



TENSION OVER TERRITORY: UNDERSTANDING THE SOUTH CHINA SEA ISSUE



SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

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This issue

On 22-24 February 2016, the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) hosted a cartographic exhibit-cum-lecture series titled “Historical Truths and Lies: Scarborough Shoal in Philippine Maps” in collaboration with the Institute for Maritime and Ocean Affairs (IMO). The activity was meant to educate students, faculty members, and social science professionals on the Philippines’ involvement in the South China Sea issue.

The exhibit showcased the framed reproduction of 58 maps collected by Supreme Court Senior Associate Justice Antonio Carpio from various sources around the globe. The maps were drawn by Western and Asian (including Chinese) cartographers dating as far back as the 12th century. The maps were collected to disprove China’s assertion of historic sovereign rights over the entirety of the South China Sea, including the waters and resources of the West Philippine Sea.

The accompanying lectures were delivered by three leading scholars on the South China Sea. Justice Antonio Carpio examined the opposing maritime claims of the Philippines and China based on historical and legal grounds, and the implications of China’s annexation of West Philippine Sea features. Dr. Jay Batongbacal of the UP Institute for Maritime Affairs and the Law of the Sea discussed the economic and strategic importance of Scarborough Shoal/Bajo de Masinloc and the historical arguments supporting the Philippines’ claim over the atoll. Dr. Aileen Baviera of the UP Asian Center analyzed the geopolitical context of the South China Sea dispute, zeroing in on the quandaries of China, the United States, and the Philippines.

This issue of the *Social Science Information* includes articles based on the lecture-presentations of Justice Carpio and Dr. Batongbacal, as well as the transcript of Dr. Baviera’s lecture. It also includes a summary of the ruling of the Permanent Court of Arbitration which was released on 12 July 2016, almost five months after the exhibit-lecture series.

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SC Justice Explains Competing Claims in the South China Sea

by Joanne B. Agbisit

“Chinese aggression is the gravest external threat to the Philippines since World War II,” asserted Supreme Court Senior Associate Justice Antonio T. Carpio in a lecture organized by the Philippine Social Science Council on 22 February 2016.

Justice Carpio said that beginning in the late 1980s, China has been gradually encroaching on the West Philippine Sea, the portion of the South China Sea that the Philippines considers its maritime territory. The West Philippine Sea is a composite of the country’s *territorial sea*, which starts from the coastal baseline extending to 12 nautical miles outward; *exclusive*

economic zone, which starts from the baseline extending to 200 nautical miles outward; and *extended continental shelf* or the natural extension of the land territory of the coastal state beyond the 200 nautical-mile-limit.

In the Spratly Islands, China seized and subsequently constructed artificial islands on seven reefs that are situated within the Philippines’ exclusive economic zone (i.e., Mischief Reef, Johnson South Reef, and McKennan Reef) as well as within the country’s extended continental shelf (i.e., Subi Reef, Fieri Cross Reef, Gaven Reef, and Cuarteron Reef). North



of the Spratly Islands, China also claimed rights over and cordoned off Scarborough Shoal and Reed Bank to prevent Filipinos from fishing and exploring these grounds. Both Scarborough Shoal and Reed Bank likewise lie within the Philippines' exclusive economic zone.

CHINA'S AMBITIONS AND "HISTORIC" CLAIM

The government of China justifies its occupation of the reefs by claiming that these natural formations, along with the vast expanse of the South China Sea, belong to China.

Justice Carpio noted that in 2009, China submitted its nine-dash line map to the United Nations. Although the nine-dash line has no fixed coordinates, the line encompasses almost the entirety of the South China Sea and shows James Shoal, an area within Malaysia's exclusive economic zone, as China's southernmost border. The Chinese government asserts that the nine-dash line map is based on China's 2,000-year history of naming, exploring, and exploiting the resources of the South China Sea.

Justice Carpio explained that the Chinese government has been peddling this historic claim to the rest of the world in a bid to take control of the South China Sea for economic and military purposes. "China wants all the fisheries, oil, gas, and mineral resources within the nine-dash line," said Justice Carpio. "The South China Sea is rich in methane hydrates, said to be one of the fuels of the future. China wants to secure all these methane hydrates for itself as according to China, they can supply China's fuel requirements for three hundred years."

Moreover, South China Sea has abundant marine resources that can feed China's huge population. Justice Carpio said that 80 percent of China's coastal waters are already polluted and unable to support the annual per capita fish consumption of the Chinese population, reported to be the highest in the world.

South China Sea also serves as a strategic location for China to display and exercise its military dominance in Asia. Satellite images show that the artificial islands that China constructed are now fully functioning air and naval bases. These bases provide offshore sanctuary to China's nuclear-armed submarines and

other military assets, such as missile launchers, radar systems, and combat-ready aircraft.

Justice Carpio said that China is gearing up to build another manmade island atop the Scarborough Shoal to complete the third point of the "triangle" in combination with the existing military installations in the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands. The completion of this triangle will allow China to declare an air defense identification zone (ADIZ) over the South China Sea. ADIZ will effectively extend China's airspace and enable China to control the mobility of foreign aircraft flying over the South China Sea.

HISTORICAL TRUTHS AND LIES

According to Justice Carpio, China's own historical maps and official documents belie the current Chinese government's 2,000-year historic claim. He said that official and non-official maps from 1132 (Song dynasty) up to 1912 (Qing dynasty) consistently depicted Hainan Island as the southernmost territory of China. The constitutions of the Republic of China after the collapse of the Qing dynasty (issued in 1912, 1914, 1924, 1937, and 1946) confirm what the cartographic records show—that China's national border ends at Hainan Island.

Chinese territorial claims in the South China Sea only began to surface in the 1930s. In 1932, the Chinese government issued a Note Verbale to the French government protesting its occupation of the Paracel Islands as the area forms "the southernmost part of Chinese territory." The Paracel Islands are located south of Hainan Island and are within the exclusive economic zones of both Vietnam and China. In 1948, the Kuomintang government published a map titled *Location Map of the South Sea Islands* which introduced the eleven-dash line circling the South China Sea. This map became the basis of the current Chinese government's nine-dash line claim.

Justice Carpio pointed out that none of these Chinese maps or documents ever acknowledged Scarborough Shoal or the Spratly Islands as part of Chinese territory before the mid-20th century. On the other hand, numerous maps of Southeast Asia and the Philippines dating as far back as the 17th century and various archival records show that the Philippines has stronger historical bases for claiming parts of the South China Sea.

For example, in the 1636 map published by Swiss artist Matthaus Merian, Scarborough Shoal was named “P. De Mandato” or point of command, referring to the presence of Spanish garrison in the area. This shoal was later called “Panacot”—the Tagalog word for threat or danger—in the first scientific map of the Philippines titled *Carta hydrographica y chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas*, which was published by Jesuit priest, Pedro Murillo Velarde, in 1734. Several other foreign-drawn maps referred to this shoal by the same Tagalog name and placed it within the Philippine territory. Some European cartographers began to refer to it as “Scarborough” after a British seagoing vessel called Scarborough ran aground on one of the shoal’s rocks in 1748. Another Philippine map published by Spanish authorities in 1808 titled *Carta General del Archipiélago de Filipinas* named the shoal “Bajo de Masingloc o Scarborough.” After Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States under the Treaty of Paris, the US Coast and Geodetic Survey published a map titled *Islas Filipinas, Mapa General Observatorio de Manila*, in which the shoal, Bo. Masinloc, is depicted as part of the Philippine territory.

Meanwhile, the 1695 Coronelli map titled *Isole dell’Indie* show Spratly Islands as part of the Philippine archipelago. The 1734 Murillo Velarde map of the Philippines also feature the rocks and islands of the Spratly, then labelled “Los Bajos de Paragua.”

Aside from these maps, documents such as the 1900 Treaty of Washington recognized islands outside the Treaty of Paris lines, including the Scarborough Shoal, as part of the Philippine archipelago that was relinquished by Spain to the US in 1898. An official communication between US authorities in the 1930s also noted the absence of any competing claim from other governments, reinforcing the Philippines’ rights over the shoal.

Justice Carpio also said that unlike the Philippines, China has no solid documentation that it has previously exercised authority over Scarborough Shoal. A review of the Notice to Mariners issued by American and Philippine authorities from 1960s to 1980s, which served to warn marine vessels of bombing and gunnery exercises at the Scarborough Shoal, revealed

Senior Associate Justice Antonio Carpio speaks before an audience of social science faculty members, researchers, high school teachers, and students.



that not a single country lodged a complaint against these military activities. “We notified the world for three decades and nobody protested,” said Justice Carpio. “China never protested.”

THE 1982 UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA (UNCLOS)

Even if China and the Philippines have historic claims over the South China Sea, these have been rendered invalid by the UNCLOS which both countries had signed and ratified. UNCLOS is an international treaty that defines the rights and obligations of countries with regard to the world’s seas and their natural resources.

Under the UNCLOS, it is the coastal state that has legal rights to and jurisdiction over an adjacent body of water. The UNCLOS, in particular, recognizes the sovereign rights of a coastal state over an area extending up to 200 nautical miles from its baseline—what it calls the exclusive economic zone. This means that the coastal state can explore and exploit, conserve, and manage the natural resources within this zone. It also has jurisdiction “with regard to the (i) establishment and

use of artificial islands, installations and structures; (ii) marine scientific research; (iii) the protection and preservation of the marine environment” (Article 56, UNCLOS).

These sovereign rights apply to the extended continental shelf of the coastal state as well. If the coastal state chooses not to explore the continental shelf—which encompasses both the exclusive economic zone and the extended continental shelf—or exploit its natural resources, “no one may undertake these activities without the express consent of the coastal State” (Article 77, UNCLOS).

The low-tide reefs and rocks taken by China within the exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf of the Philippines are subject to the sovereign right of the Philippines. Mischief Reef, for example, is only 125 nautical miles off Palawan, but 596 nautical miles from China’s southernmost territory, Hainan Island. This geographic proximity grants the Philippines sovereign rights and jurisdiction over these low-tide natural formations based on these UNCLOS guidelines.



China's appropriation of a large portion of the West Philippine Sea, hence, is a clear violation of the UNCLOS, according to Justice Carpio. "Sovereign rights mean supreme rights, superior to the rights of other states," he said. "This extinguished all historic rights or claims by other states in the exclusive economic zone of a coastal state."

Moreover, most of the reefs converted by China into manmade islands were low-tide elevation in their natural state, i.e., above water at low tide but submerged at high tide. UNCLOS does not consider low tide elevation land or territory and as such, is not entitled to territorial sea or airspace. China, thus, cannot claim additional maritime zones out of these illegally occupied artificial islands. "China's illegal act cannot result in a legal right," Justice Carpio said.

Apart from infringing on the West Philippine Sea, China is also claiming ownership of the high seas which are part of the global commons. Under UNCLOS and other international agreements, countries are guaranteed freedom of navigation, overflight, fishing, and scientific research on the high seas. "The high seas could not be subjected to sovereignty by any state, whether coastal or landlocked," Justice Carpio said. "By appropriating for itself the fishery resources in the high seas of the South China Sea, China is committing a grand theft of the global commons."

ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF CHINA'S CLAIM

The Philippines stands to lose 80 percent of its exclusive economic zone and 100 percent of its extended continental shelf if China's nine-dash line claim remains unchallenged, according to Justice Carpio. This means that the Philippines loses access to precious maritime resources, such as fisheries, gas, and mineral resources.

Over the past years, the intimidation tactics and blockade implemented by the Chinese navy and militia forces in the Spratly Islands and Scarborough Shoal have driven away Filipino fishermen from their traditional fishing grounds, adversely affecting their livelihood.

Chinese harassment of survey ships in Reed Bank also forced the Philippines to suspend oil and gas exploration in the area. The Philippine government had previously awarded service contracts to private companies to conduct oil and gas survey in Reed Bank. This was in line with Philippine efforts to develop Reed Bank as a replacement for the Malampaya gas field. The Malampaya gas field, which contains 2.7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and supplies 30 percent of the electricity needs of Luzon, is projected to be depleted by 2029-2030. The Reed Bank, according to US Geological Survey, may be sitting on as much as



5.4 billion barrels of oil and 55.1 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Justice Carpio said that the country will have rotating brownouts if Reed Bank is not developed.

In addition, China's island-building activities have permanently altered the natural state of the reefs and wrought irreversible damage on the surrounding marine environment and resources. Scientists note that China used gigantic dredgers to cut through and pulverize coral, rock, and seabed, and then dumped these materials over the reefs to form artificial islands. This action destroyed the reefs which serve as the breeding ground of and provide shelter to diverse fish species and other marine life. According to scientists, reef destruction has far-reaching consequences since eggs and larvae produced in the Spratly Islands do not only replenish the fish stocks in the area, but also travel to and repopulate fish communities in the waters of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.

LEGAL RECOURSE TO ADDRESS COMPETING CLAIMS

In January 2013, the Philippines initiated a case against China before the Permanent Court of Arbitration, one of the accepted dispute resolution bodies under the UNCLOS. The Philippines is asking the arbitral tribunal to nullify China's nine-dash line claim based on historic rights; declare the reefs on which China built artificial islands as low tide elevations or rocks and therefore

not entitled to territorial seas or exclusive economic zones; and affirm the Philippines' entitlement over its exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf, and declare Chinese interference in the West Philippine Sea as unlawful.

While China officially rejected the arbitration procedure, the arbitral tribunal ruled in 2015 that it has jurisdiction over the case and continued the proceedings even without China's active participation. On 12 July 2016, the arbitral tribunal issued its final decision on the case, ruling in favor of the Philippine claim. (*A summary of the ruling is on pp. 18-20.*)

"The Philippines today is engaged in a historic battle to defend over 531,000 square kilometers of its maritime space in the West Philippine Sea, an area larger than the total land area of the Philippines of 300,000 square kilometers," said Justice Carpio. "All citizens of the Philippines—both government personnel and private individuals—have a solemn duty to prevent the loss of this huge maritime space. It is a duty we owe to ourselves, and to future generations of Filipinos."

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1. PSSC. (2016, July 12). *The South China Sea/West Philippine Sea Dispute* [video file]. Retrieved from bit.ly/SCSlecture-Carpio.
2. BBC. (2016, July 12). *Why is the South China Sea Contentious?* Retrieved from www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13748349.



The Battle for Bajo De Masinloc: Fact vs. Fiction

by Miguel Alvaro L. Karaan

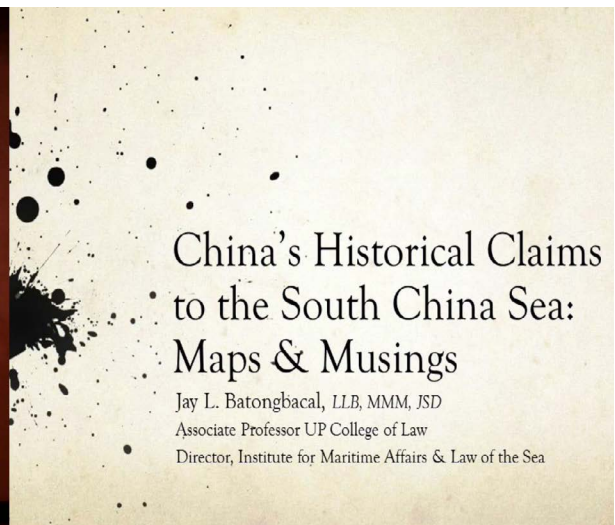
Bajo de Masinloc, also known internationally as Scarborough Shoal, among other names, is a triangular coral atoll covering an area of around 150 square kilometers, enclosing a lagoon that reaches a depth of up to 13 meters, and with rocks reaching a height of up to three meters. The shoal is a small landform west of Luzon, yet, it has been the subject of dispute by two countries, the Philippines and the People's Republic of China, both claiming that Bajo de Masinloc is a part of their respective territories.

The dispute began in 1994 when China issued a permit to an amateur radio operator to set up a station on the shoal. A number of times since then, the Philippine Navy had apprehended Chinese vessels fishing for marine resources, such as giant clams and corals. The most recent apprehension was in 2012 which escalated into a standoff between the two countries. The State Department of the United States was reported to have brokered a deal between the Philippines and China to withdraw their vessels from the shoal until the territorial dispute has been resolved. The Philippines kept its commitment to withdraw. China, however, did not. China even denied that such an agreement existed. Since then, the Chinese Coast Guard has increased its presence around the shoal, barring Filipino fishermen from entering the area. Chinese seizure of the Scarborough Shoal was one of the factors that pushed the Philippine government

to initiate proceedings against China before the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

In a lecture delivered at the Philippine Social Science Council on 20 February 2016, Dr. Jay Batongbacal, director of the Institute for Maritime Affairs and Law of the Sea of the University of the Philippines (UP), explained why both countries are interested in the shoal. First, Bajo de Masinloc is a significant contributor to sustaining marine life in the West Philippine Sea, as well as further into the South China Sea. Studies from the UP Marine Science Institute show the importance of the shoal as an offshore shelter, regeneration area, migration path, and food supply for the fishery population in and around the South China Sea. In fact, Batongbacal said that Bajo de Masinloc is one of the oldest known fishing grounds of the Philippines based on published maps and inventory of fishing banks as early as the Commonwealth period. On the other hand, China's interest in the area is likely prompted by the depleting marine resources near the coastlines of Southern China and Hainan Island, which have driven Chinese fishing vessels to move out further to the South China Sea, including the areas around Bajo de Masinloc and Spratly Islands.

Secondly, Batongbacal noted that Bajo de Masinloc is a strategic vantage point from which to surveil shipping and air traffic in the South China Sea. The shoal is part of major shipping routes and its airspace is along the usual route of commercial aircraft. Bajo de Masinloc is particularly important to the Philippines because of its proximity to Manila and Zambales. Batongbacal



said that the United States also has vested interest in keeping the Scarborough Shoal free from interference. Its military vessels and aircraft coming from the Pacific Ocean traverse the South China Sea on the way to the Indian Ocean. With China in control of navigation routes in the South China Sea, the military mobility of the US will be jeopardized as it will have to reroute to the waters of Indonesia or even farther south in Australia.

Meanwhile, the notion that petroleum reserves are one of the motivations of China in claiming sovereignty over the shoal is erroneous, according to Batongbacal. He said that petroleum-rich areas in the South China Sea are mostly found in the south, particularly along the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, western coast of Borneo, and the southern coast of Vietnam—areas mostly outside the disputed territory.

Still, Batongbacal said that whichever country takes control of Bajo de Masinloc will have access to abundant marine resources and will gain strategic commercial and military advantage.

CHINA'S CLAIM

Batongbacal explained that upon examining China's grounds on its claim for sovereignty on Bajo de Masinloc—mostly based on historical account—one can dismiss it as published fiction. First, China claims that Chinese explorers in the 13th century during the Yuan Dynasty first discovered the shoal; however, Yuan Dynasty was a foreign dynasty established by Kublai Khan and was part of the Mongolian Empire. Hence, Mongolia would have a stronger historical claim than China. Batongbacal further explained that "Huangyan Island," as the Chinese call the shoal, does not appear in ancient Chinese maps such as the *Hun Yi Jiang Li Li Dai Guo Du Zi Ti* (Map of the Entire Empire and Frontier Countries), drawn by Quan Jin in 1402, and the *Dong Han Hai Yi Tu* (Barbarian Countries of Southeast Seas), drawn by Lo Hsung Hsien in the 15th century. In either map, the Philippine Islands appear only as little patches and the name Huangyan Island is nowhere to be found. This, Batongbacal said, attests to China's seemingly little knowledge of the Philippine Islands, much less Bajo de Masinloc, during the Yuan Dynasty and even during the immediately succeeding periods.

Moreover, Batongbacal said that the supposed explorations during the Yuan Dynasty were not journeys of discovery but purposeful expeditions to trade with the people of the Philippines. Various Chinese records, such as *Chao Ju-Kua's Chu-fan-chi* (Description of Barbarian Nations) in the 13th century, show that Filipinos have established contact with the Chinese as early as the seventh century.

The absence of Bajo de Masinloc or Huangyan Island in Chinese maps continued until the 20th century. According to Batongbacal, the shoal first appeared in China's 1935 eleven-dash line map—the precursor of the nine-dash line map—drawn by China's Land and Water Maps Inspection Committee. The shoal's name in the map was a Sinicized form of the English name Scarborough. This, Batongbacal said, is evidence that China only knew of the island from British Admiralty charts at that time. It was not until 1983 that China called the shoal Huangyan Island after it sent its first hydrographic survey to the area, unbeknownst to the Philippines. It was not until 1994 that China first attempted to exercise jurisdiction over Bajo de Masinloc when it issued a permit to an amateur radio operator to set up a station on the shoal.

THE PHILIPPINES' CLAIM

In contrast to the absence of Bajo de Masinloc in Chinese maps up until the 20th century, the shoal had begun appearing as an unnamed reef in European maps of the Philippines and the Southeast Asia as early as the 17th century. Batongbacal said that from thereon, the unnamed reef had become closely associated with the Philippine archipelago. In 18th century maps, the shoal appeared under the name Panacot, together with two other reefs named Galit and Lumbay, all west of Luzon. All three appeared in subsequent maps, where they eventually earned the names Bajo de Masinloc, Bajo de Bolinao, and Bajo de Miravela, respectively. However, the positioning of the three landforms kept changing due to inaccuracy of map-making at that time.

It was not until September 1748 when the British sailing ship HMS Scarborough ran aground on Bajo de Masinloc that the positioning of the three shoals would be resolved. However, it was still unclear whether the ship ran aground on either of the three

shoals or in an entirely different landform which the cartographers designated as Scarborough Shoal. In 1792, the Malaspina Expedition, a five-year maritime scientific exploration, reached the South China Sea and was able to ascertain the exact position of the Scarborough Shoal and was able to verify that the other two reefs—Galit and Lumbay—did not exist and might have just been referring to Panacot.

In 1800, the Spanish naval squadron in Cavite sent the warship Santa Lucia, under the command of Capt. Francisco Riquelme, to carry out a survey of the shoal. This was the first Spanish-led survey of Bajo de Masinloc. In 1866, further survey of the shoal was conducted by Lt. Edward Wilds aboard HMS Swallow. The summaries of Riquelme's and Wilds' findings were included in *the Dorroteo del Archipelago Filipino*, a guide for mariners. By the 19th century, the shoal appeared in published maps under its internationally-known name, Scarborough Shoal. Its geographic position was already ascertained, its association with the island of Luzon was fixed, and the Spanish had begun exercising jurisdiction over the shoal by assisting vessels in distress.

In 1898, Spain ceded to the United States its territories in the Philippines through the Treaty of Paris. The islands covered by this treaty were further clarified by the Treaty of Washington in 1900. Scarborough Shoal was included in the treaty; hence, the American colonial government continued to exercise jurisdiction over the shoal.

One particular incident, the 1913 salvage operation of cargo ship SS Nippon owned by the Swedish East Asiatic Co., was the subject of a 1916 case of the Philippine Supreme Court. Both government and private ships participated in the operation and a dispute arose between the owners and the salvors as to the entitlement to compensation for salvage of the ship and cargo. This incident, according to Batongbacal, demonstrated the free and absolute exercise of governmental powers by the Philippines, as well as the application of Philippine law, to activities on the shoal.

A series of correspondence between government officials from 1937 to 1938 further confirmed the Philippines' claim on Scarborough Shoal. After

consulting with US Coast and Geodetic Survey head Capt. Thomas Maher and being urged by the Commonwealth Government's Executive Secretary Jorge B. Vargas, Wayne Coy of the Office of the US High Commissioner for the Philippines wrote to the US Department of War regarding the status of the sovereignty of the shoal. The letter was forwarded to the US Department of State, to which State Secretary Cordell Hull replied that in the absence of any other claim to the shoal, the department would not object to the proposal of the Commonwealth Government to study the value of the shoal as an aid to air and ocean navigation. The US Departments of Navy and of Commerce, both having interests in air and ocean navigation in the South China Sea, likewise expressed no objection to the proposal.

After the Philippines gained independence from the US in 1946, the new republic continued to exercise jurisdiction over Bajo de Masinloc. Notable examples of this exercise include the hydrographic and topographic survey of the shoal by the Philippine Coast and Geodetic Survey (PCGS) in 1961 and the rescue of the crew of the shipwrecked French vessel *Arsineo* in 1963, who were then brought to Manila. Shipwrecks on the shoal were marked on nautical charts by the PCGS. Also in 1963, the Philippine Navy discovered and destroyed a smuggler's base on the shoal, used as pick-up and drop-off point for blue-seal cigarettes and other contraband. As an aftermath, the government allowed the establishment of a US Naval Operating Area around the shoal which later became a target and bombing range for the Philippine and US Navy. Notices to mariners were issued by the PCGS in the 1970s and 1980s to warn passing ships of live fire exercises occurring in the area.

Batongbacal said that these operations and activities, which were conducted continuously, peacefully, and openly without protest from any other country, show that the Philippines has been exercising sovereignty over Bajo de Masinloc long before China claimed and appropriated the shoal.

NEXT STEPS FOR THE PHILIPPINES

In conclusion, Batongbacal argued that the Philippines has a more solid ground for claiming sovereignty over Bajo de Masinloc, noting that it was acquired and incorporated through a steady process beginning

from the Spanish colonial period in the 17th century, continuing in the American colonial period, during the Commonwealth and Third Republic periods, and up to the present period. In contrast, China only began demonstrating any form of claim in the late 20th century. Philippines, therefore, is in the right position to bring this dispute to the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Batongbacal said that the Philippines should be prepared to defend its interests in the shoal not only through legal means but also through all other means possible.

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Geopolitical Quandaries in the South China Sea: Options for the Philippines, China and the US

Transcript of Dr. Aileen Baviera's lecture at the PSSC on 22 February 2016 as part of the exhibit-cum-lecture series titled "Historical Truths and Lies: Scarborough Shoal in Ancient Maps." Dr. Baviera is Professor and the former Dean of the UP Asian Center. She is also a member of the Philippine Association of Chinese Studies. The full lecture is available at bit.ly/SCSlecture-Baviera.



Geopolitics had been considered dead in East Asia since the end of the Cold War. While it continued to be relevant in other regions, in our part of the world, the pattern of interactions between nation-states emphasized economic interdependence and globalization, while geopolitics took the back stage. Today, however, we are seeing a return of geopolitics especially in the South China Sea.

The argument that I make in this presentation is that asserting one's maritime rights is vital, and upholding international law is the most appropriate mechanism for doing so. To do both successfully however, Filipinos need to expand their understanding of the geopolitical context of the South China Sea beyond just looking at what we have learned to call the "West Philippine Sea." I believe that

focusing the discourses on the "West Philippine Sea" unnecessarily limits the definition of Philippine interests in what is going on in the South China Sea—geographically and functionally—and this will be to our disadvantage. By looking at the "West Philippine Sea" challenge as merely a territorial and resource dispute between us and China, or a David vs. Goliath fight, we will not find solutions to the issue.

What are the key points?

1. The South China Sea is a complex security environment with several layers of intersecting challenges, of which the territorial dimension is only one, and the geopolitical dimension is another.
2. Recent developments such as China's assertiveness and the US's rebalance policy are both driven by their geopolitical interests.
3. The US, China and the Philippines face quandaries in the management of relations in the South China Sea and on how to promote their respective interests.
4. If the rivalry of the major powers is allowed to overlay other goals and concerns, it will complicate or even prevent arriving at solutions that the Philippines desires.

CHALLENGES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

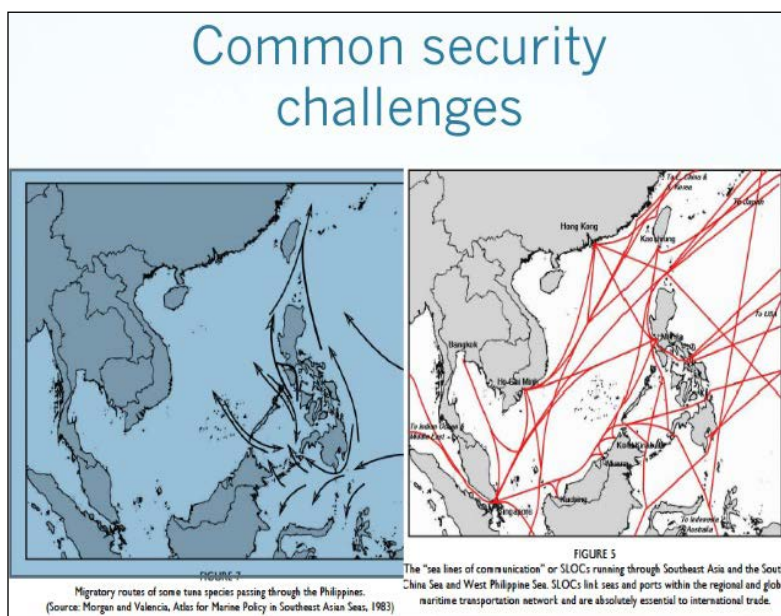
The issue in the South China is not simply a maritime or territorial dispute alone. It is laden with different levels of security, economic, legal, political and social issues that are all interrelated and affect each other.

When we visualize the South China Sea and the surrounding littoral states, you will see that several states have claims based on history and/or law, but the prominent issues today revolve around the islands, reefs, and other features that have been occupied and the nature of the presence of countries on those

features. Claimant states have deployed troops to defend claims and to prevent others from encroaching on them, thus introducing a military defense dimension.

Separate from the territorial issue is disagreement or confusion over overlapping maritime rights claims. China's nine-dash line represents its area of interest in the South China Sea. They treat the nine-dash lines as sometimes their own territorial boundaries and sometimes as their historic right to resources. These lines were drawn arbitrarily on the map without any coordinates and China has chosen not to clarify what they represent, perhaps to keep their options open as to how to interpret these lines. Vietnam also claims a large area covering both the Spratlys and Paracels, while the Philippines under Marcos decreed ownership as well as rights to resources—valuable fisheries, oil and gas are at stake—in the Kalayaan Islands.

Another matter that besets the states surrounding the South China Sea are common challenges facing the countries of the region. Not only are states competing with each other for territory and access to maritime resources, they also need to cooperate with each other because of common threats and challenges, such as the rampant incidence of illegal, unregulated, undocumented (IUU) fishing, management of trade routes and vessel traffic, marine environment protection, promotion of safety of life at sea, and others. These activities should concern not a single country but should be the responsibility of all countries within the region.



Finally, and this takes us to our main point: geopolitical competition among major powers is also a factor in the South China Sea issue. China's invigorated military activity in the region has resulted in reactions not only among neighboring states but other countries as well. The growing presence of the United States indicates strong interest in maintaining its power projection in this part of the world. The US believes that the whole South China Sea should be open to commercial as well as military navigation, provided that such does not violate international laws. However, countries like China, Malaysia, India, and even the Philippines have a different interpretation from the US (which incidentally, has yet to ratify UNCLOS) of what kinds of military

activities are allowable under international law. While many states uphold the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Convention remains silent on military activities, and this is not helping the tensions between China and the US which both wish to assert their military power.

CHINA'S ASSERTIVENESS AND US REBALANCE

China's current leadership sees the need to be more assertive in response to the US rebalance policy, but it also sees itself increasingly in a position to play a leadership role in the region as a maritime power. This kind of aspiration is encouraging the new assertiveness in China's foreign policy that we have witnessed in the last 8 years or so. Its economic and strategic policies in the region are becoming more intertwined. Some believe that China's "One Belt, One Road" or the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road" initiative that will connect the Chinese economy to Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia and all the way to Europe, as well as the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), are intended not only to grow China's economy, but are also part of its overall strategic game plan.

The US pivot-rebalance

After focusing on the Global War on Terror, US has realized that China is its more strategic concern, and has again turned its attention to East Asia, with sixty-percent (60%) of its military troops being deployed in East Asia. The US Pacific Command, the most powerful tool of US foreign policy, remains one of the strengths of the US. US system of alliances is also something that China may resent or even envy but currently does not have. The economic dimension of US rebalance policy is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), thus US pivot to Asia is not only military, but economic.

China and the US are locked in a strategic competition not just in East Asia but possibly at a global level. What does this have to do with the South China Sea/West Philippine Sea? This will be a major arena for this competition to take place because it is the area where China's own military expansion—following on its trade interests, territorial claims and power ambitions—will have the most impact and where it may be confronted by US power.

Political scientist John Mearsheimer, in his book *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (2001), provides a worst case scenario with regard to the relationship of the two great powers:

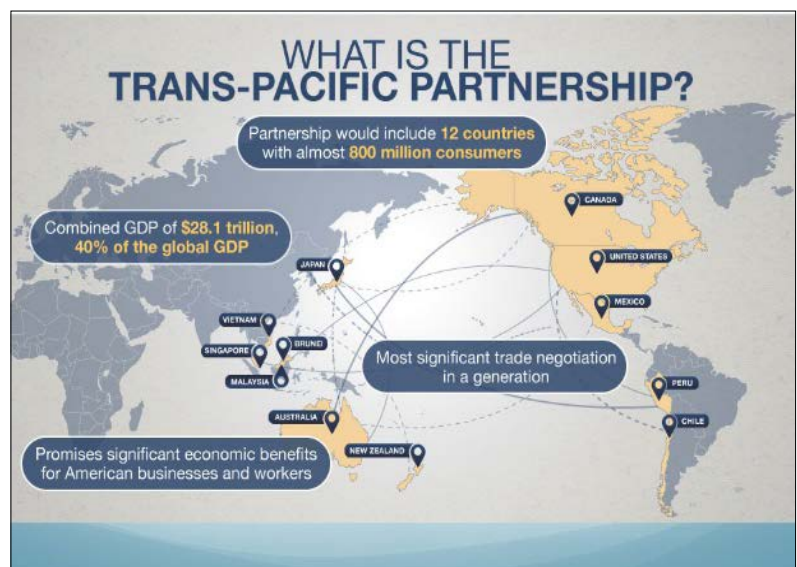
"My argument in a nutshell is that if China continues to grow economically, it will attempt to dominate Asia the way the United States dominates the Western Hemisphere. The United States, however, will go to enormous lengths to prevent China from achieving regional hegemony. Most of Beijing's neighbors, including India, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Russia, and Vietnam, will join with the United States to contain Chinese power. The result will be an intense security competition with considerable potential for war."

Regional order

The US-China competition is in part also about trying to influence the shaping of a new regional order and security architecture. In East Asia we have a system of US alliances—US-Japan, US-South Korea, US-Australia, US-Philippines. These alliances are assumed to help keep order, stability and peace. Aside from this, we have ASEAN, with all of its multilateral mechanisms that also encourage cooperation among countries in the region.

But what do we see as an emerging regional order? What is the global order that we foresee? International relations scholars provide a number of scenarios:

1. *Hegemony*. There has to be a dominant, number one country. Right now, the number one country



is the US, but it is in decline economically and politically. Nonetheless, it can still be considered a hegemon. Can China be the new hegemon?

2. *US-China condominium*. The US and China ruling the world together.
3. *Concert of Powers*. Together with China and the US, big powers like India, Japan, and Germany cooperate to set the rules for the rest of the world.

The question remains as to who will determine what kind of order we will have in the future. Great powers want to have a bigger say on the regional order, but small and middle powers—the Philippines included—cannot afford to be silent.

In facing these important questions, many countries find themselves in a quandary.

THE QUANDARIES OF THE US

Some claim that China thus far is not an enemy; neither is it a friend of the US. US merely reacts to situations being initiated by China but they have no plans to try to “contain” China. There will always be elements of competition and cooperation between China and the US and the emphasis will change depending on circumstances. However, the US has to defend its primacy if this is openly challenged by China, and it has to do it at a time when it has less resources. US needs money and resources if they want to stay number one. In past times of crisis, the US would embark on major technological breakthroughs which are expected to jumpstart the US economy. Unfortunately, many of these technologies are war-related military technologies. Ironically, even if the US is considered to be weak particularly after the Global Financial Crisis, China’s assertiveness toward its neighbors tends to justify its continued presence and influence in Asia because of the expectations of countries being intimidated by China.

Another quandary of the US is how to manage its alliances. If we ask ourselves why the US supports the Philippines in the West Philippine Sea, it is because it has to maintain the credibility of its alliances. It has to convince other countries that if you are an ally of the US, the US will be there to help you. If the US fails to convince the Philippines, it will also fail to convince

Japan, South Korea, Australia, and other countries. The US needs to show support for its allies in order to shore up its own power and influence. However, it also avoids the risk of getting entangled in the quarrels and disputes of its allies.

Also a quandary of the US with regard to the South China Sea is that it lacks credibility in asking China to uphold the rule of law because it is not a signatory of the UNCLOS.

THE QUANDARIES OF CHINA

China has its own share of quandaries. One is that it is a dissatisfied power but there are material limits to its military ambitions. Even assuming that it wants to confront the US, it still lacks the military capability to do so. Another problem is that China has few real allies. Unlike the US which has a significant number of allies, China has very few. It has formed a formal alliance with Pakistan which shares a similar foreign policy, but refuses to recognize an alliance with North Korea. In truth, there are very few countries that will stand with China if it decides to confront the US.

Yet another predicament is how China can sustain its “China Dream” now that it is facing an economic slowdown. Over the last few decades, China has reaped the benefits of economic reforms that the government has instituted. They saw this growth as a means for China to have a place in international leadership. Experts are divided on how far or deep the economic slowdown will be, but they believe that the longer the economic problems of China continue, the more difficult it will be to sustain China’s aspirations and fulfill the people’s high expectations.

Finally, China’s regional policies are full of contradictions. China often talks about win-win situations, cooperation, good neighborly relations, and has even set in place initiatives (One Belt-One Road, AIIB) that support the growth of Asian countries. However, these regional policies are contradictory to China’s actions in the South China Sea, which some see as an attempt to build a China-centric region in the future. Some analysts even talk about the return of the Middle Kingdom where China reigns supreme and neighboring Asian countries need to defer to it the way tributary states did in the ancient past.

THE QUANDARIES OF THE PHILIPPINES

One of the fundamental foreign policy questions the Philippines faces is how to approach the issue of the South China Sea with China. Some experts believe that a principled foreign policy with China is the right approach. They believe that we should await the result of the arbitration case, respect the outcome, and see the process through. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the Philippines should be pragmatic in its approach, drop the arbitration case, and begin bilateral negotiations with China instead. Some advocate the latter because they believe that we cannot fully rely on our alliance with the US. Since the 1950s, when negotiations were being made about the presence of US bases in the country, the US has never committed to defend the Philippines with regard to disputed territories.

In addition to this, the Philippines' exclusive claims to the resources in the South China Sea such as oil and gas can only be jointly developed. The Philippines does not have the technological capability or capital to develop these resources. The Philippines is open to exploring these resources with China as many other countries do, so there is a disjoint between the exclusivist rhetoric of the Philippines and the prevailing reality.

Finally, assuming that the Philippines wins the arbitration case, enforcing the decision will be a problem. China has expressed that they are not bound by whatever the outcome of the arbitration case will be since they chose not to participate in it. However, if the outcome is in favor of the Philippines, I believe that China cannot ignore it. If it expects to gain friends, allies, and ultimately the respect of the international community, then in the long term, it will have to play by the rules and observe norms.

CONCLUSION

Some years ago I wrote an article entitled "Waltzing with Goliath" where I talked about how the Philippines will manage its relations with China. Today it is no longer a David and Goliath story but with the emerging US role, between two Goliaths, because of how the geopolitical dimension has evolved.

High uncertainty or high unpredictability, with high stakes remain as competition between the major

powers loom, but the quandaries that I have pointed out may have moderating effects on the behavior of the US and China.

Big powers should not be allowed to dominate the discourses on the South China Sea. The more the Philippines brings the US to the issue, the more China sees it as a matter between the two powers, and the less chance the Philippines has to resolve the issue and get what it wants, i.e., its maritime entitlements (especially access to resources) and increased security.

The US and China need to find a *modus vivendi* based on mutual respect and self-restraint. They should learn to coexist in this area. The US and China can promote military-to-military cooperation in confidence-building, as well as allow space for small- and middle-powers to help shape solutions to geopolitical quandaries. Multilateralism should also be emphasized—coalitions and alliances that are in favor of peaceful settlements and equitable sharing of resources.

The Philippines should help design an overarching framework for South China Sea regional diplomacy that is dynamic and principled rather than ideological/dogmatic. The Philippines can engage both China and the US to avoid provoking conflict between the major powers. It should maintain focus on finding constructive outcomes for the maritime and territorial disputes for the long term. Contributing proactively to a stronger consensus within the ASEAN should be done, as we need ASEAN support. Capability development in maritime security and law enforcement, with stronger self-reliance through diversifying sources of support, should also be a priority of the Philippines.

The West Philippine Sea question does not end where our exclusive economic zone or continental shelf limits lie, nor does it end with the decision of the arbitration panel. We do not have a plan beyond the announcement of what the decision is. What if we lose? What if the Philippines wins but China does not honor the decision? The Philippines must remain a responsible and judicious proactive player. In the end, history will assess what role the Philippines has played in the South China Sea issue and whether the country has contributed positively or negatively to peace and stability, given the emergent geopolitics.

Arbitral Tribunal Issues Landmark Decision on the South China Sea Case

On 12 July 2016, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) released its decision on the South China Sea case filed by the Republic of the Philippines against the People's Republic of China under Annex VII of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The independent tribunal, composed of five maritime law experts, ruled that China's nine-dash line claim on grounds of historic rights has no legal basis; that the features in the Spratly Islands are legally "rocks" that do not generate an exclusive economic zone or continental shelf; and that China had violated the Philippines's sovereign rights in its exclusive economic zone. The tribunal also rebuked China for its island-building activities and destructive fishing practices which have severely damaged the marine environment in the South China Sea.

Below is the PCA press release summarizing the 501-page award.

"A unanimous Award has been issued today by the Tribunal constituted under Annex VII to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (the "Convention") in the arbitration instituted by the Republic of the Philippines against the People's Republic of China.

This arbitration concerned the role of historic rights and the source of maritime entitlements in the South China Sea, the status of certain maritime features and the maritime entitlements they are capable of generating, and the lawfulness of certain actions by China that were alleged by the Philippines to violate the Convention. In light of limitations on compulsory dispute settlement under the Convention, the Tribunal has emphasized that it does not rule on any question of sovereignty over land territory and does not delimit any boundary between the Parties.

China has repeatedly stated that "it will neither accept nor participate in the arbitration unilaterally initiated by the Philippines." Annex VII, however, provides that the "[a]bsence of a party or failure of a party to defend its case shall not constitute a bar to the proceedings." Annex VII also provides that, in the event that a party does not participate in the proceedings, a tribunal "must satisfy itself not only that it has jurisdiction over the dispute but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law." Accordingly, throughout these proceedings, the Tribunal has taken steps to test the accuracy of the Philippines' claims, including by requesting further written submissions from the Philippines, by questioning the Philippines both prior to and during two hearings, by appointing independent experts to report to the Tribunal on technical matters, and by obtaining historical evidence concerning features in the South China Sea and providing it to the Parties for comment.

China has also made clear—through the publication of a Position Paper in December 2014 and in other official statements—that, in its view, the Tribunal lacks jurisdiction in this matter. Article 288 of the Convention provides that: "In the event of a dispute as to whether a court or tribunal has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by decision of that court or tribunal." Accordingly, the Tribunal convened a hearing on jurisdiction and admissibility in July 2015 and rendered an Award on Jurisdiction and Admissibility on 29 October 2015, deciding some issues of jurisdiction and deferring others for further consideration. The Tribunal then convened a hearing on the merits from 24 to 30 November 2015.

The Award of today's date addresses the issues of jurisdiction not decided in the Award on Jurisdiction and Admissibility and the merits of the Philippines' claims over which the Tribunal has jurisdiction. The Award is final and binding, as set out in Article 296 of the Convention and Article 11 of Annex VII.

Historic Rights and the 'Nine-Dash Line': The Tribunal found that it has jurisdiction to consider the Parties' dispute concerning historic rights and the source of maritime entitlements in the South China Sea. On the merits, the Tribunal concluded that the Convention comprehensively allocates rights to maritime areas and that protections for pre-existing rights to resources were considered, but not adopted in the Convention. Accordingly, the Tribunal concluded that, to the extent China had historic rights to resources in the waters of the South China Sea, such rights were extinguished to the extent they were incompatible with the exclusive economic zones provided for in the Convention. The Tribunal also noted that, although Chinese navigators and fishermen, as well as those of other States, had

historically made use of the islands in the South China Sea, there was no evidence that China had historically exercised exclusive control over the waters or their resources. The Tribunal concluded that there was no legal basis for China to claim historic rights to resources within the sea areas falling within the 'nine-dash line'.

Status of Features: The Tribunal next considered entitlements to maritime areas and the status of features. The Tribunal first undertook an evaluation of whether certain reefs claimed by China are above water at high tide. Features that are above water at high tide generate an entitlement to at least a 12 nautical mile territorial sea, whereas features that are submerged at high tide do not. The Tribunal noted that the reefs have been heavily modified by land reclamation and construction, recalled that the Convention classifies features on their natural condition, and relied on historical materials in evaluating the features. The Tribunal then considered whether any of the features claimed by China could generate maritime zones beyond 12 nautical miles. Under the Convention, islands generate an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles and a continental shelf, but "[r]ocks which cannot sustain human habitation or economic life of their own shall have no exclusive economic zone or continental shelf." The Tribunal concluded that this provision depends upon the objective capacity of a feature, in its natural condition, to sustain either a stable community of people or economic activity that is not dependent on outside resources or purely extractive in nature. The Tribunal noted that the current presence of official personnel on many of the features is dependent on outside support and not reflective of the capacity of the features. The Tribunal found historical evidence to be more relevant and noted that the Spratly Islands were historically used by small groups of fishermen and that several Japanese fishing and guano mining enterprises were attempted. The Tribunal concluded that such transient use does not constitute inhabitation by a stable community and that all of the historical economic activity had been extractive. Accordingly, the Tribunal concluded that none of the Spratly Islands is capable of generating extended maritime zones. The Tribunal also held that the Spratly Islands cannot generate maritime zones collectively as a unit. Having found that none of the features claimed by China was capable of generating an exclusive economic zone, the Tribunal found that it could—without delimiting a boundary—declare that certain sea areas are within the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines, because those areas are not overlapped by any possible entitlement of China.

Lawfulness of Chinese Actions: The Tribunal next considered the lawfulness of Chinese actions in the South China Sea. Having found that certain areas are within the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines, the Tribunal found that China had violated the Philippines' sovereign rights in its exclusive economic zone by (a) interfering with Philippine fishing and petroleum exploration, (b) constructing artificial islands and (c) failing to prevent Chinese fishermen from fishing in the zone. The Tribunal also held that fishermen from the Philippines (like those from China) had traditional fishing rights at Scarborough Shoal and that China had interfered with these rights in restricting access. The Tribunal further held that Chinese law enforcement vessels had unlawfully created a serious risk of collision when they physically obstructed Philippine vessels.

Harm to Marine Environment: The Tribunal considered the effect on the marine environment of China's recent large-scale land reclamation and construction of artificial islands at seven features in the Spratly Islands and found that China had caused severe harm to the coral reef environment and violated its obligation to preserve and protect fragile ecosystems and the habitat of depleted, threatened, or endangered species. The Tribunal also found that Chinese authorities were aware that Chinese fishermen have harvested endangered sea turtles, coral, and giant clams on a substantial scale in the South China Sea (using methods that inflict severe damage on the coral reef environment) and had not fulfilled their obligations to stop such activities.

Aggravation of Dispute: Finally, the Tribunal considered whether China's actions since the commencement of the arbitration had aggravated the dispute between the Parties. The Tribunal found that it lacked jurisdiction to consider the implications of a stand-off between Philippine marines and Chinese naval and law enforcement vessels at Second Thomas Shoal, holding that this dispute involved military activities and was therefore excluded from compulsory settlement. The Tribunal found, however, that China's recent large-scale land reclamation and construction of artificial islands was incompatible with the obligations on a State during dispute resolution proceedings, insofar as China has inflicted irreparable harm to the marine environment, built a large artificial island in the Philippines' exclusive economic zone, and destroyed evidence of the natural condition of features in the South China Sea that formed part of the Parties' dispute."

(Source: <https://www.pcacases.com/web/view/7>)

CARTOGRAPHIC EXHIBIT ON HISTORICAL TRUTHS AND LIES: SCARBOROUGH SHOAL IN PHILIPPINE MAPS

22-24 February 2016, PSSCenter lobby



Council News

PSSC convenes the 8th National Social Science Congress

On 15-17 June 2016, the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) convened its Eighth National Social Science Congress (NSSC 8) focusing on the theme “Inclusive Governance: Gateways to Sustainable Futures.” NSSC 8 looked at the nexus between inclusive governance and socio-cultural, environmental, and economic well-being and sustainability.

The keynote address was delivered by Dr. Patricia Licuanan, chairperson of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) and former chair of the PSSC board. In her speech, Dr. Licuanan emphasized the crucial role of higher education institutions in arming people with “knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that empower them to contribute to sustainable development through informed decisions and responsible action.” She shared current initiatives of CHED to weave Education for Sustainable Development into the three dimensions of higher education, i.e., instruction, research and extension.



Speakers of the plenary session on Theoretical Perspectives on Inclusive Governance and Sustainable Futures with PSSC Executive Director Amaryllis T. Torres.

National Commission for Culture and the Arts Chair Felipe de Leon, anthropologist Ponciano Bennagen and geographer Simeona Martinez headlined the first plenary session on “Theoretical Perspectives on Inclusive Governance and Sustainable Futures.” Prof. de Leon discussed the role of intangible cultural heritage in preserving communal bonds which enable people to unleash their creative potential and sustain diverse cultural expression. Prof. Bennagen, meanwhile, examined the indigenous concept of “gebayabaya” and how it can be applied as a framework for attaining



Dr. Patricia Licuanan delivers her keynote speech.



Speakers of the plenary session on Disasters Risk Governance: Lessons from Asia

sustainable living on a larger scale. Prof. Martinez's paper focused on the engagement and contributions of the social sciences sector in the evolving discourse on and practice of sustainability in the country.

The second plenary session on "Disasters Risk Governance: Lessons from Asia" featured four experts on disaster governance. Dr. Yasuo Tanaka of Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia, inquired into the role of universities during and after two megadisasters, the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. Dr. Kanako Iuchi of the International Research Institute of Disaster Science, Tohoku University, Japan talked about the different approaches to post-disaster relocation in three cases, i.e., Tohoku earthquake and tsunami, Typhoon Yolanda in Leyte, and Yogyakarta earthquake. Mr. Jerome Zayas of Earthquake and Megacities, Inc. assessed the effectiveness of Republic Act 10121 as the national framework for disaster risk reduction and management, particularly in the case of Typhoon Haiyan. Ms. Paulina Lawsin-Nayra of the Eastern Visayas Network of NGOs and POs shared her insights on the three

paper presentations based on her experience in post-disaster rehabilitation activities in Tacloban, Leyte.

In addition to the two plenary sessions, NSSC 8 also featured 23 panel sessions in the areas of governance and sustainability, such as governance of natural resources; management of cultural heritage and diversity; local governance reforms; management of climate change and natural disasters; governance of cyberspace, online community and mass media; language policy; and women's role and contributions to good governance. Nine of these parallel sessions were organized by PSSC member-associations, namely, Philippine Geographical Society, Philippine Sociological Society, Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Philippine Political Science Association, Philippine Society for Public Administration, Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao, and Psychological Association of the Philippines.

Apart from the plenary and parallel sessions, PSSC organized four pre-conference training workshops. These include Quantitative Techniques in Impact Evaluation with Dr. Dennis Mapa of the Philippine



PGS panel on Maps, Methods and the Media: Untangling the Geographies of Disasters in the Philippines



PSPA panel on Assessment of Local Governance Reforms in the Philippines



PSS panel on Imaging Governance: The Youth Today and the Future to Come



PPSA panel on Adaptive Collaborative Governance: Lessons and Insights from Academic Engagements with Water Institutions/ Stakeholders in Three Philippine Watersheds

Statistical Association, Inc./UP School of Statistics as resource person; Geospatial Technologies for Spatially-Enabled Learning featuring Dr. Trina Isorena, Prof. Simeona Martinez, and Prof. Emmanuel Garcia of Philippine Geographical Society; Privacy in Research; Researching Privacy spearheaded by Prof. Peter Sy of the UP Department of Philosophy/National Experts Group on Privacy; and Use of Technology (NVivo PRO) for Qualitative Research with Prof. Nicamil Sanchez of the UP College of Social Work and Community Development as resource person.

This year's NSSC was the first NSSC held outside of Metro Manila. According to Dr. Lourdes Portus, Chairperson on the PSSC Board of Trustees, "NSSC 8 marks an important change in the conduct of the Congress as it veers away from privileging Manila-centric confabs, and instead taps the country's various regions' rich resources and talents in organizing a scholarly endeavor." She added that cascading the NSSC to the regions "fulfills the need to inclusively engage our social scientists nationwide in academic and proprietary discourses."



Prof. Martinez assists participants during the training on Geospatial Technologies for Spatially-Enabled Learning.

PSSC welcomes its newest Associate Member, the Philippine Criminal Justice Researchers Society



The Philippine Criminal Justice Researchers Society Inc. (PCJRS) founded on October 23, 2014 is a private, non-stock and non-profit organization duly registered in the Securities and Exchange Commission. It promotes and develops criminological and criminal justice research in the Philippines. It further cultivates an environment where criminologists, practitioners, and policy makers exchange ideas to enhance the effectiveness of law enforcement, prosecution, court, correction, and community against crimes.

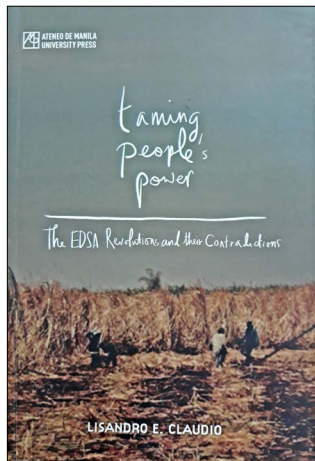
PCJRS's vision is to be the leading organization of criminological and criminal justice researchers in the Asia Pacific region. PCJRS purpose is to unify those engaged in research, teaching, and practice in criminology and criminal justice, in the conduct of empirical research on crime and justice. It also seeks to provide an avenue for coordinated studies of the etiology of crime and delinquency, policing, prosecution, sentencing, treatment of offenders and public welfare administration



Prof. Peter Sy gives a lecture on Privacy in Research; Researching Privacy (left photo); while participants work on exercises during the workshop (right photo).

Social Science Scholars Receive coveted Virginia A. Miralao Excellence in Research Award

The Philippine Social Science Council recently conferred the Virginia A. Miralao Excellence in Research Award (VAM Award) to two well-grounded and excellently written publications penned by young Filipino scholars in the social sciences, Lisandro E. Claudio and Jonathan C. Ong.



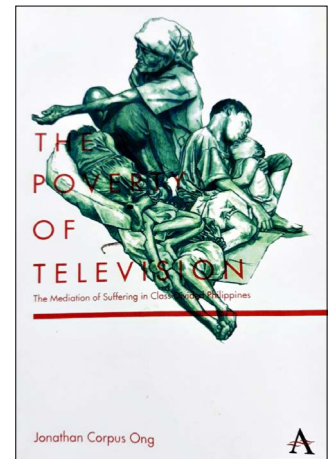
Lisandro Claudio's *Taming People's Power: The EDSA Revolution and their Contradictions* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014) examined the complex legacy of the 1986 people power revolution. He unraveled two competing collective narratives that to this day remain entrenched in Philippine politics and cultural

symbols. One is the traditional discourse—espoused by Aquino's political supporters, the Catholic Church, middle class, and big businesses—in which a grieving widow, Cory Aquino, ousted an overstaying dictator through a Church-sanctioned revolt that resulted in the restoration of freedom and democracy. The other is the leftist discourse where the underground movement played a prominent role in weakening the Marcos dictatorship, and the EDSA people power uprising was hijacked by political and economic elites led by hacienda owner Aquino.

This thought-provoking work has received critical acclaim from Claudio's peers in political science. Mark R. Thompson of the City University Hong Kong' Southeast Asia Research Centre said in his book review: "The book is well written in a sophisticated, but intelligible 'post-modern' style, with key theoretical insights effectively used to clarify Claudio's discursive approach to recent Philippine history. The result is

a study full of more insights about recent Philippine politics than any other I have read in past decade" (*Southeast Asian Studies* 4 [3], 2015).

Meanwhile, *The Poverty of Television: The Mediation of Suffering in Class-Divided Philippines* by Jonathan Ong (Anthem Press, 2015) is the result of a 20-month ethnographic study that examined people's responses to images and narratives of suffering and poverty on television. Ong found that an audience's view of and moral stance on televised suffering are essentially class-based. Audiences in lower economic classes experience the same misfortunes and difficulties as the "sufferers," hence, they readily identify with sufferers and do not see the portrayal of suffering on television as victimization. This finding is in contrast with earlier studies which did not take into account the diverse social positions of televisions audiences and often used the researcher's own moral lens.



The VAM Excellence in Research Award (VAM Award) honors the best-written article, book, or book chapter produced by a young (no more than 40 years old) and promising social scientist. The VAM Award aims to honor the invaluable contributions of former PSSC Executive Director, Dr. Virginia A. Miralao, to the development of social sciences in the Philippines and her own sterling record of scholarship. The funds for the Award were provided by Dr. Belinda A. Aquino, professor emeritus at the University of Hawaii-Manoa, who donated USD5,000 to PSSC shortly after the retirement of Dr. Miralao as PSSC Executive Director in December 2009.

Ong's study has garnered attention and praise from international and local academicians. Lecturer in media and African studies at Stanford University, Tal Morse, said "Ong's bottom-up approach for the study of non-Western audiences' engagement with mediated suffering in the Philippines opens new horizons for understanding the role(s) of the media in facilitating moral and social processes" (*International Journal of Communication* 9, 2015). Media and literary scholar, Rolando B. Tolentino, remarked: "This is the first scholarly book on Philippine television. Ong goes to

the core of the issue—the cultural politics of news and entertainment, the lifeline of poverty of and in Philippine television. Ethnographic and political economic, the morality of media and development are critically engaged in this book" (Anthem Press website, 2015).

The two publications are available at PSSC's Frank X. Lynch SJ Library. They may also be purchased from their respective publishing houses, Ateneo de Manila University Press and Anthem Press.

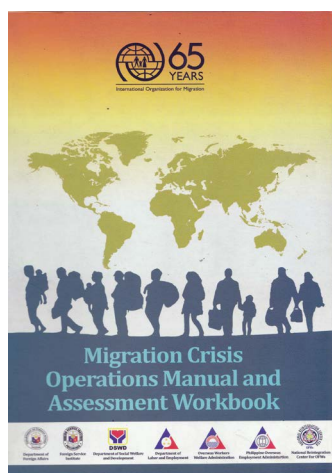


Dr. Lisandro E. Claudio meets former PSSC Executive Director Virginia A. Miralao, after whom the Award is named.



Dr. Filomin C. Gutierrez (PSS President) receives the VAM Award on behalf of 2016 awardee, Dr. Jonathan Ong. Dr. Caridad Tarroja (Chairperson); Amaryllis T. Torres (Executive Director); and Dr. Lourdes Portus (Vice Chair) look on as Dr. Clarence M. Batan reads the citation.

PMRN completes the Crisis Management and Assistance to Nationals Project



The Philippine Migration Research Network (PMRN) of PSSC completed the Crisis Management and Assistance to Nationals (CMAN) Project commissioned by the Manila office of the International Organization for Migration for the Philippine government. The main objective of the project is to improve the competency of government officials to protect overseas Filipinos in crisis situations abroad. Under the project, PMRN produced an assessment paper on current policies and procedures for managing and responding to crisis or emergency situations affecting Filipinos abroad; a manual of operations-cum-workbook on crisis planning, response, and recovery; and an online course on crisis management for foreign service officers, labor attachés, and other staff posted abroad. The printed manual *Migration Crisis Operations Manual and Assessment Workbook* and CMAN e-learning course (<https://cmn.etraining.ph/>) were launched in September 2016.

New Research



Five graduate research papers funded by the PSSC Research Award Program are now available at the Frank X. Lynch, SJ Library. Below are the author-prepared abstracts.

KILUSANG PROPETIKONG ADBENTISTA (KPA): KASAYSAYAN NG MILINARYANG KILUSAN SA IGLESYANG SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST (SDA), 1994 – KASALUKUYAN

Palmo R. Iya

PhD in History

University of the Philippines Diliman

Ito ang kasaysayan ng Kilusang Propetikong Adbentista (KPA), isang milinaryang kilusang lumabas sa Iglesyang Seventh-Day Adventist (SDA) sa Pilipinas noong 1990's dahil sa paniniwalang tumalikod na ang kanyang madre iglesia sa mga pamantayan at mensahe na ipinagkaloob sa kanya bilang “bayan ng Diyos.” Ibinenta ang mga ari-arian, nilisan ang mga trabaho, pinatigil ang kanilang mga anak sa pag-aaral, at nanirahan sa mga kabundukan sa paniniwalang magwawakas na ang mundo at darating na ang inaasahang “Tagapagligtas” noong taong 2000–2002. Sa hindi pagkatupad ng pinaniniwalaang propesiya, nagkaroon ng re-interpretasyon ang grupo sa pag-aaral ng mga mensahe lalo na ang may kinalaman sa mga hula o tagna. Nakabuo sila ng mga mensahe, paniniwala, at praktis na may pagkakaiba na sa kinagisnang doktrinang SDA. May mga bagong praktis ding lumabas na may pagka-Pilipino bunsod ng kanilang pagsasakonteksto sa nakuha nilang mga paniniwalang galing sa labas.

Upang masagot ang mga layunin, hindi lamang metodolohiyang pangkasaysayan ang ginamit kundi maging etnograpihong pamamaraan – ang paglubog sa kilusan sa pamamagitan ng malay na pagmamasid at pakikisalamuha na naging daan upang makita

ang daynamiks at ebolusyon ng nasabing grupo, ang pagkakatulad at pagkakaiba nito sa tradisyong milinaryang Pilipino, at higit sa lahat, ang pagkakaugnay ng kilusan sa sinaunang tradisyon ng mga Pilipino.

Ipinakita ng pag-aaral na hindi lamang nagaganap ang paghiwalay sa loob ng Simbahang Katoliko (Aglipayanismo, Folk Catholicism, at Catholic Folkism), kundi nangyari/nangyayari din sa loob ng Iglesyang SDA. Isang ikutang pangyayari ang ginawang pagpopook, pagsasakonteksto, at pag-aangkin ng Kilusang Propetikong Adbentista (KPA) sa panlabas na kaisipang panrelihiyon ng Iglesyang SDA lalung-lalo na ang kanyang paggamit ng diskurso ng “hula” o “tagna” upang isingkaw mula rito ang ukol sa paghahanap ng ideya ng “bagong liwanag,” “sugo,” at “huling bayan.”

IMPROVING FRONTLINE SERVICE DELIVERY AND ACCOUNTABILITY: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CITIZEN’S CHARTER IN THE NATIONAL STATISTICS OFFICE AND THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Lizan E. Perante-Calina

PhD in Public Administration

University of the Philippines Diliman

One of the most conspicuous policy tools that emerged in the Philippine politico-administrative system at the turn of the 21st century was the enactment of Republic Act (RA) No. 9485 or the Anti-Red Tape Act (ARTA) which provides for a mechanism known as the Citizen’s Charter (CC). The CC promotes ease and comfort for

every citizen-client who avails of frontline service at the national and local governments through simplified transactions and processes.

The passage of the ARTA provides an enabling framework for the adoption of the CC which originated in the United Kingdom and was later on introduced in the polity to streamline government processes and procedures. In the same manner, the ARTA as the legal framework to which the CC is anchored, aims to improve efficiency in the delivery of frontline services (FS) by reducing bureaucratic red tape and preventing graft and corruption.

In view of a dearth of studies on the significant contributions of the CC in reducing bureaucratic red tape and fixing activities, eliminating inefficiencies and professionalizing the bureaucracy especially in frontline service delivery (FSD); and inadequacy of literature depicting theoretical, conceptual, and analytical issues on the CC, particularly on FSD, the Study aims to assess the selected government agencies' implementation of the CC; identify responses of citizen-clients on CC implementation; evaluate the extent of compliance by the two case study agencies, the NSO and NBI on the CC from 2007 to 2015 and present the agencies' reform initiatives; and identify the contributions of the study to the discipline of Public Administration.

By employing mixed methods, the Study further attempts to advance the understanding of the CC concepts from the vantage point of public managers, FS personnel, and citizen-clients. The output from the rapid appraisal, the perception survey, and the key informant interviews all contribute to the overall findings and analysis. Using Spearman's rho correlation coefficient technique, it was found that the level of awareness correlates with the level of satisfaction on the CC implementation and the services received from the two agencies. Similarly, the citizen-client's level of satisfaction correlates with their level of awareness on the CC implementation. Likewise, the implementation of the CC results in the appreciation of public managers, serving as standards of accountability as the linchpin and kernel of frontline service delivery.

A two-decade journey on the legislative history of the ARTA (1987-2007) and the inquiry on various country

experiences that adopted the CC yielded findings that some countries succeeded while some failed in its implementation. However, in the Philippines, few government agencies were considered as paragons of excellence for successfully implementing the provisions of law. The NBI and NSO have fully implemented the CC and complied with the ARTA provisions. At the same time, these two agencies have introduced significant innovations through the use of modern ICT that paved the way to the improvement of FSD anchored on the principles of accountability and transparency.

The study found that there is lack of citizen participation in the stages of the CC implementation. In the practices of line agencies awarded the CSC's Seal of Excellence, of the six agencies that topped the 2014 ARTA-RCS, and of the two agencies covered by the Study—the NBI and the NSO—active citizen participation is absent. Clients' suggestions may be listened to or consulted but in the decision-making on how to craft the CC, the decision lies exclusively with the insiders. This means that the CC implementation will not go on to a consultative-participatory level. The voice of citizen clients and their choices will remain in the suggestion boxes.

Thus, on the basis of the findings, a framework for improved CC-FSD implementation is prescribed. This framework consists of five components: 1) active citizen participation; 2) use of ICT; 3) NPS theory as a reform handle; 4) ARTA as a legal framework; and 5) continuous innovations. Given this CC-FSD loop framework, it necessitates that in CC implementation, the five components must be utilized towards an effective CC-FSD.

Likewise, the need to continuously improve the delivery of FS depends on the collaboration of public managers and citizen-clients as what Denhardt and Denhardt propounded on the theory of New Public Service (NPS). Equally important to public managers and citizen-clients collaboration is the use of ICT to provide more systematic and efficient processes and procedures to expedite FSD.

Finally, the imperatives and implications of this Study will pave the way to a strengthened framework on CC-FSD by revisiting and rethinking the role of public managers and the citizenry in the continued

improvement and innovations of the CC which will redefine and retool the mechanisms incorporated in the ARTA.

APPROPRIATING THE MOTHER TONGUE-BASED MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION (MTBMLE) IN THE GRASSROOTS: GROUND LEVEL LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

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PhD in Applied Linguistics

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The Philippines is the only country in Southeast Asia to have institutionalized mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTBMLE) in the primary school years. Implemented in 2012, the MTBMLE language policy advocates the multilingual approach that promotes the right to be educated in one's own language. As a multilingual approach, the MTBMLE policy adheres to the ideology of linguistic pluralism that supports the maintenance of minority languages and of cultural identity.

This study investigated the role that language ideologies play in the ground level implementation of a nationally instituted language policy, the MTBMLE, in the Philippines. Informed by the socio-cultural approach to policy studies (Levinson, 2001) and Spolsky's (2004) Theory of Language Policy, this case study explored teachers' knowledge, beliefs and practices to determine how the MTBMLE is appropriated at the ground level. Data were collected during a three-week period and consisted of focus groups, classroom observations, document analysis, individual interviews, and the survey.

Results from this study indicated that teachers have manifested policy accommodation, incorporating the mother tongue as a language of instruction in their classrooms, despite having shown a preference for English that manifested in the teachers' words and actions. While the MTBMLE conferred special status to the mother tongue, the teachers have been found to support language beliefs contrary to those espoused by the current language policy. Nevertheless, the teachers have demonstrated the implementation of compensatory strategies to make up for implementation

issues e.g., inadequate training, insufficient materials, linguistic-related issues. Hence, findings reveal teachers as playing dual roles: openly accommodating the language policy while resisting it at the same time. The implications of these findings have significance for how language policy is currently being managed in the Philippines and identify language ideologies as playing an important role in the language policy process. Thus, a model for language policy has been proposed, characterized by an inclusivity feature that considers the language ideologies of each hierarchical level to inform policy formulation. Language ideologies have been found to play a significant role in determining language practices. Moreover, inclusivity as a feature of the policy model considers ground level contexts and recommends that language policy must be implemented through collaboration among the hierarchical levels of the education system.

THE FEATURES OF PHILIPPINE ENGLISH ACROSS REGIONS

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The dissertation aims at providing a new and innovative investigation of the features of Philippine English across regions. This research provides comprehensive discussions on two things: a) distinctive grammatical features; and b) structural and functional features of the three and four-word English lexical bundles. Furthermore, this study uses one million word corpus that was built using the 'timed' and 'untimed' texts written by Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon speakers of English.

With regard to distinctive grammatical features, an inventory of features of the grammatical innovation processes in the sentences in the corpus was made. Furthermore, using D' Souza's (1998) criteria for considering innovations as accepted features of New Englishes when they meet benchmarks of frequency, systematicity (rule-governedness), and use by educated users of the English language, the researcher focuses on the distinctive grammatical feature which, based on carefully applied criteria, can be part of Philippine English across regions. These features consist of superficially creative usage of subject and

verb agreement, articles, prepositions, tense, mass and count nouns, pronoun-antecedent agreement. The result of the investigation showed that some of the 'creative errors' are put forward to be distinctive grammatical features, while some others were not.

The three- and four-word English lexical bundles, on the other hand, were retrieved from the corpus using a computer text analysis tool. Moreover, these bundles were further analyzed both structurally and functionally based on the classifications developed by Biber. This study has not been identified before in the previous studies, which appeared in the research of some foreign scholars who used academic corpora built by inner circle speakers of English. Interestingly, all the lexical bundles obtained from the corpus used in this research fit into the structural and functional categorizations used in this study.

It should also be noted that based on the analysis of the results, some of the distinctive grammatical features appeared very frequent in the corpus, while some of them did not. This discrepancy may be due to three possible reasons: (a) the interference of Philippine languages in using English; (b) the linguistic background (e.g. exposure to English) of the informants; and (c) the size of the corpus.

On the other hand, the results of the Chi-square Test computations revealed that there were significant differences between and among the Englishes used by Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, and Hiligaynon speakers in terms of prepositional usage innovations, article usage innovations, verb tense usage innovations, and structural features of English lexical bundles. For the mass and count nouns innovation and functional features of English lexical bundles, the results of the calculations revealed that there were no significant differences between and among the Englishes used by the Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, and Hiligaynon speakers.

It should be noted that although, the study does not depart radically from what Baustista (2002) had found, it may contribute to Philippine English research in that the features that Baustista found in her corpus are also found in the regions. However, this does not necessarily indicate that there are 'already established' regional varieties of English as more research is needed,

especially in the phonological features of Philippine English.

Lastly, this research lacks spoken material and is based on ostensibly limited data from four groups only—Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, and Hiligaynon speakers of English. The future availability of a larger corpus, particularly incorporating spoken material, will facilitate further studies on Philippine English across regions.

PALAWAN'S PRIME TOURIST DESTINATIONS' TOURISM LANDSCAPES AND DISCOURSE

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This study investigated Palawan's Prime Tourist Destinations' Tourism Landscapes and Discourse. Employing Pennycook's (2007) Language as a local practice, it highlighted the relationship between language, locality, and practice. As to the determination of locale's identity through discourse, Quakenbush's (1989) language use and proficiency in a multilingual setting was used and Bourdieu's (1992) concept of linguistic capital and market was also included.

To comprehensively analyse the discourses present in the tourism landscapes, the study used quasi-descriptive quantitative and descriptive qualitative design employing casual interviews with tourism officers, observations, photo taking, and textual analysis.

Specifically, the study used 150 photographs or 50 photos taken from each of the chosen locales; particularly in the City of Puerto Princesa, and Municipalities of Coron and El Nido as the primary sources of data. Furthermore, the data were classified into five genres such as: tarpaulins, panaflex, wood, brochure and t-shirts/souvenir.

Informed by Pennycook's (2007) Language as a local practice in the tourism landscapes, it was found that with regard to the language choice, English language and the combination of both English and local languages were prevalently used in the landscapes. Highlighting the inevitability of the use of local

language in the signs is tantamount to giving value and importance to the language, thus, making it stable and preserved. Moreover, textual and multimodal properties in the signages displayed clarity in terms of aesthetic presentation and linguistic efficacy. Further, existential authenticity and mobility were observable in the discourses of the landscapes, were structured in non-hegemonic mechanism, and had established an inimitable identity of the Province.

Finally, linguistic landscapes investigation may be conducted using other approaches with consideration of other possible domains that could provide a different angle or perspective of their linguistic value.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (GCE) INITIATIVES OF THE UNESCO ACCREDITED CLUBS IN THE PHILIPPINES: BASIS FOR A GCE FRAMEWORK IN TRAINING YOUTH LEADERS

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PhD in Peace and Security Administration Bicol University

The study aims to assess the effectiveness of Global Citizenship Education as implemented by UNESCO accredited clubs in the promotion of the social responsibility, global competence and global civic engagement towards the development of a GCE model in training youth leaders in the Philippines. Specifically, the study sought to answer the profiles of selected UNESCO accredited clubs in the Philippines in terms of origin and historical background; vision, mission and goals; membership policies; and best practices; the initiatives of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in the areas related to Human Rights Education, Peace Education and Education for Sustainable Development in the UNESCO accredited clubs in the Philippines in terms of: Public Information Campaign; Community Outreach/Extension Activities; Capacity-Building for Members; and Building of Networks; to what extent is Global Citizenship Education and its program components effective in promoting Global Citizenship as perceived by beneficiaries using the following indicators on social responsibility, global competence, and global civic engagement; the challenges in implementing GCE Youth-Led initiatives in the Philippines; and the GCE framework that can be developed to train youth leaders.

This study utilized a descriptive-developmental method of research and grounded theory method. It used a mix of qualitative and quantitative data gathering tools. Survey method, through a validated assessment questionnaire, was applied to gauge the extent of effectiveness of global citizenship education and its relevant concepts in the projects of twelve UNESCO accredited clubs from ten provinces of the Philippines. For validation purposes, FGDs, interviews and community observations were done to see how social responsibility, global competence and global civic engagement were manifested by the members, officers and alumni of the club. The challenges of implementing GCE projects was highlighted in the data-gathering in order to evolve a GCE training framework for youth leaders that hopefully be useful in policy-making, capability-building and advocacy campaign for youth leaders in the Philippines towards mainstreaming of global citizenship.

The profiles of selected UNESCO accredited clubs in the Philippines in terms of origin and historical background; vision, mission and goals; membership policies; and best practices vary in terms of the reason why the clubs were established and its context and location. But the vision, mission and goals of the twelve clubs are toward the achievement of UNESCO's thrust in terms of developing global citizenship. Membership policies are also varied but all of the clubs are inclusive and do not discriminate members based on the color of the skin, gender, ethnicity, religion and sex. Best practices are also discussed like the Peace Education Program of WMSU Youth Peace Mediators Club, Education for Sustainable Development programs of CIT-IE on recycling of waste to produce creative notebooks and INA of the University of the Assumption on their Tutorial program. The Human Rights Education program of UNP-Volunteer Corps and PNU-UNESCO Clubs are also highlighted.

The Global Citizenship Education initiatives implemented by twelve accredited UNESCO clubs in the Philippines that participated in this study pertain to different projects, activities and events implemented in the areas of Human Rights Education, Peace Education and Education for Sustainable Development through Public Information Campaigns; Community Outreach and Extension Services; Capacity Building for Members; and Building of Networks Programs.

Out of 270 respondents from 12 UNESCO Clubs, almost all of them rated their projects on Public Information Campaign from 4.50-5.49 or Agree (A) with a mean average of 5.17. This means that the respondents believe that the projects that they have implemented in the Public Information Campaign developed their sense of global citizenship. In the area of Community Outreach and Extension Services, out of 270 respondents from 12 UNESCO Clubs almost all of them rated their projects from 4.50-5.49 or Agree (A) with a mean average of 5.16. This means that the respondents believe that the projects that they have implemented in the Community Outreach and Extension Services developed their sense of global citizenship.

Out of 270 respondents from 12 UNESCO Clubs almost all of them rated their projects on Capacity Building for Members (CBM) from 4.50-5.49 or Agree (A) with a mean average of 5.07. This means that the respondents believe that the projects that they have implemented in the CBM developed their sense of global citizenship. In the area of Building of Networks Program, out of 270 respondents from 12 UNESCO Clubs almost all of them rated their projects from 4.50-5.49 or Agree (A) with a mean average of 5.24. This means that the respondents believe in the projects that they have implemented.

The challenges identified by respondents in the implementation of Global Citizenship Education projects by selected UNESCO accredited clubs in the Philippines over a period of three years from 2012 to 2015 include inability to contextualize global concerns to local scenario; youth apathy to social and global issues; limited access to internet; fear in political activism; dole-out mentality; sustainability of community projects; inability to contextualize community project to global agenda, limited integration of global issues in trainings; internal conflicts; stereotypes in partnership with government; limited linkages with international organizations; time management; inadequate financial resources; inadequate knowledge on global citizenship education themes; limited of institutional support; lack of support from the alumni; and multiple leadership roles.

The proposed GCE training framework for the Filipino youth discusses the proposed values, knowledge and skills in developing global citizenship of Public

Information Campaign (PIC), Community Outreach and Extension Services (COES), and Building of Networks (BN). Although Capacity Building for Members was initially one of the areas of this study, it was purposely not included because the result of the study which is this framework is all about Capacity Building Framework. This is also true with the four dimensions of Global Citizenship Education namely, Human Rights Education, Peace Education, Education for Sustainable Development and Education for International Understanding. The fourth component which is Education for International Understanding was purposefully remove from the framework of Global Citizenship Education so as not to confuse the user about the seeming comparability of these two educational paradigm. This is to focus the attention to the three separate but interconnected components of Global Citizenship Education which is very much applicable in the Philippine settings which are Human Rights Education, Peace Education and Education for Sustainable Development.

The framework also adopted the three dimensions of developing global citizenship as proposed by Morais and Ogden which are social responsibility, global competence and global civic engagement. Each of these components was defined based from the experiences of the respondents among the twelve accredited UNESCO Clubs. The different knowledge, skills and values that were developed as a result of implementing the GCE related programs were highlighted and categorized so that the framework can serve as guide in formulating training programs for young people ages 15 to 24.

The Global Citizenship Education implemented by accredited UNESCO Clubs in the Philippines in the areas of Public Information Campaigns, Community Outreach and Extension Services, Capacity Building for Members and Building of Network Programs is effective in promoting global citizenship among its members, officers, alumni and advisers. The GCE project activities implemented including the challenges experienced by the officers, members, alumni and members are fertile grounds to develop a Global Citizenship Education Framework in training youth leaders in the Philippines.

New Publications

Philippine Political Science Journal

(Volume 37 Number 1-3),
April and December 2016



ARTICLES

Social Media and Civic Engagement during Calamities: The Case of Twitter Use During Typhoon Yolanda
Cheryll Ruth Soriano, Ma. Divina Gracia Roldan, Charibeth Cheng and Nathaniel Oco

Developing a Measure of Legislative Professionalism for Local Assemblies in South Korea
Jong Bin Yoon and Hoi Ok Jeong

Frame Alignments between the Press and Political Actors: The Corona Impeachment Trial
Maria Celine Anastasia P. Socrates

ESSAY

Misadventures in Political Science
Francisco Nemenzo

BOOK REVIEWS

Caesar Virata: Life and Times—Through Four Decades of Philippine Economic History
Reviewed by Yusuke Takagi

Ang Mga Ideolohiyang Politikang ng Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines" Isang Pag-aaral sa mga Piling Pahayag mula sa Limang Panahon ng Kontemporaryong Eleksiyon-Politikang na Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas
Reviewed by Anthony Lawrence A. Borja

The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution / Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy
Reviewed by Richard Javad Haydarian

Institutional Engineering and Political Accountability in Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines
Reviewed by Matthew D. Ordoñez

Building Inclusive democracies in ASEAN
Reviewed by Glenn Joseph D. Teh

OBITUARIES

Carmencita T. Aguilar, 1937-2015
Olivia Caoili

Benedict Anderson, 1936-2015
Eduardo Climaco Tadem

ARTICLES

Predicting Vote Choice for Celebrity and Political Dynasty Candidates in Philippine National Elections
Clarissa C. David and Ma. Rosel S. San Pascual

Post-Haiyan Adaptation and Institutional Barriers to Women Survivors in Tacloban
Ladylyn Lim Mangada

Political Leadership and Education Politics: The Mayor and Education Services in Nasugbu, Batangas
Jan Robert Go

Guardians Reinvented: The Philippine Army's Non-Traditional Engagements in Panay Island, Philippines
Rosalie Arcala Hall

BOOK REVIEWS

US-China Relations in the Twenty-first Century: A Question of Trust
Reviewed by Chow Bing Ngeow

Thinking Beyond Politics: A Strategic Agenda for the Next President
Reviewed by Martin Josef E. Vivo

ARTICLES

The Relationship between IRA and Local Government Expenditures: Evidence from a Cross-section of Philippine Cities
Tristan Canare

The Erosion of the Political Dominance of an Entrenched Political Clan: The Case of the Felix Political Clan of Cainta, Rizal
Raymund John P. Rosuelo

"The Greatest Workers of the World": Philippine Labor Out-migration and the Politics of Labeling in Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's Presidential Rhetoric
Oscar Tantoco Serquina Jr.

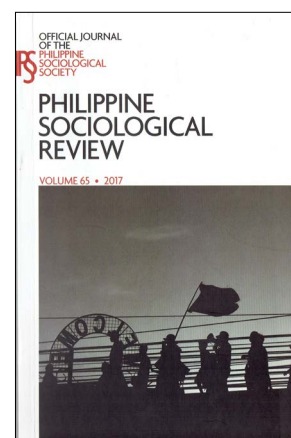
Year-End Country Report
The Philippines in 2015: The Calm before the Political Storm
Julio C. Teehankee

BOOK REVIEWS

Central Banking as State Building: Policymakers and their Nationalism in the Philippines, 1933-1964
Reviewed by Alexander R. Magno

The Genius of the Poor: A Journey with Gawad Kalinga
Reviewed by Maria Milagros Regina I. Lomotan

Philippine Sociological Review Volume 64 (2016)



In the Name of Fathers, In Defense of Mothers: Hegemony, Resistance, and the Catholic Church on the Philippine Population Policy
Enrique Niño P. Leviste

Konsepto ng 'Bayan' sa mga Tagalog na Awiting Liturhikal

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Languages in the Indian Trans-national Community in Metro Manila: Preservation Efforts and Impact on Indian Identity

Gilbert Jacob S. Que

Blood Boundaries in a National Soccer Team: Contesting the Racial and National Identities of the Philippine Azkals

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Pro Deo et Patria: Reflexive Spirituality and the Youth of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente

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An Analysis of the Philippine Social Economy Using the Plural Economy Approach

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COMMENTARY

Charisma and Charismatic Leaders: Weber and Beyond

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Special Issue – Sociology of Peace and Conflict



Aftermath of the 2013 Zamboanga Siege: Peacebuilding Strategies from Civil Society

Maria Cecilia T. Medina

Taming Class Conflict: Industrial Peace and Workers' Resistance in the Philippines, 2001-2016

Jane Alexandra Siwa and Jessica Viliran

Ang Hanapbuhay sa Pelikula, 1970s to 2010s: Contesting Representations of Work in Filipino Films

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The Dialectical Foundations of Marx's Sociology of Conflict: Methodological Implications for the Study of Conflicts

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RESEARCH REPORT

Politics of Representation: How the Media Framed the Bangsamoro Basic Law

Alejandro S. Ibañez

COMMENTARIES

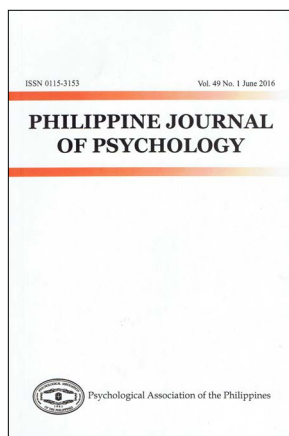
Justice in the Mamasapano Tragedy: Beyond the Logic of Right and Peace Discourses

Delfo C. Canceran

Deconstructing the Concept of 'Nation-state' from the Perspective of the Bangsamoro

Robert M. Alonto

Philippine Journal of Psychology (Vol. 49 No. 1, June 2016)



Behavioral Consequences of Psychological Contract Breach: Examining the Neutralizing Effects of Organization-based Self-esteem

Robert L. Tang and Peter Lemuel T. Cayayan

The Development and Validation of a Filipino Social Desirability Scale

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Validation of the Philippine Version of the Relationship and Motivation Scales (REMO-P)

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Sugboanong'Taras: A Glimpse of Cebuano Personality

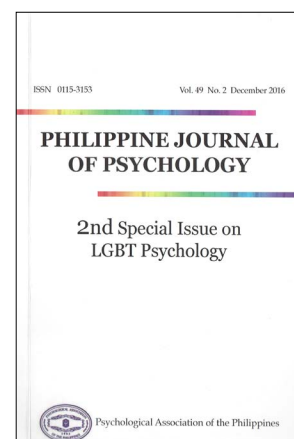
Philip Albert Y. Lagahid and Nera Mae A. Puyo

Athlete Engagement: A Qualitative Investigation of the US American Athlete

Michele Joan D. Valbuena, John Saunders and Vanessa Rice

On the Nature, Purpose, and Utility of Psychological Evaluation Report

Philippine Journal of Psychology (Vol. 49 No. 2, December 2016) 2nd Special Issue on LGBT Psychology



"Girl, Bi, Bakla, Tomboy": The Intersectionality of Sexuality, Gender, and Class in Urban Poor Contexts

Arjohn M. Ceperiano, Emmanuel C. Santos Jr., Danielle Celine P. Alonzo, and Mira Alexis P. Ofreneo

Trans on Trains: Lived Experiences of Filipina Transgender on the MRT

Miguel Alejandro A. Silan, Mary Anne F. Rivera, Loraine T. Chulipa

Gay and Beyond Bars: Life Stories of Filipino Gay Prisoners in the Leyte Regional Prison

Leonel J. Relis, Zoreen E. Agustin, Monique I. Mercines

Roadmaps and Crossroads of Life Transitions: Exploring Career Decision-making of Filipino Gay High School Students

Gian Carlo M. Ledesma, Rosemarie M. Aquino, Marc Eric S. Reyes

Journeying to a Safe Space: Sexual and Religious Identity Integration of Filipino LGBT-affirmative Church Members

Zyra M. Evangelista, Darren E. Dumaop, Grant Nelson

Life Satisfaction Among Older Filipino Sexual Minorities and Their Experiences of Support

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A Bond Between Man and Woman: Religiosity, Moral Foundations, and Same-Sex Marriage Attitudes in the Philippines

Danielle P. Ochoa, Christie P. Sio, Diwa Malaya Quiñones, Eric Julian Manalastas

The “I ♥ Lesbian and Gay Rights” Pin: An Experiential Learning Exercise to Understand Anti-LGBT Stigma

Moniq M. Muyargas, Eric Julian Manalastas, and Pierce S. Docena

An Exploration of Ethical and Methodological Challenges in Trans-Affirmative Psychotherapy with Filipino Transgender and Gender Nonconforming (TGNC) Clients

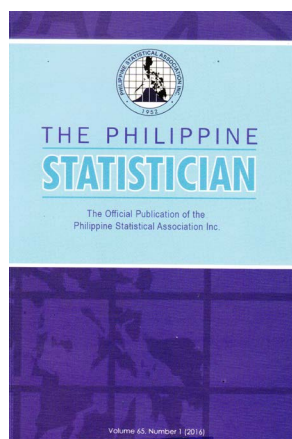
Divine Love A. Salvador

Life Love Lust: Straightforward Answers to Provocative Questions (25th Anniversary Edition) by Margarita Go Singco-Holmes

Review by Pierce S. Docena

And Then She Laughed: Counseling Women by Sylvia Estrada Claudio
Review by Margaret Helen Udarbe-Alvarez

The Philippine Statistician Volume 65 Number 1 (2016)



Comparison of Ordinal Logistic Regression with Tree-Based Methods in Predicting Socioeconomic Classes in the Philippines

Michael Daniel C. Lucagbo

Value-at-Risk Estimates from a SETAR Model

Joselito C. Magadia

AR-Sieve-based Prediction Interval for Sustainable Development Index

Jachelle Anne Dimapilis

Purposive Sampling in the Analysis of Count Data

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Drivers of Household Income Distribution Dynamics in the Philippines

Arturo Martinez Jr., Mark Western, Wojtek Tomaszewski, Michele Haynes, Maria Kristine Manalo, and Iva Sebastian

Interdependence of Philippine Stock Exchange Sector Indices: Evidence of Long-run and Short-run Relationship

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Computational Statistics in Official Statistics Generation Small Area Estimation with Spatiotemporal Mixed Model

Divina Gracia L. Del Prado and Erniel B. Barrios

Computational Statistics SPCR-Based Control Chart for Auto-correlated Processes with High Dimensional Exogenous Variables

Paul Eric G. Abeto and Joseph Ryan G. Lansangan

Semiparametric Probit Model for High-dimensional Clustered Data

Daniel R. Raguindin and Joseph Ryan G. Lansangan

Nonparametric Hypothesis Testing for Isotonic Survival Models with Clustering

John D. Eustaquio

Quantile and Restricted Maximum Likelihood Approach for Robust Regression of Clustered Data

May Ann S. Estoy and Joseph Ryan G. Lansangan

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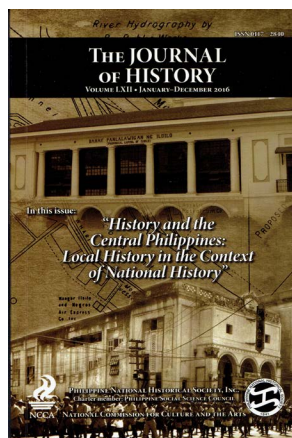
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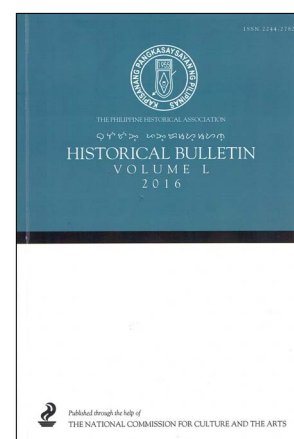
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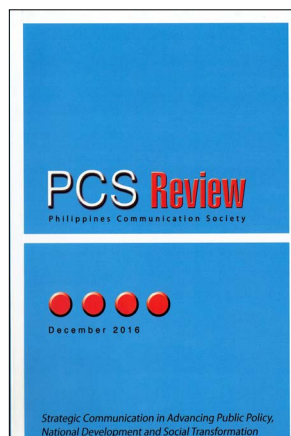
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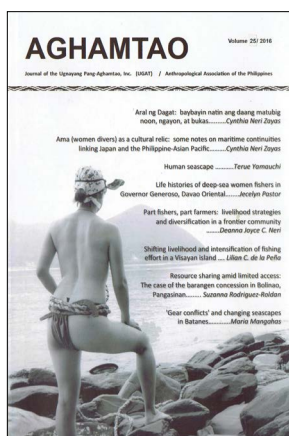
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