博士論文審査結果報告
政策研究大学院大学
特別教授　恒川　恵市

審査委員会を代表し、以下のとおり審査結果を報告します。
On behalf of the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee, I would like to report the result of the Ph. D. /
Doctoral Dissertation Defense as follows.

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<tr>
<th>学位申請者氏名</th>
<th>Balboa Jenny De Asis</th>
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| プログラム名 | 安全保障・国際問題プログラム
Security and International Studies Program |
| 主査 | 恒川 恵市
Keiichi TSUNEKAWA |
| 主指導教員 | |
| 審査委員 | 白石 隆
Takashi SHIRAISHI |
| 副指導教員 | |
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Shotaro OHSHIMA |
| 副指導教員 | |
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Nobuhiro HOSOE |
| 外部審査委員 | 信州大学経法学部 教授
Professor of Faculty of Economic and Law, Shinshu University |
| 審査委員 | 美甘 信吾
Shingo MIKAMO |
| 外部審査委員 | |

論文タイトル
Dissertation Title
Policy Innovation under Democratic Leadership in a ‘Weak’ State:
Trade Liberalization and AFTA Implementation in the Philippines
「弱い」国家の民主的指導下での政策刷新――フィリピンにおける貿易
自由化とASEAN自由貿易地域合意の実施

学位名
Degree Title
博士（国際関係論）Ph.D. in International Relations

論文提出日
Submission Date of the Draft Dissertation
平成 30（2018）年
1月 19日

論文審査会開催日
Date of the Degree Committee Meeting
平成 30（2018）年
2月 27日

論文発表会開催日
Date of the Defense
平成 30（2018）年
2月 27日

論文最終版提出日
Submission Date of the Final Dissertation
平成 30（2018）年
2月 28日

審査結果
Result
合格
Pass
不合格
Failure

※タイトルが英文の場合、文部科学省に報告するため、和訳を付してください
If the title is in English, please translate in Japanese in order to report MEXT.

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1. 論文要旨 Thesis overview and summary of the presentation.

Given the historical animosity against economic liberalism, the traditionally weak state structure, feeble trade ties with its ASEAN neighbors, and the economic/political instability in the post-Marcos era, the Philippines appeared to be the most unlikely case of trade liberalization in general and the acceptance of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) agreement in particular. The Philippines, however, did participate in the AFTA (in 1992) and has persistently complied with the obligations stipulated in the agreement. This dissertation attempts to illuminate the factors that made the difficult trade liberalization possible. Reviewing the relevant literature in the international political economy (IPE) discipline, the author constructed her own analytical framework focusing on the four factors: actors and their preferences, institutions, external relations, and domestic politics.

Any policy innovation requires promoters who have strong preferences for such innovation. However, since they usually face equally strong opposition from vested interest groups, they can realize their preferences only if institutions help facilitate their efforts. Actors’ preferences and institutions are structural factors shaped by historical experiences of each country. Such experiences include not only domestic events but also interactions with foreign countries and international organizations. This means that each country’s external relations affect actors’ preferences and institutional arrangements in that country. In the final analysis, however, policy innovation largely depends on domestic political interactions among various state and societal actors. In the interactions, less structural factors such as top leaders’ skill and strategy, existence of effective policy brokers, and the sequence of policy implementation play a crucial role.

The author applied this analytical framework to the Philippine experience of trade liberalization during the Corazon Aquino administration and the Fidel Ramos administration. When Aquino came to power, she was strongly committed to trade liberalization as a means to dismantle crony capitalism built by Marcos. However, she faced strong resistance from protectionist businesses and anti-globalist civil society groups. Aquino overcame the resistance by taking advantage of existing institutional arrangements such as the presidential prerogative on trade issues and weak electoral incentives associated with trade issues for Congress members. She also benefited from strong pro-ASEAN public opinion and several domestic-politics factors (such as her post-Revolution popularity, her consensus-oriented leadership, and the sequence of policy implementation).

Ramos was less popular than Aquino but successfully sustained the reform momentum initiated by Aquino and continued to comply with the AFTA commitments. This success can be explained by many factors. First of all, the prospect of enhancing trade with the ASEAN...
neighbors contributed to weakening business opposition. The global trend of regional integration and the adverse economic impacts of the closure of the two US military bases heightened the sense of crisis among state and societal actors and pushed them to accept closer regional integration in Southeast Asia. Ramos’ positive leadership for enhancing participatory institutions and the services offered by influential policy brokers also helped weaken the business opposition to trade liberalization.

This dissertation contributes significantly to the IPE studies first by formulating a comprehensive analytical framework concerning the making of foreign economic policy and by demonstrating the effectiveness of the framework by applying it to the Philippines experience of trade liberalization. She showed that even in the most unlikely case like the Philippines, if combination of the four factors turns out to be favorable for the reformers, policy innovation can happen.

2. Notes from the Degree Committee (including changes required to the thesis by the referees)

Referees suggested that the author revise the manuscript with regard to the following points:

(1) Be more explicit in her criticism of the traditional “weak state” thesis on the Philippines.

(2) Pay greater attention to the role of legal obligations under the GATT/WTO and the relations between regional and multilateral negotiations.

(3) Add certain qualification to her argument that Raul Concepcion is a policy broker.

(4) Cite primary sources more extensively instead of relying on the secondary materials.

(5) Mention (in Conclusion) remaining problems (weaknesses) in her explanation of the Philippine case based on her analytical framework.

3. Confirmation by the Main Referee that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the referees

The author submitted the manuscript which satisfactorily addressed all of the suggestions spelt out above.

4. Final recommendation

This dissertation significantly contributes to the IPE studies by formulating a comprehensive
analytical framework concerning the making of foreign economic policy and by demonstrating the effectiveness of the framework by applying it to the Philippine experience of trade liberalization. She also contributes to the Philippine studies by criticizing the traditional view on “weak state” and providing an alternative way of interpreting the role of the state in that country.

The Doctoral Thesis Review Committee thereby strongly recommends that we accept this dissertation as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.