Games, Changes, and Fears

The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Singapore APEC Study Centre, and the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

Games, Changes, and Fears

The Philippines from Duterte to Marcos Jr.

EDITED BY

ARIES A. ARUGAY
JEAN ENCINAS-FRANCO



First published in Singapore in 2024 by ISEAS Publishing 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg

Website: http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

© 2024 ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Name(s): Arugay, Aries A., editor. | Franco, Jean Encinas-, editor.

Title: Games, changes, and fears: the Philippines from Duterte to Marcos Jr. / edited by Aries A. Arugay and Jean Encinas-Franco.

Description: Singapore : ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2024. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: ISBN 978-981-5203-17-2 (soft cover) | ISBN 978-981-5203-18-9 (PDF) | ISBN 978-981-5203-19-6 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Philippines—Politics and government.

Classification: LCC DS686.614 G19

Cover and section photos by Mr Basilio Sepe Cover design by Lee Meng Hui Index compiled by Sheryl Sin Bing Peng Typesetting by International Typesetters Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

Contents

List	of Tables	vi
List	of Figures	ix
Ackn	10wledgements	х
Abou	ut the Contributors	xi
1.	Introduction: Change and Continuity Narratives in the Philippines from Duterte to Marcos Jr. Aries A. Arugay, Jean Encinas-Franco, and Justin Keith A. Baque	1 isal
2.	Much a Duterte about Nothing: Continuity, Complacency, and Crisis in the Philippine Economy (2016–23) Jan Carlo Punongbayan	33
3.	From Entrepreneur to Saboteur: How the Philippines Won and Lost the South China Sea on Social Media Charmaine Misalucha-Willoughby	59
4.	Course Correction from Over-Militarization: National Security from the Duterte to the Marcos Jr. Administration Julio S. Amador III and Deryk Matthew Baladjay	84
5.	Duterte's Federalism and Constitutional Change Project: From Campaign Promise to Abandoned Reform Maria Ela L. Atienza	119

vi Contents

6.	Experiencing Grief: Duterte's Lethal Drug War and Its Widows Bianca Ysabelle E. Franco	149
7.	Tsek.ph and the Media's Pushback against Digital Disinformation Ma. Diosa Labiste	171
8.	A Quixotic Quest? Electoral and Political Reforms from Duterte to Marcos Jr. Cleo Anne A. Calimbahin and Luie Tito F. Guia	203
9.	The Changing Local Political Dynamics during the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Philippine Experience under Duterte (and Marcos Jr.) Jan Robert R. Go	229
10.	An Unchanging Terrain? Environment and Climate Change in the Philippines from Duterte to Marcos Jr. <i>Ruth R. Lusterio-Rico</i>	255
11.	Mitigating Risks, Fostering Resilience: Human Security and Disaster Response Policy from Duterte to Marcos Jr. <i>Cherry Ann Madriaga</i>	273
12.	Understanding Gendered Disinformation in the Philippines and Its Implications to Women in Politics <i>Jean Encinas-Franco</i>	303
13.	(Dis)continuities and Disruptions in Labour Migration Governance: The Philippines from the Duterte to the Marcos Jr. Administration Bubbles Beverly Asor and Rizza Kaye Cases	327
Index		348

List of Tables

1.1	Vote Share of Leading Presidential Candidates in the 2016 and 2022 Presidential Elections	7
1.2	Philippine Democracy Scores through the Years	12
4.1	Partial List of Retired Military Personnel Occupying Civilian Positions under Duterte	93
4.2	Cabinet Appointments of the Marcos and Duterte Administrations	98
5.1	Awareness of Proposals to Change the 1987 Philippine Constitution (2014–18)	132
5.2	Opinion on the Appropriateness to Amend the 1987 Philippine Constitution (2018)	133
5.3	Knowledge of the 1987 Philippine Constitution (2018)	133
5.4	Knowledge of the Proposed Federal System of Government (2018)	134
7.1	List of Tsek.ph Fact-Checking Partners	189

viii List of Tables

7.2	Fact-Checked Claims on Martial Law and the Marcoses	191
11.1	Ranking of the Most Destructive Calamities in the Philippines (2016–23)	279
11.2	Ranking of the Highest Number of Affected due to Calamities in the Philippines (2016–23)	280
11.3	Total Damages and Losses from Major Disasters (2016–23)	281
11.4	NDRRMC Budget and Total Philippine Budget (2016–23)	284

List of Figures

2.1	Annual GDP Growth Rate (1960–2022)	41
2.2	Monthly Inflation in the Philippines (January 2016–July 2023)	42
2.3	Debt-GDP Ratio	46
5.1	Awareness of the Federal System of Government (March 2018)	134
5.2	Agreement or Disagreement on the Federal System of Government (March 2018)	135
7.1	Positive and Negative Fact-Checked Content/Messaging	193
9.1	Duterte's Net Satisfaction Rating (2016–22)	242

Acknowledgements

Doing a book about the Philippines since 2016 is not an easy task. We had to patiently wait until the end of the Duterte administration in 2022 for us to have a very clear picture of how this firebrand leader has changed Philippine politics and society. The benefit of hindsight allowed us to do this with humility, sobriety, and reflexivity.

As they say, scholarship is a collective endeavour. Indeed, this volume would not have been possible without the support of many people and organizations. Primarily, we thank the chapter authors, all of whom are respected colleagues but also dear friends, who trusted us with their insightful take on Philippine politics, economics and society, at the crossroads of one administration to another. The time and effort they spent on this publication indicate their great interest in expressing their voices not merely to inform, but to advocate necessary reforms, even as they know that the road might be difficult and contentious. May more academic publications about the Philippines be spearheaded by locally based Filipino scholars who rigorously undertake serious research and navigate the complexities and risks of academe and public engagement.

The Department of Political Science at the University of the Philippines Diliman, our institutional home, deserves to be mentioned, not only because of its staff and our colleagues' immense support, but also because we were its products at some points in each of our academic journeys. Its nurturing environment allowed us to informally discuss the book in its inception, bringing along some of our colleagues

to contribute their chapters. Apart from Filipinos worldwide, it is to our department, which turned 109 years old in 2024 that we dedicate this book.

We also would like to thank the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute for believing in the value of this project. In particular, Hoang Thi Ha and Sue-Ann Lee had unwavering faith in the promise of this academic publication to contribute towards Philippine studies. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung-Singapore has also been a vital partner in this endeavour through its financial and institutional support. Special thanks are given to Julio Amador III, executive director of the Philippine-American Educational Foundation, for graciously hosting the hybrid workshop that allowed us to work collectively in revising the chapters.

Many scholars lent their time and expertise in reviewing the draft chapters. We thank Pamela Cajilig, Ronald Holmes, Sol Iglesias, Adoracion Navarro, Thaemar Tana, and Edson Tandoc, Jr. for their invaluable feedback and sharp comments for the improvement of the chapters.

Our heartfelt gratitude also goes to one of our most brilliant graduate students, Justin Baquisal, whose excellent research, analytical and writing skills, immensely helped in the book's conceptualization and production—not to mention his good coordination and great rapport with the authors, thus assisting us in updating everyone, amidst our busy schedules. Needless to say, we were fortunate to have him. We also thank Basilio Sepe, the photographer whose images are presented in the book, for producing pictures that will help readers visually capture some of the book's arguments.

Aries A. Arugay and Jean Encinas-Franco

About the Contributors

Julio Amador III is CEO of Amador Research Services, Interim President of the Foundation for the National Interest, and Founder and Trustee of the non-profit FACTS Asia. He regularly participates in Tracks 1.5 and 2 events and occasionally writes on national security and foreign affairs for various publications. Julio was a civil servant in the Philippine government for more than a decade and worked on foreign affairs and national security issues. He was a Fulbright Graduate Scholar at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and an Asia Studies Visiting Fellow and EWC-Korea Foundation Visiting Scholar at the East-West Center in Washington D.C. Julio has published peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and op-eds/commentaries in online news media.

Aries A. Arugay is Visiting Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Philippine Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. He is also Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Aries is the Editor-in-Chief of Asian Politics & Policy, a Scopus-indexed journal in political science and international relations published by Wiley-Blackwell and the US-based Policy Studies Organization. He has published in Asian Perspective, Pacific Affairs, Journal of East Asian Studies, American Behavioral Scientist, and the Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, among others. Aries obtained his PhD in political science from Georgia State University as a Fulbright Fellow.

xiii Contributors

Maria Ela L. Atienza is Professor and former Chair of the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman. She is also the Editor of the *Philippine Political Science Journal*, the Scopus journal of the Philippine Political Science Association, and Co-Convenor of the Program on Social and Political Change of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies. She is currently the President of the Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society in the Social Sciences – University of the Philippines (Philippine Alpha) Chapter. She also served as Director of the UP Third World Studies Center (2010–13) and President of the Philippine Political Science Association (2007–9). She obtained her PhD in political science from Kobe University. Her research interests and international refereed publications focus on local politics and devolution, health policy, human security and charter change.

Bubbles Beverly Asor is the Academic Coordinator of the Initiative for the Study of Asian Catholics (ISAC) at De La Salle University Manila. She received her PhD in Sociology at the National University of Singapore in 2016. Her research interests include migrant organizations, faith-based organizations, urban diversity, border studies, everyday life, international migration to South Korea, and Philippine migration. She also holds a Research Fellow position with the Border Studies Cluster, Faculty of Humanities at the Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia. She is the Editor-in-Chief of the *Philippine Sociological Review*, the flagship journal of the Philippine Sociological Society. She had teaching posts as Assistant Professor at the University of the Philippines Diliman, De La Salle University, Manila, and the University of the Philippines Los Baños.

Deryk Matthew Baladjay is Lecturer at the International Studies Department of the De La Salle University, Manila. He is also Assistant Editor at FACTS Asia and a consultant for Amador Research Services where he serves as its Research Manager. He is also a member of the Young Leader cohort of Pacific Forum, a think tank based in Hawai'i specializing in Indo-Pacific affairs. He has a master's degree in international studies with specialization in Asian studies from De La

xiv Contributors

Salle University, Manila. His key research interests include Philippine strategic foreign relations and East and Southeast Asian affairs and writes extensively on Philippine security and strategic interests. He recently authored a piece titled "The Nuclear Discourse after the Invasion of Ukraine: Insights from the Philippines" (2023) and a peer-reviewed journal article titled "Modernizing or Equalizing? Defence Budget and Military Modernization in the Philippines, 2010–2020" (2022).

Justin Keith Baquisal is a Resident National Security Analyst at FACTS Asia and a Southeast Asia Young Leader at the International Institute for Strategic Studies' Shangri-La Dialogue. He has a degree in political science (magna cum laude) from the University of the Philippines Diliman and is currently a graduate student in the same institution. He has published policy briefs, op-eds, and academic articles on Philippine national security, foreign policy, and autocratization, which have appeared in Southeast Asian Affairs, Pacific Affairs, Palgrave, The Diplomat, Fulcrum, and Asialink.

Cleo Anne A. Calimbahin is Professor of Political Science specializing in elections, corruption, and democracy studies in the Department of Political Science and Development Studies at De La Salle University, Manila (DLSU). She completed her PhD at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as a Fulbright Fellow. Dr Calimbahin was a Research Associate with RAND, a Visiting Scholar at Stanford's Asia-Pacific Research Center (APARC), the Global South Scholar in Residence at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva, and a Visiting Research Fellow for the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO) in Japan. Dr Calimbahin provides technical assistance and research to international organizations and foundations. She is currently the Chair of the Department of Political Science and Development Studies, DLSU and a Social Weather Stations (SWS) board member.

Rizza Kaye Cases is Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. She obtained her PhD in Sociology and Social Research from the University of Trento, Italy in 2018. Her research interests include

Contributors xv

migration studies, sociology of health and illness, social network analysis, social capital, and relational and comparative sociology. Her methodological works focus on the innovative applications of network methods in understanding migration processes and outcomes. Apart from migration research, she is also engaging in collaborative works such as the multi-country survey research project on trust in science and scientists and qualitative content analyses of social media groups of various genetic disorders and conditions.

Jean Encinas-Franco is Professor and Assistant Chair of the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines Diliman. Her research interests are on gender and politics, and the politics of international migration. Her work on gender and politics has been published in various local and international journals. Some of her recent publications include "Filipino Women's Substantive Representation in Electoral Politics", a chapter in the book Substantive Representation of Women in Asian Parliaments and "Migrant Filipino Nurses: Gendered Nationalism and Ontological (In)Security during the COVID-19 Pandemic", a chapter in Nurse Migration in Asia: Emerging Patterns and Policy Response. Before she entered the academe, she worked at the Senate of the Philippines, where she was Director III of the Senate Economic Planning Office. In 2022, she received an honourable mention award in the category of the Feminist from the Global South Award of the International Studies Association (ISA).

Bianca Ysabelle Franco holds a master's degree in sociology from the University of the Philippines Diliman and formerly served as a research associate at Ateneo de Manila University's Development Studies Program, focusing on human rights, deliberative democracy, and conflict studies. Her written contributions have been featured on prominent academic blogs and news platforms worldwide. In March 2023, she co-authored a chapter titled "Anticriminality and Democracy in Southeast Asia" in the book Regional Identities in Southeast Asia: Contemporary Challenges, Historical Fractures.

Jan Robert R. Go is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines Diliman. He is also the President of the Philippine Political Science Association (2023–25). He received his PhD

xvi Contributors

in political theory from Central China Normal University in Wuhan, China in 2022. He is interested in local politics and decentralization in the Philippines, urban and rural grassroots politics, the construction of power, participation theory, and Chinese domestic politics.

Luie Tito Guia is a former election commissioner in the Philippines, having served in the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) until 2 February 2020 after completing a seven-year term of office. He is currently a Senior Professional Lecturer at the Tañada-Diokno School of Law and the Department of Political Science and Development Studies of De La Salle University, Manila. He is also a Professorial Lecturer and a member of the Constitutional Law Committee of the Philippine Judicial Academy. Recently, he co-founded Democratic Insights Group Inc., a non-profit organization to promote competitive and voter-centred approach to elections. He now shares his knowledge and experience on election processes and right to political participation. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts in Political Science (1986) and Bachelor of Laws (1991) degrees from the University of the Philippines.

Ma. Diosa Labiste is Associate Professor in the Department of Journalism of the College of Mass Communication, University of the Philippines Diliman. A former community journalist, she earned her Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil) from the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom, with a focus on media, culture, and society. Her latest work are the book chapters, "Punitive Populism and Disinformation as Legacies of Duterte" and "Critical Incidents and Auto Analysis: Photojournalists' Introspection while Covering the Drug War in the Philippines", published in 2023 and 2021 respectively. She has coauthored a book on land reform, *Stories of Struggles* (2018), and had written book chapters and journal articles on journalism, disinformation and hate speech, and the COVID-19 infodemic. In 2021, she co-wrote and edited the book *COVID-19 Journals*, on women's experiences during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic in the Philippines.

Ruth R. Lusterio-Rico is Professor of Political Science and Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) at the University of the Philippines Diliman. She served as Chair of the Department of Contributors xvii

Political Science from November 2010 to October 2013 and as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs of CSSP from July 2017 to August 2023. She obtained her PhD in political science from the University of the Philippines Diliman. Her research interests are environment and politics, policymaking, indigenous peoples' rights, and migration. Professor Lusterio-Rico was formerly a Visiting Professor/Researcher at the Department of Political Science and Center for East Asian Studies, University of Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Cherry Ann D. Madriaga holds a PhD in international development studies from the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo, Japan. Her research primarily focuses on maritime security, disaster risk, environment, and other policy issues. She is co-host of the *Usapang Econ* podcast and has tackled issues on micro, small, and medium enterprises, agriculture, and land reclamation.

Charmaine Misalucha-Willoughby is Associate Professor in the Department of International Studies at De La Salle University. She is a Nonresident Fellow at Carnegie China and at Agora Strategy, the Senior Editor of Asian Politics & Policy (Wiley), and Co-Editor of Bandung: Journal of the Global South (Brill). Her work on the Philippines' conception of international order appeared in the July 2023 issue of International Affairs. Outside academia, she is on the Board of Trustees of the Foundation for the National Interest and a member of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Asia-Pacific's Asia Strategic Foresight Group. Her areas of specialization are alliances, maritime security, security cooperation, and critical international relations theory. She received her PhD from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

Jan Carlo Punongbayan is Assistant Professor at the University of the Philippines School of Economics (UPSE). He earned his PhD from UPSE in 2021, where he also graduated *summa cum laude* and valedictorian in 2009 and was awarded the José Encarnación Jr. Award for Excellence in Economics and the Gerardo P. Sicat Award for Best Undergraduate Thesis. He previously worked at the Securities and Exchange Commission, the World Bank Office in Manila, the FEU

xviii Contributors

Public Policy Center, and the National Economic and Development Authority. His current research interests are macroeconomics, Philippine economic history, and education economics. Jan Carlo writes a weekly economics column for Rappler.com. He is also co-host of the Usapang Econ podcast. His first book, *False Nostalgia: The Marcos "Golden Age" Myths and How to Debunk Them*, was published by Ateneo University Press in February 2023.