



**PHILIPPINE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
2003 NATIONAL CONFERENCE**

October 23-25, 2003

The Royal Mandaya Hotel, Davao City

DOCUMENTATION FORM

Panel Title	Keynote Lecture: History and Nation-Building in the Shadow of Empire, by Prof. Reynaldo Ileta, Ph.D.
Schedule	23 October 2003, 8:45-9:30 a.m.
Summary of Presentation	
<p>Prof. Reynaldo Ileta started with a brief quotation and corresponding reaction to the speech of US President Bush in the Philippine Congress during his day-long visit to the country on 18 October 2003. The keynote speaker highlighted how the US President identified three great wars in our history which purportedly strengthened RP-US relations, while intentionally omitting (as per the analysis of the speaker) a fourth great war that was between the US and the Philippines. This was in the period when the Spanish colonial invaders left us to the Americans after having lost a major battle against the former. The US should not be interpreted as the liberator of the Filipinos from the Spaniards since it merely recolonized the country after the former colonial powers left. The Second World War and the subsequent "liberation" of the Filipinos from the Japanese imperialist by the American heroes was another highlight in our muddled history.</p> <p>The period from 1896 until shortly before the declaration of Philippine independence from the US in 1936 clearly included a period of animosity between the two countries which cannot be overlooked. This forgetting of history has resulted in the continued perception of the Americans as liberators of Filipinos. Likewise, the war with Japan in WW2 should also be seen in a different light, as the Philippines was able to establish good ties with the Japanese before this great war without the necessary involvement of the US.</p> <p>Prof. Ileta asserted that a strong nation and a strong state cannot be built based on a flawed historical narrative. There is a need to unmask the true identity of the Filipino by deconstructing the collective memory of the Filipinos. Omissions in our historical data, or worse, false historical claims, will provide the Filipinos of today much loss in establishing their identity towards establishing a strong state. These errors will correspondingly be reflected in the type of politics that we have and exercise today and the future. The nobility of our heritage, or the lack of it because of distortions in our own history by either foreign elements or even local elements with strong foreign influence, will have to be truly unearthed to make Filipinos in or out of the country today take pride in their identity. This will enable us to establish or re-establish that link to our roots that will truly say who we are, even at the expense of concluding that the US for that matter was never exactly a friend but sometimes an oppressor wearing the mask of a big brother.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>The first question asked why there is no mention at all of the struggles of the Muslim people in Mindanao in all the 3+1 great wars identified by the speaker, particularly the defense that they put up against the Americans and the subsequent roles that these people played towards shaping the memories of the Filipino people towards new and realistic directions of what indeed happened in our history of the great wars. A corollary question was asked on who indeed is the Filipino, particularly in the context of the rift between Christians and Muslims.</p>	

Prof. Iletto responded that he intentionally left out the Muslim issue/question, as well as the important roles they played in the great wars, because it may refer to another set of struggles by another people. Thus, he expressed that the Muslim people may have to trace their own historical narrative. Prof. Iletto postulated that in the case of the rest of the Philippines, the conflicts in the South could even be interpreted as the fifth great war.

Prof. Felipe Miranda interjected that as far as the speech of US Pres. Bush to the Philippine Congress, the combined members of the lower and upper house, save for those few who walked out, were practically clapping all throughout the speech (20 applauses in 18 minutes). However, they may not be representative of the Filipino people, as public opinion polls consistently showed that majority of the people are not supportive of the American war in Iraq. Thus, it might be better to look at the results of public opinion polls to get the sentiments of people, rather than the actions of those who claim to represent them.

A second reaction from Prof. Carmen Abubakar supported the first question raised on the role of the Muslims in the four great wars, and more so during the fight against the American imperialists. She raised the point that among Muslims in particular, the collective memory of the fourth war is strong despite much effort to curtail these from the very time that the US was exercising colonial power over the country. It was during the American occupation that Moros were condemned if and when they did not want to attend American schools. From then until now, policies simply tell us to forget what happened in the past and just move on with life. Our textbooks, the family, the community until the very top leadership reflects a distorted form of collective memory which definitely impacts on the kind of life that we have today.

In general, Prof. Iletto agreed with the points raised by Prof. Miranda and Prof. Abubakar. He said that the account presented in the lecture did not consider an actual measurement of collective memory, but assumed that textbooks carry these memories. Thus, this may actually be a call for further research on what constitutes the collective memory of Filipinos.

The speaker concluded by stressing that there are efforts in the academe and in relevant sectors that attempt to shape and reshape the collective memory of the Filipino people towards truly understanding our history, and correspondingly applying this in related areas like political science or even the entire social sciences. A real and honest understanding of the past is the only means of establishing a strong and meaningful future in this republic.

Documentor

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Panel Title	Local Conceptions of Power “Negrense Reflections on Governance,” by Prof. Zosimo Lee, Ph.D. “Luck and Leadership: Traditional Mataw ‘Firstfishers’ in Batanes as ‘Men of Power,’” by Prof. Maria Mangahas, Ph.D.
Schedule	23 October 2003, 10:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>In an attempt to understand the articulations of citizens from Negros on certain social issues (i.e., Estrada presidency, the national policy on the peace agreement with the RPA-ABB, and barangay elections), Prof. Zosimo Lee analyzed and evaluated transcripts (“texts”) of group discussions aired over a radio program in Bacolod.</p> <p>From such reading, a whole range of insights and reflections on governance and how power should be used came out. Noticeable of these are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erap’s actions are depicted in terms of “hamungaya” (Erap’s abundance) as contrasted with the poor’s “pagkamudmud” (deprivation). • As the “Amay sang Pungsod,” Erap considered the poor as “galamiton” (objects to be used), to be duped or taken advantage of (“ginhimuslan”), and more painfully, to be treated as stupid (“ginhimo gago”). • The campaign and actual vote was viewed as a process of courtship (“nagapangaluyag”). • The peace agreement is being used as an instrument for state security to co-opt and bait (“paonon”) the armed movement to give up armed struggle. • The barangay elections are straddled with mechanisms utilized to ensure that the voters will indeed vote for a particular candidate. These include “higot” (pressure) and “kabalaslan” (<i>utang na loob</i>). <p>In her paper, Prof. Maria Mangahas animated the lives and experiences of Mataw fishfolks from an ethnographic perspective by examining their local practice of leadership in a contemporary fishing system in Batanes. This will hopefully open a possible window that looks into structures of indigenous political systems in our region, and how these are interacting with the present political set-up.</p> <p>Elements of being “masagal” (to have luck and to catch a lot of fish) were established and construed as parallel features of a leader and thus a “man of power.” These elements were identified as follows: work ethic, physical strength, attitude, persuasion, popularity and attractiveness, proper behavior, and social harmony.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>The questions and issues raised referred to discipline-related concerns, since the papers presented are from non-political scientists. One professor from the audience emphatically stated that “anthropology is doing its</p>	

job, we (political scientists) should be doing ours.” He mentioned that the fault is not really on the other disciplines but on the fixated views of political science and its adherents.

Another professor suggested that the questions of other disciplines contributing to the discipline of political science, or vice versa, should be treated as a “question of practical reflection.” He added that “we should not expect the practitioners to theorize” because there is a “necessary gap between practice and theory.” The challenge for the political scientist is to narrow down this gap.

The panel moderator aptly pointed out that the above contentions were the reasons why the conference organizers purposely invited speakers from other academic disciplines in order to shed light on certain matters not totally hinging on political science, but requiring a substantial amount of political consideration.

Documentor

Martin O. Escobido Jr.
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Panel Title	Electoral Politics and Society “A Pluralist Perspective of State-Civil Society Cooperation at the International Level: NAMFREL Operations in Southeast Asia,” by Prof. Melissa Jayme-Lao “The Left and Elections in the Philippines,” by Mr. Nathan Quimpo, Ph.D. (cand) “Party Switching Among Candidates in the City of Davao,” by Prof. Neil Ryan Pancho
Schedule	23 October 2003, 1:30-3:30 p.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>Prof. Melissa Jayme-Lao presented a paper on “A Pluralist Perspective of State-Civil Society Cooperation at the International Level: NAMFREL Operations in Southeast Asia.” She used the case of the NAMFREL observer missions in Cambodia and Indonesia in their 1998 and 1999 elections in order to delve on the import of a state-society perspective of regional democratization processes and experience, where states and societies in a common region, in the name of shared interests, embark on cooperative activities in the form of shared resources, best practices, and forging networks.</p> <p>Mr. Nathan Quimpo presented a paper on “The Left and Elections in the Philippines.” Quimpo argued that the left, which he defined as the Philippine social democrats and independent socialists, the communists, and the Communist Party aligned national democrats, have had a record of electoral disengagement. As a result they have not broken down “trapo” politics of domination that prevailed over the post-Marcos political and electoral systems. The author attributed this to the left’s instrumental view of democracy, which was reflected in an anti-US and anti-imperialist agenda. Quimpo argued that the emergent left found among party-list political parties have moved towards an integral view of democracy which is now anchored on the left’s methodological participation in local electoral contests.</p> <p>Prof. Neil Ryan Pancho’s paper delved on “Party Switching Among Candidates in the City of Davao.” Covering the local elections of 1992, 1995 and 1998 in three legislative districts of Davao, Pancho provided for three perspectives to frame a local yet parallel phenomenon of party switching in Davao. Notions of the weak state and dimensions of Philippine politics provided a “local explanation of party switching.” The latter was an attempt to look at the role and personality of the local chief executive and the centralization of national elections as major shapers of party switching in Davao. Pancho added that the phenomenon of centralizing elections has effectively reduced local parties to appendages of the national/ incumbent party organizations.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>Prof. Jayme Lao noted that cooperation between the Philippine government, NAMFREL and Cambodia and Indonesia resulted from “solidarity” in their common experiences of dirty electoral tactics. She also noted that NAMFREL’s participation in foreign policy made headway in policy formulation. It has promoted clean elections in Africa and Europe. In Cambodia and Indonesia, representatives of NAMFREL</p>	

literally lobbied to obtain observer status. The participation of NAMFREL in the formulation of the absentee voting bill was crucial and was evident in its dialogue with Congress.

Prof. Pancho reiterated the import of machine politics in party switching. By citing the practices and pragmatism of Mayor Duterte, he showed that local politics in Davao reflected the symbiosis between national and local. His study distinguished Davao from Iligan politics where local counterpart parties directly affiliated themselves with the national party. In Davao, the local counterpart existed to provide support to the national party.

Mr. Quimpo responded to a comment on fears that electoral participation can result in “mainstreaming.” This is but a limited instrumentalist view of democracy. An integral view requires that while capturing elections are important, good governance persists as a practical test. A theoretical difficulty persists in operationalizing a “trapo” party, especially when left party behavior already leaves a trapo imprint. Machine politics should not be mistakenly equated with trapo politics because “good politics” may exist within a trapo system. Electoral politics, even with its association with the trapo remain instrumental in promoting governance beyond PO-NGO coalition politics.

Prof. Evans suggested that research on the left and elections look into the influence of neo-liberalism and neo-democracy, which accompany the democratization process. Developments in societies today demonstrate the existence of powerful incentives of participation that may foreclose long-term hegemony. What current researches have emphasized are the possibilities for institutional crafting while underplaying institutional constraints that are embedded in neo-liberalism.

Documentor

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Panel Title	Plenary Forum: The Public's Pulse on Politics, Governance and the Forthcoming Elections, by Prof. Felipe Miranda
Schedule	23 October 2003, 3:45-5:30 p.m.
Summary of Presentation	
<p>Prof. Felipe Miranda presented political scenarios for 2003-2004. Systemic characteristics indicative of sustained poor governance were noted in consideration of factors such as oligarchic rule, weak state/weak society syndrome, national scope of enduring poverty, as well as persistent public optimism despite widespread skepticism about society's lead institutions and authorities.</p> <p>Contemporary 2003 developments were also discussed. The Oakwood mutiny indicates the continuing challenge of a politicized military. The Jose Pidal issue further blurs the political landscape because it is viewed as a politicized question "in aid of legislators." Walkers, joggers and marathon runners crowd the political landscape and leave the public more skeptical about their leaders' patriotism. The public concern for constitutional political changes and the nationally alien-endorsed and heaven-mandated candidacies were also identified.</p> <p>The alternative scenarios presented leave more challenges for Filipinos in the upcoming years.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>One question raised was on the vote preference for the Philippine presidency in the upcoming 2004 elections. Prof. Miranda contended that the people are still into deep skepticism. Clearer lines of delineation are still far from clear as of the moment.</p> <p>To prevent the unfavorable scenarios from happening, Prof. Miranda recognized that systemic challenges cannot be addressed summarily. A long process of public education is imperative wherein different sectors must participate. This contention is rooted in the miseducation of Filipinos which spawned negative political behavior and misguided leaders.</p> <p>Relevance of statistics was also emphasized, not simply for the monetary gain, but also in view of the fact that analytical work in political science demands use of statistics. Available data can be treated by Filipino social scientists, rather than inviting foreigners to handle these raw data. It was further emphasized that statistics is not only about mere figures but may also depict real-life situations and sentiments of people.</p>	
Documentor	Christine S. Diaz Ateneo de Davao University



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Panel Title	Political Economy of Development “Discourses in International Political Economy,” by Prof. Gareth Richards, Ph.D. “The Trisectoral Model of the Philippine Economy,” by Prof. Amado Mendoza Jr. “National Political Elite and the University of the Philippines,” by Ms. Haruko Uchida
Schedule	24 October 2003, 8:30-10:15 a.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>Prof. Gareth Richards examined discourses in international political economy using intra-paradigm debate and analysis. The modern field of inquiry was based on the context of crisis, uncertainty and rupture starting from the 1970’s that gave rise to new world politics in which the international economy played a crucial role. The nature of the global dimension of political economy still warrants the need to demand that this terrain be a legitimate field of study. As to the legitimization process of international political economy, success cannot yet be predicted, but the building blocks are now in place.</p> <p>Prof. Amado Mendoza Jr. introduced a trisectoral model of the Philippine economy, composed of the formal, informal and criminal sectors, with these three categories to be understood as Weberian ideal-types. These sectors can be construed either as separate spheres of distinct economic activities or as interlocking sets of economic actors who could possibly undertake all three kinds of economic activity. The dynamics of the model will depend largely on the strategic direction of specific economic actors.</p> <p>Ms. Haruko Uchida discussed the national political elite and the University of the Philippines. The hypothesis views UP as a school system that functioned to form political elites. Ms. Uchida’s concern is on how the elite concept is useful in explaining Philippine politics. The paper also focused on the critical role of UP in this process, including the possible impact of the trend in the political science discourse.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>One issue raised concerned the methodology used by Ms. Uchida in analyzing the political elite. It was suggested that a comparative study about the culture of other school systems be done because the actions of other sectors outside UP are deemed important. Ms. Haruko accepted the suggestion to conduct this comparative study. She further reiterated that the idea of state and formation of state universities are the relevant concerns in the study.</p> <p>As to the question regarding possible political interventions to mitigate the proliferation of the criminal sector, Prof. Mendoza stressed that it is the state itself that defines what is criminal activity. On the other hand, the state itself including its agents, also facilitate the creation of criminal activities. This calls for a rethinking of policies.</p> <p>Prof. Richards further explained that capitalism has always been vital or dynamics but has become</p>	

vulnerable as analyzed on a world scale. He further noted that the difficulty is on how to manage the process, considering the need for cooperation and coordination among countries under the concept of capitalism.

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Panel Title	<p>Southeast Asian and East Asian Politics “Strong Nations, Weak States? Contentious Politics and State Formation in Malaysia and the Philippines,” by Mr. Dan Slater “Transitional Justice in Post-Suharto Indonesia,” by Prof. Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, Ph.D. “Living Under a Contested Constitution: Revision of the Japanese Constitution,” by Prof. Lydia Yu Jose, Ph.D.</p>
Schedule	24 October 2003, 10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>Mr. Dan Slater compared the experiences of Malaysia and the Philippines, raising their points of their convergence but subsequently highlighting their deviation in attaining stronger and stable state capacities. Both countries were beleaguered with contentious politics especially in the 50’s and 60’s. However, Malaysia was able to make a turn around in the 70’s to overcome political fragmentation and transform itself into a strong state, while the Philippines is still plagued with old problems and is unable to get rid of contentious class conflicts and politics leading to its weak state formation. Mr. Slater suggests that the success of Malaysia may be attributed to the horizontal nature of conflicts (ethnic-based), which are more prone to violence, thus providing consensus among the elite on the need to strengthen state capacities and autonomy.</p> <p>In his paper, Prof. Priyambudi Sulistiyanto argues that there are no general or hit-all solutions in the problems faced by Post-Suharto Indonesia, particularly in dealing with the human rights abuses committed in the past regime. The leaders after Suharto until the present are all constrained to deal straightforwardly with HR abuses committed by the Suharto regime, especially as they try to fully commit to democratizing Indonesia. The speaker, however, points out that a three-pronged reconciliation strategy can be considered: this includes trials, amnesties and truth commissions. He added that Islah and forgiveness without public disclosure can likewise be considered for the sake of the national healing.</p> <p>Prof. Lydia Yu Jose’s presentation focused on current proposals to revise the constitution in Japan, which was created shortly after World War 2. The points of consideration ask whether the new version is similar to the Meiji Constitution or if this will be a totally new constitution that will truly highlight civilian supremacy over an imperial constitution. It was mentioned that the present constitution has very slowly been revised over the last 50 years but there seems to be a much stronger effort to overhaul it now to reflect significant changes that will highlight more or stronger rights for the individual and consideration towards shifting to a presidential form of government from parliamentary.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>The first question for Mr. Slater was on the consequences of contentious politics in the Philippines and why the country was unable to achieve the levels of accomplishment of Malaysia. The initial answer to this one is that the ethnic balance in the Philippines between Christians and Muslims is very much skewed so that</p>	

only 5% of the population is Muslim (though it was also pointed out that the Christian population is a heterogeneous mix with conflicting or diverging interests), the result of which is that not much interest is given to the Muslim ethnic groups. This biased consideration of interest leads to extended, if not perennial, conflict. He considers Philippine leaders as tribalistic, ethnocentric and selfish in the way they manage the state such that contentious politics becomes organic in the system. The ethnic balance in Malaysia is different and they gave secular roles to the Sultans of the various states in Malaysia so that they were correspondingly pacified and responded positively to the making of a strong Malaysia.

The second question/reaction pointed out that former colonial powers and national leadership has much role to play in establishing a strong state. In the case of Malaysia, Mr. Slater pointed out that the British government did a lot to influence modern-day Malaysia. The same reactor also raised the point that the middle class in the Philippines plays a different role and that the lower class, especially those caught in between conflict and armed fighting, are always in the losing end. The speaker responded that class conflicts are actually limited or small in the Philippines and that even inter-regional classes are unable to bind together to bring forward meaningful change in society.

A third member of the audience asked the speaker to speculate on the contrast of the Constitutions of the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore, as well as the role of the constitution in providing the powers of the national leaders. The speaker's answer premised that social structure is a stronger factor compared to constitutions or regime types. In the case of Marcos in the Philippines, there was term limit during his regime but he was able to evade it by declaring martial law. He was subsequently overthrown because of weak social structure and political system. In the case of Mahathir in Malaysia and Lee in Singapore, both states had strong social structures and political systems, which allowed their long or extended stay as leaders. In the case of Malaysia, the speaker pointed out that outside the political party of Mahathir (UMNO), there is practically nothing or only wilderness, to add to the fact that he inherited a good legacy from the previous national leaders. In the Philippines, the political parties are not necessarily weak – they are even mostly social institutions but these parties lack the necessary ideology to make them strong and meaningful such that politicians can easily change parties without recrimination, which is not the case in Malaysia or Singapore.

A question asked of Prof. Priyambudi was on whether Indonesians or Malaysians still considered Mindanao Muslims as truly part of the Malay world and constituting Malay Nationalism, since Mindanao Muslims always invoke Malay Nationalism in their advocacies and fight for secession. Inasmuch as the speaker is from Singapore and not Indonesia, he feels that Indonesia is evaluating its position on how to define Malay Nationalism especially after the fall of Suharto and without prejudice to Muslims in Mindanao. In the case of Aceh and East Timor, there is clearly a changing perception on how Indonesians see or define Malay Nationalism. The next five to ten years will perhaps reveal more in redefining Malay Nationalism in Indonesia.

For Prof. Jose, the first question asked whether the Philippines can just exchange notes with Japan as the former is contemplating a reverse shift, this time, from presidential to parliamentary form of government. The speaker felt that the Philippines should not rush into this effort to shift. The Japanese took more than 50 years before considering this option because it is an important and crucial decision for the nation. The Japanese have similarly spent a lot in research and studies to start considering such change of government. In the case of the Philippines, however, the speaker wondered whether the promoters of this idea in Congress even attempted to undertake a thorough study on the implication of such shift before strongly advocating for the change.

A second question asked for the Japanese arguments for their inclination to shift to a presidential form, with a comment that in the case of Indonesia, the people wanted a system of directly electing their national leader because of the perception that there is greater democracy and higher form of participation in presidential government. It is not only more empowering for the individual but it likewise establishes a balance of

power between the executive and legislative branches of the government. The speaker responded that the Japanese feel that politics in Japan revolves only among the politicians with little room for participation from the citizenry. The current system is very bureaucratic and technocratic and they think that a shift to a presidential system will respond to this, not to mention add a more colorful dimension to the very dull Japanese politics at present. There is perceived corruption (money politics) in the current form of government, but it is not the strongest reason for the desire or inclination to shift to a presidential form of government. The current promoter of the shift is incumbent Prime Minister Koizumi who is seen as very popular and brave enough to run for direct election by the people. He wants to be the first president to be elected.

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Panel Title	<p>Politics and the Environment “Re-examining the Participation Discourses through Community-based Natural Resources Management,” by Prof. Alma Ocampo Salvador “Reforming the Energy Sector: The Experience of a Philippine Community,” by Prof. Ruth Lusterio Rico “Environmental Governance: The Case of San Pedro Bay,” by Prof. Ladylyn Mangada</p>
Schedule	24 October 2003, 1:30-3:15 p.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>Prof. Alma Salvador discussed the crisis of local participation in community and integrated rural development schemes in the field of resource management, and the need for an inclusive model of participation to confront and remedy the crisis. Salvador argues that community based and integrated rural development policies failed to transform communities into genuine self-help entities, as local participation was limited to project implementation. An inclusive model of participation views the poor and rural communities as assets and their participation in decision-making crucial for sustainable resource management.</p> <p>Prof. Ruth Lusterio Rico discussed how the privatization of the energy sector, to respond to the energy needs of the country, affected a particular community. Lusterio Rico did a case study on how the Mauban power plant, the first privately built, owned and operated coal-fired thermal power plant in the Philippines, affected the residents of Barangay Cagsiay-I, Mauban, Quezon. Her study shows that though the government has adopted policies that aim to ensure maximum benefits would be gained by the host communities while at the same time minimizing the costs both for the community and the environment, adoption of such policies does not necessarily mean that compliance of environmental standards is guaranteed and the benefits for the community are sustained.</p> <p>Prof. Ladylyn Mangada discussed the need for environmental governance in protecting the seas. Her case study on San Pedro Bay showed that in order for the Fisheries Resource Management Program to be successful, local government units have to welcome partnerships and participation to generate social capital and sustainability. Moreover, managing fishery resources is not anchored solely on fishery law enforcement but needs dedicated sectoral interventions to make people understand ecological issues and take collective action.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>In response to the question that the concept of a crisis of participation is outmoded, Prof. Salvador argued that it is still relevant because it identifies the limitations of the community-based model and the opportunities for transformation.</p>	

Prof. Lee raised the issue of the importance of visionary leadership in the community to encourage participation and galvanize action.

In response to the comment that the reform of the energy sector not only involves the issue of distribution but also sources of energy, Prof. Lusterio Rico said that though her study focused on the effects of the privatization of the energy sector to solve the energy crisis, her study also addresses the need to reexamine the use of coal-fired power plants in the interest of sustainable development.

In response to the comment that participation is encouraged by the Local Government Code, Prof. Mangada said that though people in Manila celebrate the LGC, government units in far flung areas are not yet ready for it. As an example, while government is serious about devolution of coastal management in San Pedro Bay, the LGU is not ready and is dependent on external NGOs for this. One reason for the low social capital in Leyte, Samar is the low level of literacy.

Prof. Quimpo questioned how participation challenges patronage politics. According to him, rethinking the concept of participation should go hand-in-hand with civic education; otherwise, it will reinforce patronage politics.

Documentor

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Panel Title	<p>Engaging the State: Social Movements and Civil Society “Taiwanese Social Movements and their Uncertain Future,” by Ms. Hsiu Mei Chung, Ph.D. (cand) “Villagers Challenge the State: The Case of the ADB Samut Prakarn Wastewater Management Project,” by Prof. Teresa S. Encarnacion-Tadem, Ph.D. “Public Education and Civil Society: Networks, Policies and Reforms,” by Prof. Anne Candelaria</p>
Schedule	24 October 2003, 1:30-3:15 p.m.
Summary of Presentations	
<p>The paper of Ms. Hsiu Mei Chung is an analysis of the power relationships between the social movements and the present Taiwanese government, and their respective policies and strategies from historical and organizational viewpoints. The presenter came up with the notion of “uncertain future” of Taiwanese social movements by citing several problems which were traced back to the political legacy of the long autocratic regime for almost forty years, which were also faced by the neo-liberal government of Taiwan today. The greater fear which might result is the emergence of more progressive and radical ideas, which might jeopardize state policy, create social divisions, and open up social dilemmas.</p> <p>In the paper of Prof. Teresa Encarnacion Tadem, she identified a project in Thailand of the Asian Development Bank, which aimed to provide a better life for a village community by improving their wastewater management. The study reveals that in the process of implementation, certain political, economic and socio-cultural problems complicated the success of the project. The paper shows how the villagers, with the assistance of Thai and international social movements, pressured the ADB to look into allegations concerning the Samut Prakarn Wastewater Management Project.</p> <p>The study of Prof. Anne Candelaria attempts to arrive at more effective and feasible public education reform programs which would involve different sectors in society. The presenter cited examples of numerous partnerships between the government and civil society addressing pressing problems regarding the quality of basic public education. The speaker ended with the notion that public education is also a political problem and is a victim of cultural neglect.</p>	
Synthesis of Open Forum/Discussion	
<p>Questions raised for Ms. Chung were on her personal ideas on the issue of Taiwan being considered as a province of communist China. She confidently stated that there will be no war, and also cited the role of the USA as Taiwan’s big brother.</p> <p>A question raised was on the parallelism between the case of the Thai villagers presented by Prof. Tadem and the Chico Dam Project in the Philippines. The presenter cited similarities and differences of the two cases. One point of argument was on the role of women with regard to the social movements in Thailand.</p>	

Prof. Tadem acknowledged that in this case, women in Thailand did not participate actively.

Most questions, comments and reactions were directed to the third speaker. Many presented problems confronting their respective schools, which include quality of mentors, curriculum, textbooks, and many more. Others gave certain suggestions and shared experiences to confront such problems. The presenter ended with the observation that there is truly a “tragic state of our education” and posed a challenge to the educators that reforms should truly be a more “concerted effort” from everyone.

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