land, Mercado launch "QualiMed" healthcare chain', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 19 February.

Dumlao, D.C. 2014b, 'Lucio Co-led Cosco buys office warehouse', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 18 February.

Ferrer, R.D. 1986, 'The structural causes of underdevelopment in the Philippines', in L.Q. Santiago (ed.), *Synthesis: before and beyond February 1986: the Edgar M. Jopson Memorial lectures*, Edgar M. Jopson Memorial Foundation, Manila.

Flores, H. 2014, 'Ayala, Pearson to open affordable but world-class high schools', *The Philippine Star*, 16 May.

Forbes Magazine 2013, *The Philippines' 50 richest*. Available from: www.forbes.com/philippines-billionaires/list/. [18 October 2017].

GMA News 2004, 'Sy-owned Belle Corp. consolidates gaming interests under Sinophil', *GMA News Online*, 2 June. Available from: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/363811/economy/companies/sy-owned-belle-corp-consolidates-gaming-interests-under-sinophil. [18 October 2017].

GMA News 2014, 'Gokongwei-led URC diversifies into power business, to build p2.52-B renewable energy plant', *GMA News Online*, 12 March. Available from: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/352226/economy/companies/gokongwei-led-urc-diversifies-into-power-business-to-build-p252-b-renewable-energy-plant. [18 October 2017].

Gutierrez, B.P. and Rodriguez, R. 2013, 'Diversification strategies of large business groups in the Philippines', *Philippine Management Review*, vol. 20, pp. 65–82.

Habito, C.F. 2014, 'Investments: our crying need', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 17 February.

Hall, P.A. and Soskice, D. 2001, 'An introduction to varieties of capitalism', in P.A. Hall and D. Soskice (eds), *Varieties of capitalism: the institutional foundations of comparative advantage*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 1–68.

Hutchcroft, P.D. 1998, *Booty capitalism: the politics of banking in the Philippines*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Ito, T. 1996, 'Japan and the Asian economies: a "miracle" in transition', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, vol. 1996, no. 2, pp. 205–272.

Kang, D.C. 2002, *Crony capitalism: corruption and development in South Korea and the Philippines*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Khan, M.H. and Jomo, K.S. (eds) 2000, *Rents, rent seeking and economic development: theory and evidence in Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lim, J.Y. and Montes, M.F. 2002, 'Structural adjustment program after structural adjustment, but why still no development in the Philippines?' *Asian Economic Papers*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 90–119.

Manila Doctors Hospital n.d., Available from: www.maniladoctors.com.ph/about-mdh/. [10 February 2014].

Manila Tytana Colleges n.d., Available from: <http://mtc.edu.ph/2012/pdf/the%20move%20forward%20-%20transitions%20of%20manila%20tytana%20colleges.pdf>. [10 February 2014].

McVey, R. 1992, 'The materialization of the Southeast Asian entrepreneur', in R. McVey (ed.), *Southeast Asian capitalists*, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, pp. 7–33.

Mercado-Aldaba, R.A. 1994, *Foreign direct investment in the Philippines: A Reassessment*, Research Paper Series No. 94–10, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Metro Manila.

Morales, N.J.C. 2013, 'SM Group invests \$300M in geothermal project', *The Philippine Star*, 19 June.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) 2011, *Philippine development plan 2011–2016*, Manila.

National Tax Research Center (NTRC) 2012, 'Profile and taxation of the Philippine overseas remittance industry', *NTRC Tax Research Journal*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 1–19.

Navarro, A.M. and Yap, J.T. 2013, 'The Philippine economy in 2012 and prospects for 2013', *PIDS Development Research News*, vol. 31, no. 1.

Patalinghug, E.E. and Llanto, G.M. 2005, 'Competition policy and regulation in power and telecommunications', *PIDS Discussion Paper Series No. 2005–18*, Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS).

Reyes, M.A.L.L. 2013, 'School hunting', *The Philippine Star*, 3 January.

Remo, A.R. 2010, 'Henry Sy takes over as president, CEO of National Grid Corp', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 20 June.

Rivera, D.O. 2014, 'Robinsons retail buys Jaynith's supermarket', *GMA News*. Available from: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/345763/economy/companies/robinsons-retail-buys-jaynith-s-supermarket. [27 January 2014].

Rivera, T.C. 1994, *Landlords and capitalists: class, family, and state in Philippine manufacturing*, University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies and University of the Philippines Press in cooperation with the Philippine Center for Policy Studies, Quezon City, Diliman.

Rubio, M. 2013, 'Seven groups bidding for Cebu airport PPP project', InfraPPP Infrastructure Knowledge. Available from: <http://infrappworld.com/2013/04/sevengroups-bidding-for-the-cebu-airport-project.html>. [23 April 2014].

Serafica, R.B. 2014, 'Services: an overview', presentation at the 'Roundtable Discussion on Trade in Services', 18–19 September, Muntinlupa City.

Simbulan, D.C. 2005, *The modern principalia: the historical evolution of the Philippine ruling oligarchy*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.

Tabuga, A.D. 2007, 'International remittances and household expenditures: the Philippine case', Discussion Paper Series No. 2007–18, Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS), Makati City.

Tipton, F.B. 2009, 'Southeast Asian capitalism: history, institutions, states, and firms', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 401–434.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) 2010, *Combating poverty and inequality: structural change, social policy and politics*, UNRISD, Geneva.

Usui, N. 2011, 'Transforming the Philippine economy: "walking on two legs"', Asian Development Bank Economics Working Paper Series No. 252, Asian Development Bank, Metro Manila.

Whitley, R. (ed.) 2002, *Competing capitalisms: institutions and economies*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK.

Witt, M.A. and Redding, G. 2013, 'Asian business systems: institutional comparison, clusters, and implications for varieties of capitalism and business systems theory', *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 265–300.

World Bank 1993, *The East Asian miracle: economic growth and public policy*, Oxford University Press, New York.

World Bank 2013, *Philippine economic update: accelerating reforms to meet the jobs challenge*, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, East Asia and Pacific Region.

World Bank 2014, *World development indicators*. Available from: <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators>. [6 May 2014].

Wurfel, D. 1988, *Filipino politics: development and decay*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Yncino, F.S. 2014, 'Aboitiz launches VisMin's first outlet mall', *The Freeman*, 26 January. Available from: www.philstar.com/cebu-lifestyle/2014/01/26/1283075/aboitizlaunches-vismins-first-outlet-mall. [18 October 2017].

Yoshihara, K. 1985, *Philippine industrialization: foreign and domestic capital*, Oxford University Press, Singapore.

Economic nationalism and its legacy

Appalo, Remigio. 1962, *The political process and the nationalization of the retail trade in the Philippines*, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Constantino, R. and L.R. Constantino 1978, *The Philippines: The continuing past*, The Foundation for Nationalist Studies, Quezon City.

de Dios, E.S. 2002, "Welfare and nationalism in the 1935 Philippine constitution," Discussion Paper No. 203, School of Economics, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Doeppers, D.F. 1984, "Manila, 1900–1941: Social change in a late colonial metropolis," Monograph Series No. 27, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, New Haven, CT.

Galan, M.C. 2010, Author's interview, December 6, Makati City.

Golay, F.H. 1961, *The Philippines: Public policy and national economic development*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Golay, F.H. 1969, "The Philippines," in *Underdevelopment and economic nationalism in Southeast Asia*, eds. F.H. Golay, R. Anspach, M.R. Pfanner, and E.B. Ayala, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, pp. 21–109.

Golay, F.H. 1997, *Face of empire: United States–Philippine relations, 1898–1946*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

Hau, C.S. 2000, *Necessary fictions: Philippine literature and the nation, 1946–1980*, ADMU Press, Quezon City.

Helleiner, E. and A. Pickel (eds.) 2005, *Economic nationalism in a globalizing world*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Lichauco, A. 1988, *Nationalist economics: History theory and practice*, SPES Institute Inc., Quezon City.

Maxfield, S. and J.H. Nolt 1990, "Protectionism and the internationalization of capital: U.S. sponsorship of import substitution industrialization in the Philippines, Turkey and Argentina," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 49–81.

McCoy, A. (ed.) 1994, *An anarchy of families: State and society in the Philippines*, ADMU Press, Quezon City.

Philippine Economic Association (PEA) . 1933. *The economics of the Hare–Hawes–Cutting Act: An analysis*, Herald, Manila.

Philippine Economic Association (PEA) . 1934. *Economic problems of the Philippines*, Bureau of Publishing, Manila.

Power, John H. and Gerardo P. Sicat . 1971, *The Philippines: Industrialization and trade policies*, Oxford University Press, London.

Putzel, J. 1992, *A captive land: The politics of agrarian reform in the Philippines*, Monthly Review Press, New York.

Rivera, T.C. 1994, *Landlords and capitalists: Class, family, and state in Philippine manufacturing*, University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies and University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.

Sicat, G.P. 2002, "Philippine economic nationalism," Discussion Paper No. 201, School of Economics, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Sidel, J.T. 2012, "The face of nationalism in the new states: Southeast Asia in comparative historical perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 114–144.

Takagi, Y. 2016, *Central banking as state building: Policymakers and their nationalism in the Philippines, 1933–1964*, ADMU Press, Quezon City.

Wong, Kwok-Chu. 1999, *The Chinese in the Philippine economy, 1898–1941*, ADMU Press, Quezon City.

Technocracy and class politics in policy-making

Ariate, Joel F. Jr. and Ronald C. Molmisa . 2009. "More Than Debt Relief: Two Decades of the Freedom From Debt Coalition," in Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem , Ed. *Localizing and Transnationalizing Contentious Politics: Global Civil Society Movements in the Philippines*. New York: Lexington Press, pp. 25–60.

Bello, W. , D. Kinley and E. Elinson . 1982. *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines*. California: Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Dumlao, Abadilla. 2016. "Separation Talk Grips PH Inc.," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, B1.

Fischer, Frank. 1980. *Technocracy and the Politics of Expertise*. London: SAGE Publications.

FOPA Crisis of Socialism Cluster Group . 1993. "The Dual Crisis of the Philippine Progressive Movement," in John Gershman and Walden Bello , Eds. *Re-examining and Renewing the Philippine Progressive Vision. Papers and Proceedings of the 1993 Conference on the Forum for Philippine Alternatives (FOPA)*, San Francisco Bay Area, California, April 2–4, pp. 11–23.

Heffren, Michael. 1982. "Ideology and Hegemonic Projects: The Alliance Between Corporate Capital and the New Middle Classes in Early Twentieth-Century United States," in Dale L. Johnson , Ed. *Class and Social Development: A New Theory of the Middle Class*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 155–176.

Gamil, Jaymee T. 2016. "Landowner-oligarchs Blamed for Poverty," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, A2.

Glassman, Ronald M. 1995. *The Middle Class and Democracy in Socio-Historical Perspective*. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill.

Inquirer Research . 2013. "More Families Went Hungry, Survey Says," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, August 16, A4.

Remo, Amy R. 2016. "End to 'Endo' Scheme Nears," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 17, B1 and B3.

Robinson, Richard and David S.G. Goodman . 1996. "The New Rich in Asia: Economic Development, Social Status and Political Consciousness," in Richard Robinson and David S.G. Goodman , Eds. *The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonalds and Middle-class Revolution*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–16.

Sauler, Erika. 2016. "Bello on End of 'Endo': 16,000 Workers Regularized," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 21, A13.

Silva, Victor and Cara P. Gomez . 2016. "Anti-US Sentiment Triggers Anxiety Among Investors," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 25, B4.

Tadem, Teresa S. Encarnacion . 2005. "The Philippine Technocracy and US-led Capitalism," in Shiraishi Takashi and Patricio N. Abinales , Eds. *After the Crisis: Hegemony, Technocracy and Governance in Southeast Asia*. Kyoto and Melbourne: Kyoto University Press and TransPacific Press, pp. 85–104.

Tadem, Teresa S. Encarnacion . 2008a. "The Perennial Drift to the Right: The Transition to Democracy in the Philippines," in Hee Yeon Cho , Lawrence Surendra and Eunhong Park , Eds. *States of Democracy: Oligarchic Democracies and Asian Democratization*. Mumbai: Earthworm Books, pp. 137–162.

Tadem, Teresa S. Encarnacion . 2008b. "Situating NGO Advocacy Work in Middle Class Politics in the Philippines," in Shiraishi Takashi and Pasuk Phongpaichit , Eds. *The Rise of Middle Classes in Southeast Asia*. Kyoto and Melbourne: Kyoto University and Tran Pacific Press, pp. 194–216.

Tadem, Teresa S. Encarnacion . 2009. "Popularizing Technocratic Decision-Making: The Formulation of the Philippine Negotiating Position in the WTO Agreement on Agriculture," Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies, 24(1-2): 35–60.

Tadem, Teresa S. Encarnacion . 2016. "Philippine Technocracy and the Politics of Resiliency and Retribution," in Paul S. Manzanilla and Caroline S. Hau , Eds. Remembering/Rethinking EDSA. Mandaluyong City: ANVIL, pp. 330–338.

The allure of Pantawid Pamilya

Albert, J.R.G. , Dumagan, J.C. , and Martinez, A. Jr. 2015, "Inequalities in Income, Labor and Education: The Challenges of Inclusive Growth," Philippine Institute of Development Studies, Discussion Paper Series No. 2015–01.

Barbosa, R. , de Freitas, A. , Callil, V. , de Freitas, G.G. , Dowbar, M. , and Amorim, R.L.C. 2012, The Real Brazil: The Inequality Behind the Statistics, with support from Christian Aid. Available from: www.christianaid.org.uk/images/real-brazil-full-report.pdf. [February 15, 2015].

Cecchini, S. and Madariaga, A. 2011, Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes: The Recent Experience in Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC/Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

Chaudhury, N. , Friedman, J. , and Onishi, J. 2013, Promoting Inclusive Growth in the Philippines: Assessing the Impacts of the Conditional Cash Transfer Program. A study conducted in cooperation with the Philippine Department of Social Welfare and Development and with support from the World Bank and the Australian Agency for International Development (AUSAID).

Congressional Policy and Budget Research Department 2011, "Accountability Mechanisms in the Implementation of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs." Congressional Policy and Budget Research Department Policy Brief, No. 2011-08, July 2011.

Curry, M.S. , Cadiogan, A.T. , and Giugliano, R.G. 2013, "Brazil's Bolsa Familia and the Philippines' 4Ps CCT Programs: Considering South-South Cooperation for Social Protection," Asia Pacific Social Science Review, vol. 13, no. 1.

Dadap, E.L.L. 2011, The Politics of Conditional Cash Transfers of the Philippines, Master's thesis, International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, Netherlands.

Food and Nutrition Research Institute 2015, Updating of the Nutritional Status of Filipino Children and Other Population Groups (or Updating Survey), PowerPoint presentation during the 2016 National Nutrition Summit with the theme "MDGs by 2015: Did Juan Hit the Targets?," February 16, 2016, Crowne Plaza Galleria, Manila.

Handa, Sudhanshu and Davis, Benjamin 2006, "The Experience of Conditional Cash Transfers in Latin America and the Caribbean." ESA Working Paper No. 06-07, Agricultural and Development Economics Division, The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Available from: [ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/ag429e/ag429e00.pdf](http://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/ag429e/ag429e00.pdf). [October 13, 2012].

Labonne, J. 2013, "The Local Electoral Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers: Evidence from a Field Experiment," Journal of Development Economics, vol. 104, pp. 73–88.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) 2011, Chapter 1: In Pursuit of Inclusive Growth in the Philippine Development Plan, 2011–2016, p. 29. NEDA, Pasig.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) and United Nations Development Authority (UNDA) 2014, The Philippines Fifth Progress Report Millennium Development Goals, Pasig City: NEDA.

Official Gazette . Available from: www.gov.ph/2016/04/06/4ps-families-improve-non-poor/. [May 18, 2016].

Orbeta, A. , Abdon, A. , del Mundo, M. , Tutor, M. , Valera, M.T. , and Yarcia, D. 2014, Keeping Children Healthy and in School: Evaluating the Pantawid Pamilya Using Regression Discontinuity Design: Second Wave Impact Evaluation Results. A commissioned report by the Department of Social Work and Development and with support from the Philippine Institute of Development Studies, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Pablo, L.F. , Sampang, M.V. , and Solloso, E.Z. 2009, "Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps): Conditional cash transfer program improving human capital investment of the poor," Social Welfare Journal, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 2–10.

Raquiza, M.V.R. 2010, "Eradicating Poverty through Conditional Cash Transfer: Potentials and Challenges based on a Preliminary Study of the Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program (4Ps)," Social Watch Report (unpublished).

Raquiza, M.V.R. 2013, "Eradicating Poverty and Building Human Development: A Preliminary Study of the Challenges Confronting Pantawid Pamilya Program," in Paggugol na Matuwid: Patas sa Taumbayan (Spending Wisely for the People), an Alternative Budget Initiative-Social Watch Philippine Report.

Saad-Filho, A. 2012, "Neoliberalism, Democracy and Development Policy in Brazil," in K.S. Chang , B. Fine , and L. Weiss (eds.), *Development Politics in Transition*, pp. 117–138. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Social Watch Philippines–Alternative Budget Initiative 2012, *Paggugol na Matuwid: Patas sa Taumbayan Fiscal Year 2013*, Quezon City.

Troilo, P. 2012, *Conditional Cash Transfers: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead*, Devex website. Available from: www.devex.com/news/conditional-cash-transfers-taking-stock-and-looking-ahead-77999. [February 12, 2015].

Informality and legality in women's livelihoods in Baguio City

- Abraham, I. and van Schendel, W. 2005, "Introduction: The Making of Illicitness," in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization*, eds. W. van Schendel and I. Abraham , University of Indiana Press, Bloomington, pp. 1–37.
- AlSayyad, N. 2004, "Urban Informality as a 'New' Way of Life," in *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*, eds. A. Roy and N. AlSayya , Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, pp. 7–30.
- Bello, W. 2005, *The Anti-Development State: The Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.
- Brown, A. 2006, "Urban Public Space in the Developing World – A Resource for the Poor," in *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space, and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*, ed. A. Brown , ITDG Publishing, Warwickshire, UK, pp. 17–35.
- City Government of Baguio 2000–2001, *City Tax Ordinance Number 2000–2001*, Office of the City Treasurer, Baguio City.
- Cross, J.C. 1998, *Informal Politics: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Cross, J.C. and Karides, M. 2007, "Capitalism, Modernity, and the 'Appropriate' Use of Space," in *Street Entrepreneurs: People, Place and Politics in Local and Global Perspectives*, eds. J.C. Cross and A. Morales , Routledge, London and New York, pp. 19–35.
- Government of the Philippines (Office of the President) 1966. Republic Act No. 4653 (June 17, 1966). Manila, PH: Republic of the Philippines General Auditing Office, Department of Finance.
- Hart, K. 2010, "The Informal Economy," in *The Human Economy*, eds. K. Hart , J.L. Laville , and A.D. Cattani , Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 142–153.
- Humphrey, C. 2004, "Sovereignty," in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, eds. D. Nugent and J. Vincent , Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, pp. 418–436.
- Hutchcroft, P.D. and Rocamora, J. 2012, "Patronage-Based Parties and the Democratic Deficit in the Philippines: Origins, Evolution, and the Imperatives of Reform," in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics*, ed. R. Robinson , Routledge, London and New York, pp. 97–119.
- Kerkvliet, B.J. 2009, "Everyday Politics in Peasant Societies (and Ours)," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 227–243.
- Lindell, I. 2010, "Introduction: The Changing Politics of Informality – Collective Organizing, Alliances and Scales of Engagement," in *Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organizing in Urban Africa*, ed. I. Lindell , Zed Books, London, pp. 1–30.
- Lloyd-Evans, S. 2008, "Geographies of the Contemporary Informal Sector in the Global South: Gender, Employment Relations and Social Protection," *Geography Compass*, vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 1885–1906.
- Milgram, B.L. 2008, "Activating Frontier Livelihoods: Women and the Transnational Secondhand Clothing Trade between Hong Kong and the Philippines," *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 5–47.
- Milgram, B.L. 2009, "Negotiating Urban Activism: Women, Vending and the Transformation of Streetscapes in the Urban Philippines," in *Dissent and Cultural Resistance in Asia's Cities*, eds. M. Butcher and S. Velayutham , Routledge, New York and London, pp. 110–127.
- Milgram, B.L. 2011, "Refiguring Space, Mobilizing Livelihood: Street Vending, Legality, and Work in the Philippines," *Journal of Developing Societies*, vol. 27, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 261–293.
- Milgram, B.L. 2012, "From Secondhand Clothing to Cosmetics: How Philippine-Hong Kong Entrepreneurs Fill Gaps in Cross-border Trade," in *Globalization from Below: The World's Other Economy*, eds. G. Mathews , G.L. Ribeiro , and C.A. Vega , Routledge, London and New York, pp. 120–137.
- Milgram, B.L. 2013, "Taking the Street into the Market: The Politics of Space and Work in Baguio City, Philippines," in *Street Economies in the Urban Global South*, eds. K.T. Hansen , W.E. Little , and B.L. Milgram , School of Advanced Research Press, Sante Fe, NM, pp. 71–92.

Milgram, B.L. 2014, "Remapping the Edge: Informality and Legality in the Harrison Road Night Market, Baguio City Philippines," *City & Society*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 153–174.

Nordstrom, C. 2007, *Global Outlaws: Crime, Money, and Power in the Contemporary World*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Ribeiro, G.L. 2009, "Non-Hegemonic Globalizations: Alternative Transnational Processes and Agents," *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 297–329.

Roy, A. 2009a, "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization," *Planning Theory*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 76–87.

Roy, A. 2009b, "Strangely Familiar: Planning and the Worlds of Insurgence and Informality," *Planning Theory*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 7–11.

Smart, A. and Zerilli, F. 2014, "Extralegality," in *A Companion to Urban Anthropology*, ed. D.M. Nonini, John Wiley, New York, pp. 222–238.

Yiftachel, O. 2012, "Critical Theory and 'Gray Space': Mobilization of the Colonized," in *Cities for People Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, eds. N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, and M. Mayer, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 150–170.

Persistent poverty and elite-dominated policymaking

Aldaba, F. 2016, "*Walang Mahirap Kung Walang Corrupt*: The Political Economy of Poverty Reduction," in Ortigas, C.D. and Racelis, M. (eds.), *Overcoming Poverty: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives, Principles and Practices*, Ateneo de Zamboanga University, Quezon City.

Asian Development Bank 2002, *Poverty Reduction and the Role of Institutions in Developing Asia*, ERD Working Paper no. 10, Manila.

Bacani, T. 2005, "Church of the Poor: The Church in the Philippines Reception of Vatican II," *East Asian Pastoral Institute*, vol. 42, no. 1–2.

Balisacan, A. and Fujisaki, S. 1999, *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.

Balisacan, A. and Ravago, M. 2015, "Current Structure and Future Challenges of the Agricultural Sector," *University of the Philippines School of Economics Discussion Paper* no. 2015–11.

Ballesteros, M. 2010, "Linking Poverty and the Environment: Evidence from Slums in Philippine Cities," *Philippine Institute for Development Studies Discussion Paper Series* no. 2010–33.

Brady, D. 2009, *Rich Democracies, Poor People: How Politics Explain Poverty*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

David, C. 2003, "Agriculture," in Balisacan, A. and Hill, H. (eds.), *The Philippine Economy: Development, Policies and Challenges*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Davidson, J. 2016, "Why the Philippines Chooses to Import Rice," *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 100–122.

Dawe, D., Moya, P. and Casiwan, C. (eds.), 2006, *Why Does the Philippines Import Rice?*, IRRI, Los Banos.

Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) 2016, "End of Term Report of Secretary Virgilio de los Reyes," June 29, 2016, available on DAR website.

Dionisio, E. (ed.) 2011, *Becoming a Church of the Poor: Philippine Catholicism after the Second Plenary Council*, John J. Carroll Institute on Church and Social Issues, Quezon City.

Fabella, R. 2014, "Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP): Time to Let Go," *The Philippine Review of Economics*, vol. LI, no. 1, pp. 1–18.

Kaiser, K., Bredenkamp, C., and Iglesia, R., 2016, *Sin Tax Reform in the Philippines: Transforming Public Finance, Health, and Governance for More Inclusive Development*, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Marin, G. 2011, "A Church for Agrarian Reform," in Dionisio, E. (ed.), *Becoming a Church of the Poor: Philippine Catholicism after the Second Plenary Council*, John J. Carroll Institute on Church and Social Issues, Quezon City, pp. 42–52.

Monsod, T. and Piza, S. 2014, "Time to Let Go of CARP? Not So Fast," *The Philippine Review of Economics*, vol. LI, no. 1, pp. 19–27.

NEDA 2014a, *Philippine Development Plan 2011–2016 Mid-Term Update*, National Economic and Development Authority, Pasig City.

NEDA 2014b, *The Philippines: Fifth Progress Report – Millennium Development Goals*, National Economic and Development Authority, Pasig City.

Ofreneo, R. 2013, "Precarious Philippines: Expanding Informal Sector, Flexibilizing Labor Market," *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 57, no. 4.

Pernia, E.M., Pernia, E.E., Ubias, J., and San Pascual, M. 2014, *International Migration, Remittances and Economic Development in the Philippines*, De La Salle University Publishing House, Manila.

Philippine Senate/Legislative Budget Research and Monitoring Office 2014, "25 Years of CARP," Budget Facts & Figures, vol. 2, issue 2.

Putzel, J. 1992, *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

World Bank 2015, *Philippine Economic Update: Making Growth Work for the Poor*, Report no. 93530-PH, World Bank, Washington, DC.

World Bank 2016, "Republic of the Philippines Labor Market Review: Employment and Poverty," Report no. AUS8661, World Bank, Washington, DC.

From Pamilya to grasya

Adams, D. W. (1992), "Taking a fresh look at informal finance," in D. W. Adams and D. A. Fitchett (Eds.), *Informal finance in low-income countries*, Westview Press Inc., Boulder, CO, pp. 5–23.

Adams, D. W. , Graham, D. H. , and Von Pischke, J. D. (1984), *Undermining rural development with cheap credit*, Westview Press Inc., Boulder, CO.

Alip, J. A. , Marcial, M. T. , and Yedra, R. C. (1990), "Development assistance program for cooperatives and people's organizations: an innovative approach to group lending," *Studies in Rural Finance and Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 63–79.

Charitonenko, S. (2003), *Commercialization of microfinance in the Philippines*, Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines.

Cooperative Development Authority (2011), *Cooperative Development Authority history*, available at www.cda.gov.ph/website/html/cda_history.html (accessed November 10, 2011).

Dingcong, C. G. , Dakila, J. F. , Clar De Jesus, R. B. , and Badiola, J. A. (1990), "Credit as a support mechanism for poverty alleviation," *Studies in Rural Finance and Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 81–98.

Esguerra, E. F. (1987), "Can informal lenders be co-opted into government lending programs?," Working Paper Series 3, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Makati City, Philippines.

Fukuyama, F. (2001), "Social capital, civil society, and development," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 7–20.

Karlan, D. , and Zinman, J. (2010), *Expanding microenterprise credit access: using randomized supply decisions to estimate the impacts in Manila*, available at http://karlan.yale.edu/p/expandingaccess_manila_may10_v4.pdf (accessed December 30, 2010).

Kono, H. , and Takahashi, K. (2009), *Microfinance revolution: its effects, innovations, and challenges*. Retrieved May 23, 2010 from www.microfinancegateway.org/gm/document-1.1.9506/microfinance%20revolution.pdf.

Lamberte, M. B. (1992), "Informal finance in the Philippines's footwear industry," in D. W. Adams and D. A. Fitchett (Eds.), *Informal finance in low-income countries*, Westview Press Inc., Boulder, CO, pp. 133–147.

Ledgerwood, J. (1999), *Microfinance handbook: an institutional and financial perspective*, The World Bank, Washington, DC.

Llanto, G. M. , Garcia, E. , and Callanta, R. (1996), *An assessment of the capacity and financial performance of microfinance institutions: the Philippine case*, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Makati, Philippines.

Marin, G. R. , Mercado, R. D. , Palomo, M. P. , and Fernandez, I. B. (2008), *Heeding poverty: an assessment of microfinance in the Philippines*, International Network of Alternative Financial Institutions – Philippines and the John J. Carroll Institute on Church and Social Issues, Quezon City, Philippines.

Peterson, J. T. (1993), "Generalized extended family exchange: a case from the Philippines," *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 55, no. 3, pp. 570–584.

Robinson, M. S. (2001), *The microfinance revolution: sustainable finance for the poor*, The World Bank, Washington, DC.

Sebastian, A. M. (2014), *Dynamics of social capital and management systems in effective delinquency management of Philippine microfinance institutions*, Manila, Philippines (unpublished dissertation).

Yunus, M. (2007), *Banker to the poor*, Public Affairs, New York.

A syncretic culture

- Alegre, E.N. , 1992, *Inumang Pinoy*, Anvil Publishing, Inc., Pasig, Metro Manila.
- Alejandro, R.G. , 1998, *The Foods of the Philippines: Authentic Recipes from the Pearl of the Orient*, Periplus Books, Boston.
- Alvina, C.S. , 1998, "Regional Dishes," in R.G. Alejandro , *The Foods of the Philippines: Authentic Recipes from the Pearl of the Orient*, Periplus Books, Boston, pp. 10–13.
- Caruncho, E.S. , 1996, *Punks, Poets, Poseurs: Reportage on Pinoy Rock & Roll*, Anvil Publishing, Inc., Pasig, Metro Manila.
- Castro, C.A. , 2010, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Fernandez, D. , 1998, "What Is Filipino Food?" in R.G. Alejandro , *The Foods of the Philippines: Authentic Recipes from the Pearl of the Orient*, Periplus Books, Boston, pp. 7–9 and 15–17.
- Gapultos, M. , 2013, *The Adobo Road Cookbook*, Tuttle Publishing, New Clarendon, VT.
- Hila, A.C. , 1989, *Musika: An Essay on Philippine Music*, Cultural Center of the Philippines, Manila.
- Lico, G. , 2010, *Arkitekturang Filipino: A History of Architecture and Urbanism in the Philippines*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.
- McCoy, A.W. , 1999, *Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Mulder, N. , 1997, *Inside Philippine Society: Interpretations of Everyday Life*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.
- Newman, Y. 2014, *7000 Islands: A Food Portrait of the Philippines*, Hardie Grant Books, Melbourne, Australia.
- Roces, A. and G. Roces , 1994, *Culture Shock! Philippines: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette*, Graphic Arts Center Publishing Co., Portland, OR.
- Rodell, P.A. , 2002a, *Culture and Customs of the Philippines*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
- Rodell, P.A. , 2002b, "The Philippines: *Gloria in Excelsis*," in D. Singh and A.L. Smith , eds., *Southeast Asian Affairs 2002*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, pp. 215–236.
- Urtula, L.T. and P. Arandez , 1992, *Sayaw: An Essay on the Spanish Influence on Philippine Dance*, Cultural Center of the Philippines, Manila.

Gender, nation, and Filipino Catholicism past and present

- Aguilar, F.V. Jr. 1998, *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island*, p. 36. University of Hawaii Press, USA.
- Barry, C. 1999, "Polyglot Catholicism: Genealogies and Reinterpretations of the Philippine Catholic Church," *Pilipinas*, vol. 32, pp. 59–81.
- Barry, C. 2005, "Limits of Conservative Reformism in the Democratic Philippines," in T.J. Cheng and D. Brown (eds.), *Religious Organizations and Democratization: Case Studies from Contemporary Asia*. M. E. Sharpe, New York.
- Barry, C. 2014, "Women Religious and Socio-Political Change in the Philippines, 1930s–1970s," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 62, no. 3–4, pp. 377–397.
- Bolasco, M. 1984, "Marxism and Christianity in the Philippines," in *Marxism in the Philippines*, Third World Studies Center, Quezon City, Philippines.
- Brewer, C. 2004, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines 1521–1685 (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World)*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, England.
- Cornelio, Jayeel S. 2014, "Popular Religion and the Turn to Everyday Authenticity: Reflections on the Contemporary Study of Philippine Catholicism," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 62, nos. 3–4, pp. 471–500.
- Cruz, O.V. n.d. "Same Sex Marriage," CBCP News. Available from: www.cbcnews.com/cbcnews/?p=13036 [March 10, 2017].
- De la Cruz, D. 2014, "The Mass Miracle: Public Religion in the Postwar Philippines," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 62, nos. 3–4, pp. 425–444.
- Estrada-Claudio, S. 2004, "Philippine Catholic Hierarchy's Gendered Worldview of Society and Salvation in the 1940s and 1950s," in C. Sobritchea (ed.), *Gender, Culture & Society: Selected Readings in Women's Studies in the Philippines*. Ewha Women University Press and Asian Center for Women's Studies, Seoul.
- Francisco, J.M.C. 2014, "People of God, People of the Nation: Official Catholic Discourse on Nation and Nationalism," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 62, nos. 3–4, pp. 341–375.
- Gaspar, K.M. 2014, "A Sojourner's View: Remembering Repression and Resistance," *Minda News*, July 11. Available from: www.mindanews.com/mindaviews/2014/07/11/a-sojourners-view-remembering-repression-

and-courageous-resistance/ [October 10, 2015].

Pertierra, R. 1988, *Religion, Politics, and Rationality*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City, Philippines.

Pew Research Center 2013, "The Global Divide on Homosexuality." Available from:

www.pewglobal.org/files/2013/06/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Homosexuality-Report-FINAL-JUNE-4-2013.pdf [March 10, 2017].

Rafael, V. 1988, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, pp. 5–6, 211, 426–427. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Rafael, V. 2006, "Spectral Communities: Religiosity and Nationhood in the Contemporary Philippines," in T. Friend (ed.), *Religion and Religiosity in the Philippines and Indonesia: Essays on State, Society, and Public Creeds*, pp. 53–62. SAIS-JHU, Washington, DC.

Rufo, A.C. 2013, *Altar of Secrets: Sex, Politics, and Money in the Philippine Catholic Church*. Journalism for Nation Building Foundation, Pasig City.

Social Weather Stations 2011, "Family Planning Gains Favor," *BusinessWorld Online*, August 8. Available from: www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=TopStory&title=Family-planning-gains-favor&id=36176
www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=TopStory&title=Family-planning-gains-favor&id=36176 [October 10, 2015].

Tolentino, R.A. 2010, "Blessed Ballots: Bloc Voting in the Iglesia Ni Cristo and the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines," *Gema Teologi*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 83–99.

Watanabe, Akiko. 2008, *Migrations and Mosques: The Evolution and Transformation of Muslim Communities in Manila, the Philippines*, Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies, Shiga, Japan.

Youngblood, R. 1990, *Marcos Against the Church: Economic Development and Political Repression in the Philippines*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Between rights protection and development aggression

Aguilar, F. 2005, *Tracing Origins: Ilustrado Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 605–638.

Eder, J. 1987, *On the Road to Tribal Extinction: Depopulation, Deculturation, and Adaptive Well-Being Among the Batak of the Philippines*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Elkins, R. 1974, A Proto-Manobo Word List, *Oceanic Linguistics*, vol. 13, pp. 601–641.

FPE (Foundation for Philippine Environment) 2014, *Where are Indigenous Peoples Distributed in the Philippines?* Available from: <http://fpe.ph/indigenous-communities.html/view/where-are-indigenous-peoples-distributed-in-the-philippines> [20 January 2016].

Gaspar, K. 2013, *A Sojourner's View: The Politics of Statistics Involving the Lumad*, *Mindanews*. Available from: www.mindanews.com/mindaviews/2013/10/10/a-sojourners-view-the-politics-of-statistics-involving-the-lumad/ [20 January 2016].

IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) 2012, *Country Technical Note on Indigenous Peoples' Issues: Republic of the Philippines*. Available from: www.ifad.org/documents/10180/0c348367-f9e9-42ec-89e9-3ddb5a14ac [26 October 2017].

Keesing, F. 1962, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Paredes, O. 2013, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*, Cornell University SEAP, Ithaca, NY.

Paredes, O. 2015, *Indigenous vs. Native: Negotiating the Place of Lumads in a Bangsamoro Homeland*, *Asian Ethnicity*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 166–185.

Scott, W. H. 1974, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, New Day, Quezon City.

UNDP (United Nations Development Program) 2010, *Fast Facts: Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines*. Available from: www.ph.undp.org/content/dam/philippines/docs/Governance/fastFacts6%20-%20Indigenous%20Peoples%20in%20the%20Philippines%20rev%201.5.pdf [20 January 2016].

The resilience of the peasantry

- Alavi, H. 1987, "Peasantry and capitalism: A Marxist discourse," in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and peasant societies: Selected readings* (2nd ed.), Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Banzon-Bautista, C. 1984, "Marxism and the peasantry: The Philippine case," in *Marxism in the Philippines: Marx centennial lectures*, Third World Studies Center, Quezon City.
- Bernstein, H. , and Byres, T.J. 2001, "From peasant studies to agrarian change," *Journal of Agrarian Change*, vol. 1, pp. 1–56.
- Bryceson, D.F. 2000, "Peasant theories and smallholder policies: Past and present," in D. Bryceson , C. Kay , and J. Mooij (eds.), *Disappearing peasantries: Rural labour in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London.
- De Janvry, A. 1981, *The agrarian question and reformism in Latin America*, Baltimore and The Johns Hopkins University Press, London.
- Eastwood, R. , Lipton, M. , and Newell, A. 2004, "Farm size," paper prepared for Volume III of the *Handbook of Agricultural Economics*. Available from <http://users.sussex.ac.uk/~ssfe3/papSEP.doc>. [accessed November 14, 2017].
- Elson, R.E. 1997, *The end of the peasantry in Southeast Asia: A social and economic history of peasant livelihood, 1800–1990s*, Macmillan, London.
- Fine, B. , and Harris, L. 1979, *Rereading capital*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke.
- Habito, C.F. 2006, "Scorecard on jobs, prices," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 20.
- Harris, R.L. 1978, "Marxism and the agrarian question in Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 5, pp. 2–26.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1998, *Uncommon people: Resistance, rebellion, and jazz*, Abacus, London.
- Hussain, A. , and Tribe, K. 1981, *Marxism and the agrarian question*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke.
- Ileto, R.C. 1998, *Filipinos and their revolution: Event, discourse, and historiography*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.
- Kerblay, B. 1987, "Chayanov and the theory of peasant economics," in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and peasant societies: Selected readings* (2nd ed.), Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Kerkvliet, B.J.T. 1991, *Everyday politics in the Philippines: Class and status relations in a Central Luzon village*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.
- Larkin, J. 2001, *Sugar and the origins of modern Philippine society*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.
- Lenin, V.I. 1956, *The development of capitalism in Russia*, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- Marx, K. 1967, *Capital*. Vol. 1: *A critical analysis of capitalist production*, International Publishers, New York.
- Marx, K. 1969, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected works* (Vol. 1). Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- Moore, B. Jr. 1966, *The social origins of dictatorship and democracy: Lord and peasant in the making of the modern world*, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Rigg, J. 2001, *More than the soil: Rural change in Southeast Asia*, Prentice Hall, Harlow, Essex.
- Roseberry, W. 1983, "From peasant studies to proletarianization studies," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 18, pp. 69–89.
- Scott, J.C. 1985, *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Scott, J.C. 1998, *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Scott, J.C. 2001, "Introduction," in J.C. Scott and N. Bhatt (eds.), *Agrarian studies: Synthetic work at the cutting edge*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Shanin, T. 1987a, "Introduction: Peasantry as a concept," in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and peasant societies: Selected readings* (2nd ed.), Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Shanin, T. 1987b, "Peasantry in political action," in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and peasant societies: Selected readings* (2nd ed.), Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Tadem, E.C. 2005, *Peasants and outsiders: Change and continuity in three rural villages in the Philippines*, unpublished PhD dissertation, National University of Singapore.
- Tadem, E.C. 2012, "The peasantry as a class in the Philippine context," *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, vol. 64, pp. 67–97.
- Wolf, E. 1966, *Peasants*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

The middle class in society and politics

- Albert, Jose Ramon , Raymond Gaspar , and M.J. Raymundo . 2015. "How Big is the Middle Class? Is it Benefiting from Economic Growth?" www.rappler.com/thought-leaders/97243-middle-class-economic-growth-Philippines (accessed June 25, 2016).
- Asian Development Bank . 2010. "The Rise of Asia's Middle Class," in Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/27726/key-indicators-2010.pdf> (accessed November 8, 2017).
- Bautista, Ma. Cynthia B. 1985. "The Protest Movement and White Collar Workers of Makati after the Aquino Assassination," Department of Sociology Paper, Series No. 1. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Bautista, Ma. Cynthia B. 2001. "Methodological Notes of the Philippine Middle Class Survey," in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao , ed., *Exploration of the Middle Classes in Southeast Asia*. Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Sinica.
- Bolasco, Mario V. and Edicio De la Torre . 1994. *Points of Departure: Essays on Christianity, Power, and Social Change*. Manila: St. Scholastica's College.
- Civil Service Commission . 1986. Report. Manila, Republic of the Philippines.
- De Dios, Aurora Javate , Petronilo Bn. Daroy , and Lorna Kalaw-Tirol , eds. 1988. *Dictatorship and Revolution: Roots of People's Power*. Metro Manila: Conspectus Foundation, Inc.
- Doeppers, Daniel F. 1984. *Manila: 1900–1941: Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.
- Fabros, Wilfredo. 1987. *The Church and its Social Involvement in the Philippines, 1930–1972*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Ferrer, Miriam. C. , ed. 1997. *Civil Society Making Civil Society*. Quezon City: The Third World Studies Center.
- Hsiao, Hsin-Huang Michael , ed., 2001. *Exploration of the Middle Classes in Southeast Asia*. Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Sinica.
- Hunt, Alan ., ed. 1977. *Class and Class Structure*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Jones, Gregg R. 1989. *Red Revolution: Inside the Philippine Guerrilla Movement*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Miranda, F. 1995. "The Military: At the Crossroads of Politicization," in Lorna Kalaw-Tirol , ed., *Looking Back, Looking Forward: Duet for EDSA 1996*. Manila: Foundation for Worldwide People Power, Inc., pp. 63–87.
- Miranda, Felipe B. , Temario C. Rivera , Malaya C. Ronas , and Ronald D. Holmes . 2011. *Chasing the Wind: Assessing Philippine Democracy*. Quezon City: Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines and the United Nations Development Programme.
- Nemenzo, Francisco. 1984. "Rectification Process in the Philippine Communist Movement," in Lim Joo-Jock and S. Vani , eds., *Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia*. Hampshire, England: Gower.
- Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism . 1990. *Kudeta: The Challenge to Philippine Democracy*. Manila: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Pinches, Michael. 1991. "The Working Class Experience of Shame, Inequality and People Power in Tatalon, Manila," in Benedict J. Kerkvliet and Resil Mojares , eds., *From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp. 166–186.
- Poulantzas, Nicos A. 1975. *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*. London: New Left Books.
- Rivera, Temario C. 2000. "Middle Class Politics: The Philippine Experience," *The Journal of Social Science* 45 (September), pp. 1–22.
- Rivera, Temario C. 2001a. "The Middle Classes and Democratisation in the Philippines: From the Asian Crisis to the Ouster of Estrada," in Abdul Rahman Embong , ed., *Southeast Asian Middle Classes: Prospects for Social Change and Democratisation*. Bangi, Malaysia: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, pp. 230–261.
- Rivera, Temario C. 2001b. "Middle Class Politics and Views on Society and Government," in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao , ed., *Exploration of the Middle Classes in Southeast Asia*. Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Sinica.
- Roberto, Ned E. 1987. *Applied Marketing Research*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Sison, Jose M. 1989. *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*. New York: Crane Russak.
- The Labor Assistance Center of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) , 2015. *Deployment Statistics*. www.poea.gov.ph/ofwstat/ofwstat.html (accessed November 8, 2017).
- Thompson, Mark R. 2014. "The Politics Philippine Presidents Make," *Critical Asian Studies* 46(3), pp. 433–460.
- Tuazon, Bobby M. , ed. 2011. *12 Years (1998–2010) of the Party List System*. Quezon City: Center for People Empowerment in Governance.
- Ulat ng Bayan Metro Manila Survey . 2005. Pulse Asia.
- Virola, Romulo A. , Jessamyn O. Encarnacion , Bernadette B. Balamban , Mildred B. Addawe , and Mechelle M. Viernes . 2013. "Will the Recent Robust Economic Growth Create a Burgeoning Middle Class in the Philippines?" Paper read during the 12th National Convention on Statistics, EDSA Shangrila Hotel, Mandaluyong City.

Weekly, Kathleen. 2003. *The Communist Party of the Philippines, 1968–1993: A Story of its Theory and Practice*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

World Bank . 2015. Personal remittances, received (% of GDP). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS> (accessed November 8, 2017).

Wright, Erik O. 1985. *Classes*. London: Verso, pp. 38–57.

Wui, Marlon A. and M.G.S. Lopez . 1997. *State-Civil Society Relations in Policy-making*. Quezon City: Third World Studies Center.

Youngblood, Robert L. 1990. *Marcos Against the Church: Economic Development and Political Repression in the Philippines*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.

NGOs in the post-Marcos era

Alston, Philip (2008), 'Mission to the Philippines: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions', Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Council, 16 April.

Cariño, Ledivina V. , Racelis, Mary R. , Fernan III, Ramon L. , Sokolowski, S. Wojciech and Salamon, Lester (2004), 'The Philippines', in Lester M. Salamon , S. Wojciech Sokolowski and Associates , *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, Vol. 2, Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press.

Clarke, Gerard (1998), *The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines*, London: Routledge.

Clarke, Gerard (2013), *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Constantino-David, Karina (1992), 'The Philippine Experience in Scaling-Up', in Michael Edwards and David Hulme (eds), *Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World*, London: Earthscan.

Coronel-Ferrer, Miriam (1997), 'Civil Society: An Operational Definition', in Maria Serena Diokno (ed.), *Democracy and Citizenship in Filipino Political Culture*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Third World Studies Center.

Hegel, G.W.F. (2008), *Outlines of the Philosophy of Rights*, trans. T.M. Knox , revised, edited and introduced by Stephen Houlgate, Oxford: Oxford University Press. [first published in 1821].

Lewis, David (2008), 'Crossing the Boundaries between "Third Sector" and the State: Life-Work Histories from the Philippines, Bangladesh and the UK', *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1).

Lum, Thomas and Margesson, Rhoda (2014), 'Typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda): U.S. and International Response to Philippines Disaster', *Current Politics and Economics of Southeastern and Central Asia*, 23(2).

Racelis, Rachel H. (2002), 'The Non-Profit Sector and the Economy', in Ledivina V. Cariño (ed.), *Between the State and the Market: The Non-Profit Sector and Civil Society in the Philippines*, Quezon City: Center for Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy, National College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.

Salamon, Lester M. , Sokolowski, S. Wojciech et al. (2004), *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, Vol. 2, Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press.

Santos, Dennis Jay (2013), 'Marcos defends Tacloban Mayor on "Yolanda" response, asks why DSWD "seized" goods', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 18 November.

Tocqueville, Alexis De (2003), *Democracy in America and Two Essays on America*, trans. Gerald E. Bevan , introd. and notes Isaac Kramnick, London: Penguin Books. [Vol. 1 first published in 1835; Vol. 2 first published in 1840].

Torres-Tupas, Tetch (2015), 'SC orders gov't to return P5-B tax for PEACe Bonds', *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 3 March.

Crossovers double-crossed

Abinales, P. N. , and Amoroso, D. J. (2005). *State and society in the Philippines*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Akbayan . (2013). Halfway through 'daang matuwid', deeper reforms needed to curb inequality. Retrieved 2 June 2015, from <https://akbayan.org.ph/news/12-press-releases/332-halfway-through-daang-matuwid-deeper-reforms-needed-to-curb-inequality>.

Akbayan . (2015). Participatory democracy, participatory socialism: The Akbayan narrative. Retrieved 2 June 2015, from <https://akbayan.org.ph/who-we-are/9-participatory-democracy-participatory-socialism-the-akbayan-narrative>.

Bello, W. (2014). Akbayan to Aquino. Retrieved 2 June 2015, from <https://akbayan.org.ph/news/460-akbayan-to-aquino-re-energize-the-campaign-for-reforms>.

Bello, W. F. , de Guzman, M. , Malig, M. L. and Docena, H. (2005). The anti-development state: The political economy of permanent crisis in the Philippines. London and New York: Zed Books.

De Tocqueville, A. (1863). Democracy in America – Vol. 1. Cambridge: Sever and Francis.

Gramsci, A. (2000). The Gramsci reader: Selected writings, 1916–1935. New York: New York University Press.

Harriss, J. (2002). Depoliticizing development: The World Bank and social capital. London: Anthem Press.

Howell, J. , and Pearce, J. (2002). Civil society and development: A critical exploration. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Huntington, S. P. (1951). Clientelism: A study in administrative politics (PhD Harvard University).

Kasuya, Y. (2008). Presidential bandwagon: Parties and party systems in the Philippines. Tokyo: Keio University Press.

Luccisano, L. , and Macdonald, L. (2012). Neo-liberalism, semi-clientelism and the politics of scale in Mexican anti-poverty policies. *World Political Science Review*, 8(1), 1–27. doi: 10.1515/wpsr-2012-0006.

Morales, L. (2009). Joining political organisations: Institutions, mobilisation and participation in Western democracies. London: European Consortium for Political Research.

National Statistics Office . (2013). 2012 FIES (statistical tables). Retrieved 5 June 2015, from <http://web0.psa.gov.ph/content/2012-fies-statistical-tables>.

Putnam, R. D. (2001). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Reid, B. (2000). Philippine left: Political crisis and social change. Manila and Sydney: Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers.

Reid, B. (2001). The Philippine democratic uprising and the contradictions of neoliberalism: EDSA II. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(5), 777–793. doi: 10.1080/01436590120084593.

Reid, B. (2008). Development NGOs, semiclientelism, and the state in the Philippines: From 'crossover' to double-crossed. *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, 23(1), 4–42.

Reid, B. (2011). Securitizing participation in the Philippines: KALAH! and community-driven development. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 41, 47–74.

Reid, B. (2013, 9–11 July). Exporting social policy from Latin America to the Philippines: Securitisation, neoliberalism and multilateral mediation of poverty policies. International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy Fourth Annual Conference in Political Economy 'Political Economy, Activism and Alternative Economic Strategies'. Retrieved 25 October 2010, from <http://iippe.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/BEN-REID-IIPPE2013.pdf>.

Rocamora, J. (2003, 12 February). [Interview with author].

Sidel, J. T. (1999). Capital, coercion, and crime: Bossism in the Philippines. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Silliman, G. S. , and Noble, L. G. (1998). Organizing for democracy: NGOs, civil society, and the Philippine state. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Soliman, C. (2003, 15 February 15). [Interview with author].

Villacorta, W. V. (2011). Noynoy: Triumph of a people's campaign. Passig: Anvil.

World Bank . (2003). Making services work for poor people. Oxford and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press.

The left

Aben, E.L. 2015, "AFP cites success of 'Bayanihan' in neutralizing 600 rebels." Manila Bulletin, July 3. Available from: www.mb.com.ph/afp-cites-success-of-bayanihan-in-neutralizing-600-rebels/#Ty6tW1Ld8c2PdSOS.99. [July 23, 2015].

Alston, P. 2008, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Philip Alston – Addendum: Mission to Philippines. Geneva: UN Human Rights Council. Available from: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G08/130/01/PDF/G0813001.pdf?OpenElement>. [July 23, 2015].

Esplanada, J.E. 2015, "Preconditions make it difficult to resume talks with NDF – Deles." July 14. Available from: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/704984/preconditions-make-it-difficult-to-resume-talks-with-ndf-deles#ixzz3ggoqWRQY>. [July 23, 2015].

Guerrero, Amado (pseud. of Jose Ma. Sison) 1970, Philippine Society and Revolution. Available from: <https://karlomongaya.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/guerrero-amado-philippine-society-and-revolution.pdf>. [July 23, 2015].

International Crisis Group 2011, "The communist insurgency in the Philippines: Tactics and talks." Asia Report No. 202–14, February. Available from: www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/202%20The%20Communist%20Insurgency%20in%20the%20Philippines%20Tactics%20and%20Talks.pdf. [July 23, 2015].

Lenin, V.I. 1964, "The collapse of the Second International." Collected Works, Volume 21: August 1914–December 1915. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Quimpo, N.G. 2006, "The use of human rights for the protraction of war." *Kasarinlan*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 34–54.

Quimpo, N.G. 2014, "'Revolutionary taxation' and the logistical and strategic dilemmas of the Maoist insurgency in the Philippines." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 263–287.

Tolosa, Jr., B.T. 2011, "Filipino social democracy: An introduction," in *Socdem: Filipino Social Democracy in a Time of Turmoil and Transition, 1965–1995*, ed. Tolosa . Manila: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, pp. 1–8.

Trade unions

Abao, C.V. 2012, "Commentary: Aquino Failed Organized Labor," July 23, *Rappler*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.rappler.com/9026.

Abao, C.V. 2014, "On the Job: The Filipino Precariat," April 30, *Rappler*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.rappler.com/56706.

Anakpawis Party-list 2016, "Anakpawis Lauds Appointment of its Former Rep., Labor Leader Joel Maglunsod as DOLE Usec," June 4. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.anakpawis.net/2016/06/anakpawis-lauds-appointment-of-its-former-rep-labor-leader-joel-maglunsod-as-dole-usec/.

Bankoff, G. 2005, "Wants, Wages and Workers: Laboring in the American Philippines, 1899 to 1908," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 1, pp. 59–86.

Behrens, M. , Hamann, K. and Hurd, R. 2004, "Conceptualizing Labor Union Revitalization," in C. Frege and J. Kelly (eds.), *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Globalizing Economy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Benson, J. and Zhu, Y. (eds.) 2008. *Trade Unions in Asia: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York.

Bieler, A. and Lindberg, I. 2011, "Globalization and the New Challenges for Transnational Solidarity: An Introduction," in A. Bieler and I. Lindberg (eds.), *Global Restructuring, Labour and the Challenges for Transnational Solidarity (Rethinking Globalizations)*, Routledge, London and New York.

Bragado, E. 2002, "Sumikatem: Isabelo de los Reyes Revisited," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1, p. 50.

Carroll, S.J.J. 1961, "Philippine Labor Unions," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 9, April, pp. 220–254.

Corrales, N. 2016, "Duterte Vows to Stop Contractualization," April 24, *Inquirer.net*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/781289/duterte-vows-to-stop-contractualization>.

Cradden, C. 2011, "Understanding the Past to Change the Present: The Social Compromise, the Corporate Theory of Society and the Future Shape of Industrial Relations," in Melissa Serrano , Edira Xhafa and Michael Fichter (eds.), *Trade Unions and the Global Crisis: Labour's Visions, Strategies and Responses*, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

Cullinane, M. 2009, "Bringing in the Brigands: The Politics of Pacification in the Philippines, 1902–1907," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 1, March, pp. 49–76.

Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP) 2011, "ECOP Slates Symposium on D.O. 18-A," December 21. Last accessed October 25, 2017, <http://ecop.org.ph/ecop-slates-symposium-do18-A.php>.

Frenkel, S. and Kuruvilla, S. 2002, "Logics of Action, Globalization and Changing Employment Relations in China, India, Malaysia, and Philippines," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 55, pp. 387–412.

Gospel, H. 2008, "Trade Unions in Theory and Practice: Perspectives from Advanced Industrial Countries," in J. Benson and Y. Zhu (eds.), *Trade Unions in Asia: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Routledge/Taylor & Francis, London and New York.

International Labour Organization 2003, Article 3 and Article 10 of ILO Convention 87, International Labour Office, Geneva. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@declaration/documents/publication/wcms_095895.pdf.

International Labour Organization 2010, *Constitution of the International Labour Organization and Selected Texts*, International Labour Office, Geneva. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/leg/download/constitution.pdf.

International Labour Organization 2016, *Ratification for Philippines*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11200:0::NO::P11200_COUNTRY_ID:102970.

International Labour Organization . Industrial Relations Data, www.ilo.org/ilostat/.

Kilusang Mayo Uno 2013a. "World Day for Decent Work: Workers March to Mendiola, Say 'Junk Contractualization!'" Last accessed October 7, 2013, www.kilusangmayouno.org/news/2013/10/world-day-decent-work-workers-march-mendiola-say-%E2%80%98junk-contractualization%E2%80%99.

Kilusang Mayo Uno 2013b. "Marking the 23rd Year of Republic Act 6715, Also Known as the Herrera Law, Workers Led by Labor Center." Last accessed December 1, 2013, www.arkibongbayan.org/2012/2012-03March05PUPstrike/pup%20strike.htm#contractual.

Magadia, S.J. and Jose, J. 2003, *State-Society Dynamics: Policy Making in a Restored Democracy*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

Mojares, R. 2006, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City.

Ofreneo, R. 2013, "Precarious Philippines: Expanding Informal Sector, 'Flexibilizing' Labor Market," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 57, No. 420, pp. 420–443.

Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) 2013, *StatExtracts*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?QueryId=20167>.

Ranada, P. 2016, "Duterte to Labor Unions: I Meant Unions that Kill Business," February 12, *Rappler*. Last accessed October 25, 2017, www.rappler.com/nation/politics/elections/2016/122250-duterte-labor-unions-kill-business.

Scipes, K. 1996, *KMU: Building Genuine Trade Unionism in the Philippines, 1980–1994*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.

Scott, W.H. 1992, *The Union Obrera Democratica: First Filipino Labor Union*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.

Serrano, M. 2014, "Between Accommodation and Transformation: The Two Logics of Union Renewal," *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, February 19.

Sibal, J.V. 2004, "A Century of the Philippine Labor Movement," *Illawarra Unity – Journal of the Illawarra Branch of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 29–41.

Wachter, M. 2007, "The Rise and Decline of Unions," *Regulation*, Summer, pp. 23–29.

Wurfel, D. 1959, "Trade Union Development and Labor Relations Policy in the Philippines," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 582–608.

The women's movement

Abao, C. and Yang, E. 2001, *Women in politics, limits and possibilities: the Philippine case*. Available from: <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/iez/01109toc.htm>. [November 10, 2010].

Aguilung-Pangalangan, E. 2010, "Catholic fundamentalism and its impact on women's political participation in the Philippines," in C. Derichs and A. Fleschenberg (eds.), *Religious fundamentalisms and their gendered impacts in Asia*, pp. 88–106. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin. Available from: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/07061.pdf>. [January 10, 2011].

Angeles, L. 2003, "Creating social space for transnational feminist advocacy: the Canadian International Development Agency, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and Philippine women's NGOs," *The Canadian Geographer*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 283–302.

Angsioco, E. 2000, "Constituency-building and electoral advocacy with grassroots women in the Philippines." Case study written for The Global Women in Political Program, The Asia Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Barry, C. 2006, "The limits of conservative Church reformism in the democratic Philippines," in T.J. Cheng and D. Brown (eds.), *Religious organizations and democratization*, M.E. Sharpe, New York and England.

Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) 1990, *Guiding principles of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines on population control*. Available from: <http://cbcponline.net/v2/?p=317>. [November 7, 2010].

CBCP 2009, *Reiterating CBCP position on family*, September 16. Available from: www.cbcponline.net/documents/200s/html/2009. [November 8, 2010].

De Dios, A. 1996, "Participation of women's groups in the anti-dictatorship struggle: genesis of a movement," in *Women's role in Philippine history: selected essays*, 2nd edn., pp. 141–168. University of the Philippines Center for Women Studies, Quezon City.

Eviota, E. 1992, *The political economy of gender: women and the sexual division of labour in the Philippines*, Zed Books Ltd., London and New Jersey.

Honculada, J. 1999, "Pinoy rosebook," *Issue Monograph Series #5, PILIPINA*, Quezon City.

Intengan, R.S.J. 2005, *Philippine domestic political spectrum*, Center for Strategic Studies, Quezon City.

Mananzan, Sr. M.J. 2002, "Church–State relationships during Martial Law in the Philippines," *Studies in World Christianity*, vol. 8, pp. 195–205.

Mendoza, D. 2013, *Engaging the State, challenging the Church: the women division of labour in the Philippines*, Ph.D. thesis, City University of Hong Kong.

Muñoz, M. 2005, "SIBOL's experience in legislative advocacy: bill against the abuse of women in intimate relationships (Anti-AWIR)," in *Policy advocacy: experiences and lessons from the Philippines*, Institute of Popular Democracy, Quezon City.

Quindoza-Santiago, L. 1995, "Rebirthing Babaye: the women's movement in the Philippines," in A. Basu (ed.), *The challenge of local feminisms: women's movements in global perspectives*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, San Francisco and Oxford.

Raquiza, A. 1997, "Philippine feminist politics: disunity in diversity," in M.C. Ferrer (ed.), *Civil society: making civil society*, Third World Studies Center, Quezon City.

Roces, M. 2012, *Women's movements and the Filipina*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Santos-Maranan, A. and Estrada-Claudio, S. 2005, "The women's movement(s) and social movements: conjunctures and divergencies," Paper presented at the Silang Seminar "Towards a democratic, pluralist, and humanist framework and strategy for social change," Silang Cavite, May 26–28. Available from: www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article530. [November 10, 2010].

Santos-Maranan, A., Parreño, N. and Fabros, A. 2007, "Reflection and insights on the status and directions of women's political participation: re-imagining women's movements and struggles in conversations with women." A collaborative project between the Women's Education, Development, Productivity & Research Organization (WEDPRO) and the Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Quezon City.

Silliman, G.S. and Noble, L.G. 1998, *Organizing for democracy: NGOs, civil society and the Philippine state*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Sobritchea, C. 2004, "Women's movement in the Philippines and the politics of critical collaboration with the state," in L.H. Guan (ed.), *Civil society in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

Thompson, M. 2007, "Presidents and people power in comparative Asian perspective," *Philippine Political Science Journal*, vol. 28, no. 51, pp. 1–32.

Yang, E. and Masilungan, E. 2011, "The Philippine women's movement: asserting rights, claiming space," in *Civil society organizations in the Philippines, a mapping and strategic assessment*, Civil Society Resource Institute (CSRI), Quezon City.

Youngblood, R. 1990, *Marcos against the Church: economic development and political repression in the Philippines*, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY and London.

Bangsamoro Secessionism

Abinales, P.N. 1998, "The 'Muslim-Filipino' and the state," *Public Policy: A University of the Philippines Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 37–69.

Arcilla, J.S. (ed.) 1990, *Jesuit missionary letters from Mindanao (Vol. 1: The Rio Grande Mission)*, Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, Quezon City.

Buendia, R.G. 2005, "The state-Moro conflict: unresolved national question or question of governance?," *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 109–138.

Canoy, R. 1980, *The counterfeit revolution: martial law in the Philippines*, Philippine Editions Publishing, Manila.

Corpuz, O.D. 1989, *The roots of the Filipino nation*, AKLAHI Foundation, Inc., Quezon City, vol. 1.

de Vos, G. 1995, "Ethnic pluralism, conflict and accommodation: the role of ethnicity in social history," in G. de Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross (eds.), *Ethnic identity, creation, conflict and accommodation*, pp. 15–47. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Diokino R. 2015, "MNLf chairman asks Congress: pass BBL now," GMA Network, May 18. Available from: www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/488994/news/nation/mnlf-chairman-asks-congress-pass-bbl-now. [April 20, 2016].

Gellner, E. 1983, *Nations and nationalism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Gowing, P. 1979, *Muslim Filipinos: heritage and horizon*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.

Ileto, R. 1971, *Magindanao: 1860–1888: the career of Datu Uto of Buayan*, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, NY.

Jubair, S. 1999, *Bangsamoro: a nation under endless tyranny*, IQ Marin, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Laarhoven, R. 1989, *Triumph of Moro diplomacy: the Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th century*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.

Mallari, M. 2015, "Misuari's MNLf won't join BBL talks, pursues secession," *The Daily Tribune*, January 23. Available from: www.tribune.net.ph/headlines/misuari-s-mnlf-won-t-join-bbl-talks-pursues-secession. [April 20, 2016].

Marcus, V. 2015, "MNLF rejects BBL, wants own autonomous region," Kicker Daily News, April 21. Available from: <http://kickerdaily.com/mnlf-rejects-bbl-wants-own-autonomous-region>. [April 20, 2016].

McAmis, R.D. 2002, *Malay Muslims: the history and challenge of resurgent Islam in Southeast Asia*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Cambridge.

McKenna, T. 1998, *Muslim rulers and rebels: everyday politics and armed separatism in the southern Philippines*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Mercado, E. 1984, "Culture, economics and revolt in Mindanao: the origins of the MNLF and the politics of Moro separatism," in J. Lim and S. Vani (eds.), *Armed separatism in Southeast Asia*, pp. 151–175. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

Muslim Association of the Philippines (MAP) 1956, *Proceedings of the First National Muslim Convention*, Cotabato, June 8–12, 1955, Muslim Association of the Philippines, Cotabato.

Nawal, A. 2014, "MNLF reorganized with Alonto as new chair; Misuari out," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 17. Available from: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/586489/mnlf-reorganized-with-alonto-as-new-chair-misuari-out>. [April 20, 2016].

Phelan, J.L. 1959, *The hispanization of the Philippines*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Tan, S. 1977, *The Filipino Muslim armed struggle, 1900–1972*, Filipinas Foundation, Manila.

Tan, S. 1993, *Internationalization of the Bangsamoro struggle*, Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS), University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

Vitug, M.D. and Gloria, G. 1999, *Under the crescent moon: rebellion in Mindanao*, Ateneo Centre for Social Policy and Public Affairs and Institute for Popular Democracy, Quezon City.

Weller, M. 2005, "Self-determination trap," *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 3–28. Available from: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

United Nations , 1970. General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV), Declaration of Principles Concerning Friendly Relations Among States, October 24, New York.

International Court of Justice Reports (ICJR) . ICJ Report 1975, New York.

1976 Tripoli Agreement . December 23. Tripoli, Libya.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNHCR) , 1978. United Nations, Geneva.

1996 GRP-MNLF Final Peace Agreement . September 2. Malacañang Palace Press, Manila.

2001 GRP-MILF Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talks . March 24.

2001 GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace . June 22. Tripoli, Libya.

Implementing Guidelines on the Security Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement of Peace 2001, August 7.

Implementing Guidelines on the Humanitarian, Rehabilitation and Development Aspects of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement of Peace 2001 . 2002, May 7.

Memorandum of Agreement on the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001 . 2008, August 5.

2008 Supreme Court , The Province of North Cotabato vs. The Government of the Republic of the Philippines, G.R. No. 183591. Available from: <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/jurisprudence/2008/october2008/183591.htm>. [April 14, 2016].

Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro , 2012. October 15. Malacañang Palace, Manila.

Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro , 2014, March 27. Malacañang Palace, Manila.

House Bill No. 4994 , "An Act Providing For The Basic Law For The Bangsamoro And Abolishing The Autonomous Region In Muslim Mindanao, Repealing For The Purpose Republic Act No. 9054, Entitled 'An Act To Strengthen And Expand The Organic Act For The Autonomous Region In Muslim Mindanao,' And Republic Act No. 6734, Entitled 'An Act Providing For An Organic Act For The Autonomous Region In Muslim Mindanao, And For Other Purposes.'" 2014, September 11.

Moro insurgency and third party mediation

Bacani, B.R. 2005, *The Mindanao Peace Talks: Another Opportunity to Resolve the Moro Conflict in the Philippines*, Special Report 131 U.S. Institute for Peace, Washington, D.C.

Bacho, P. 1987, "The Muslim Secessionist Movement," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 1, p. 157.

Barnes, B.E. 2007, *Culture, Conflict and Mediation in the Asian Pacific*, University Press of America, Lanham, MD.

Cagoca-Guiam, R. 2004, "Mindanao: Conflicting Agendas, Stumbling Blocks, and Prospects Toward Sustainable Peace," in A. Heijmans , N. Simmonds , and H. van de Veen (eds.), *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 483–504.

Faizasyah, T. 2003, "Indonesia's Experience in Facilitating Peace Process," *The Indonesian Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3.

Fitrah, D.I. 2012, *Multiparty Mediation in the Southern Philippines Conflict*, Master's thesis S1065386, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University.

Harish, S.P. 2005, *Towards Better Peace Processes: A Comparative Study of Attempts to Broker Peace with MNLF and GAM*, May, Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies working paper, no. 77. Available from: www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/WorkingPapers/WP77.pdf. [May 25, 2012].

Lau, B. 2014, "The Southern Philippines in 2013: One Step Forward, One Step Back," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, p. 260.

Lingao, E. 2013, "History Catches up with Sabah," *Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism*, The PCIJ Blog, blog post, February 19. Available from: <http://pcij.org/blog/2013/02/19/history-catches-up-with-sabah>. [October 26, 2017].

Noble, L.G. 1981, "Muslim Separation in the Philippines, 1972–81: The Making of a Stalemate," *Asian Survey*, vol. 21, no. 11.

Noor, F.A. 2011. "A New 'Sultan' of Sulu in Malaysia: Implications for Politics and Bilateral Ties," *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Commentaries*, no. 20, p. 1.

Sussman, G. 1983. "Macapagal, the Sabah Claim and Maphilindo: The Politics of Penetration," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 210–228.

The problem with a national(ist) method

Abinales, Patricio N. 2000. *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the formation of the Philippine nation-state*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Abinales, Patricio N. 2016. *Farms with arms: USAID and the Moro National Liberation Front*. Paper presented at the East-West Center Association (EWCA) alumni conference on January 14–19. Manila.

Abinales, Patricio N. and Amoroso, Donna J. 2006. The withering of Philippine democracy. *Current History: A Journal of Contemporary World Affairs*, 190, pp. 290–295.

Andaya, Barbara W. 2006. *The flaming womb: Repositioning women in early modern Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Anderson, Benedict R.O.G. 1998. *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the world*. London and New York: Verso Press.

Angeles, Leonora C. , 1989. *Feminism and nationalism: The discourse on the woman question and politics of the women's movement in the Philippines*. University of the Philippines MA Thesis.

Angeles, Vivienne S. 1996. Women and revolution: Philippine Muslim women's participation in the Moro National Liberation Front. *The Muslim World*, 86(2), pp. 130–147.

Barnes, Julian. 2017. *Diary*. *London Review of Books*, 39(8), pp. 41–43.

Bondoc, Jarius. 2008. MILF letter to Bush sped up settlement. *PhilStar Global*. [Online]. Available at: www.philstar.com/opinion/76398/milf-letter-bush-sped-settlement. [Accessed May 15, 2017].

Camagay, Maria Lourdes. 1995. *Working women of Manila in the 19th century*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and the University Center for Women's Studies.

Center for Migrant Advocacy . 2011. *Enhancing the right of suffrage by overseas Filipinos: A policy paper on overseas absentee voting (OAV)*. *Migrants Rights Policy Monitor*. [Online]. Available at: <https://centerformigrantadvocacy.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/policy-paper-on-overseas-absentee-voting-oav.pdf>. [Accessed January 31, 2016].

Center for Women's Resources . 1998. *Selected readings about the women's movement in the Philippines*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Center for Women's Resources.

Coronel, S.S. 2007. The Philippines in 2006: Democracy and its discontents. *Asian Survey*, 47(1), pp. 175–182.

Cullinane, Michael. 2014. *Arenas of conspiracy and rebellion in the late nineteenth-century Philippines: The case of the April 1898 uprising in Cebu*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

De Dios, Emmanuel S. 2007. Local politics and local economy. In Arsenio M. Balisacan and Hal Hill (eds.), *The dynamics of regional development: The Philippines in East Asia*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University.

Emmers, Ralf. 2003. *The threat of transnational crime in Southeast Asia: Drug trafficking, human smuggling and trafficking and sea piracy*. UNISCI Discussion Papers, (2).

Fernandez, Albina P. 1996. If women are the best men in the Philippines, why are they invisible in history? *Review of Women's Studies*, 5(2), pp. 123–140.

Florendo, Maria Nela B. 1998. Returning women's memory: Some notes on a gender-sensitive historical methodology. *Review of Women's Studies*, 8(2).

Francia, Beatriz R. 1988. *Imelda and the clans: A story of the Philippines*. Manila: Solar Publications Corporation.

Garchitorena, Victoria P. 2007. *Diaspora philanthropy: The Philippine experience*. Paper prepared for The Philanthropic Initiative and The Global Equity Initiative in May 2007. Harvard University, pp. 8–11.

Guerrero, Sylvia. 1997. *Towards feminist consciousness*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Center for Women Studies.

Hau, Caroline S. 2014. *The Chinese question: Ethnicity, nation, and region in and beyond the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Hau, Caroline S. , Tuvera, Katrina , Reyes, Isabelita O. , and Alfaro, Dean F. 2013. *Querida: An anthology*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing Inc.

Horn, Florence. 1941. *Orphans of the Pacific: The Philippines*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock.

Institute for Development and Econometric Analysis, Inc. 2006. *Smuggling in the Philippines? A study on diesel and gasoline smuggling*. Manila: Institute for Development and Econometric Analysis, Inc.

International Organization for Migration . 2013. Compiled by *Country Migration Report: The Philippines 2013* . International Organization for Migration. [Online]. Available at: www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/Country/docs/CMReport-Philippines-2013.pdf. [Accessed April 1, 2016].

Kaplan, Robert D. 2005. *Imperial grunts: With the army special forces in the Philippines and Afghanistan – laboratories of counterinsurgency*. The Atlantic. [Online]. Available at: www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/10/imperial-grunts/304266/. [Accessed May 15, 2017].

Kar, Dev , and LeBlanc, Brian. 2014. *Illicit financial flows to and from the Philippines: A study in dynamic simulation, 1960–2011*. Global Financial Integrity. [Online]. Available at: http://iff.gfintegrity.org/iff2013/Illicit_Financial_Flows_from_Developing_Countries_2002-2011-HighRes.pdf. [Accessed May 15, 2017].

Lansang, Sunny. 1991. Gender issues in revolutionary praxis. *Philippine Left Review*, 1, pp. 41–52.

Maulana, Nash. 2015. *Historical significance of July 4, 1946 to Moros*. Inquirer Net. [Online]. Available at: <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/697914/historical-significance-of-july-4-1946-to-moros>. [Accessed May 15, 2017].

McCoy, Alfred W. 2009. *Policing America's empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the rise of the surveillance state*. Madison: University of Wisconsin – Madison.

McKay, Dierdre. 2012. *Global Filipinos: Migrants' lives in the virtual village*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mojares, Resil B. 1999. *The war against the Americans: Resistance and collaboration in Cebu, 1899–1906*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Montalvan, Antonio J. 2002. *History of Cagayan de Oro, second of two parts*. Heritage Conservation Advocates. [Online]. Available at: <http://heritage.elizaga.net/history/page2.html>. [Accessed May 16, 2017].

Mydans, Seth. 2006. *Enthusiasm wanes for people power*. The New York Times. [Online]. Available at: www.nytimes.com/2006/02/20/world/asia/20iht-manila.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. [Accessed January 29, 2016].

National Commission on Culture and the Arts (Philippines) , 1995. *Ang Papel Ng Kababaihan at Katutubosa Sa Rebolusyong 1896: Conference proceedings*. University of the Philippines College, Baguio, National Commission for Culture and the Arts, *Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa at may Hilig sa Kasaysayan*.

National Commission on the Role of Women, Republic of the Philippines . 1982. *Filipino (sic) women in development: Focus on the KKK: Proceedings of the Third National Women's Congress*. Manila: Philippine International Convention Center.

Office of the President of the Philippines Commission on Filipinos Overseas . 2013. *Overseas Voting Act 2013*. Office of the President of the Philippines Commission on Filipinos Overseas. [Online]. Available at: www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1988:overseas-voting-act-2013&catid=108:cfo-press-release&Itemid=839. [Accessed January 30, 2016].

Ofreneo, Rosalinda P. 1998. *How to make women visible in history*. *Review of Women's Studies*, 3(22), pp. 18–48.

Orejas, Tonette. 2008. *US Pinoys donate to war on graft*. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. [Online]. Available at: <http://manilajournal.com/2008/01/31/us-pinoys-donate-to-war-on-graft/>. [Accessed February 3, 2016].

Philippine Consulate, USA . n.d. *Open list of Filipino-American associations/organizations: Southern California*. [Online]. Available at: www.philippineconsulatela.org/Fil-Am%20Organizations/OPEN%20LIST%20OF%20FIL-AM%20ORGS.%20-%20Oct%202015%20SOCAL-TX.pdf. [Accessed February 3, 2016].

Planet Philippines . 2013. *Overseas voting turnout very low*. Planet Philippines. [Online]. Available at: <http://planetphilippines.com/current-affairs/overseas-voting-turnout-very-low/>. [Accessed January 31, 2016].

Roces, Mina. 2012. *Women's movements and the Filipina, 1986–2008*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Rodriguez, R.M. 2002. *Migrant heroes: Nationalism, citizenship and the politics of Filipino migrant labor*. *Citizenship Studies*, 6(3), pp. 341–356.

- Scott, William H. 2006. *The Igorot struggle for independence*. Quezon City: Malaya Books [1972].
- Sobritchea, Carolyn I. 2004. *Gender, culture & society: Selected readings in women's studies in the Philippines*. Seoul: Ewha Woman's University Press.
- Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture . n.d. An assessment of smuggling on selected agricultural commodities in the Philippine project. Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture. [Online]. Available at: <http://searca.org/index.php/news/601-an-assessment-of-smuggling-on-selected-agricultural-commodities-in-the-philippines-project->. [Accessed March 15, 2016].
- Subido, Tarrosa. 1955. *The feminist movement in the Philippines, 1905–1955*. Manila: National Federation of Women's Clubs.
- The Manila Times . 2016. Rice smuggling in the Philippines worse under Daang Matuwid. The Manila Times. [Online]. Available at: www.manilatimes.net/rice-smuggling-in-philippines-worse-under-daang-matuwid/247920/. [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Tiglao, Rigoberto. 2012. Rice smuggling explodes under Aquino. Philippine Daily Inquirer. [Online]. Available at: <http://opinion.inquirer.net/43075/rice-smuggling-explodes-under-aquino>. [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Wikipedia . 2017. Love in Paris (sinetron). Wikipedia. [Online]. Available at: [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Love_in_Paris_\(sinetron\)](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Love_in_Paris_(sinetron)). [Accessed May 15, 2017].
- Wolters, O.W. 1982. *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.