

**博士論文審査結果報告**  
**Report on Ph.D. / Doctoral Dissertation Defense**

政策研究大学院大学  
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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.

学位申請者氏名 Ph.D. Candidate	Balboa Jenny De Asis		
学籍番号 ID Number	DOC10111		
プログラム名 Program	安全保障・国際問題プログラム Security and International Studies Program		
審査委員会 Degree Committee	主査 Main referee	恒川 恵市 Keiichi TSUNEKAWA	主指導教員 Main advisor
	審査委員 Referee	白石 隆 Takashi SHIRAISHI	副指導教員 Sub advisor
	審査委員 Referee	大島 正太郎 Shotaro OHSIMA	副指導教員 Sub advisor
	審査委員 Referee	細江 宣裕 Nobuhiro HOSOE	博士課程委員会委員長代理 Acting Chairperson of the Doctoral Programs Committee
	審査委員 Referee	美甘 信吾 Shingo MIKAMO 信州大学経済学部 教授 Professor of Faculty of Economic and Law, Shinshu University	外部審査委員 Referee from outside institutions
論文タイトル Dissertation Title  (タイトル和訳)※ Title in Japanese	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	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <span style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 5px;">合格 Pass</span> <span>不合格 Failure</span> </div>		

※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.

## 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. 審查報告 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. 最終提出論文確認結果 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. 最終審查結果 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.