
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	5
Connecting with the Students	9
“Civic Education, Citizenship and Democracy”	14
MODULE I: PHILIPPINE HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT	25
History and Self-image <i>BY PAUL A. DUMOL</i>	27
Curriculum Content: The Teaching of “Pag-Ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan”	32
Subject Content and Key Concepts for Discussion	40
MODULE II: ASIAN HISTORY	51
The Civic Culture <i>BY CLEMENT C. CAMPOSANO</i>	53
The Civic Culture <i>BY MA. RIZA BONDAL</i>	61
Curriculum Content: The Teaching of “Ang Pagiging Mabuting Mamamayan”	66
Subject Content and Key Concepts for Discussion	68
Module III: World History	69
Case for Democracy <i>BY MIRSHARIFF C. TILLAH AND ARNIL T. PARAS</i>	71
Curriculum Content: The Teaching of Democracy	79
Subject Content and Key Concepts for Discussion	94
Module IV: Economics	105
Economic Citizenship <i>BY JOHN V. AVILA AND MONICA C. ANG</i>	107
Curriculum Content: The Teaching of Economic Citizenship	123
Subject Content and Key Concepts for Discussion	128

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY: THE CIVIC EDUCATION TRAINING SEMINARS

BACKGROUND

The Philippines is often cited as the counterpoint to the East Asian miracle economies. We are the oldest democracy in Asia, and at the same time, we have sunk to the level of the “Sick Man of Asia”. Many advocates of stronger authoritarian rule in our country state that we are suffering from “hyper-democracy”. Some even label our system as “demo-crazy”. Supposedly, too many freedoms have been granted to the Filipino people which have been abused, and this has led to the current deteriorating situation.

Some of these so-called abuses include an electoral process that does not reflect the people’s sovereign will due to systemic cheating; a population that casts its vote unthinkingly, leading to the election of incompetents to govern; legislators more concerned with their pork barrel instead of the common good; a weak judicial system; the presence of a much-too frivolous media; self-interested bureaucrats that have no concern for the public trust they have sworn to uphold; the general lack of respect for human rights and the rule of a law; and a public that is increasingly becoming apathetic and cynical towards our democracy.

All of these lead to a system of governance that is a failure in many aspects as documented in many international studies. These include the World Bank measures of governance, Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index, Amnesty International’s criticisms of heightened abuses against human rights, or the disturbing trend chronicled by the International Federation of Journalists as regards the freedom of the press and the murder of journalists.

The solution, some say, is a strongman or authoritarian leader, a Filipino Lee Kwan Yew or a Mahathir Mohammad, perhaps even a new Marcos, wielding an iron fist to set things right

and get things done by eliminating “too much democracy”. Control the media, prevent protest actions against government, silence any dissent, and limit the freedoms of citizens in order to achieve economic development. These were the things that our neighbors in Asia have done, and these too we must adopt to arrest our downward slide.

Many scholars have also pointed to the historical experience of the Philippines as one of the reasons why this is happening. In fact, some claim that due to the almost 350 years of Spanish conquest and 50 years of American “tutelage”, these colonial experiences have “aborted” Philippine civilization and have created a “damaged culture”. This in turn has fostered the lack of love and pride in the country. Today, 1/3 of Filipinos surveyed said that they would leave the country if given the opportunity, and more than 8-million Filipinos are already abroad seeking greener pastures.

Thus, we have the twin problems of lack of understanding of our democratic system, and the absence of love for the motherland. In the 20 years after the Marcos dictatorship was overthrown and democracy restored, we have not addressed squarely these issues, and now, they are coming back to haunt us.

Democratic gains may be reversed. One of the critical determinants in this is the failure of democracies to consolidate and deliver economic and social development – the so-called “democratic deficit”. More importantly, it is when people fail to understand the true responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy that the foundations of democratic governance are eroded. And this is happening now in the Philippines.

Much of these problems can be traced directly to a weak and ineffective education on the crucial elements that comprise the training for citizenship in the Philippines. Lessons on history, government and politics, as well as values become memorization exercises, as students are taught these things for examination purposes only. Concern for the common good, love of country, and citizenship in a democracy become concepts that are useful only in the classroom.

Democracy is a complex system to run, and there must be purposive instruction on how to live in this system and make it work. Without this, democracy can be hijacked by the powerful elite, or it can quickly degenerate into the tyranny of the majority.

Teachers are not prepared to teach basic concepts of democracy such as respect for diversity, human rights, rule of law, or the importance of transparency, accountability, debate, participation, and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Thus, there is a pressing need to upgrade and improve the teaching of Civic Education in the Philippines.

Therefore, it is of paramount importance that education ON democracy, and FOR democracy be prioritized. Citizens, especially the youth, must be made to understand what it

means to live in a pluralistic, tolerant and just society. It is in this light that the Civic Education Training Seminar (CETS) was crafted.

The Civic Education Training Seminar is an integrated approach at increasing the competence of teachers in Civic Education, primarily in strengthening their grasp of the subject matters included in the *“Makabayan”* (or *“Citizenship”*) Curriculum, but also in other subjects which may be embedded with lessons in civic responsibilities throughout the high school curriculum. Considering that the time allotted for Civic Education has been reduced by the Makabayan curriculum, it becomes even more imperative that the handling of these subjects be made more integrative and effective in the short time provided for it.

It incorporates concepts of democracy and civic education in the existing curriculum of the high school level. This is to avoid opposition from administrators and teachers who perceive additional content as intrusive and burdensome. The CETS modules have been crafted in such a way that the ideas of civic education are seamlessly integrated into the four social studies subjects in high school. The integration is thus:

Year Level	Subject	CETS Intervention
1 st	Philippine History and Government	<i>“Pag-big sa Tinubuang Lupa”</i> (or Love of Country): issues on the still-evolving Filipino nation, and how this evolution happens at different paces in different parts of the country; rethinking the impact of Spanish and American colonization; historical development of Filipino political culture.
2 nd	Asian History	The Civic Culture: issues on how we do and should live together and interact with each other, in the context of diversity; the notion of civil society, and how participation is crucial in making our democracy work.
3 rd	World History	The Case for Democracy: issues on the basic concepts underpinning the democratic system, as well as the ideas of constitutional liberalism which include respect for human rights, freedom of the press, religion, political beliefs, and rule of law.
4 th	Economics	Economic Citizenship: issues on how we do and should act towards our day-to-day interactions within the system of exchange, and how responsible citizenship can be exercised in this domain; issues on poverty and development.

While the interventions are specific per year level, concepts in one module can be applied in other year levels. Based on the experience of the first CETS, many of the social studies teachers teach two or three different year levels of the social studies subjects. Each module contains the following:

Rationale paper to make the case for the integration of each civic education (Love of country, civic culture, democracy, and economic citizenship) theme into the scope and sequence of the high school subjects.

Content paper to discuss in detail the themes to be integrated.

Integration of key concepts for each theme into the scope and sequence of each subject matter.

CONNECTING WITH THE STUDENTS

DR. SEVERINA M. VILLEGAS
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

We have all been adolescence once and that is the reason why we well know the difficulties that go with this stage in life. We have picked up piles of literature that attempt to conclude how and why the adolescents behave and think the way they do. Yet in as much as experience and researches give us clues, we cannot seem to encapsulate these facts and ideas, fit them all in a box and label it as “adolescents” or “youth” – As educators, this poses as a big threat.

The youth comprise of majority of our population. More concretely, there are 12 million students in the public school system alone – a very significant base. If we educators fail to comprehend and consequently connect with the youth, the fate of tomorrow’s generation may continuously drift into alienation, apathy, individualism.

Why is it so difficult to generalize and connect with the youth, particularly adolescents? An attempt to enumerate the reasons would bring us to three interrelated reasons: First, researches and probably experience could attest to the fact that adolescence in itself is a very unstable and unpredictable stage in any person’s life. Second, in relation to the first reason, man’s actions cannot be determined precisely because he is endowed with free will. Third, due to man’s unpredictability, the generation has evolved and will continuously evolve as years pass.

At first glance, these three factors may seem to suggest that the generation has evolved to be such by virtue of individual choice and other forces beyond our control. Thus, we should let nature take its course. However, studies on youth culture suggest the contrary. These studies highlight that adolescents actually behave the way they do because of their thirst for human connection. As we know, this is the stage when a person is no longer a child but not quite an adult yet. They are at a stage where neither the young nor the old brothers to

connect with them. Hence, they result to brotherhoods or fraternities hoping to address this insecurity.

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Adolescence is also the stage where conventional ways clash with seemingly radical ideas. Inevitably, this results to communication gap. The scenario becomes even more complicated as we couple this reality with the changes in our culture today, where both parents are “pushed” to leave the home or worse the country just to earn a stable income. It is in this regard that we ought to see our role as guide is becoming more apparent. With time as our ally then, we need to get them out of this futile limbo through this potent tool called education.

We have seen the adverse effects of dwelling too much into the technical know-how's or the sciences of education – people with abundance of knowledge and skills but failing short on dignity and morale. It is in this light that we have come to the conclusion that Civic

Education is of vital importance in democratic society; that education for citizenship ought to be the “core” for it is through civic education that citizens are taught the functioning of society and how each can play his part. However, realizing the gravity of education for citizenship in the shaping of society is one thing, and knowing HOW to actually educate about citizenship is another. In order to understand our role as educators in promoting citizenship, we would have to go back to the very essence of our existence – the learner.

Perhaps due to their growing curiosity of the outside world and their drive for connectedness, research suggests that adolescence is actually the optimal time for teaching citizenship. Yet in as much as their inclinations fuel them to explore life and what it means to be part of a greater whole, democracy will just be another word in their history book if we educators fail to show them its connection to real life. As we know, true learning takes place when one sees a phenomenon relevant to life; anything less may be considered as mere motherhood statements. This is precisely the reason why we are called to transcend traditional ways of communicating important messages. We are compelled to think out of the box and go beyond mottoes, posters, pictures, symbols, and pledges (Kilpatrick, W., 1993).

With regard to civic education, we ought to go beyond facts or familiarizing our learners with the various government structures. We should go beyond reminding them to exercise their right to vote or abide by laws stipulated in the constitution. If we truly want our learners to imbibe and live what we mean by democracy, we ought to be able to make them see that democracy is something beyond the walls of the classroom, and that it is part of

everyday life. They need exposure to history, cultural heritage, core values and operating principles in their society. To do this, we need to sow in the school setting a culture of care, dialogue, collaboration, and respect for their dignity.

It is in this regard that this 2-day seminar goes beyond the level of training. As we know, attached to the term “training” is the common notion of acquiring mere competencies. By embarking on a journey that aims to go beyond acquiring competencies, it is aimed that we teachers would re-discover the beauty of teaching from an integral undivided self. Through which, we will be helped to join self, subject, and students in the fabric of life, particularly home, community and society.

Where do we begin this seemingly tall order? We don’t need to go very far. In fact, we could start at a field not very far from our hearts – Makabayan. Among learning areas, Makabayan is the most interactive, interdisciplinary, and value laden. This is precisely the reason why it is considered as the experiential area or otherwise pertained to as the laboratory of life. By virtue of these unique characteristics of the Makabayan subject, it is not so difficult to see how civic education can be woven into the social studies curriculum.

In Philippine history for example, love of country may be fostered. Asian History could highlight civic culture. This can be done by emphasizing the importance of certain values that could help citizens grow as a society. Such values include social trust, safeguarding common interests, and looking beyond individual benefits. As regards World history, democracy may be underscored by tapping the broader purpose of education – that education is wisdom, and that education is not something alien to political life. Economics on the other hand could stress the value of work for often neglected in economic endeavors is its economical dimension, leading to individualism and corruption. This can concretely be done by underlining key concepts such as common good, and culture of excellence in the workplace.

As a participant of the seminar, we may wonder how we can learn and benefit from discussions on other fields of Social Studies apart from the area we specialize in. First civic education is not something compartmental. Meaning, love for country, civic culture, democracy, and value for work are all interrelated, building up on each other. Second, the three inseparable essential components of civic education are common to all Social Studies subjects. These components are civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions (Branson, M., 2004).

All these three elements underscore the necessary fusion of formal and informal curriculum. The rationale for the fusion of formal and informal curriculum stems from the idea that people are not born effective citizens, for citizenship requires the balanced formation of both mind and character. As the formal curriculum forms the mind, the informal curriculum molds the character of people (Branson, M., 2004).

Inevitably, this whole idea of formal and informal curriculum brings the ball back to us educators. How well have we contributed to forming people into good citizens? Perhaps the expertise we have gained over the years enable us to form *minds* even if we enter the classroom with just a pen and small piece of paper. However, could we confidently say that we have successfully educated the *characters* of those who have been under our care? Before we come up with an answer, let us be reminded that character, as defined by Robert Coles (1997), is “ultimately who we are expressed in action, in how we live, in what we do.” This is precisely the reason why children around us know and absorb as we move and speak. Children imitate what they observe, what we do, consciously or unconsciously. Hence, years down the road, when our students eventually take their seats in the government and manifest certain ways or values, could we proudly say, “They have been under my care and that I brought them up to be such kind of citizens?” Putting it in a more direct manner, have we been good citizens worthy of being role models to our students?

In conclusion, the theme speaks of the Filipino child as our framework and connectedness as our tool in promoting democracy. In the same way that various theatre plays may be conducted in a single stage, the Filipino child may be seen as a framework. In the very same stage however, different plays and dramas are shown. By placing the Filipino learner in the spotlight, democracy may be portrayed in many ways depending on the needs, wants and circumstances of our learners or the culture that our respective school cultivates. However, how effectively do we touch the hearts of our audiences as we portray these dramas underscore the importance and power that lies beneath connectedness. We may know of all the values that our students need to know in order to become responsible citizens. We may even know of countless strategies that we teachers can use to infuse these values into our respective subjects. Yet at the end of the day, if we fail to *arouse the patriotic spirit* of these young Filipino hearts as Apolinario Mabini did through the Verdadero Decalogo, our efforts are in vain.

The conversation with you started with the social analyses of the youth culture. Indeed these are necessary endeavors for us to learn how and why people think and behave in a certain manner. Through such, we then understand certain situations, and hence come up with appropriate measures for positive change. Yet at the end of the day, what is most important is the self analysis that we do before one’s self, God, and the community. In the words of Pope John Paul II, “Social analyses are certainly interesting, useful, and even necessary in order to understand various situations... But above all the analysis of one’s own conscience, which everyone must make everyday before God, before one’s self, and before the community in which one lives, is indispensable...” It is along these lines of Pope John Paul II that Parker J. Palmer, author of *The Heart of the Teacher*, speaks of Identity and Integrity in Teaching.

In the same way that the Great Pyramid reflected the ways and beliefs of ancient

Egypt, or the way great painters mirrored their emotions through the canvass, teaching too is a human endeavor that emerges from one's inwardness, consciously or unconsciously, for better or for worse. "We teach who we are." As we teach, we project the condition of our soul unto our students – by the manner we speak, the words we use, the gestures we make, even the method we chose to use, all reflects who we are.

With this in mind, we are encouraged to open a new frontier in this journey to become good teachers; the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life. This landscape, hinged on the whole idea of integration, espouses three paths where none can be discounted – the Intellectual, Emotional, and Spiritual.

Without doubt, good teachers are characterized well beyond the technique they use or the knowledge they possess in a field. Good teachers have a strong sense of identity which enables them to teach from an integral undivided self. Weaving their intellectual, emotional, and spiritual dimensions into a single fabric, good teachers are able to manifest a capacity for connectedness as they join self, subject, and student.

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Concretely, our capacity for connectedness could be manifested in our quest to teach citizenship with our students at the center stage. Exactly how we plan to do it will now depend on us. In the same way that one stage could have different actors, different scenes and different audiences, civic education could have one framework with different teachers, of different subject areas, and different students.

CIVIC EDUCATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND DEMOCRACY

“A citizen is someone who participates in the vicissitudes and problems of human history. He is no spectator of history. He is an agent, an actor: he is onstage.” -- St. Josemaria Escriva (cited in Dumol: 2003)

The 2004 elections are over, and so too are the frantic efforts at “voters’ education” – the incessant messages blared all over media for the electorate to become responsible citizens and to value one’s sovereign right to vote by choosing candidates that can best serve the national interest. While the electoral process in the Philippines generates tremendous participation and interest, it seems to be nothing more than a grand spectacle, where the people are treated to a few weeks of entertainment, and the admission price is the ballot cast on election day.

All appeals for a responsible citizenry immediately die down after the votes are cast. All the excitement during the electoral process is forgotten, signaling the return to the routine of life as usual, with the occasional irritation at news reports of the latest antics in our government, and disgustedly blaming “too much politics” as the reason for all our problems.

Thus is the Filipino citizen’s cycle. According to Conrado de Quiros, the Filipino is able to rise to magnificent heights in defense of the principles of democracy (the First Quarter Storm, EDSA 1, 2, and even 3), but after which, he remains apathetic to the on-goings of our government and the people who serve in them. With everyone busy eking out a living, concern for the community, or the nation, is an abstraction that is not really a priority. Is this what it means to be a citizen in a democracy?

In the classical Greek sense, citizenship meant being a “*polites*” – an individual absorbed in the affairs of the polis or city-state, a true political animal. The significance given to

citizenship in the city-state of Athens is underpinned by the belief that only through meaningful membership in the polis can one become truly human. Political apathy is unforgivable and one who spurns the responsibilities of public life is then labeled an “idiotes”. Therefore, more than the presence of free, regular, and competitive elections, democracy in ancient Athens was founded on the active participation of its people (Diamond: 2003).

But today, instead of citizens’ participation as the benchmark of a genuine, substantive democracy, only its procedural meaning is practiced -- where the existence of elections is sufficient to call one’s country democratic. The original concept of democracy where each citizen is knowledgeable about the issues that surrounds his nation, aware that its ills could be solved by thoughtful action and not by passive long-suffering, and is willing and capable of acting upon them, is set aside.

... our democracy is far from the ideal. Why has it remained so? Many reasons have been advanced explaining this – the Filipino’s colonial mentality, innate passivity, the “bahala na” attitude, extreme family-centeredness, person-orientedness, particularism, and the other weaknesses of the Filipino character

The Philippines is a case in point. We have a very lively electoral cycle, we are cited to have one of the freest mass media in Asia, and one of the most developed civil society sector in the world. Yet the spirit of volunteerism is seemingly absent, and many remain apathetic and feel powerless in affairs of the State. Truly, our democracy is far from the ideal. Why has it remained so? Many reasons have been advanced explaining this – the Filipino’s colonial mentality, innate passivity, the “bahala na” attitude, extreme family-centeredness, person-orientedness, particularism, and the other weaknesses of the Filipino character documented by sociologists. It does not help that more than half of the 80 million Filipinos are living at or below the poverty level, with minimal or no access to basic social services.

It is imperative therefore that we understand what influences the making of a citizen, and how to tap the dormant energies of the Filipino people and harness these potentials as the missing ingredient in strengthening our democracy and pushing for national development.

CIVIC EDUCATION: THE MAKING OF THE CITIZEN

More than any other form of government, democracy relies on its people. This is where civic education as training in self-government enters. The French political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville noted that “democracy is not a machine that would go of itself”, that it must be “consciously reproduced” (cited in Branson: 1999). “Each new generation is a new people that

must acquire the knowledge, learn the skills, and develop the dispositions or traits of private and public character that under-gird a constitutional democracy” (Branson: 1999) involving the promotion of the ideals, values and principles of democracy, civic education aims at producing the modern “*polites*”, a true citizen of democracy.

In the Philippines, no less than the Constitution mandates that the primary task of rearing the youth for civic efficacy lies with the parents. However, by dint of circumstances, it is the school that is saddled with this burden. Aside from knowledge about the Constitution, the government, and the rights and duties of citizens, a complete civic education includes the development of civic skills and civic dispositions. The former is composed of intellectual skills that include the ability to explain, analyze and evaluate issues and participatory skills, which is characterized by one’s ability to monitor government action and influence policy (Branson: 1999).

Civic disposition, on the other hand, refers to “habits of the heart” or the character, both public and private, needed in a democracy. These include respect for human rights and dignity, self-discipline, civility, obedience to laws, and moral probity (de Tocqueville cited in Branson: 1999). This is why some include Values Education as part of civic education.

In the Philippines, civic education starts from pre-school and ends in college. In the past, HEKASI, a subject covering geography, history, and civics was offered, under which, *Araling Panlipunan* or Social Studies (Gonzales: 1999) and *Sibika at Kultura* or Civics and Culture was offered along with Values Education from primary to secondary school (Yeban: 1999). Under the Arroyo administration, the Basic Education Curriculum or BEC was introduced. Subjects have been decreased in number and civic education is currently offered under the *Makabayan* or Philippine Studies for public school students (www.ing7.net: 2004). Apart from the formal subject, exhibits, debates, panel discussions, and different celebrations (e.g. the *Linggo ng Wika*) dot the academic calendar (Gonzales: 1999). Participation in socially oriented organizations is also encouraged.

Unfortunately, Philippine education today is said to suffer from a “bias for academics” in the curriculum, to the detriment of civic education (Rosario-Braid: 1994a). While hours for Mathematics and Science have been increased from 300 to 420 minutes a week, the time allotted for *Makabayan* remains the same (www.ing7.net: 2004).

But education is more than just the formal curriculum – it also includes the way teachers handle their courses, how peers deal with one another, the way actions are rewarded or punished, even how the classroom is organized. All of these are components of the “hidden curriculum”, which can encourage the exact opposite of the aims of civic education.

Subjects are handled in very authoritarian undertones, as students are expected to

listen unquestioningly to the teacher (Rosario-Braid: 1994a). Critical thinking, which is necessary if one is expected to critique the government's policies or participate meaningfully in current debates, is neglected. Passivity and helplessness is reinforced as nascent citizens of the Philippines are transformed into unthinking drones. Whatever civic value is espoused is contradicted by the actions of the people supposedly tasked to train the youth in civic efficacy. As emphasized by social scientist Patricia Licuanan:

"Schools are highly authoritarian, with the teacher as the central focus. The Filipino student is taught to be dependent on the teacher as we attempt to record verbatim what the teacher says and to give this back during examinations in its original form and with little processing. Teachers reward well-behaved and obedient students and are uncomfortable with those who ask questions and express a different viewpoint. The Filipino student learns passivity and conformity. Critical thinking is not learned in the school" (Licuanan, et. al: 1989).

The Philippine education system is also hampered by a severe lack of resources. Majority of the Filipino youth go to public school. This year, 12 million students entered primary and secondary public high schools. According to the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, 51,319 teachers and 42,641 classrooms are still needed to properly accommodate all of the students (Mamanglu & Rimando: 2004). Books and other materials are also sorely lacking (Luz: 2004), while the entire public school system suffers from a 64-billion peso deficit due to a budget freeze implemented before (Tinio: 2004).

Finally, many Filipinos look at education and see it as a means of escape from poverty. This creates a dangerous attitude of focusing on grades and diplomas, instead of appreciating the true purpose of education – learning how to learn (David: 1982; Rosario-Braid: 1994a).

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It is therefore not surprising that given all of these constraints and obstacles, many young Filipinos continue in their apathy and aloofness. When asked what nationality they desire to be, for instance, "Filipino" actually ranks fourth (Yeban: 1999). The issues surrounding the formal civic education curriculum in our educational system are not being addressed satisfactorily.

MASS MEDIA AS A CATALYST

Due to its ability to reach a wide audience, mass media plays a defining role in the education of citizens and development of a civic culture. It can be a primary catalyst in encouraging civic engagement (as the coverage of the 2000 impeachment trial showed), or it can be equally effective in creating apathy or ignorance if it chooses to ignore relevant issues, present debates in a wrong light, or focus on mindless entertainment.

Mass media is a power in its own right and has become a basic social institution. In its role as a “watchdog”, it can serve as the guardian of democracy and the defender of citizens’ rights and liberties from government abuse (Cultsock: 2004). Apart from this role, the media is also seen as a “forum for intelligent debate” (Coronel: 1997) and “mouthpiece” that could be utilized to pressure the government to adopt or repeal policies (Somerci, cited in Coronel). Through it, effective civic education can be pursued if mass media handles issues intelligently, in a manner that increases the public’s awareness of their power to influence governmental actions (Assegaff: 1999). It can empower civil society by giving them a means through which to pressure and address the State (Assegaff: 1999) and bring these issues directly to the people. Indeed, a free press in the hands of a responsible citizen is a powerful weapon. Citizens’ pleas and demands are given a voice through which to be heard and, at the same time, informing the public of the actions of their government, which forces the State to be more accountable to its people.

The power of mass media in the Philippines can hardly be questioned, if the results of recent elections are any gauge. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the population listen to the radio, 32.9% read newspapers, while children spend an average of 1,423 hours watching television compared to 900 hours spent in school (Rosario-Braid: 1994b). At present, the television is the most powerful medium in terms of its reach. McCann-Erickson estimates that in the National Capital Region alone, 91.3% of the population is exposed to television (PCTVF Research Department: 1996).

Given the magnitude of its scope of influence, it is not surprising that self-regulating bodies like the *Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas (KBP)* and the Philippine Press Institute urge their members to use the power of mass media towards nation-building. The KBP, for instance, encourages its members to air public affairs programs (Coronel: 1997; Rosario-Braid: 1994b) while the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism advocates human rights and peace (Rosario-Braid & Tuazon: 2000) and is at the forefront of anti-corruption.

To some extent, Philippine mass media have upheld some of the roles detailed above. The increased and oftentimes non-stop coverage of events of great significance (e.g. the impeachment trial and, more recently, the Congressional canvass) go a long way towards educating ordinary Filipinos on these issues. Public affairs programs, such as “Probe Team”, “I-Witness”, or “The Correspondents”, bring varied stories of national interest to the attention of

the people, and sometimes, alert the government to existing problems it is not aware of, while “Debate” and “Dong Puno Live” tackle current issues by presenting contending viewpoints on it. Educational shows, such as “Hirayamanawari” and “Bayani”, on the other hand uphold good values and other civic virtues (Rosario-Braid & Tuazon: 2000).

But despite these, Philippine mass media efforts leave much to be desired. At present, it is not strongly compelled by any other sector to change its superficial manner of handling issues or its tendencies towards sensationalism (Rosario-Braid: 1994b; Coronel). Many of the programs aired on television are game shows, variety shows, or soap operas (McCann-Erickson cited in PCTVF Research Department: 1996), while the press is prone to the manipulation of its owners (Coronel: 1997).

Clearly, there is need for reform, but a coherent clamor from the public is still to be heard. There is no sustained effort at transforming Philippine mass media to maximize its potentials in terms of setting the agenda for civic discourse or for serving as an alternative venue for citizens’ participation in public affairs.

CITIZENS’ PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

Although direct democracy has become impractical and inefficient, the role of a citizen in the representative democracies of the present is no less significant as it was during the age of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. There is nothing, apart from apathy and indolence, to limit one’s participation in governance to voting during elections, while reasons abound for increasing one’s involvement in the affairs of the state through active membership in civil society.

The Philippine Constitution does provide several mechanisms by which citizens can directly involve themselves in government affairs: the people’s initiative, for direct legislation; the referendum, for feedback or approval on proposed public policy; and the recall, for taking back the mandate given to erring elected public officials. But these are complex and difficult methods that require the participation of sometimes millions of citizens.

We also have the Local Government Code (Republic Act 7160) which decentralized many functions of national government down to the local level in 1991. The rationale behind this law is that, aside from increasing administrative efficiency and faster decision-making, people’s participation can be encouraged as government is brought closer to the people. The province, city, or municipality have been given more powers to affect the lives of their constituents and, as such, it is expected that citizens can provide their input directly to and get results immediately from their respective local government unit. In fact, the Philippines is one of the few countries in the world with a sub-municipality/city local government unit – the *baranggay* – a mechanism that is effective at resolving issues at the community level, or

aggregating the interests of citizens and presenting these to a higher level of government.

There is another way by which citizens can participate directly, and this is through civil society. Civil society is conceived as “organized, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing, and voluntary” associations (Cariño: 2002). In fact, Article II, Section 23 of the 1987 Constitution clearly manifests the support the Philippine state has for these voluntary organizations that can help in promoting national welfare.

Civil society organizations are seen primarily through the activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – non-stock, non-profit organizations that address a specific public interest concern, such as the drug problem (e.g. Citizen’s Drug Watch), corruption (e.g. Transparency and Accountability Network), the environment (e.g. Greenpeace or Haribon), or human rights (e.g. Amnesty International). They may be involved in research, advocacy, and media campaigns, or even deliver social services such as healthcare, vocational education, or housing. Many of their initiatives are being supported by volunteers and funding usually comes from donations.

Then there are also people’s organizations (POs) or community organizations (COs). These are associations founded to promote the well-being of its members, the community, or the sector it represents, as well as provide the means through which citizens can participate in the affairs of government (Aldaba: 1994). Through these organizations, the needs of a sector or community are voiced out and advocated through a united front. They function as a means through which dissatisfaction, complaints, or praise is aired from the governed to the government in numbers (Tigno: 1997).

In the Philippines, the number of civil society groups has exponentially increased in the country since the first EDSA revolution. More importantly, once the 1991 Local Government Code was passed, democratic space widened even more for these groups, as their rights and powers vis-à-vis the State increased. Under the Code, NGOs must represent at least a quarter of the membership of local councils and local special bodies. National government agencies are required to consult with them before implementing programs, while the same Code empowers them to participate in “joint undertakings with the government” (Tigno: 1997).

However, despite these activities, the influence of civil society remains relatively feeble, gaining strength only in times of great crisis, such as EDSA II. Their disparate, often disagreeing and scattered voices remain weak (Cariño: 2002b), unable to significantly influence the government even with such advances as the party list system.

NGOs themselves are prone to abuse. Some are put up to increase a politician’s mass base, while there are those that exist that serve to channel public funds and serve as a tool for corruption. Others, such as fly-by-night NGOs, exist only to dupe foreign investors and gain

financial assistance from other funding agencies. Tension between NGOs and POs also exist as the former, tends to dictate upon or dominate POs they were primarily meant to assist (Tigno: 1997). NGOs concentrating on one issue or sector also tend to neglect the public interest, seeing only the tree for the forest, as they are prone to pursue or advocate policies knowing only that it will promote the well-being of those they represent, remaining ignorant of the effects it may have over the rest of the populace (Matthews: 1998).

More importantly, there is a decline in the spirit of volunteerism that once fueled the NGOs despite funding concerns and difficulties. Leadership among NGOs tends to rotate as one organization merely recruits those from another (Cariño: 2002b). Thus, there is no new blood being brought in. There is also the question of whether NGOs are capable of truly knowing the interests of the sector they represent or whether NGOs truly empower the people or only encourage dependency (Cariño: 2002b).

But despite all these concerns, the decentralization of national government and the rise of the voluntary sector in the form of NGOs and POs represent an important step towards providing the mechanisms by which Filipino citizens can participate directly in community and national development.

CONCLUSION

Where subjects under a king bow to their almighty ruler, citizens in a democracy carry their own government on their shoulders, for, with the dispersal of power in a democracy comes sharing of responsibility. No genuine *polites* of the modern age could rightly claim his rights without taking up the burden of his duties. In the Philippines, as complaints and insults are thrown at the national government for the deploring state of the country, we forget that part of the reason why our nation continues in its crippled state is because we have allowed it to remain so.

It is at this point that civic education is needed – to educate Filipinos of their role in governance and to empower them with skills to competently accomplish these obligations. Mass media, as a separate entity, is tasked with awakening citizens, informing them of their government and the world that surrounds them, even continuing the civic education started in school and spurring the debates that are so crucial in any democracy. Civil society, on the other hand, exists to organize these efforts and articulate further needs and demands clearly and succinctly to the state, and allow for alternative means by which to address societal problems.

Now, as we review the dynamics between these forces and movements, we find our nation lagging behind the ideal. Yet, instead of being weighed down with chagrin, we must rise up to the challenge. It is easy to rise up against tyranny but harder to live the democratic ideal of an empowered citizenry every day. But that is what is demanded from the true *polites* in any

democracy. Our nation needs us, and where once the blood of our heroes gained us independence, let our efforts nurture it now, as we labor for a true and meaningful democracy where each and every Filipino citizen can develop his potentials to the full.

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*H*ISTORY AND SELF-IMAGE

*M*ODULE 1

PHILIPPINE HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

BY PAUL A. DUMOL

Philippine history is frequently taught as the history of a people who were conquered and regained their independence three hundred years later, losing it again soon after and regaining it once more after half a century. Since 1946 the Filipino people have been ruling themselves. In the post-colonial period, the years of martial law are sometimes described as another period in which the Philippine people lost their freedom, which they would recover with the first People Power Revolution.

In this view of Philippine history we come out as “api” and “kawawa.” We come out as losers: there is the first fact of having been conquered twice (the Cordillera and Muslim Mindanao peoples only once) and the second fact that it took us (excluding, of course, the Cordillera and Muslim Mindanao peoples) more than 300 years to regain our independence from our first conquerors, despite the fact that we outnumbered them a thousand times over. We could not, it seems, get our act together. This is not a pretty self-image. If we further consider the misery the country is in today, then it seems that we are a people truly to be pitied: no renaissance followed independence. On the contrary, matters seem to be worse than they were fifty years ago.

In this view of Philippine history the ruling class and so-called elite come out as villains: first, as collaborators of the conquerors, and second, as present-day oppressors of the masses. Lately, with film stars and radio commentators running for office and winning, the educated class has taken to insulting the non-educated (i.e., the masses): they feel they are in the grip of a majority that does not share their dreams and ideals. In effect, the poor feel oppressed; the rich feel frustrated; everyone wants to migrate. The only people happy are the *trapo maginoos*, who continue to get richer and richer.

Sometimes one hears the exclamation, “Ang pinoy nga naman!” which seems to be an expression of exasperation. I wonder if the exasperation does not include the perception bred by our view of history and sustained by the present course of events: that we are losers, that we specialize in shooting ourselves in the feet, that we are irremediably a “damaged culture.”

And yet, perhaps, the common reading of history, popularized by our high school and college textbooks, is mistaken.

Consider: Bonifacio, in his manifesto “Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalong,” has a

different picture of our colonial history. He never says we were conquered. He says rather that we had a pact with the Spaniards, by which we assisted them in war and supported their material needs, in exchange for wealth and wisdom. Although we assisted the Spaniards in war and supported them materially, Bonifacio claims they reneged on the pact and, as a consequence, calls for revolution. We are not a conquered people in Bonifacio's history, and from the way his manifesto is written, it would seem that the abuse of which he accuses the Spaniards was not something that dated back three centuries, but was rather contemporaneous with the writing of the manifesto.

Consider again: Rizal in 1888 wished to hold the first international conference on Philippine studies. He drafted a program based on Philippine history, and in his version of Philippine history, the Philippine peoples are autonomous until 1808. In 1808, they become provinces of Spain, but soon after they are downgraded to colonies, which they still were in his

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time. Once again, Filipinos are not a conquered people, and they fall under Spanish rule only in the nineteenth century.

There are other Philippine nationalists who say something similar: Marcelo H. del Pilar, Pedro Paterno, Apolinario Mabini, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista who wrote the proclamation of independence of 1898, Felipe Agoncillo who protested the Treaty of Paris of 1898, Emilio Aguinaldo. None of them says we were a conquered people.

There is good reason to say so. Comb the accounts of Legazpi's years in the Visayas from 1565 to 1571 and you will not find a single account of conquest.

Rather, there are reports of pacts of friendship and pacts of vassalage, the contents of which are what Bonifacio reports. In Luzon, it is true there are accounts of aggression against barangays, but also of pacts of vassalage. For the next twenty years from 1573 onwards the missionaries would intermittently denounce Spanish presence in the Philippines as immoral, precisely because of those acts of aggression. The issue was laid to rest only in 1599, when a plebiscite was held among vassal communities throughout the Philippines upon orders of Philip II. In the plebiscite, the vassal communities were given the chance to renounce vassalage freely; none did. We may dismiss the plebiscite as *lutong macao*, but notarized copies of the votes in two places (Laguna and Pangasinan) survive, which preserve the comments of the people. Examine them, and you will conclude to the probable validity of the results of the plebiscite everywhere else. In other words, at the end of the sixteenth century, various Philippine peoples, the ancestors of the immense majority of Filipinos today, did make a pact of vassalage with the Spanish king, as Bonifacio claims.

How about Rizal's claim that we were autonomous up to the nineteenth century? Three policies of the Spanish crown adopted in the 1580s support this: first, the decision to retain native rulers; second, the decision to retain customs and traditions that did not violate the natural law; third, the prohibition against Spaniards entering native villages, with the exception of the missionary who lived with the new converts and the *alcalde mayor* who entered the village once a year to collect the tribute. In other words, for the Filipino vassal of the sixteenth century onwards, aside from the obligations entailed by his conversion to Christianity and his vassalage, life went on as usual. Filipinos continued to rule themselves, and that is what Rizal must have meant by "autonomy."

If we were not a conquered people, then how explain the Philippine Revolution? The proclamation of independence of 1898 specifically cites two abuses as the immediate cause of the revolution: the oppression of the *guardia civil* and the exile of notables without a fair trial or without any trial at all, allegedly upon instigation of the friars. Bonifacio alludes to these as well in his manifesto; Rizal in his *Noli* cites them as abuses to correct. The *guardia civil* were established only in 1868; the first exiles of notables occurred in 1872. So the discontent of Filipinos culminating in the Propaganda Movement and the revolution of 1896 covered only a period of some 30 years.

If we look back to Philippine history, however, there are three signal dates that chart Spain's betrayal of the pacts of the sixteenth century. The first is 1700, when the Bourbons replaced the Hapsburgs on the throne of Spain. From then on, Spanish colonial policy changed: we were no longer new Christian communities that the Crown had sworn to protect and defend from their enemies; we were colonies to be exploited, as were all the rest in Latin America. Spain's betrayal of the pacts of Legazpi date from Bourbon accession, but we did not feel any change until 80 years later with the Tobacco Monopoly. The second date is 1821, the year Mexico declared independence from Spain, the first of many colonies in the Americas who would do likewise. This gave rise in the Philippines to what we may call a "politics of suspicion," directed specifically at native priests and liberals, two types of persons who participated actively in the American revolutionary movements. The third date is 1860, marking the beginning of a decade in which the parish priest (who was usually a Spanish friar) was gradually given considerable power and influence in town governments. Spanish politics of suspicion had drafted the friar as an ally of its paranoia. The executions and exiles of 1872 were the fruit of this politics. By then Spain had taken on a new face before Filipinos: no longer friend and ally, but oppressive master; no longer a mother, but a step-mother. In this consisted the betrayal Bonifacio wrote about.

The reading of Philippine colonial history as conquest and revolution is, then, a dubious one. We are not the losers or wimps this history professes us to be. If it took us more than three centuries to overthrow the Spaniards, this was because, for most of these centuries, we

considered them friends. When they made themselves into enemies in the nineteenth century, then we turned against them and overthrew them in some twenty odd years. The false self-image of ourselves as losers and wimps, however, is not the only mischief the popular version of Philippine colonial history works. It hides from us something of greater importance going on between the time the pacts were made between Spain and Filipinos and the revolution of 1896, that is, the gradual formation of the Philippine nation.

We blame Spain and America for different aspects of our culture that we do not like, but sociologists and anthropologists have helped us see that the deeper problems of the nation, such as our feudal society and the rampant corruption, have their roots in social structures and attitudes that go back way before the arrival of the Spaniards. It is fashionable to blame Spain and America for having preserved these structures and attitudes and even fostered them, but in fact both Spain and America did much that in theory should have

The problems of the nation, I repeat, are problems of transition: that transition from family-centeredness to nationhood and from feudalism to democracy initiated only a little over a hundred years ago. ... We have to shepherd our students to an expanded appreciation of the common good that encompasses the entire country and to a respect for human dignity that cuts across social strata.

dismantled these structures and attitudes. If these structures and attitudes have turned out to be tenacious, we must consider the possibility that social transformation is in fact difficult and takes a long time. At any rate, it is good to heed Rizal's appeal in the *Fili* not to blame others for our defects. If these structures and attitudes were native to us, then we bear the prime responsibility for them. We are now at a period in our history when we must face those structures and attitudes and dismantle them ourselves.

If we see ourselves as in transition to nationhood and, if I may add, to democracy, then the present takes on a different look. We become more patient with manifestations of regionalism or a narrow family-centeredness or with signs of feudalism. These are precisely indicators that we are going through a period of transition. Those who seem to prefer the past should be won over to the future we should be moving toward. The problems of the nation, I repeat, are problems of

transition: that transition from family-centeredness to nationhood and from feudalism to democracy initiated only a little over a hundred years ago. Even now there are many instances of change occurring in different parts of the country. It is not an idle hope that these will one day precipitate and we will awaken to a nation. But in this job of precipitation, the teacher's role is crucial. We have to shepherd our students to an expanded appreciation of the common good that encompasses the entire country and to a respect for human dignity that cuts across social strata.

On the other hand, the amount of technological progress our people have gone through in the last 500 years is amazing. It is an achievement of the first order, and we have not been passive participants in the process. There were never many Spaniards in the Philippines, and so the cultural transformation we went through was as much our work as it was the missionaries'. As for progress under the Americans, history clearly shows this was the fruit of collaboration, as much to the credit of the Americans as to ours, and more ours than theirs, since learning is ultimately an activity of the student rather than the teacher.

CURRICULUM CONTENT

The Teaching of “Pag-Ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan” in the Philippine History and Government Course

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORD *BAYAN*

How does one teach love of country in the First Year Social Studies course of Philippine History and Government. The best way, it seems, is to tackle head on the historical evolution of the word *bayan*.

Panganiban’s Pilipino-English dictionary gives three definitions for *bayan*: the first is town or municipality; the second, country or nation; and the third, citizens taken as a group. When we refer to *pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayan*, we refer to the second definition. Clearly, this definition cannot have existed before the time of Bonifacio or Rizal. Equally clearly, the first definition cannot have been earlier than the foundation of the first towns, that is, around the 1580s. When we talk of *bayan* as town or municipality, we have a very specific image in mind: the church with its plaza and the school and town hall nearby, with the houses of the town VIPs surrounding the plaza. This is the Philippine town founded by missionaries.

Does this mean that the word *bayan* did not exist before the foundation of the first towns? There is a catechism written by a Franciscan missionary in Tagalog while stationed in Batangas between 1582 and 1591. Based on the many uses the word had at this time, it seems to have existed even before the arrival of the missionaries. *Bayan* in that catechism is used of Jerusalem. A traveler is described as “nagmula sa ybang bayan” and as “nangingibang bayan.” Hell is identified as the *bayan* of the devil; heaven as the *bayan* of God. Interestingly, the person’s “bayang totoo” is identified as “bayan nang caniyang Ama, nang caniyang Yna, nang caanacan niya, nang manga capatir nang calogoran niya, sampon nang caniyang anac.” The *Diksyunaryo ng Wikang Filipino* gives a definition of *bayan* that captures this primitive meaning well: “Pook na pinaninirahan ng mga taong doon ay ipinanganak at kanilang kinikilalang yaon ang kanilang tinubuan.” We see that this definition includes the idea of *tinubuan*.

Bayan could not, of course, have meant any other community than the barangay. *Bayan* before the coming of the missionaries meant the barangay in which one was born and grew up. With the foundation of the first towns, however, we have a shift in meaning from the barangay to the town in whose territory one’s barangay was located. *Bayans* in Spanish Philippines were independent from each other, in the same way that barangays were independent from each other before the first towns were founded. The *bayan* was like a

country with its own laws and government.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, another development occurred in the meaning of the word *bayán*: It came to denote the entire Philippines. How did this happen? I believe this was made possible by a previous development in the meaning of *bayán*. At some point between the foundation of towns and the end of the nineteenth century, *bayán* came to denote, not only the town, but specifically the people who lived in the territory of the town. (This is the third definition of Panganiiban.) How this meaning arose is easy enough to imagine: A town might be asked to contribute manpower or food to Spanish war campaigns; a town might rise in revolt; a town might assist in putting down a revolt: in all these cases, “town” designates the townspeople. This is, so to speak, the political meaning of *bayán*.

By the end of the nineteenth century, once people coming from different *bayáns* saw themselves as being united in some way, then the idea arose that their *bayán* was not just the town each came from, but the territory in which all their towns were located. The stage was set for what we sometimes call the *sambayanang Pilipinas* or the Philippines as the union of all the towns in it. The Philippines itself came to be called “Bayan.”

PHILIPPINE HISTORY IN LIGHT OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORD *BAYAN*

We can use the shifts in meaning of the word *bayán* to frame the study of Philippine history. We can talk of four periods in Philippine history: the first is when the *barangay* was *bayán*; the second, when the town supplanted the *barangay* as *bayán*; the third, when the townspeople came to be called “*bayán*” as well; and the fourth, when the entire Philippine Archipelago came to be called “*bayán*.” The first corresponds to the situation of the inhabitants of these islands when the missionaries first came; the second, roughly to the first century of Christian Philippines; the third, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the last decade of the nineteenth; and the fourth from the end of the nineteenth century to the present.

Although I have given time periods to the stages of evolution of the word *bayán*, nevertheless, this evolution proceeded at a different pace in different parts of the country. While the evolution of some peoples towards town culture started in the sixteenth century, others started only in the seventeenth; I fear that there are some today that have barely started. Similarly, while the evolution of some peoples towards a nationalist consciousness began at the end of the nineteenth century, other peoples have not even begun yet. It is important for teachers to remind students of this from time to time. When we say that the transition to nationhood and democracy will take many years, this is what we mean.

The study of Philippine history should make the evolution of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands from independent *barangays* to a single nation as clear as possible. To ensure

this clarity the teacher must stress at the very beginning how barangays were independent of one another because that in fact was the case. Most textbooks talk about the people of the Philippines in the sixteenth century as though they were one people. In fact, they were various peoples, understanding by “people” an ethnic group. Even within an ethnic group, however, there was no unity. *Maraming bayan sa Pilipinas bago dumating ang mga misionero; ang bawat barangay ay may kasarinlan.* Perhaps the best illustration of this is the refusal of Lapulapu to recognize the leadership of Humabon.

Of course, when we say “maraming bayan sa Pilipinas bago dumating ang mga misionero,” we are speaking anachronistically. Before the missionaries came (indeed, before Magellan came), the Philippines as a particular territory did not exist. This is a very important point, because the idea of nation in the Philippines is intimately connected with seeing the Philippines as a particular territory. The teacher must stress how the Philippines as a particular territory is an invention of the Spaniards that needed to be accepted by Filipinos. It is no

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accident that the first ethnic groups to champion the idea of the Philippines as a nation were the Tagalogs and Pampangos, the usual allies of the Spaniards in their wars in the Philippines. Today, there are still people in the Muslim south who do not accept the view of the Philippines as a single territory, just as their ancestors never did.

As mentioned earlier, the first important step towards nationhood was the formation of towns, which was marked by a shift in the meaning of *bayan*. The barangay became a part of a *bayan*. This shift in meaning was, from the perspective of the development of the Philippine nation, an event of major significance: it meant the birth of communities composed of barangays

and conversely the death of the barangay as a closed community. How did this shift in meaning come about so that a place in which one does not actually live came to be known as one’s *bayan*?

The answer has to do with the place of the *bayan* in the lives of those who did not live in it, but whose barangay fell within its territory. The *bayan* was where one went to church. This was the historical reason for its establishment. It was where one received catechetical instruction, the place where one was baptized, married, and buried. One went to school there; one went to market there; the annual fiesta was celebrated there; one settled lawsuits there; one was jailed there. In short, the *bayan*, even if someone did not live there, but rather lived in a barangay that fell in the *bayan*’s territory, was part of one’s childhood, adolescence, and adult life. *Doon tumubo ang tao.* What the shift in meaning amounted to in effect was a

“broader” understanding of “pook”: the place where one lived was no longer just one’s immediate community, but the larger one to which one’s immediate community belonged.

This does not mean that people ceased to love their barangays; rather, their love for the barangay expanded to include the *bayán*. The *bayán* was where all the various barangays went to Mass, where they celebrated the feast day of the town patron saint, where people sold the various crops and artifacts they had produced. It is not far-fetched to assume that constant contact between the various barangays eventually bred that sense of identity centered precisely on the *bayán* that we observe today in many towns. The *bayán* was where you came from, what you identified yourself by when you found yourself with people from other *bayans*. This is still the case today.

The new *bayán* was significant for another reason. It kept the political culture of the old barangay, but with a twist: the ruler of the *bayán*, the *gobernadorcillo*, was elected. The political culture of the old barangay was feudal, in the sense that the barangay was a two-tiered society composed of those who served and those who were served (*ang mga alipin at ang mga amo nila*). Following the recommendations of the Synod of Manila of 1582, Spanish colonial policy preserved the political structure of the barangay. The *datus* were never replaced as barangay rulers. When the missionaries founded towns, since towns were actually groups of barangays with the most centrally located serving as the *bayán*, the problem arose of who should rule the town. This was solved by having all married males elect the *gobernadorcillo*. One suspects that the *datus* of the surrounding barangays took turns ruling the *bayán*. I have lingered on the political personality of the *bayán* only because it so recalls the modern Philippine *bayán*, the nation, with its democratic processes in a feudal culture ultimately serving a society that is feudal in many different ways.

While the word *bayán* went through its first two shifts in meaning in different parts of the country, another development was occurring simultaneously that would lead to the type of nation we have today. This was the formation of armies composed of soldiers coming from the same ethnic group. These soldiers did not all come from the same town. Consequently, forming part of the native troops accustomed people from different towns to live and work together. It is ironic, therefore, to claim that the Spaniards “divided and ruled.” Rather, they united barangay with barangay and town with town and, to a limited extent, ethnic group with ethnic group.

The significance of native armies does not end with this. The troops from different ethnic groups fought side by side for the same cause under one leader—the Governor General who was the representative of the King, their feudal lord. They were loyal to him, but not to one another. This was the situation when Antonio Luna was appointed by Aguinaldo as the general in charge of all forces north of Manila: his fellow generals refused to obey him; they wanted to obey only Aguinaldo. Today to a certain extent this is the situation in the country:

political communities cooperate with a common leader but not with each other. A country with vertical loyalties, but no horizontal loyalties may be called a feudal, as opposed to a democratic, nation. We are very much a feudal nation.

The second half of the nineteenth century is as crucially important to Philippine history as the first fifty years of vassalage under Spain, and this for three reasons: First, a community of university students and alumni arose composed of Filipinos from various parts of the country. They all spoke the same language—Spanish. Secondly, Filipinos in different parts of the country came to see the need for government policies directed towards the good of the colony, not just the good of the mother country. Thirdly, Filipinos came to know of civic rights which they began to demand. In short, the Philippine nation started taking shape. These Filipinos were largely responsible for setting up a republic first in Biyak na Bato and afterwards in Malolos. The last shift in meaning of *bayan*, the expansion of its meaning to include the whole Philippine archipelago, is the work of this group.

With the Philippine Revolution of 1898 and the war against the United States from 1899 to 1902, the idea of an independent Philippine nation gripped the minds of Filipinos, rich and poor. For some of the educated, the graduates of high schools and the university like Rizal, Mabini, and Jacinto, or for some who began schooling but were unable to finish like Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, the ideal Philippine nation was a republican democracy; for the rest, it was a feudal nation, the logical outcome of our vassalage to Spain.

The idea of a democratic nation is a nation with horizontal loyalties: the different groups that make up the nation are friends of one another. However, consider the following facts at the very time the idea of a democratic nation was taking shape: first, the rivalry between pro-Rizal and pro-del Pilar factions in Madrid that led to Rizal's abandonment of the Propaganda Movement, and second, the rivalry between the Magdiwang and the Magdalo that led, some say, to the failure of the 1896 Revolution. What these two events tell us is that it is possible to have the idea of nationhood, the desire to be a nation, and at the same time not to be united, in effect, not to be a nation. Wanting to be a nation is one thing; being a nation is another. The end of the nineteenth century saw the birth, not of the nation, but of the desire of being a nation.

Of course, patriots like Rizal, Mabini, Jacinto, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo were aware of the gap between the concept of the democratic nation and the realities of the feudal nation. The gap was and is cultural. Mabini in his *Verdadero decálogo* written in 1898, Jacinto in his *Cartilla* written in 1894, and Rizal in the last chapter of the *Fili* written in 1891 all urged the importance of an interior change in the Filipino. The covering of this gap is the goal of civic education. The last chapter of the *Fili* addresses what should be the three main concerns of civic education in the Philippines: civic culture, civic participation, and work.

The history of the Philippines in the twentieth century was the history of a nation in the process of becoming. It went rapidly through three stages. The first stage—a brief one—consisted in installing the framework of statehood and laying the bases of a national community. Under the Americans a common language—English—was taught and spoken throughout the Philippines. The Americans conquered the peoples of the Cordilleras and the Muslims in the south incorporating them into American Philippines. They set up a transportation and communications network that tied the country together. At the same time, a national government run by Filipinos was gradually put in place, culminating in the Philippine Commonwealth: a feudal nation in democratic dress. Democratic processes were followed, while the spirit of feudalism prevailed.

The second stage of our history in the twentieth century, dating from the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935, is accurately described as the attempt to make that strange creature—a feudal *bayán* in democratic dress—work. This experiment culminated in the notorious years of martial law, in which the President was like the pre-Hispanic *datu*; his cronies, like the pre-Hispanic *maginoo*s; and everyone else, like pre-Hispanic *timawas* and *alipins*. This was, of course, what all the other presidencies were like to varying degrees, but we needed the assassination of Ninoy Aquino to make it plain that such a situation is unacceptable.

The demonstrations provoked by Aquino's assassination inaugurated the present stage of Philippine history in which we find ourselves. We may describe it as "Towards Genuine Democracy and Away from 'Trapo' Society." This stage is a learning stage: the failure of EDSA 1 and 2 to change Philippine society, for example, has taught us that the hope of Philippine society lies not in change at the national level, but at the local.

THE CONCEPT OF *PAG-IBIG SA TINUBUANG BAYAN*

What I wish to do now is to analyze the concept of *pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayan*. The concept is composed of three ideas: *pag-ibig*, *tinubuan*, and *bayán*. Let us consider the last idea first. Let us use the definition of *bayán* given by the *Diksyunaryo ng Wikang Filipino* cited earlier.

Pook denotes place, and this is important to understand *pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayan*. Patriotism means love for a place first of all, which means its geography, its layout, its climate. *Bayán*, however, is not just any place. It is a place where people live. The geography the student must fall in love with includes, therefore, human structures in the landscape, the old and the new.

The *Diksyunaryo* continues: The people who live in the *bayán* are specifically people born there, and not only born there, but who have grown up there. What this part of the

definition reveals to us is that the concept of *bayán* includes a relationship between the place and its inhabitants that goes beyond mere location. *Bayán* is never simply *bayán*; it is always *bayán mo* or *bayán ko* or *bayán niya*. *Bayán* in short is part of a person's identity. It means that you can have residents in a place for whom that place is not *their* bayán. They are called "tagalabas."

If a *bayán* is the place where one was born and grew up, then it is probably the place in which one's parents and teachers live. *Bayán* includes them and anyone else who contributed to our development. *Bayán* is not only a physical landscape; it is also a human landscape. I have referred to "development." By that I mean the process of growing up, of passing through childhood and adolescence into adulthood. The Tagalog word used to refer to development is beautiful: *tinubuan* (and with this we begin our consideration of the second idea of the concept we are examining). The word, of course, is metaphorical: it compares the human being to a plant. What is behind the choice of metaphor? The idea that human development is the result of everything to be found in the environment: metaphorically speaking, not just the soil, but also water, air, plants, and the animals that make up the ecology of the place. The concept of *tinubuang bayán* covers everything and everyone in the place in which we grew up. This idea is captured by the word *culture*, which resorts to the same metaphor as *tinubuan*. A *bayán* is not simply a place or even just a set of people: it is a way of life, a culture, and it has a history. A *bayán* is a legacy.

The *Diksyunaryo* definition ends with a last idea that may come as a surprise: not only is the *bayán* the residence of people who were born there and who grew up there; to be considered a *bayán* these people must recognize that they grew up there. "Kanilang kinikilalang yaon ang kanilang tinubuan." *Bayán* denotes a conscious relationship to a place, which is equivalent to a taking possession of it: "Itong bayang ito ay akin. Sagot ko siya." *Kilalanin* in the context of the definition means not merely verifying a fact like a birth registry or a bio-data sheet; it means admitting to a debt of gratitude.

The verb *kilalanin* introduces us to the last component of *pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayán*. *Pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayán* means love for a landscape, for both nature and human structures. It means love for people: first, one's immediate family; then, all those who formed us, such as teachers and friends; and finally, everyone who in one way or another contributed to our culture. It means love for that culture. A necessary part of that love is the pursuit of knowledge of history, since the people loved in one's *tinubuang bayán* includes those who lived in the past.

This love is firstly the acknowledgment of a debt of gratitude: that is the first meaning of love of country. A second meaning follows from the first: to seek the good of the *bayán*, both the land and the people. This is the person's way of paying that debt of gratitude. This second meaning implies that the person seeks to correct whatever is wrong, anomalous,

imperfect, unfinished, or evil in his *bayán*. Love of country is dynamic. The citizen seeks to leave behind a worthy patrimony to the generation that will come after him.

Of course, *bayán* as we have just discussed it, must be understood to apply to both (a) the community to which one was born and in which one grew up and (b) the nation. Love for the nation is not possible if one does not love the community in which one was born and grew up. If *bayán* is legacy, then *bayán* meaning the community in which we were born and grew up, at least among descendants of Filipinos evangelized by the Spanish missionaries, has a religious dimension, reflected in the town fiesta, and *bayán* meaning the nation includes the cultivation and defense of civil rights.

Probably, you already see the role the teacher should play in the cultivation of *pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayan*. How can a person love what he does not know? How can he be grateful for something, if he does not know it was a gift? The teacher should make love and gratitude possible by helping the student see to whom he owes what he is and what he has, and he should teach the student ways in which that love might express itself. If we look back to the evolution of the word *bayán*, we realize that its evolution is accompanied by the ever-widening scope of the common good. We realize as well that, from the nineteenth century onwards, there is an increasing appreciation of human dignity: people cannot be assassinated with impunity in broad daylight. These are the two values that must ground any civic education: the common good and human dignity.

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PHILIPPINE HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT SYLLABUS

SUBJECT CONTENT	KEY CONCEPTS FOR DISCUSSION
UNIT 1: Ang pag-aaral ng kasaysayan	
UNIT 2: Ang simula ng bansa	
<i>Heograpiya at kasaysayan</i>	
<i>Yamang-tao</i>	
<i>Sinaunang pamayanan</i>	<p><u>Ang pinagmulan ng mga unang tao sa Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang kultura ng mga sinaunang pamayanan</u></p> <p>We have a tendency to think of ourselves as having been one people before the Revolution of 1896 and even before the Spaniards came, and this tendency is reinforced by our reference to ourselves as Filipinos even before the Spaniards called these islands the Philippines. The term is deceptive: before there were Filipinos, there were only Cebuanos, Warays, Boholanos, Ilongos, and Tagalogs, among others.</p> <p>Most textbooks talk about the people of the Philippines in the sixteenth century as though they were one people. In fact, they were various peoples, understanding by "people" an ethnic group. Even within an ethnic group, however, there was no unity. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the refusal of Lapulapu to recognize the leadership of Humabon.</p> <p>We blame Spain and America for different aspects of our culture that we do not like, but sociologists and anthropologists have helped us see that the deeper problems of the nation, such as our feudal society and the rampant corruption, have their roots in social structures and attitudes that go back way before the arrival of the Spaniards.</p> <p>The barangay or village was the only sort of community the missionaries encountered in the Philippines in the sixteenth century, and each barangay then was independent of all the rest.</p>
<i>Paglaganap ng Islam</i>	
<i>Pakikipag-ugnayan</i>	

UNIT 3: Paglinang sa kamalayang Pilipino

<i>Kolonisasyon at ebanghelisasyon</i>	<p><u>Ang pagsakop ng Espanya sa Pilipinas</u></p> <p>Comb the accounts of Legazpi's years in the Visayas from 1565 to 1571 and you will not find a single account of conquest. Rather, there are reports of pacts of friendship and pacts of vassalage. It is true there are accounts of aggression against barangays in Luzon, to which the Spaniards transferred in 1571, but there are also reports of pacts of vassalage. For the next twenty years from 1573 onwards some missionaries would intermittently denounce Spanish presence in the Philippines as immoral, precisely because of those acts of aggression. The issue was laid to rest only in 1599, when a plebiscite was held among vassal communities throughout the Philippines upon orders of Philip II. In the plebiscite, the vassal communities were given the chance to renounce vassalage freely; none did. We may dismiss the plebiscite as <i>lutong macao</i>, but notarized copies of the votes in two places (Laguna and Pangasinan) survive, which preserve the comments of the people. Examine them, and you will conclude to the validity of the results of the plebiscite in those two places and probably everywhere else. In other words, at the end of the sixteenth century, various Philippine peoples, the ancestors of the immense majority of Filipinos today, did make a pact of vassalage with the Spanish king, as Bonifacio claims.</p> <p>The development of nationalism is intimately connected with grasping the Philippines as a particular territory. To make this plain to the students the teacher must stress how the Philippines as a particular territory is an invention of the Spaniards that needed to be accepted by Filipinos. Today, there are still people in the Muslim south who do not accept the idea of the Philippines as one territory, just as their ancestors never did.</p> <p><u>Ang paggamit ng krus at espada sa pananakop</u> <u>Mga patakarang kolonyal</u></p> <p>How about Rizal's claim that we were autonomous up to the nineteenth century? Three policies of the Spanish crown adopted in the 1580s support this: first, the decision to retain native rulers; second, the decision to retain customs and traditions that did not violate the natural law; third, the prohibition against Spaniards entering native villages, with the exception of the missionary who lived with the new converts and the <i>alcalde mayor</i> who entered the village once a year to collect the tribute. In other words, for the Filipino vassal of the sixteenth century onwards, aside from the obligations entailed by his conversion to Christianity and by his vassalage, life went on as usual. Filipinos continued to rule themselves, and that is what Rizal must have meant by "autonomy."</p>
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	<p><u>Kung paanong ang katutubong kultura ay naging kasangkapan sa pananakop</u></p> <p><u>Mga epekto ng kolonisasyon at ebanghelisasyon</u></p> <p>“Bayan” is a concept that dates back only to the late sixteenth century at the earliest—when missionaries founded the first towns. The foundation of a town was, from the perspective of the development of the Philippine nation, an event of major significance: it meant the birth of communities composed of barangays and conversely the death of the barangay as a closed community.</p> <p>If with the first bayans one may imagine people who were “makabayan,” then certainly before the first bayans there were people who were “makabarangay.” However, with the foundation of the first bayans, someone makabarangay was not necessarily someone makabayan. Someone could act for the good of the barangay but not for the good of the bayan. Someone makabayan is precisely someone who takes into account, not only the good of his barangay, but also the good of the bayan to which his barangay belongs. Once “bayan” referred to the entire Philippines, “makabayan” gained a new meaning which has now supplanted the older one.</p> <p>At the root of the concept of <i>bayan</i> is the concept of the common good. Someone makabayan understands the common good to encompass the entire bayan, and not only his family or his town, his province or his ethnic group. What this implies for one’s decisions and actions is something one has to discover. Competing with decisions and actions for the common good are decisions and actions for the good of one’s family or of one’s town only, of one’s province or one’s ethnic group only.</p> <p><u>Ang balangkas ng pamahalaang kolonyal sa Pilipinas</u></p>
<i>Konsolidasyon at integrasyon</i>	<p><u>Mga pangunahing katangian ng pamahalaang kolonyal</u></p> <p><u>Patakarang pangkabuhayan</u></p> <p><u>Pagbabagong kultural</u></p> <p>There were never many Spaniards in the Philippines; the cultural transformation we went through was as much our work as it was the missionaries’.</p> <p><u>Kalagayan ng mga karapatan ng mga Pilipino</u></p> <p>If we look back to Philippine history, there are three signal dates that chart Spain’s betrayal of the pacts of the sixteenth century. The first is 1700, when the Bourbons replaced the Hapsburgs on the throne of Spain. From then on, Spanish colonial policy changed: we were no longer new Christian communities that the Crown had sworn to protect and defend from their enemies; we were colonies to be exploited, as were all the rest in Latin America. However, we did not experience any change in the way Spain treated us until 80 years later (1782) with the Tobacco Monopoly.</p>

<p><i>Reaksyon ng mga pilipino</i></p>	<p><u>Pakikitungo at pagtutol ng mga Pilipino</u></p> <p>We became vassals of Spain knowingly and remained loyal to her deliberately. Why? We must take our ancestors' option for what they understood to be Christian civilization seriously: vassalage ensured that civilization's survival. It also brought with it liberation from the datu's tyranny, since it now became possible to appeal to a higher authority than him. Nick Joaquin describes this new civilization in the form of the twelve greatest events in Philippine history: (1) the introduction of the wheel; (2) the introduction of the plow; (3) the introduction of road and bridge; (4) the introduction of new crops, like corn, cabbage, tobacco, <i>camote</i>, <i>calabaza</i>, potato, guava, <i>habichuelas</i>, <i>lechugas</i>, coffee, cocoa, tomato, melon, <i>atis</i>, cucumber, etc.; (5) the introduction of new livestock, like the horse, cow, turkey, goose, etc., and of the carabao as draft animal; (6) the introduction of the <i>fabrica</i> or factory; (7) the introduction of paper and printing; (8) the introduction of the Roman alphabet; (9) the introduction of calendar and clock; (10) the introduction of the map and charting of the Philippine shape; (11) the introduction of the arts of painting and architecture; and (12) the introduction of the <i>guisado</i>. (See Nick Joaquin, "Technology and Philippine Revolutions: The Coming of the Plow, Horse and Guisado" in <i>The Filipinas Journal of Science and Culture</i> 3 (1982): 126.)</p> <p>Another important step towards nationhood was the formation of armies composed of soldiers coming from the same ethnic group. These soldiers did not all come from the same town. Consequently, forming part of the native troops accustomed people from different towns to live and work together. The significance of native armies does not end with this. The troops from different ethnic groups fought side by side for the same cause under one leader—the Governor General who was the representative of the King, their feudal lord. It is ironic, therefore, to claim that the Spaniards "divided and ruled." Rather, they united barangay with barangay and town with town and, to a limited extent, ethnic group with ethnic group.</p> <p>The wars Filipinos fought for Spain had a further significance: Filipinos gradually came to see the Philippines as a particular territory for which they were all responsible.</p> <p><u>Ang mga Muslim at mga katutubo sa bulubundukin ng Hilagang Luzon</u></p>
<p><i>Pilipino laban sa ibang dayuhan</i></p>	

Unit 4: Pagsibol at pag-unlad ng nasyonalismong Pilipino

<p><i>Pagsilang ng nasyonalismo</i></p>	<p>It is accurate to describe the Philippines up to the nineteenth century as a collection of communities, the majority of which were of native inhabitants and a very few of Spaniards, each native community independent of all the rest. Spaniards and Filipinos lived in separate communities, each with their own laws and customs and traditions. It is truly only in the nineteenth century that all this changes.</p> <p>(If we look back to Philippine history, there are three signal dates that chart Spain's betrayal of the pacts of the sixteenth century.) The second date is 1821, the year Mexico declared independence from Spain, the first of many colonies in the Americas that would do likewise. This gave rise in the Philippines to what we may call a "politics of suspicion," directed specifically at native priests and liberals, the two types of persons who participated actively in the American revolutionary movements. The third date is 1860, marking the beginning of a decade in which the parish priest (who was usually a Spanish friar) was gradually given considerable power and influence in town governments. Spanish politics of suspicion had drafted the friar as an ally of its paranoia. The executions and exiles of 1872 were the fruit of these politics. By then Spain had taken on a new face before Filipinos: no longer friend and ally, but oppressive master; no longer a mother, but a step-mother. We see this in the famous poem by Huseng Sisiw. In this consisted the betrayal Bonifacio wrote about.</p> <p>The nineteenth century is important for two reasons: First, a community of university students and alumni arose composed of Filipinos from various parts of the country. They all spoke the same language—Spanish. Secondly, Filipino plantation owners in different parts of the country came to see the need for coordinated government policies. Thirdly, Filipinos came to know of civic rights which they began to demand. These Filipinos were largely responsible for setting up a republic first in Biyak na Bato and afterwards in Malolos.</p> <p>Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Tagalogs applied the concept of "bayan" to the Philippines. Just as the original bayan was a community of communities, so, too, the Philippines as bayan was a community of communities of communities. "Tinubuang bayan" referred to the Philippines as a whole, and not just to a particular town. "Bayan" was used as well for all the peoples of the Philippines.</p>
<p><i>Kilusang Propaganda</i></p>	<p><u>Uri ng pamumuno, mga nagawa at kahihinatnan nito</u> <u>Pagsisikap na magkaroon ng reporma sa mapayapang pamamaraan</u></p> <p>Rizal, Jacinto, and Mabini all saw that Filipinos would have to develop a new culture that sought the good of all. They realized that a national political community demanded a new way of life, a new mindset.</p>

<i>Katipunan</i>	<u>Ang pagtatatag ng Katipunan</u> <u>Paninindigan ng makamit ang kalayaan</u>
<i>Himagsikang Pilipino</i>	<p>If we were not a conquered people, then how explain the Philippine Revolution? Bonifacio's manifesto exhorts its readers to revolution, accusing Spaniards of betrayal of the pacts. The proclamation of independence of 1898 specifically cites two abuses as the immediate cause of the revolution: the oppression of the <i>guardia civil</i> and the exile of notables without a fair trial or without any trial at all, allegedly upon instigation of the friars. Bonifacio alludes to these as well in his manifesto; Rizal cites them in his <i>Noli</i> as abuses to correct. Note that the <i>guardia civil</i> were established only in 1868, while the first exiles of notables occurred in 1872, meaning that the discontent of Filipinos that culminated in the Propaganda Movement and the revolution of 1896 covered only a period of some 30 years. We did not wait for 330 plus years before revolting successfully; we revolted 30 years after we decided we had been betrayed and succeeded in toppling the Spanish colonial government.</p> <p>Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when we realized that Spain had transformed into our master and was practicing all manner of abuses, we threw off the Spanish yoke.</p> <p>By 1896, we see something never seen before: Tagalogs and Pampangos attempting to establish themselves and all other Philippine peoples as a single people and claiming the entire territory of the Philippines for the new community.</p> <p>It is no accident that the first ethnic groups to revolt for the Philippines as a nation were the Tagalogs and Pampangos, the usual allies of the Spaniards in their wars in the Philippines.</p> <p><u>Mahahalagang pangyayari ng himagsikan</u> <u>Kawalan ng pagkakaisa sa himagsikan</u></p> <p>1896 is singled out by some as marking the birth of the nation. We must understand what this birth meant: it did not mean the overnight transformation of Filipinos into citizens of a nation. Recall the death of Bonifacio: the new nation was split by dissension. Others single out 1898, but recall the death of Antonio Luna. The new nation was splintered by mutual fear and envy. What the deaths of Bonifacio and Antonio Luna tell us is that the process that produced the revolutionaries of 1896 with their dreams of a Filipino nation was not over in 1896; in fact, it continues to this very day.</p> <p><u>Ang kasunduan ng Biyak na Bato</u> <u>Ang pamahalaan ng mga Pilipino noong 1898</u> <u>Ang proklamasyon ng kasarinlan ng Pilipinas</u></p>

	<p>The formal proclamation of a nation, however, is not enough to make a people into a nation. It is not enough either for that people to want to be a nation for them to actually become a nation. A people not yet a nation must learn how to be a nation.</p> <p><u>Ang Kongreso ng Malolos</u> <u>Ang Saligang-Batas ng Malolos</u> <u>Ang Republika ng Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang Iglesia Independiente ng Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano</u></p>
<p><i>Unit 5: Paghadlang sa nasyonalismong Pilipino</i></p>	
<i>Paghadlang</i>	<p><u>Ang pananakop ng Estados Unidos sa Pilipinas</u> <u>Mga pangyayaring sumupil sa nasyonalismong Pilipino</u> <u>Mga patakarang pampulitika, pang-ekonomiya, panlipunan at pangkultu-rang pinairal ng mga amerikano</u></p> <p>We subsequently lost to the Americans, although when we compare what the Americans established in the Philippines with what the <i>propagandistas</i> were demanding from Spain, then we realize the American gave us most of what the <i>propagandistas</i> were asking for.</p> <p>The Americans conquered the peoples of the Cordilleras and the Muslims in the South incorporating them into American Philippines.</p>

<i>Pagpupunyagi sa kabila ng pagsupil</i>	<p>If it was under Spain that the idea of a nation took shape, it was under America that the framework was set up within which the Philippines as national community took shape, because it was under America that we had a public school system, a common language shared by various social strata, roads and bridges that tied the islands together, a communications network that linked communities everywhere, and the first national elections for the senate and the presidency. It was under America that the Philippines as state took shape: American rule bequeathed us with a structure, processes, and a civil service with which to govern a nation.</p> <p>As for progress under the Americans, history clearly shows this was the fruit of collaboration, as much to the credit of the Americans as to us, and more to us than them, since learning is ultimately an activity of the student rather than the teacher.</p> <p><u>Mga patakaran at batas na may kinalaman sa pagsasarili ng mga Pilipino</u> <u>Ang batas na ginawa ng Komisyon ng Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang Asambleya Filipina</u> <u>Ang mga Misyong Pangkalayaan</u> <u>Ang mga Batas Hare-Hawes-Cutting at Tydings-McDuffie</u> <u>Ang Saligang-Batas ng 1935</u> <u>Ang pamahalaang Komonwelt</u> <u>Mga pagbabago sa panahon ng Komonwelt</u> <u>Mga likhaing-kultural</u></p>
<i>Pagkabalam ng kalayaan</i>	<p><u>Kagitingan ng mga Pilipino upang mapalayang muli ang Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang pagbabalik ng pamahalaang Komonwelt</u> <u>Evaluacion ng digmaan</u></p>
Unit 6: Pagtataguyod ng kalayaan	
<i>Mga hamon sa kalayaan</i>	
<i>Mga iba-ibang pamahalaan</i>	<p><u>Ang pamahalaan ni Roxas</u> Palatuntunan ng pamahalaan, paraan ng pangangasiwa, paglutas ng mga suliranin at repormang ipinatupad Nabibigyang-halaga ang kalakasan at kahinaan ng mga nagawa <u>Ang pamahalaan ni Quirino</u> <u>Ang pamahalasan ni Magsaysay</u> <u>Ang pamahalaan ni Garcia</u> <u>Ang pamahalaan ni Macapagal</u> <u>Ang pamahalaan ni Marcos</u></p>

<p><i>Ang Pilipinas sa Ilalim ng Batas Militar</i></p>	<p><u>Ang mga dahilan ng pagdedeklara ng Batas Militar</u> <u>Ang mga pagbabagong naganap sa panahon ng awtoritarianismong konstitusyunal</u> <u>Ang mga pangyayaring nagbigay-daan sa pagwawakas ng awtoritarianismong konstitusyonal sa Pilipinas</u></p> <p>(Rizal, Jacinto, and Mabini...realized that a national political community demanded a new way of life, a new mindset.) The public indignation at the death of Ninoy Aquino was an important step in this direction.</p>
<p><i>Panunumbalik ng Demokrasya</i></p>	<p><u>Ang mga pangyayaring nagbigay-daan sa pagpapanumbalik ng demokrasya sa Pilipinas</u> <u>Ang kahulugan ng salitang demokrasya</u> <u>Ang “people power” sa EDSA</u></p> <p>The first so-called EDSA revolution and the impeachment trial of President Joseph Estrada were further steps in the same direction. So was the second so-called EDSA revolution.</p> <p><u>Ang palatuntunan ng pamahalaan, paraan ng pangangasiwa, paglutas ng mga suliranin at repormang ipinatupad ng pamahalaan mula sa panunungkulan ni Pangulong Aquino hanggang sa Pangulong Arroyo</u></p>
<p><i>Kultura sa Pagtataguyod ng Demokrasya</i></p>	<p>The amount of progress our people have gone through in the last 500 years is amazing. It is an achievement of the first order, and we have not been passive participants in the process.</p> <p>Today there are many Filipinos who seriously ask whether we already have a nation or whether we are still evolving into one. A cursory knowledge of the histories of older countries answers that question: it tells us that the transformation of the mentality of villagers into the mentality of citizens of a nation does not occur in a few centuries. As a people, we are still on our way to becoming a nation.</p> <p>We are now at a period in our history when we must face those structures and attitudes that slow down the development of a nationalist consciousness and democratic participation and dismantle them ourselves.</p> <p>The problems of the nation are problems of transition: that transition from regionalism to nationhood and from feudalism to democracy initiated only a little over a hundred years ago. Even now there are many instances of change occurring in different parts of the country. It is not an idle hope that these will one day precipitate and we will awaken to a nation.</p> <p>An expanded appreciation of the common good is behind the transition from regionalism to nationalism, understanding “common good” to encompass not just the region, but also the nation. Respect for human dignity, on the other hand, is behind the transition from feudalism to democracy.</p>

Unit 7: Ang Pamahalaan at ang Mamamayan	
<i>Ang estado</i>	<u>Ang elemento ng isang estado</u> <u>Ang kaibahan ng nasyon sa estado [refer to 5b above]</u> <u>Ang Pilipinas bilang estado</u>
<i>Saligang Batas</i>	<u>Uri, mga bahagi, mga katangian at kahalagahan ng Saligang-Batas</u> <u>Proseso ng pagbabalangkas ng Saligang-Batas ng Pilipinas</u> <u>mahahalagang probisyon ng iba't ibang Saligang-Batas ng Pilipinas</u>
<i>Pagkamamamayan</i>	<u>Sino ang mamamayang Pilipino</u> know that it is part of human nature to live together with other people understand what authority is and what it means to wield it well know that any social change starts with the individual and an internal change The last point above (that any social change starts with the individual and an internal change) is very important. Changing the Philippines will depend on our first changing ourselves. <u>Ang mga karapatan at tungkulin ng isang mamamayan</u> know what the common good is and the duty to help attain it <u>Mga karapatan ng bata, kababaihan at manggagawa</u> know why all human beings should be respected and how this is shown or violated understand what the equality of human beings means and how differences among individuals may legitimately affect our behavior understand the duty to practice solidarity <u>Iba't ibang pakikilahok ng mamamayan sa mga prosesong pampolitika</u> understand what the citizen's responsibilities are and the citizen's duty to participate in government This last section is extremely important for citizenship. It is also an introduction to the next three years of Social Studies.
<i>Ang Pamahalaan</i>	<u>Kahulugan ng salitang pamahalaan</u> <u>Mga uri ng mga pamahalaan</u> <u>Mga tungkulin at gawain ng pamahalaan</u> <u>Ang kahalagahan ng pagkakaroon ng matatag na pamahalaan</u>

<p><i>Mga Sangay ng Pamahalaang Nasyonal</i></p>	<p><u>Tagapagpaganap</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. mga kwalipikasyon, tungkulin at kapangyarihan ng Pangulo at Pangalawang Pangulo <p>komposisyon at tungkulin ng Gabinete</p> <p><u>Tagapagbatas</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ang katangian, tungkulin at kapangyarihan ng Kongreso <p>mga hakbang kung paano nagiging batas ang isang panukalang-batas</p> <p><u>Hukuman</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. organisayon, tungkulin at saklaw na kapangyarihan ng mga hukuman sa bansa 2. ang prosesong panghukuman <p>ang kahalagahan ng isang malaya, makatarungan at matatag na sistema ng paghuhukom</p> <p><u>Komisyong Konstitusyonal</u></p> <p><u>Pamahalaang Lokal</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. balangkas, tungkulin at kapangyarihan ng pamahalaang lokal batay sa Local Government Code 2. relasyon ng pamahalaang lokal sa pamahalaang pambansa 3. ang bahaging ginagampanan ng pamahalaang lokal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The national officials come from local governments. It is necessary, therefore, to demand good local government if we want the national officials who come from local governments to be good. • We must practice the ideals of people power at the local level. • This may demand sacrifice—of our peace, our professional future, and even our life—but sacrifice is the test of love, including love of country. Only good can come from sacrifice, and no good can come without sacrifice. <p>What if our families are threatened? We have a duty to take care of our family, but also a duty to set them a good example. Prayer is all-powerful.</p> <p><u>Badyet</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. kahulugan ng pambansang badyet 2. ang pinanggalingan ng pondo ng pamahalaan 3. ang pinagkakagastusan ng pamahalaan 4. ang paraan ng paggugol ng pamahalaan <p>pangangalaga ng pamahalaan sa pananalapi ng bayan</p> <p><u>Pakikipag-ugnayang Panlabas</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. kahulugan ng patakarang panlabas ng bansa 2. mga suliraning panlabas na kasalukuyang hinaharap ng bansa 3. mga paraang ginagamit sa pagharap sa mga suliraning panlabas katulad ng extradition treaty, terorismo at iba pa
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*M*ODULE 2

ASIAN HISTORY

THE CIVIC CULTURE

BY CLEMENT C. CAMPOSANO

THE LINK BETWEEN CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY

Since the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, the question of how to make democracy work in the Philippines has been at the center of much public political discussion and debate. Among the more prominent sub-themes in these discussions is the issue of culture --- it has been contended by a number of observers that Filipino culture, with its close family ties and such values as “utang na loob” (debt of gratitude, reciprocity) and “pakikisama” (smooth interpersonal relationship), is not conducive to the kind of politics demanded by the country’s imported republican institutions. The scope of political reform should be broadened to include not only dismantling the authoritarian machinery but also adoption of values consistent with and supportive of democratic politics.

The close attention to culture as a critical ingredient in the viability of Philippine democracy coincided with the revival of interest among Western scholars in the link between political culture and the proper functioning of democratic institutions. Indeed, “[by] the 1990s, observers from Latin America to Eastern Europe to East Asia were concluding that cultural factors played an important role in the problems they were encountering with democratization.” (Inglehart, in Harrison and Huntington 2000) At around the same time, authoritarian leaders like Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore openly argued for an alternative to western liberal democracy, claiming that distinctive “Asian values” make Asian societies unsuitable for democracy. (Ibid., p. 95)

It therefore comes as no surprise that interest in the problem of culture as the key to building a viable democracy in the Philippines would receive strong support in academe and within the scholarly community. Thus, in 1989, Prof. Patricia Licuanan and her team of top academics from the University of the Philippines pointed to certain “weaknesses” in the Filipino character that centered on self interest and lack of regard for the common good. They then called for a “moral recovery program” as the key to a free and prosperous society. Prof. Fernando Zialcita (1997) of the Ateneo made a similar assertion when he claimed that Filipinos have a “weak sense of public good” and that the idea of a larger society beyond friends and

family are still proving too abstract to many.

By far, the most scathing indictment of Philippine society is that of Niels Mulder (1997), an independent anthropologist who claimed that in the Philippines there is a pronounced “absence of [a] localized positive ethics of the public world” and that what counts for the public sphere is morally vacuous and exhibit “no other culture...than the rhetoric of rapacious, dynastic politicians.” (p. 67) Beyond the tight circle made up of family members, intimates and friends, according to Mulder, lies a competitive and amoral world governed by political and economic expediency where one struggles to get ahead but carries no responsibility. What all these views imply is clear: certain values widely acknowledged as necessary to a working democracy, are not part of Filipino everyday life.

Needless to say, having a democratic constitution and a complete set of democratic institutions is not the same thing as having a functioning democracy. The Philippines may have acquired the formal institutions of democracy but, apparently, Filipinos have yet to acquire all the values, habits and dispositions that will make these institutions work as they were intended to. If formal institutions are the “hardware,” there seems to be significantly missing in Filipino political culture the ethical or moral “software” to run these institutions. This may be the reason why almost a full century after the first representative bodies were established, translating democracy into a meaningful way of life has not really been achieved and, to quote Diokno (1997), still “remains the Philippines’ most challenging task.”

THE CIVIC CULTURE (ANG PAGIGING MABUTING MAMAMAYAN)

If there is a strong link between democracy and culture, then there is a need not only to be specific about this link but also, and more importantly, to acquire a concrete and practical understanding of it. Culture, after all, is often a nebulous concept, and while it has become a convenient explanation for most problems plaguing public life in the Philippines --- for instance, the rather controversial idea that Filipinos have a “damaged” culture --- its quick and ready use in public discussion is itself plagued by imprecision. If a real public sphere or a consciousness of a larger, abstract society beyond friends and family is lacking, how should Filipinos go about building it? What makes this type of “consciousness” possible? How is it possible for people to transcend the pull of personal and familial ties and situate themselves within this larger community of anonymous others? To put it differently, what makes citizenship possible?

Using concepts developed by Almond and Verba (1963), David Wurfel (1988) has pointed out that the largest portion of the Filipino population may be described as having a “subject” rather than a “participant” orientation. This means that while there is some level of political awareness, there is also widespread acceptance among people of a rather passive

role. (Pp. 39-40) Thus, while Filipinos are generally preoccupied with politics, the biggest number of them are in fact predisposed to view themselves “as subjects whose lives are directed by political processes above them” (Jackson 1997, p. 125), the outcomes of which they cannot meaningfully shape or influence. This condition, in Wurfel’s analysis, may be explained by the failure of nationalism to create “a sense of community strong enough to foster mutual trust between persons without dyadic ties.” (1988, p. 35) He went on to say that

In fact, the overriding importance of interpersonal linkages hinders the emergence of any group loyalties on which cohesive political parties or policy-oriented activities might be based. Groups do emerge when awareness of common interest is strong, but --- outside the most westernized sectors of society --- a particular organization usually survives only because a strong leader has a wide network of clients. Indeed, such networks are often important even in groups that stress loyalty based on ideology. (Pp. 35-36)

Whether this is can be attributed to “failure of nationalism” or to some other historical factor is, of course, an interesting question --- noteworthy, for instance, is Doronila’s (1991) empirical finding that there now exist “a people quite attached to the national community” and that this attachment “cuts across both income classes and urban – rural differences.” (Pp. 38-40) What is significant for this paper, however, is Wurfel’s recognition of the role of “mutual trust” in a functioning democracy. Indeed, in their own classic study of democracy in five nations, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) found out that the key to a stable democracy, as distinguished from one endemically given to political convulsions, is a “civic culture” where political activity and involvement exist but are balanced by the stabilizing action of such things as social trust. (p. 30) In such a “balanced political culture,” according to Almond and Verba,

The nonparticipant, more traditional political orientations tend to limit the individual’s commitment to politics and to make that commitment milder [i.e., less given to violence and more tolerant]. In a sense, the subject and parochial orientations “manage” or keep in place the participant political orientations. Thus attitudes favorable to participation within the political system play a major role in the civic culture, but so do such nonpolitical attitudes as trust in other people and social participation in general. (Ibid)

Whatever their other claims, these studies help turn or train the spotlight on two related requisites of a properly functioning democracy: First, is the desire and confidence to participate in the political process, or what is generally called “political efficacy.” The second element consist of such things as social trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit, or what scholars like Robert Putnam (1995) and Francis Fukuyama (1999) call “social capital.” While political efficacy generates political activity and

debate, the accumulation of social capital makes possible tolerance and allows political institutions to withstand debate and questioning. In effect, social capital keeps a democratic political system together and from breaking down.

Of the two requisites, social capital may be deemed more fundamental in that it allows persons without dyadic or personal ties to work together for a common cause, thus laying the basis for collective political action. Social capital, according to Eva Cox (1995, online), is what accounts for social cohesion, “[it] is the social glue, the weft and warp of the social fabric which comprises a myriad of interactions that make up our public and private lives...” (p. 3/7) An increase in social capital, or, which amounts to the same thing, an increase in experiences that engender trust and a recognition of common ground, will allow people in ever larger numbers “to move comfortably from the defensive ‘I’ to the mutual ‘we.’” On the other hand, loss of social capital would mean the rise of distrust, loss of social cohesion and the pervasive pursuit of short-term self-interest, which could breed conflict and social isolation as well as contempt for power and authority (Ibid.) (pagkawatak-watak, kawalan ng pagkakaisa)

OF GARBAGE, MALLS AND ELECTIONS

This is greatly descriptive of Philippine public life with its sense of fragmentation and social disarray, its ethos of political and economic expediency and, to use Mulder’s term, its “moral vacuity” (or moral emptiness or hollowness). In fact, this is primarily what some observers mean when they speak of Filipinos as having a “damaged culture.” The low level of social capital in most Filipino communities clearly explains why “the rights of the unknown, anonymous public are difficult for many to conceive of” (Zialcita 1997, p. 48) There has been no substantial movement from the defensive “I” to the mutual “we” --- or, to be more precise, from the exclusive “we” of friends and family to the inclusive “we” of society --- hence, Zialcita’s observation that Filipinos lack a sense of public good. Nothing, he pointed out, will illustrate this condition more clearly than the state of garbage collection:

I cite sloppiness and poor garbage collection in common areas as one indicator of a prevailing weak sense of the public good because these are immediately visible and can be contrasted with the neatness most Filipinos exhibit in their persons and homes. If there is lack of concern even in a seemingly simple matter like cleaning immediate surroundings, we can understand why there are problems not only in the garbage collection of Metro Manila as a whole, but even in other matters involving an abstract but real public good like cleaning the air, unraveling the traffic, managing water resources, or protecting the forest. (Pp. 47-48)

That this is a general and not a specific problem Prof. Randolph David shows in a 1995 article entitled “The Powerless Public.” (in David 2002, Pp. 145-147.) He discussed how “[those]

who have money, power and technology go about their daily business, completely unmindful of the effects they create on the life circumstances of others,” (p. 145) while those adversely affected resort to private coping mechanisms which do not address the real problems of living in an increasingly complex society. (p.146) This lack of “civility” is seen for instance in the unrestrained construction of massive shopping centers by mall developers, without any regard for the traffic that is bound to be created by the concentration of so many people and activities in one place, or for the strain that this will cause on water, power and other utilities. (p. 145)

...lack of “civility” is seen for instance in the unrestrained construction of massive shopping centers by mall developers, without any regard for the traffic that is bound to be created by the concentration of so many people and activities in one place, or for the strain that this will cause on water, power and other utilities.

On the other hand, affected neighborhoods instead of resisting and insisting upon an ethic of civility -- steadfastly fighting for a public solution to an obviously public problem --- merely opt for a private solution, trying their best to cope with the attendant problems, e.g., stop-gap measures such as the installation of booster pumps to improve water pressure in affected households. “Meanwhile, the developers move on to unconquered sites, irreversibly transforming the city’s landscape with a lethal combination of force and shortsightedness.” The pressure on public utilities, according to David, has built up so fast that we are only beginning to realize what an impossible water supply, traffic and garbage disposal crisis we have led ourselves into. “We cannot afford to be digging private wells every time there is a water crisis... [Nor] can we beat the water crisis by waging a war of booster pumps.” (p. 146)

The implications for democratic politics are clear: a powerless public cannot be the wellspring of meaningful political participation. Unaccustomed to and hardly capable of addressing public issues, people are not likely to treat elections, or any other democratic exercise for that matter, as opportunities for discerning the common good. They will be more inclined to see them through the lenses of personal preference and interest. Thus, candidates are routinely seen in highly personal terms and seldom in terms of how they might be capable of promoting public welfare, or of how they might measure up to the requirements of democratic institutions. (Being masungit, for instance, is a no-no while being mabait, matapang, madaling lapitan and totoong tao are mandatory) This is the reason why Filipinos keep electing bad leaders. According to Prof. David (2000),

The system by which we recruit the leaders of our nation is deeply flawed. This is immediately apparent in the premium we place on the personal popularity of candidates rather than their capacity to articulate and defend a national plan. We place little value on debate and on educational campaigns to create intelligent voters. By our failure to stop vote-

buying and electoral fraud, we allow politicians to prey upon the hunger of impoverished voters and the vulnerability of election workers. We permit candidates to raise unlimited amounts of campaign contributions from undisclosed sources, unmindful of the graft and corruption that follows when politicians start paying back every peso they received from expectant financiers. (in David 2002, p. 148)

As with garbage and malls, so it is with elections: unable to situate themselves within a larger society and thus think and act for the interest of an abstract public, it is not unusual for voters to respond to the challenge of choosing leaders mainly with their personal or familial interests and preferences in mind. This way, they are either seized by the personal charisma of would-be saviors or celebrities, or drawn into the patronage networks operated by cynical machine politicians. The idea of public interest or public good is here reduced to legal fiction, to be ritually invoked by politicians but not to be taken seriously (In Tagalog, one may remark, *kunwari lang...*) Not surprisingly, for many, elections have become a mere spectator sport, not unlike cockfighting or horse racing, with its complement of gambling terms: *taya* (*kanino ka tataya?*), *manok* (*sino ang manok mo?*), *dehado*, *llamado*, “winnability,” etc.

BUILDING A CIVIC CULTURE

The only way, therefore, to make democracy work is for people to acquire those capacities represented by social capital. Learning to trust and cooperate with people who are neither relatives nor friends can, however, be achieved only through habit and practice. (Fukuyama 1999, online, 12/14) That is, they are developed through active, collaborative relationship with others and are ultimately based on the mental habit of recognizing common interests “and choosing to look for collective rather than individual benefits.” (Cox 1995, online, 5/7) Social trust, cooperation and connectedness are of course not simple occurrences, brought about as they are by a complex mix of historical, cultural, social and political factors --- not least of which, a weak and ineffectual state (or, which amounts to the same thing, a government that can barely govern).

Still, because social trust can neither be imposed nor legislated, the interactions that are bound to engender it and thus create social capital, “are most likely to occur in egalitarian communities where people voluntarily contribute time and effort and receive positive reinforcement.” (Cox on Putnam, 1995, 3/7) The accumulation of trust is therefore based on the kind of engagements that “civic” organizations make possible. “These are familiar community groups: non-profit organizations... local environment groups...craft groups, neighbourhood centres, local sporting groups, ethnic and religious groups, reading groups, fund raising organizations, playgroups and others which have an egalitarian and voluntaristic structure.” (Ibid)

These kinds of associations, according to Tocqueville, invigorate civil life because they make transparent to individuals the link between private well being and shared purposes. (Welch on Tocqueville, in Boucher and Kelly 2003, p. 295) This, in turn, bring about an “enlarged interest, a wider human sympathy, a sense of active responsibility for oneself, the skills needed to work with others toward goods that can only be obtained through collective action, and the powers of sympathetic understanding needed to build bridges of persuasive words to those with whom one must act.” (Galston on Tocqueville and Mill, 2004) (Interestingly, one word summarizes all of these so-called “intellectual and moral capacities” in Tagalog, and it is one that signifies a concrete, historically evolved social practice: bayanihan)

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THE CIVIC CULTURE

BY MARIA RIZA L. BONDAL

In 1987, when the Philippines was still coming to terms with the end of the Marcos regime, James Fallows, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, wrote an article¹ that characterized the Philippine culture as a “damaged culture”, which is a “failure in nationalism”² in the socio-economic and political life.³ He wrote that it is a culture that “pulls many Filipinos toward their most self-destructive, self-defeating worst”⁴. Expectedly, at that time, that criticism from a foreigner, - which perhaps was *the* agitating factor-, generated a lot patriotic outrage. It is likely that, if he were a Filipino, there would not be any uproar for we have grown accustomed to self-inflicted disparagement. Besides, since self-criticism is quite commonplace, we readily trivialize or take a nonchalant stance towards any criticism, especially when it takes the form of poking fun at ourselves.

But it would be most unfortunate, if, for one reason or another, we dismiss all negative feedback without any further thought because some of them might be valid. If the latter were the case, a more serious consideration of those criticisms might just be the catalyst we need to prompt us to reform what is not right about us as a people. But, the change for the better would not happen, if, unperturbed, we choose to disregard all criticisms and we tranquilly continue with our old ways.⁵ This attitude towards criticisms may explain why we have earned for ourselves a stigma with attributions like “Filipino time”, “crab mentality”, and “ningas cogon”, among others.⁶

To this day, Fallows’s article continues to draw reactions, except that now, some of our compatriots are agreeing with him that there are undesirable elements in our culture.⁷ Actually, if one reads the article dispassionately, - though we might not agree with everything he said⁸-, we will not fail to agree with him that our culture has mattered, and will continue to matter, in forging the path of our political and economic development. Today, this idea is actually shared by many scholars, except by those who still espouse cultural relativism.⁹ There is a growing consensus that culture cannot be ignored, if we are to explain why the patterns of development vary among countries with more or less the same economic and political starting points.¹⁰ To put it plainly, many scholars agree that culture can be either a facilitator of or an

impediment to progress in the socio-economic and political spheres. This is true of the developments in Asia, which, in recent history, has been one of the most vibrant growth regions in the world.

The remarkable socio-economic growth of the so-called “tiger economies” or the “newly industrializing countries” in the Asian region has been accompanied by the rapid expansion of urban areas, which we refer to as cities. Cities may be distinguished by a set physical attributes such as a well-defined territory; presence of very diverse economic activities based on a division of labor; the availability of better socio-cultural and economic infrastructure, such as transportation and communication systems, hospitals, schools, museums, etc. But, cities can be defined by criteria other than these physical aspects.

Wirth¹¹ offers a theory of urbanism, which includes a sociological definition of cities based on three variables: size, density and heterogeneity of its population. Thus, a city is “a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals”, who tend to adopt the “urban mode of life”.¹² His theory is that the “urban mode of life” would be greater, the bigger, the denser and the greater is the diversity of the population in a city.

The “mode of life” refers to the type of human associations and social interactions that may exist in different settings.¹³ According to Wirth, the “urban mode of life” is characterized by a “weakening of the bonds of kinship” and the “undermining of the traditional bonds of solidarity”. In addition, social relations in the city are described as “segmental” and have a “utilitarian accent” because the personal contacts are occasioned by the diversification of specialized roles and functions among the city dwellers.

The “urban mode of life” adopted by persons who live in cities may account for the problems associated with city life: traffic congestion, garbage disposal, noise pollution, among others. Let me elaborate on this point. Consider a traffic jam, which is caused by drivers who are unwilling to give way to each other at a busy intersection in Manila. In this case, the principle that seems to govern the situation is “every man for himself”. We can also refer to this principle as the jungle rule of “survival of the fittest”. In Filipino, the foregoing principle may be expressed as “walang bigayan” and “walang pakialam sa buhay ng iba”.

These same principles are operative in the following situations, which are ordinary everyday occurrences in cities, perhaps with very few exceptions: a person throws trash just anywhere, except of course in one’s own *bakuran*; a person, in the middle of the night, is singing his heart out with the karaoke set at the maximum volume; a bus driver stops in the middle of the road either to get passengers or to let them get off; a person, after eating in a fast food center, leaves all his trash on the table, in spite of a big sign, which says clearly “Clean

As You Go”; a person uses the public toilet and does not bother to flush it; a person smokes in public areas where there is a sign “No Smoking”; a person parks his car right in the middle of a painted line, which delineates the parking space for two cars; a person is not deterred from crossing a road even if a fence has been put up to discourage precisely the pedestrians from crossing there, but that’s because someone else had made a hole through the fence; a person in a public transport holds a loud conversation using his mobile phone; etc.

All the foregoing scenarios manifest a lack of civic culture.¹⁴ Geertz defined culture as “the entire way of life of a society: its values, practices, symbols, institutions and human relationships”. *Civic culture* is only an aspect of the broader culture because the term “civic” is a delimiting element. Its use in terms, such as *civic virtues*, *civic community*, *civic-mindedness*, *civic commitment*, *civic involvement* or *civic concern*, would always have some reference to persons living together in a society, that is, to citizens. Besides, the term *civic* implies something positive. Thus, a *civic community*, as opposed to a *non-civic community*, has to be aspired; to be *civic-minded*, as opposed to not to be *civic-minded*, is preferred; to be *civic-oriented*, as opposed to not to be *civic-oriented*, is to be fostered; and to have *civic sense*, as opposed to not having *civic sense*, is desirable.

Civic culture, then, refers to those attitudes, values, and practices (behavior) that enable every member of a community to manifest a positive and operative regard for the dignity of each person, to contribute to the common good and to show with deeds one’s love of country.

Civic culture, then, refers to those attitudes, values, and practices (behavior) that enable every member of a community to manifest a positive and operative regard for the dignity of each person, to contribute to the common good and to show with deeds one’s love of country. This culture is indispensable for the creation of a civic community, which Putnam¹⁵ defined as a community with “patterns of civic involvement and social solidarity”, which require the practice of *civic virtues* among the citizens. Tocqueville, on the other hand, characterizes a *civic community* as a community that is “marked by an active, public-spirited citizenry, by egalitarian political relations, by a social fabric of trust and cooperation.”¹⁶

If we reflect on the problems of life in our cities, we will immediately realize that what we sorely lack is a robust civic culture that is associated with an active and cooperative civic community. How do we start building that civic culture? The means in our hands is civic education. Concretely, we can promote the practice of *civic virtues* such as honesty, spirit of initiative, self-reliance, dependability in fulfilling one’s obligation, being law-abiding, industriousness, magnanimity in serving others, self-forgetfulness, among others.

Putnam, in his study of the institutional performance of the regional governments in Italy, discovered that there was a north-south divide. In general, those in the northern part of Italy seemed to do better than regional governments in the south. Their performance was positively correlated to the presence of a civic culture. Furthermore, when he tried to explain what accounts for the difference, he found out that present levels of civic culture are rooted in civic traditions, which have persisted over time. Now, if we look at Putnam's description of the "non-civic culture" that exists in those regions whose governments are performing poorly, we cannot help but be reminded of our own situation.

Faced with the stark reality of a poorly developed civic culture and a weak civic community, and with hardly any civic traditions to speak of, we cannot remain indifferent. We must feel the urgent need to take action by laying the foundations towards a better future for our country. The road ahead will not be easy that is why we need a firm commitment and an unwavering heart to do what we can now.

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- 1 The article entitled A Damaged Culture: A New Philippines? published originally on 1 November 1987 is available at http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/1987/11/a_damaged_culture_a_new_philip.php/
- 2 Fallows himself acknowledges that "nationalism" has a negative implication in that it "sets people of one country against another". Hence, better term for love of country is "patriotism", which is a virtue.
- 3 This qualification is important for it cannot be said that everything in our culture is negative.
- 4 It has to be pointed out that the description of Philippine culture as a "damaged culture" did not only come from Fallows. Five persons, whom he interviewed, expressed the same view. One of the five is a foreigner. It would be interesting to know, whether the four others are also foreigners.
- 5 This is not to say that we would have to change everything in our culture. That would be a lack of common sense, which, unfortunately, is not so common. The challenge, then, is to discern which among the elements in our culture need to be preserved and which ones have to be rejected.
- 6 Fortunately, these attributes are not "genetically" Filipino. It is commonplace to hear that the same Filipinos, who do slipshod work here, are transformed and are able to meet the high standards of work in other countries. This is another reason for affirming that culture do matter in development.
- 7 See <http://www.sixsigmaway.us/culture>.
- 8 To say that Philippine culture is a "damaged culture" would imply that everything in our culture is undesirable. That blanket judgment is unfair. The same can be said of his views on the Catholic religion. Finally, his implicit pro-population control stance can be debunked from the economic perspective. To begin with his projection is off the mark. He said that in 15 years- that is, from 1987 that would mean 2002-, the Philippine population would go over 100 million. We are in 2008 and our population has not reached 90 million, as of the last available data.
- 9 Cultural relativism claims that each culture determines its own goals and ethical standards. Hence, it would be inappropriate and unacceptable to claim that one culture is better than another. To do so would be tantamount to an imposition of the standards of one culture, which is usually the developed culture, on another. This is difficult to sustain because it would mean that we cannot denounce, for example, human sacrifices in a particular culture only because it is regarded as

- acceptable practice in society. The bottom line in cultural relativism is that it implicitly rejects the universality of certain values, such as those contained in the Declaration of Human Rights.
- 10 For a sampling of literature by prominent scholars on the relation of culture and development, see Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
 - 11 The article "Urbanism as a Way of Life" by Louis Wirth is available at <http://www.bolender.com/>
 - 12 The growth of great cities is characteristic of modern civilization. Nevertheless, a "city", as he defined it, already existed in other epochs of human history. Examples are Athens of Ancient Greece and Constantinople of the Roman Empire.
 - 13 Wirth identified three (3) types of relationship: primary, secondary and tertiary social relations. Primary relation is a face-to-face personal relationship which is characteristic of rural settings and of families. Secondary relations are also personal and direct but they are infrequent because they occur only when economic transactions are realized, such as the relation between a client and the bank teller in a bank. Tertiary relationships, in contrast, are very formal and/or indirect contacts (not face-to-face), such as through the phone.
 - 14 The term "civic culture" was coined by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) to refer to a set of political and social attitudes that are necessary in a democracy. This concept, which has a strong slant towards political expediency, is not adopted here. Our focus is that kind of culture that determines the quality of social concern for other persons in a community.
 - 15 Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
 - 16 Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, p. 15.

CURRICULUM CONTENT

The Teaching of “ANG PAGIGING MABUTING MAMAMAYAN”

In a liberal democracy, the state is committed to rule in the name of free and equal citizens, and necessarily with a view to their common good. The Americans have a simple but concise way of putting it: it is “a government of the people, by the people and for the people.” Because it requires the active participation of citizens and the responsible exercise of rights and liberties, this system of government can only work if the members of society are able to go beyond their narrow loyalties to family, friends, allies, the ethnic or religious community and think and act in terms of what Zialcita called “the rights of [an] unknown [and] anonymous public.” (Zialcita 1997, p. 48)

A liberal democratic state defines its citizens as free individuals who are only incidentally members of particular families, groups, ethnic or religious communities. These citizens must be “persons who... in their own self-understanding...see their membership in such communities as in some sense subordinate to their membership in the broader civic community.” (Bridges 2002 online, 2/4) The values, habits and dispositions that make this possible and likely is called “civic culture,” which can also be described as a kind of political culture that is supportive of and conducive to democratic citizenship.

In-depth studies on the cultural requirements of democracy (Almond and Verba 1963, Putnam 1995 and Fukuyama 1999) highlight two important aspects of civic culture: 1.) Political efficacy, which is the primary basis for the existence of a participant orientation, and 2.) social capital which accounts for cooperation among people in society. **Political efficacy** is the extent to which individual citizens are confident about their ability to shape political decisions and outcomes. (Jackson and Jackson 1997, p. 124) (*tiwala ng mga mamamayan sa kanilang kakayahang na makilahok sa pulitika o sa mga proseso nito*)

Social capital (*puhunang pampamayanan*), according to Robert Putnam (1995),

consists in such things as social trust, norms and other features of social organization that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Francis Fukuyama (1999 online), for his part, defines social capital as made up of informal norms that promote cooperation between two or more people. (1/14) Accepting both definitions, Eva Cox (1995 online) considers social capital as the social glue, the very threads that comprise the social fabric. (3/7) (*mga uri ng pagtitiwala, pamantayan at pakikipag-ugnayan na nagbubunga ng mas malawak na pagtutulungan o bayanihan*).

People are only able to participate effectively (that is to say, empowered) if they can cooperate in voluntary groups and alliances, which facilitate political and social interaction and mobilize people towards common goals.

Of these two aspects, social capital is more fundamental as it impacts directly on the capacity of people for collective political action. People are only able to participate effectively (that is to say, empowered) if they can cooperate in voluntary groups and alliances, which facilitate political and social interaction and mobilize people towards common goals. As the UNDP (1997) noted, the social capital represented by civil society organizations channels people's participation into groups that can influence public policies, or allow them to engage in collaborative endeavors such as cooperatives that mitigate the effects of economic instability, market failures or weaknesses. (Pp 17-18)

Just as importantly, the accumulation of social capital will result in high levels of trust and tolerance needed to deal with competing or conflicting interests. (Cox 1995 online, 2/7) This will allow democratic institutions to withstand political competition, disagreements and debates that inevitably come with political participation (*Ang di pagkakasundo o pagtatalo ay likas sa proseso ng demokrasya. Kung mataas ang antas ng pagtitiwala sa isa't isa, ang pagtatalo aysiya mismong lilinaw at bubuo ng nararapat na patakaran o programa, at hindi hahantong sa pag-aaway o karahasan. Malinaw din na ang mga karapatan at kalayaan na pinagkakaloob ng demokrasya sa mga mamamayan ay magkakaroon lang ng saysay kung ang mga ito ay ginagamit sa konteksto ng isang pamayanan.*). Loss of social capital, on the other hand, would mean distrust, loss of social cohesion and pursuit of short term self-interest --- a condition that in turn breeds conflict, social isolation and contempt for authority (*pagkahiwalay, di pagkakaisa*).

P HILIPPINE HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT SYLLABUS

Subject content/ general and specific competencies	Key concepts for discussion/insertion
UNIT III: “Transisyonal Asya”	
<p>3. “Nabibigyang-halaga ang transpormasyon ng mga pamayanan at estado ng Asya mula sa sistemang tradisyonal tungo sa makabagong panahon.”</p> <p>3.1 :Nasusuri ang transpormasyon ng mga pamayanan at estado ng Asya sa pagpasok ng mga isipang kanluranin sa larangan ng pamamahala, kabuhatan, teknolohiya, lipunan, paniniwala, pagpapahalaga, sining at kultura.”</p>	<p>- liberal democracy and its (ideological) commitments: [“in a liberal and democratic regime, the state rules in the name of free and equal citizens. The free and equal citizens who are ruled in their own name: they rule themselves.” (Bridges 2002 online, 1/4)]</p> <p>- The trends towards liberal democracy</p>
UNIT IV: “Ang Asya sa Pangkasalukuyang Panahon”	
<p>4. “Naipamamalas ang pang-unawa at pagpapahalaga sa mga “ideological foundations” ng pamumuhay sa Asya sa pangkasalukuyang panahon.”</p> <p>4.1 “Nasusuri ang balangkas ng pamahalaan ng mga bansang Asyano.”</p> <p>4.17 “Nasusuri ang kinalaman ng kultura sa asal at gawi ng mga Asyano.”</p> <p>4.26 “Nasusuri ang bahaging ginagampanan ng konsepto ng kalayaan (freedom), pagkapantay-pantay, katarungan at mabuting pagkamamamayan sa buhay ng mga Asyano.”</p> <p>4.27 “Napangangatwiran ang kaangkupan ng isang natatanging hakbang sa paglutas ng sigalot.”</p>	<p>liberal democracy, citizenship and the need for a civic culture: [“To create and sustain in its members the standpoint proper to citizenship, therefore, every liberal democracy needs ... a culture supportive of citizenship, a set of ideas that can be embodied effectively in cultural representations for the purpose of shaping civic identities.” (Bridges 2002 online, 3/4)]</p> <p>civic culture, political efficacy and social capital; social trust as social capital</p>

*M*ODULE 3

WORLD HISTORY

THE CASE FOR DEMOCRACY

MIRSHARIFF C. TILLAH AND ARNIL T. PARAS

DEMOCRACY AND ITS DISCONTENT

If experience is a teacher then our experience with democracy seems to tell us that it is ill-suited for the Philippines. News about coup attempts staged by our political leaders, rallies among militants groups and countless calls for another EDSA revolution conjures the idea that we are suffering from *too much democracy*. These opinions are often premised on the argument that too many freedoms have been granted, which have led to the circus of Philippine politics. Subsequently, there are those who propose that the solution to our political problems is the rise of a strong or authoritarian leader, a Filipino Lee Kwan Yew or a Mahathir Mohammad, or even another Marcos -- we need someone with an iron fist to set things right and get things done by eliminating "too much democracy".

The fear over democracy's anarchic tendencies is not at all new. In fact, Plato and Aristotle, two of the great political philosophers, did not have high praises for democracy. Plato said that it is a regime where people pursue freedom above all else to the point of anarchy. Aristotle likewise dismissed it as a rule of the many who are dishonorable in all aspects: education, property and virtue. "Democracy", in other words, stood for them as the lawless rule of the mob. This is not surprising given its etymology. It comes from two Greek words: "demos" meaning people or mob and "kratos" meaning rule. Democracy then literally meant "mob rule".

In recent years, the fear over democracy's inherent tendency to slide to anarchy seems to have been confirmed by the experience of Iraq and Afghanistan, two countries hoped to spread democratic ideals and institutions in Islamic countries. If successful, they were supposed to lend credibility to democracy's universality. But what has happened is quite the contrary; the optimism was immediately crushed by the ensuing sectarian violence in Iraq and extremism in Afghanistan. Elsewhere, democracy also seems to be backsliding as in the case of Russia, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Venezuela and Zimbabwe where autocratic governments are on the rise. And with the success in elections of Hamas in Palestine and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and the Thai coup in 2006, the panorama of global democracy does not seem so sunny and bright.

Could all of this mean then that democracy is the exception more than the rule, a moment more than a sustainable political system?

DEMOCRACY AND TRIUMPHALISM

The answer to the question above is *no* if we look at the number of liberal or electoral democracies over those that are undemocratic. In 2000, 120 out of 192 countries surveyed by Freedom House were classified as either full or partial democracies; this translates to 3.5 billion people in the world living in democratic systems and 60% of governments (USAID online). This is an unprecedented success for any form of government since the post-communist era. Its success, however, is not only in quantity but also in reputation, democracy has still managed to keep its good name so much so that even autocratic leaders sometimes label their regimes as “true” or “genuine” democracies – Hitler and Mussolini did so. Such success has in fact led some scholars, most notably Francis Fukuyama (1989), to proclaim that history as we know it has ended. By “end of history” Fukuyama means that the centuries-old quest for the right type of political structure has ended with the (re)discovery of the democratic regime. Democracy, according to him, marks the pinnacle of political history and development.

Other scholars have also argued that democracy when coupled with the free market or the capitalist system creates a situation called “democratic peace” – a condition where no two democracies of sufficient levels of economic growth have gone to war against each other (Zakaria: 1997). This view was elaborated by Thomas Friedman in his book “The Lexus and the Olive Tree” where he advanced his thesis of the “Golden Archers Theory”. The “golden arches” refers to McDonald’s, representing economic development. According to Friedman, no two democratic countries with significant number of McDonald’s franchises have ever waged war against each other because everyone is too busy maintaining and enjoying the benefits of freedom and development. Democracy and capitalism therefore are seen as deterrence to war. So far, Friedman’s theory still holds true.

Another plus factor attributed to democracy’s resume is that the most developed countries are bearers of it: USA, Britain, Germany, France and Italy just to name a few. This gives the impression that democracy and economic development have a causal relationship. Allan Greenspan, one of the most influential economic decision-makers during his time, explained that democracy sustains economic growth in the long-run by securing economic rights, which serve as incentives for businesses to participate in the market. (Greenspan: 2007)

DEFINING DEMOCRACY

It is clear that there are two warring views about democracy. On the one hand, it is blamed for disorder and anarchy; on the other, it is credited for peace and development. These

opposing views about democracy reveal that there is so much to learn about it and that there is so much conceptual confusion.

We cannot remain as fence sitters in this debate or be contented being in the dark; we must tackle the question of what democracy is and how it has worked for developed countries. Joseph Schumpeter defines democracy as a system for “arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote”. Similarly, Adam Przeworski states that democracy is a “regime in which governmental offices are filled as a consequence of contested elections” (Diamond: 2003). Understood in this sense, democracy is equated to **elections**. Of course, the elections have to be free and fair for them to be meaningful. Everyone who is eligible by virtue of citizenship and age must be able to participate without being discriminated because of his economic status, gender, or race. There has to be a level-playing field for all contenders. The voters must have access to correct and reliable information about the candidates and the issues. And the votes cast must be the votes counted.

Naturally, we say that a country is more democratic when more people are given the right to select their government than a country that excludes women from voting, for example. But even when elections and its requisites are present are we given the assurance that democracy’s blessings will follow. Elections may be necessary, but do we really think they are sufficient?

In fact, in western countries democracy means more than free and fair elections, it includes another key component: **constitutional liberalism**. Constitutional liberalism is closely associated with the protection and preservation of basic human rights such as right to life and property, freedom of speech and religion through the rule of law and separation of powers. More concretely, ‘liberalism’ is understood here as individual human rights while ‘constitutionalism’ is limitation of government power through rule of law based on a neutral and objective constitution, and separation of powers to prevent the over-concentration of power in one body or person.

These two elements when put together create a system of government labeled as “**liberal democracy**” – it is liberal because of the freedom enjoyed by the people protected by rule of law; and it is democratic because the people have the power to choose their governors. But as observed by Fareed Zakaria, the “two strands of liberal democracy are coming apart in other parts of the world... “[elections] are flourishing; constitutional liberalism is not”. (Foreign Affairs Online)

This is the source of failure of some countries experimenting with democracy; they divorce the two elements when there should be marriage. When this happens, like a broken family, democracy can slide to anarchy; and when it does, people begin to clamor for stability,

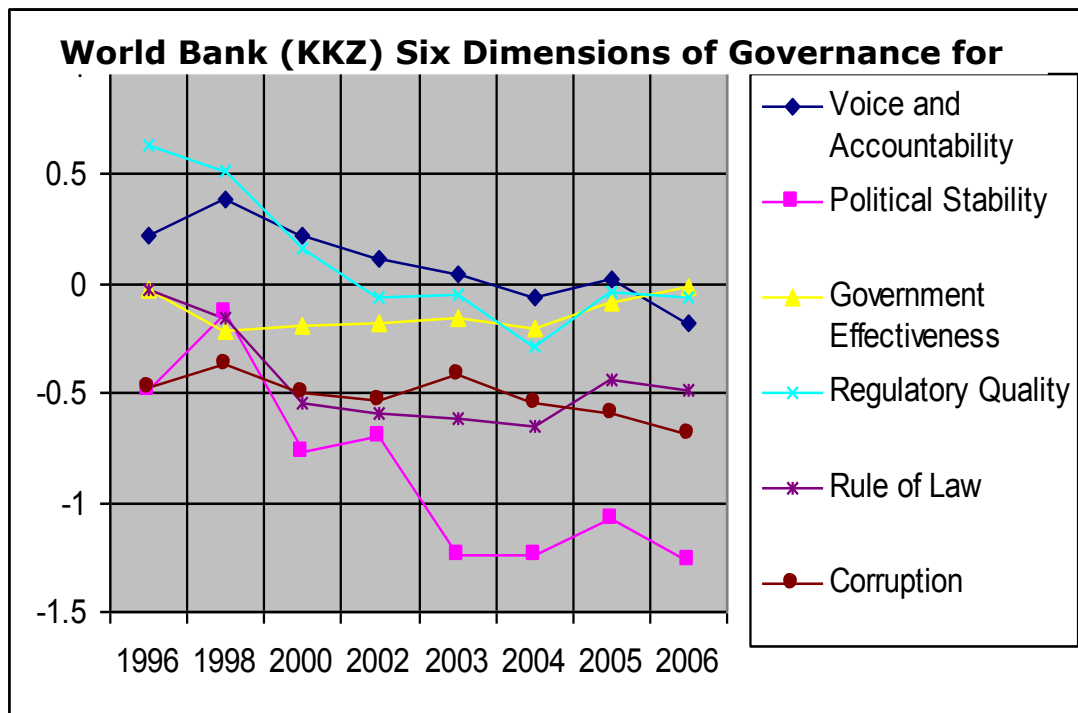
which they think is found in authoritarianism. Election works best when it is coupled with its better half, constitutional liberalism.

IS THE PHILIPPINES A LIBERAL DEMOCRACY?

We must tackle the question whether the Philippines is a liberal democracy in practice or not. Only then can we start judging if democracy is truly the source of our country's bane, or if blaming our democracy is a classic case of barking at the wrong tree.

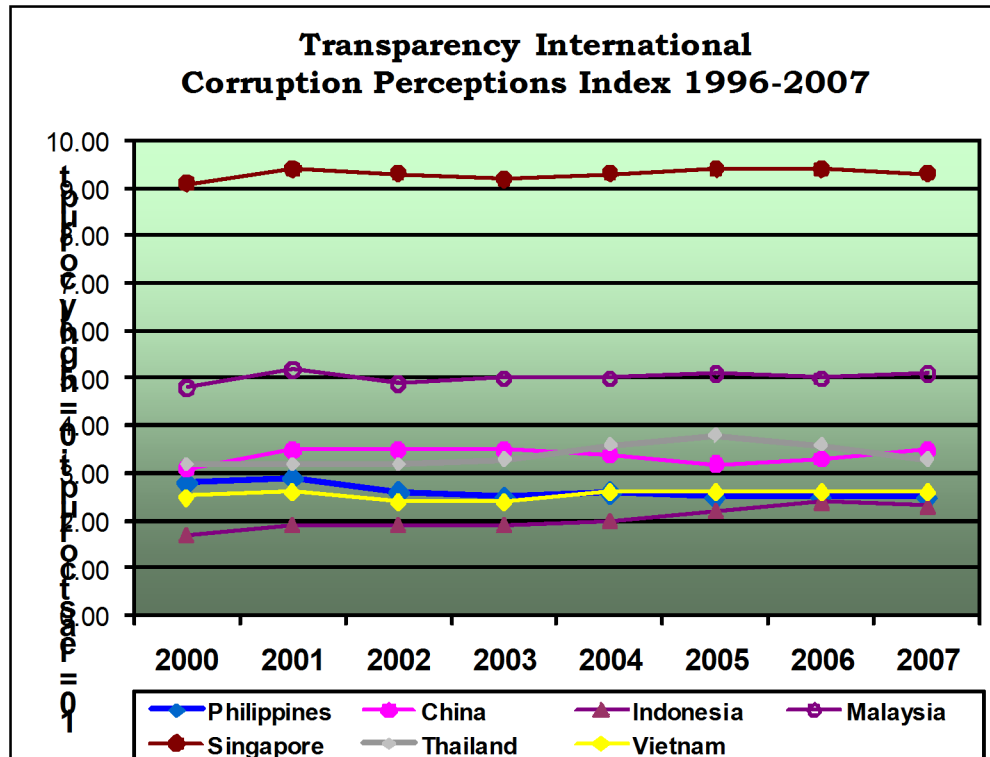
On measuring constitutional liberalism, we look at different measures that serve as indicators whether or not the Philippine political system exhibits the characteristics of constitutional liberalism. For this paper, three measures will be used – the rule of law measure from the World Bank, the corruption measures from Transparency International, and the freedom of the press from the International Federation of Journalists.

The chart below is from the World Bank and their measures of good governance from 1996-2006. It measures government effectiveness, regulatory quality, control of corruption, voice and accountability, political stability, and rule of law.



It is clear from this chart that the country's situation (as perceived from the World Bank measures) has been steadily deteriorating. As of 2006, the Philippines has negative ratings in all indicators. Reinforcing these figures are the different reports from Transparency International where the Philippines ranks as the second most corrupt country in Asia in their most recent survey.

For freedom of the press, the International Federation of Journalists' most recent report ranks the Philippines at 4th out of the 70 countries surveyed for the most number of journalists killed per country. There are a total of 55 journalists killed in the Philippines as of 2006; worse than the Philippines are only Iraq, Russia and Colombia (IFJ, Retrieved Online). This means that the Philippines is one of the most dangerous places for journalists in the world and the most dangerous in Asia.



Matching the extent of human rights violations in the Philippines is the report of the United Nations Human Rights Council on extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions in 2007. The report stated that the number of killings is alarming although exact numbers cannot be determined because of the many unreported cases. As Prof. Philip Alston, the special rapporteur for the UN, put it: "The number game is especially unproductive, although a source of endless fascination. Is it 25, 100 or 800? I don't have a figure. But I am certain that the number is high enough to be distressing." (Alston, Retrieved Online)

On top of all of this, we look at the statistics from the Social Weather Station (SWS) as a measure of free and fair elections. The SWS' Pre-2007 Elections survey shows higher expectations on voting irregularities than in previous campaign seasons. This simply means that there is a loss in trust in the capacity of government to hold credible elections. Below is the chart by SWS.

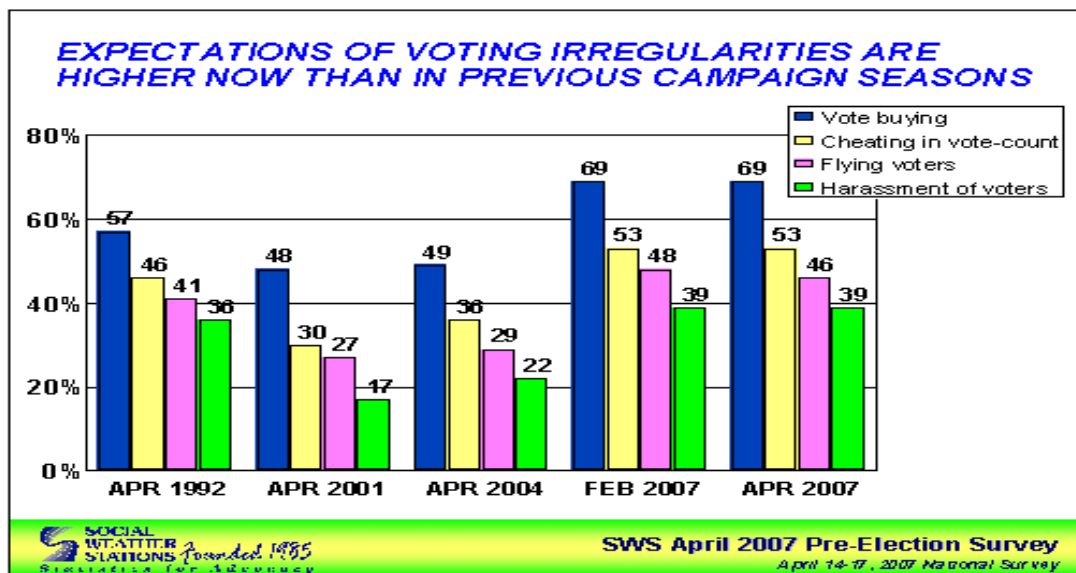
Looking at these indicators, can we really then say that we are a liberal democracy or at the least an electoral democracy? And if we are not, why should we then blame it? Can we blame something we do not have?

THE LEE HYPOTHESIS: AN ALTERNATIVE?

Lee Kuan Yew, former president of Singapore, once argued that democracy is not compatible with Asian values. He said that Asians are more communitarian than individualistic, and that they prefer a strong leader as opposed to a democratic leader. He also argued the experience of “Asian Miracle Economies” can be attributed to the existence of authoritarian leaders.

Amartya Sen (1999), Nobel Prize winner for economics, rebutted the Lee Hypothesis by arguing that there is no clear statistical correlation between authoritarian governments and economic development. Although some disciplinarian governments like that of Singapore and Malaysia were successful in directing their countries towards economic prosperity, it is equally true that authoritarian governments have also led to disastrous results as in the case of Marcos in the Philippines and Suharto in Indonesia. In addition, authoritarian governments have a bad track record when it comes to human rights violations. More blood has been spilt among authoritarian governments than among anarchies, take the case of Maoist China, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia (Zakaria: 1997).

It is also true, however, that there is no clear relation between democracy and economic development. Though Japan, the United States and Germany are democratic and economically advance, we cannot use them as definitive proof that democracy leads to



economic prosperity. So why should we pin our hopes on democracy? Since human rights and liberties such as right to life, property, suffrage, freedom of speech, assembly and religion are good in themselves, the case for democracy remains strong. (Sen, 1999)

DEMOCRACY IS NOT A CONSTANT

The sorry state of our democracy should not spur us to clamor for authoritarianism but for greater constitutional liberalism and freer and fairer elections. Ultimately, this is a clamor from and for citizens. Citizenship is the lifeblood of democracy. Without it, democracy becomes distant and withdrawn from everyday life, a mere theory. And without citizenship, this regime runs the risk of being lost.

Samuel Huntington's work "The Third Wave" chronicles the rise and fall of democracies over the 19th to 20th century. He observes that democracy has always been like a wave. It comes in waves, and recedes back. In fact, Huntington has identified three distinct waves of democratization, and their reversals, the world has undergone. (Huntington in Diamond: 2006) The first wave was from 1820 to 1926. This coincided with the extension of voting franchise to larger portions of the population, and the first period of decolonization. During this period, around 29 democracies were created. After World War I, the world saw its first reverse wave from 1922 to 1942 as countries, even industrialized ones such as Germany and Italy, succumbed to fascism. The reversal of the first wave is marked by the accession of Italy's fascist leader Mussolini to power. The number of democracies was reduced to 12. The second was from 1943 to 1962 – the period in which the former colonies of Europe were granted independence in the process of decolonization. Then the second reverse wave – from 1958 to 1974 – happened. This was when the struggling democracies turned to dictatorship and authoritarian rule, such as what happened in Latin America, and of course, the Philippines under Marcos in 1972.

Beginning in 1974 (the year Portugal became a democracy) until the present we are witnessing the third wave of democratization. The Philippines had its experience in 1986 with the EDSA revolution. The triumph of democracy had seemed final as the global challenge posed by communism ended with the collapse of USSR in 1989. Since the beginning of the third wave, the number of democracies worldwide has quadrupled (Koh: 2000) Barba Geddes (1999) states that from the beginning of the Third Wave up to 1999, 85 authoritarian regimes have ended; 30 of these have survived as stable democracies. However, 9 lasted a very short time before being overthrown, 8 were very unstable, there were 4 countries that degenerated to warlordism, and 34 new authoritarian regimes were created. Since 1995 the number of democracies has remained fairly constant because new transitions to democracy have been offset by reversions from democratic to authoritarian rule. (Geddes: 1999)

So are we expecting a third reverse wave? A definite answer cannot be given since histories of countries are like people, they do not lend themselves well to prediction. But if there is a message implicit in Huntington's wave of democratization, it is this: we cannot take democracy for granted. There is a need to sustain it and keep it alive.

POINTS TO PONDER

It is clear that there is much conceptual confusion of what democracy is and even more ignorance as regards its evolution. Our lack of understanding has led many of us to look at democracy as a great evil today. We are ready to succumb to the temptation of the "iron fist" that promises peace and development without stopping to ask – is the problem "too much democracy" or is it that we have very little democracy and even less constitutionalism liberalism?

This realization must lead us to want to know more about democracy and how it has worked for others so that we can impart this knowledge to students. One of the enemies of democracy is ignorance because the ignorant is an easy prey to demagogues. If so, should we remain negligent of the education for citizenship, the wellspring of democracy?

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CURRICULUM CONTENT

DEMOCRACY IN WORLD HISTORY

The power of the people to choose their leaders – the simplest definition of democracy -- is a modern phenomenon. For most of human history, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, people have always been ruled by kings, queens, emperors, pharaohs, sultans or tribal warlords. These people often became the rulers because they were the strongest, the wealthiest or the most powerful. Thus, our experience with democracy – defined by Abraham Lincoln as a “government for, of and by the people” – is relatively recent, and so is the view of giving the people the right to select their rulers.

However, democracy was originally regarded as the worst form of government. It combined the negative effects of ignorance with great numbers, which would lead to a disintegrating society. Thus, the etymology of the word is “*demos*”, which can be translated as “mass” or “mob” (as in “demonstration” or “demography”) and “*kratia*” or “power”. The word democracy can be literally translated as “mob rule”.

This idea was first advanced by the great Greek philosopher **Aristotle** (384-322 B.C.) -- Plato’s student of twenty years, and the tutor of Alexander the Great. Aristotle was a very systematic writer and is the acknowledged father of political science. He identified different typologies of government based on the number of rulers and whether or not these rulers were benevolent.

When there is a single ruler such as a king or emperor who provides peace and security for his people and does not abuse his power, Aristotle classified this type of rule as a **Monarchy**, or the benevolent rule of one person. This comes from the word “mono” meaning one, and “archon” or ruler. But when this single ruler is abusive and misuses his position, he called this rule Tyranny, or the dictatorship of one person. **Tyranny** for Aristotle did not simply refer to oppression, but also to the illegitimate way by which a leader acquired his position. This could be through intrigue, demagoguery, force, or a combination of three.

In other cases, governing power was given to a small group of people such as a council. When they exercise power with benevolence, this rule is classified as an **Aristocracy**, or the rule

of the best group. But when this group becomes abusive, then this type of rule is called an **Oligarchy** or the rule of the most powerful group. Like a tyrant, the source of power of the oligarchs could be that their riches or military might.

In some instances, the masses are given the power to rule over their destinies. As previously mentioned, when the masses are ignorant or abuse the power given to them, then we have mob rule, or in Aristotle's classification – a **Democracy**. However, there were instances when this “rule of the many” was for the benefit of society, when the masses worked for the common good. This is what is called **Politeia** or the benevolent “rule of the many.” This is the equivalent of the modern conception of democracy. The classification is best seen in the matrix below.

Aristotle believed that the best form of government was politeiaial because the work of the many towards the same goal will always be superior to that of an individual or a group. However, this type of government could only be possible when there were no extremes of wealth and poverty. The middle class was to be the backbone of a stable politeia. “Politeia” comes from the Greek word “*polis*” or the city-state. Polis is also the root word of “political”, “police”, and “polite”. In fact, “*polites*” (po-li-tes) in ancient Greece referred to people who were members of the polis (citizens) and who could and did participate in its affairs. People who were unconcerned or apathetic towards city-state affairs were called “*idiotes*.”

Aristotle was a citizen of the polis of Athens in ancient Greece, which today is still seen as the origin of democracy. However, it is instructive to note that the type of democracy they had in Athens was different from what we have today. The members of the polis had the right to voice out their opinion on public matters, air their grievances, or even propose new policies. They could do these things freely in gatherings such as those in the market place or the “agora.” This was **direct democracy**. But the people who had this right were limited only to males of a certain age, and only to those who had property. The women, the very young and the elderly, as well as slaves, were all excluded from this limited democracy in ancient Greece.

In this direct democracy in Athens, an Aristocratic Council guided politics. When the people demanded more representation, a member of the Council advocated the creation of a constitution to limit the powers of the Aristocrats, which led to greater citizen's participation in government. The person who advocated reforms in the Athenian government was named **Solon** – whose name we use today to mean “legislator” or a “member of Congress”, such as a senator. The Athenians created the Council of 500, where 50 representatives from each of the 10 tribes of Athens were chosen to rule. Each tribe was given 1/10 of the year to head the Assembly. Of course, those who could choose the representatives and be part of the Council were still limited. But the type of government in Athens then was a *limited form* of direct democracy.

The Greeks were to be conquered by the Macedonians and eventually by the Romans. The Romans adopted many of the Greek traditions and culture in the process called Hellenization (the Greek term for Greece is Hellas; it was the Romans who called it “Graecus”). Rome was a republic for the first 500 years, and an empire for the next 500 (roughly from 500 BCE to CE 500). As a republic, it had a 300-man *Senate* from the aristocratic class (*patricians*) who guided the state; and it had the popular assemblies of the common people (*plebeians*). The Senate and the assemblies selected the most powerful people -- the *consuls* -- two people who ruled for one year.

Because of the sheer geographic and population size of the Roman republic, direct democracy as practiced under the Greeks became impractical. Thus, the idea of representation was promoted. People would elect representatives from their own areas, and these representatives would be members of a larger body which would govern the entire society. This eventually led to combining the features of a democracy, aristocracy and monarchy. The idea of this **mixed constitution** was advanced by another great Greek historian and philosopher who studied Roman politics -- **Polybius** (204-122 B.C.)

Polybius understood that each form of good government could degenerate and be corrupted (e.g. a monarchy could become a tyranny) and the best way to create stability was to blend the three forms of positive rule. The consuls represented the idea behind monarchy; the senate represented aristocracy; and the popular assemblies represented democracy.

He envisioned a type of government in which none of the three branches of government -- the consuls, the senate or the popular assemblies -- could abuse their powers. Each would **check and balance** the other. This is the origin of the modern-day separation of powers between the three equal branches of the executive, legislative and judicial branches that we have in our presidential government today.

The Roman republic is also somewhat of a model for today's parliamentary governments. The masses select their representatives, who together with the patricians enact the laws, and choose one among them to execute the laws. This is the exact same model followed by the parliamentary system today, where people vote for their members of parliament or congress, and these members choose one of their number to be the prime minister or the head of government.

Republicanism as developed under the Romans is therefore a system of government in which the people rule indirectly through their elected representatives, both in the law making body, as well as the executive branch. This is the central feature of most of today's democratic governments and, unlike the Athenian model, is an **indirect form** of democracy. But despite all these, the Roman republic was still full of inequality and a limited democracy in that the people had no strong voice in their government.

With the Roman republic increasingly becoming bigger and society becoming more complex, social tensions arising out of slavery, poverty, abuse of power, and inequality led to the century-long Roman Civil War, in which the most famous Roman of all, Julius Caesar, was assassinated. This transformed the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire founded in 31 B.C.E. by its first emperor Augustus Caesar. For the next 200 years (until 180 C.E.), the Roman Empire experienced its most prosperous and peaceful times in what is known as the *Pax Romana*, the Roman Peace, throughout the Mediterranean world.

The Roman Empire eventually collapsed in the fifth century C.E., due to a variety of reasons. The invasion of different tribes in Europe (e.g. Germanic peoples), the increasingly oppressive government, epidemics, and the sheer size of the Empire are some of the reasons. With the Empire which had held the continent together gone, Europe disintegrated into different monarchies, with cities declining.

This resulted in the rise of **feudalism** – a system of authority where warlords pledged military allegiance to a greater or more powerful lord in exchange for protection and land. These lesser warlords would thus become the *vassals* of their *liege lord*. The vassals had *serfs* who tilled the land. This became the predominant form of government and social organization. Ideas about democracy and republicanism were set aside in favor of feudal concepts. This period stretches from around 500 C.E. to 1000 C.E., known as the early or *Low Middle Ages*. The Middle Ages would also see the only surviving institution from the Roman times growing stronger – the Roman Catholic Church. The Church would play a very important role in the political development of what used to be the Roman Empire and what would soon be the nations of Europe.

From 1000 to 1300 C.E. (referred to as the *High Middle Ages*), there was a revival of civilization. Increased commercial exchange, improvements in the lives of the peasants, and the consequent rebirth of the cities as centers of civilization would all contribute to this resurgence. Because of this increase in trade and commerce, *merchant guilds* and *craft guilds* were established. Together with people of other professions, such as the bankers and lawyers, they would constitute a new class of citizens who were neither royalty, members of the Church, or peasants – the **bourgeoisie** or the middle class.

The kings and emperors also gradually imposed order in such places as England and France. The rulers of the High Middle Ages established the principle of *hereditary succession* (the first born sons would be the next king or emperor) as well as the *divine right* to rule, with the help of the archbishops or even the popes (to show the masses that they were chosen by God to rule). These mechanisms cemented the powers of the royal families, who in turn would lay the foundation of the modern nation-states.

The monarchies and the leaders of the Catholic Church often clashed in certain matters of government over their respective societies. This would be most pronounced in England, where there was a struggle for appointments of bishops and over taxation. In 1215, the English king was forced by the English nobility to sign the ***Magna Carta*** – the Great Charter – which gave the nobles protection from illegal trials and excessive taxation. The Magna Carta would also protect the Church’s right to appoint its own bishops in England, as well as the right of towns to some of their freedoms. However, the concerns of the common people were not addressed.

When an English king wanted to impose new policies, especially taxes, he would call on the leaders of the most powerful sectors in society – the three sectors consisting of the churchmen or clergy, the nobility, and the wealthier commoners or townsmen. These gatherings would be called “***parliaments***” or discussions (from the French “*parler*” which means “to speak”). The churchmen and the nobles would meet as the *House of Lords*, and the knights and leading citizens from the towns would meet in the *House of Commons*. The first such discussion happened in 1295.

Today, the British or English parliament is still known as the “Mother of all Parliaments” and has served as a model for all parliamentary systems across the world. Today’s English parliament (which is synonymous and interchangeable with the word “congress”) has followed the pattern of the first-ever discussion, with a House of Lords and House of Commons. The difference is that today, the House of Commons is the center of government in England. However, the first parliament was still far from democratic or republican.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire, the works of the great Greek philosophers were lost to the Europeans. While the ideas of the Greeks and Romans were still studied in the Arab civilizations in the Mediterranean, they were all but forgotten in Western Europe. However, in the twelfth century, there was a revival of learning in Western Europe in the first-ever universities established in places such as Paris and Oxford.

Roman law was retrieved from the Byzantium Empire, and the works of Aristotle were rediscovered through the Muslims in Spain. The *Scholastics* such as *St. Thomas Aquinas* would reintroduce the philosophy and science of the Greeks to the Western world. They did this by integrating some of the pagan beliefs of the ancient Greeks with the ideas of Christianity, in what is known as the synthesis of reason and faith.

The social rebirth known as the *Renaissance* (which means “rebirth” in French) started in Italy in the 1300 and would spread to the rest of Europe around 1500. The works of the Greeks and the Romans served as the inspiration for this rebirth. There was a tremendous explosion of scientific, literary and artistic development. The most renowned people associated with the Renaissance are Leonardo da Vinci, Michaelangelo, Petrarch, and Shakespeare.

With this economic, social, and political recovery, Europe began its age of expansion and imperialism, initiated by the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and followed soon after by Netherlands, France, and England. This would lead to the colonization of the Americas, the so-called “New World” (with Christopher Columbus arriving in 1492); southern Africa; India; and Southeast Asia. It was during this period that a Portuguese under the employ of the Spaniards – Ferdinand Magellan -- found his way to the shores of what was to be called “*Las Islas de Felipinas*”, the Philippines, in 1521. This process of European empire-building defined to a great extent the state of global affairs to come. Eventually, it would be the British who would be most successful in empire-building.

Absolute monarchy (as represented by the likes of Louis XIV or the “Sun King” in France) was the predominant form of government at this time as kings tried to consolidate their nations in times of epidemics and wars. However, the parliament of England was successful in curbing the powers of their king. A Civil War was waged between the monarchy and the opposition parliament from 1642-1649 that saw the monarchy deposed, then reinstated.

Despite the civil war just a few decades back, the monarchy in England suspended the law of the land and established a standing army to enforce the king’s will. This triggered the *Glorious Revolution* in 1688. The king was forced to accept limits to his power as parliament pushed for the passage of England’s **Bill of Rights** in 1689, the first-ever document of its kind. The limits parliament set on the monarchy was that the king had to seek the consent of parliament before he could levy new taxes and before he could raise or keep a standing army. This was the development of the **constitutional monarchy** -- a type of monarchy that was limited by law.

It was in this period that the great political thinkers of the modern age would arise. A great debate ensued between those who favored absolute monarchy and those who favored a government limited by law, or **constitutionalism**. It was also a time of great scientific breakthroughs, with men such as Rene Descartes, Francis Bacon, and Isaac Newton pushing the frontiers of knowledge in what is known as the *Scientific Revolution*.

One of the greatest defenders of constitutionalism and the rights of the people was the English philosopher **John Locke** (1632-1704). In his work *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) published a year after the Bill of Rights was passed, Locke asserts that man has three basic rights: the *right to life; liberty and equality; and the right to own the fruits of their labor, or property*. According to Locke, man creates society to avoid the uncertainties of the state of nature so he can enjoy his rights. This society is created by virtue of a **social contract** between the people, and this contract establishes the laws and institutions of society such as government -- but always with the consent of the people.

Thus, government is there only to fulfill its duties to the people. For Locke, the legislature or parliament was higher than the executive branch (the constitutional monarch in his time) because it represented the will of the people or at the very least the majority of the electorate. But the legislature or parliament should always be working towards the protection of the rights of the people. The limits to their power are: *the law applies to all equally, whether rich or poor; the law must not be arbitrary or oppressive; taxes may not be raised without the consent of the people; and the legislature cannot pass on their powers to anyone else.* Another important concept of Locke is that if the government fails in its duties to serve the people, such as by becoming abusive or tyrannical, then the people have the **right to rebel** against government.

This limitation of government powers and giving people the freedom to pursue their own interests within the bounds of the law is what is known as **Liberalism**. Accordingly, the American Declaration of Independence is “pure Locke”. The ideas of limited power of government and consent of the governed serve as the foundation of all democratic systems today, and many of these same principles are enshrined in the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

Despite the existence of the parliaments and “*estates-general*” (the French equivalent of the British parliament) however, the governments of Europe remained monarchical. All positions in government were still reserved for the aristocrats. In fact, even the assemblies that were supposed to be representative of the people remained controlled by the nobility and the wealthier commoners. There was still no genuine democracy, and the masses remained poor and unsatisfied with their lives. There were constant peasant revolts throughout the lands of the absolute monarchs.

By the eighteenth century, a new movement swept Europe. This was called the **Enlightenment** spearheaded by the “*philosophes*” (“philosophers” in French) which reached its peak from 1760 to 1790. The philosophes’ main objective was to improve society by enlightening the ruling classes of royalty, the aristocracy and the clergy to reform their corrupt ways. The main tool of the Enlightenment was the use of **human reason**, especially scientific reasoning. They challenged the conventional wisdom of the time, criticized the inequities and injustices in society, and claimed that man through his reasoning could improve himself and create a better world. Some of the great thinkers from this period include Voltaire and Montesquieu, as well as the great political economist Adam Smith, who advocated a *free market economy*.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was arguably the most influential philosophe of the period. Rousseau wrote the **Social Contract** in 1762 where he expressed the revolutionary concept that the people could create a good government through **self-government**, instead of relying on some form of monarchy or aristocracy to govern them, a government of and by the

people.

For Rousseau, the people were always sovereign; that they had absolute power to rule over themselves. This power which he calls the General Will cannot be represented, and people need to exercise their rights themselves. This then is advocacy for **direct democracy**, similar to what the ancient Greeks had. However, the sovereignty of the people had a corresponding obligation, which is that people must work for the general good of society.

Government for Rousseau is only an instrument to serve the people, and that **sovereignty always resides** in the people. This principle is exemplified by the phrase “We the people...” in the American Constitution. This is also the first principle espoused in the Declaration of State Principles and Policies of the 1987 Philippine Constitution. Rousseau’s ideas of self-government would be one the most influential concepts to emerge during the Enlightenment.

As the Enlightenment carried out a revolution of the mind, another revolution was happening that would alter the material world of man. This was the *Industrial Revolution* (1760-1830). The great economic achievements of that time were made possible by technological developments. Replacing traditional manual labor and using machines and steam engines, the Industrial Revolution led to massive economic expansion and to the transformation of the lives of the peasants.

Across the Atlantic, still another revolution was taking place, this time in the British colonies in America. The King of England had tried to impose new, stricter policies on the colonies of the British Empire. These policies, such as new taxes, were seen as encroachments on the liberties enjoyed by the colonials (the people who lived in the colonies). In 1773, the British Parliament levied a tax on imported tea. In a protest action, the American colonials destroyed chests of tea in Boston. The so-called “*Boston Tea Party*” drove the British Parliament to send in troops to Boston who imposed strict military rule on the colony.

Seeing this as an act of tyranny, the military rule in Boston sparked a violent reaction from the colonials, who declared that the British government could no longer interfere in colonial matters. In 1775, the British sent troops to seize weapons in the towns of Lexington and Concord. They were met in battle by the armed colonials. This “shot heard around the world” was the beginning of the **American Revolution**. A year later on *July 4, 1776*, the *American Declaration of Independence* drafted by Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) was passed by the American Continental Congress. The ideas would reflect the thoughts of John Locke:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights ,that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness....”

The war continued until 1781. However, it took almost a decade before the Americans could create their own national government. Now that they were free from the monarchies and aristocrats of Europe, they set out to create a truly **constitutional, democratic, republican** government for all the former British colonies in America. Because of their bad experiences with the monarchies in Europe, the Americans had a deep distrust of a powerful central government.

In 1788 the American Constitution was ratified. This established a **federal government**, one in which the former colonies in America (thereafter called States) still retained substantial powers, with even their own State Supreme Courts. The national government (also called the Federal government) would be limited to certain functions such as foreign affairs, managing a national currency, and international trade.

The American Federal Constitution also separated the powers of government into three co-equal branches– the legislative branch to create, amend and abolish national laws; the executive branch to implement these laws; and the judicial branch to interpret these laws. The **principles of co-equality and the separation of powers** were established to create the **system of checks and balances** so that no one branch would become too powerful and tyrannical. This would reflect the ideas of Polybius on the mixed constitution and the republicanism of the Roman Republic.

The American federal government would also have a Congress with two houses (or a **bicameral legislature**) composed of the Senate (for equal representation for each State); and a House of representatives (where representation was proportional to population). This was a further distribution of powers. Because of their suspicion that government power could be used against the people, the Americans passed several amendments to their Constitution to protect people's rights from arbitrary use or abuse of governmental power. The first 10 of these amendments guaranteed certain rights such as the **freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom over their private property**, and many others. These 10 amendments would eventually become the American Bill of Rights, reflecting the ideas of **Liberalism** as espoused by John Locke.

The Americans then had established a genuine democracy, following the ideals of Rousseau that self-government by the masses was possible. They created a government that was of the people (the government was created by the consent of the governed); by the people (government was not limited to royalty or aristocracy, but was open to everyone); and for the people (the aim of government was to serve the people). Still, it was an imperfect democracy. There were black slaves (a fifth of the American population at that time) who did not share in these rights, and women were not allowed to vote.

Aside from the fact that the American system is a federal system whereas the

Philippines is a unitary one (meaning it has only one national, central government that retains most of political power), the general features of the two governments are exactly the same, reflecting many of the same ideals. Examples include the separation of the three co-equal branches and a bicameral congress of a Senate and House of Representatives. The Bill of Rights is incorporated in the Philippine Constitution as Article III.

The 1776 American Revolution had a ripple effect. It was widely admired in Europe by the adherents of the Enlightenment. The continued attack of the philosophes on the governments of Europe, the growing social tensions arising out of poverty and inequality, and the growing divide between the clergy and the nobility on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and peasants on the other, would all lead to the explosion of another revolution with far-reaching consequences.

In 1789, France was on the brink of revolution. There were bread riots on the streets, the masses were getting restless, and the government was about to go bankrupt. The French monarchy tried to remedy the problem. Reconvening the “estates-general” for the first time since the early seventeenth century to deal with the financial problems of government, the French king came across bitter opposition from the “Third Estate” – the representatives of the masses. They announced that they spoke for the people and produced the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen”, or the French Bill of Rights. The battle cry of the citizens of France was “*Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité*” – Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood.

On the 14th of July, 1789, citizens stormed the Bastille, a fortress that was a symbol of the tyranny of the French monarchy. But unlike the American Revolution, the **French Revolution** took a different route. After the Fall of Bastille and the promulgation of their constitution, what followed was a highly unstable period of conflict between the leaders of the French revolution. This culminated in the ascendancy to power of a military dictator in Napoleon Bonaparte, who transformed the newly-created French Republic back into a French empire with him as emperor. France would eventually become a constitutional government, but only in 1830 – several decades after the French Revolution.

Despite its initial failure, the French Revolution inspired many people across the world with the ideas of liberty, equality and brotherhood. This was the case for the leaders of the Philippine Revolution a century after. Jose Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena to name a few, were also followers of the Enlightenment. In fact, they are known by the label of “*ilustrado*”, which is Spanish for the “enlightened ones”.

Democracy and the ideas of the American and French Revolutions eventually spread to the other countries of the world. This was coupled with the problems caused by industrial capitalism, which increased social unrest. The poor were getting poorer, while the rich were becoming richer. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this discontent would result in

three waves of revolution which broke out in many European countries such as Spain, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Russia, and countries in Latin America such as Mexico and Argentina. In 1848, around 50 uprisings happened in Europe alone. During this period, a very important political philosopher made his greatest work on the nature of capitalism and its consequences, **Karl Marx** (1818-1883).

Marx believed that there was an inevitable struggle between the social classes – between the slaves and the masters, between the serfs and the lords, between the peasants and the landowners, between the capitalists and the workers. Ultimately, this struggle would end in a society where there were no classes, where everyone was equal, and where there would be total human freedom. This state he called **Communism**. The only way to achieve this state was through revolution. Marx would subsequently be the most influential philosopher of the modern age as his ideas served to underpin the Communist revolutions that would happen across the globe.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, America fought its own Civil War from 1860 to 1865 as attempts of the southern states to secede from the Union over the issue of slavery failed. Slavery was hence abolished in the US. In Britain, the right to vote was expanded to industrial and agricultural workers, a new republic was established in France, and Russia abolished serfdom. Women in Britain and Europe were starting to campaign for their right to vote.

Near the end of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, there was also an upsurge in colonization and imperialism driven in large part by economic motives. China, Japan, India, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East were all under some European country or the other. It was also at this time that the United States – now a power to rival the older European states – tried its hand at imperialism by colonizing the Philippines. Thus, while the Western Europeans and Americans were fighting for more rights and democracy back home, they were subjugating the rest of the world.

The defining event of this period is the outbreak of World War I, which cost the lives of an estimated 13 million soldiers, and probably as many civilians. WWI is said to have been caused by economic and imperial competition, as well as rival nationalism. It pitted Russia, Britain, France, Italy and the US (Allies) against Germany and Austria (Central Powers). The war was waged from 1914 to 1918. A turning point was 1917 when the Americans joined the war and would subsequently determine the outcome. As then American President Woodrow Wilson stated, he wanted a world made “safe for democracy”.

In the same year, the losses and suffering of Russians in World War I precipitated a revolution for social change and their withdrawal from WWI. The leader of the **October Revolution** in Russia, Vladimir Ilych Lenin, was an adherent of the ideas of Marx. Thus, Russia

was transformed into a Communist regime. In 1919, Russia established the *Communist International* which was dedicated to the spread of similar revolutions across the world. A few years later, the Russians created a constitution that would rename their country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or the Soviet Union.

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed to end WWI. But the treaty is said to have been so badly written, being so humiliating and economically devastating to the Central Powers of Germany and Austria, that it made World War II inevitable. Between the two world wars however, new challenges to democracy emerged. Some people saw democracy and the negative effects of industrial capitalism as decadent, and turned to **totalitarianism** – an ideology that stressed total submission to the leader and the state, which created modern rulers with more powers than the ancient kings.

One such totalitarian leader was Benito Mussolini of Italy. He was an adherent of fascism, an ideology that rejected rational thought and stressed fanaticism and sentiments. **Fascists** believe in inequality as an ideal, the use of violence, and that the individual should be sacrificed for the good of the state. The other totalitarian, fascist leader was Adolf Hitler in Germany, who spearheaded **Nazism** – an ideology that preached German superiority and hatred for other races, specifically the Jews. In the Soviet Union, there was **Communism** now directed by Joseph Stalin. There were many other countries (such as those in Latin America and Japan) where governments became very oppressive and would victimize their own citizens. Thus, in the inter-war years, there was a backlash as countries across the world reverted to dictatorships, military, or authoritarian rule.

Significantly, it was the countries with the totalitarian or militaristic regimes that would precipitate WWII – Germany, Italy and Japan: the so-called *Axis* powers. This war stretched from 1939 to 1945, and had an even greater cost than WWI. The estimated human lives lost is around 40-50 million. The war ended in 1945 with the US nuclear attack on Japan, and the Soviets, British and the US stopping Germany in Europe.

The end of the Second World War was another turning point in human history. The totalitarian leaders were defeated. With it too came the liberation of the European colonies. But most importantly, the next 50 years or so would see the spread of two contending ideologies that would divide the world: Democracy and Communism in the **Cold War**.

The Cold War was born out of the basic differences between former allies the US (with their aim of spreading democracy and free market capitalism to the world), and the USSR who wanted to fulfill the Marxist vision of a global revolution for the masses (*proletariat*) and create a Communist world. The dividing line in Europe between the Communist countries of Eastern Europe and the democracies of Western Europe was called the **Iron Curtain**.

The Cold War is called such because it was seen only as a battle between two ideologies, and not an actual shooting war between the leaders of Democracy (the US, Britain, France) and Communism (Soviet Union) themselves. Many countries served as battlegrounds such as Germany (West Germany for democracy and East Germany for the communists); Korea (South Korea for democracy and North Korea for the communists); Vietnam; Cuba; and Afghanistan. The Philippines is also host to one of the longest communist insurgencies in Asia. These countries served as the stage in which the battle was fought in what is called “**proxy wars**”.

In 1949, the Communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong took control of the world’s most populous country. The democrats in China led by Chiang Kai Shek fled to Taiwan. Today, there is still the huge international issue of the communist People’s Republic of China (PRC) staking a claim on the democratic Republic of China (ROC), or Taiwan.

Beginning in the mid-twentieth century until its end, the world was divided into three spheres – the *First World* to refer to the developed Western world who believed in democracy and free-market capitalism; the *Second World* who were the Communists; and the *Third World* which consisted of the rest of the developing world, especially the former European colonies such as the Philippines. It was in the Third World that the two superpowers, the US and USSR, would fight the Cold War. It was also a controversial period because as the US was trying to spread democracy and curtail the USSR, the Americans supported various ruthless dictators and military rulers, such as those in South America, Ferdinand Marcos, Saddam Hussein, and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

In the end, after many skirmishes, a close brush with a nuclear holocaust during the Cuban Missile Crisis, and countless lives lost in the proxy wars, the USSR collapsed. This was initiated in 1989 by the fall of the *Berlin Wall*, the wall that divided Communist East Germany from the democratic capitalist West Germany. Many cite the economic problems within the communist system as having led to its breakdown, as it tried to keep pace with the US in a global arms race and retain its superpower status. In the end, the US was the lone superpower left standing.

For some, this indicates that democracy has triumphed as the ultimate form of government today. The most advanced countries today and the most prosperous are democracies. Human history as we know it has supposedly ended because we have found the best form of government and its corresponding economic system, and the only challenge remaining is to implement these properly within the different countries.

However, some claim that this is merely another wave of democratization. *As history has demonstrated, economic problems, social inequalities, and unrest from the masses can trigger a reversal of democracy.* While the USSR has collapsed and communist China has slowly

and selectively opened its borders to free-market capitalism, there are many states in Africa and the Middle East that are non-democratic or totalitarian regimes. North Korea and Cuba remain the last communist regimes in the world; but democracy cannot be said to be totally triumphant.

A new phenomenon has emerged, and this is the phenomenon of **illiberal democracies**. Many countries of the world today profess to being democracies, and they seem to be so because citizens have been given the right to vote. But as one scholar asks, what if those who are elected are the fascists and dictators, like Adolf Hitler who was after all elected democratically?

States then have to be judged by more than just the ability of the governed to select their rulers. For democracy to be genuine, it must be liberal as well: following John Locke's ideas of freedoms to be enjoyed without government interference. It must be laid down on a solid foundation of law, such as a constitution, and the rulers and government must also obey this constitution and thus establish the rule of law. This creates **constitutional liberalism**, which, when coupled with democracy (people get to elect their leaders) creates a genuine democracy. Thus, countries have to be judged not only by the presence of elections but also in terms of people's genuine participation in government, the observance of the rule of law, and the enjoyment of the basic freedoms crucial to a democracy, such as freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and private property.

... "democracy is not a machine that would run by itself" ... Democracy does not need to be watered by the blood of tyrants and heroes, contrary to Jefferson's beliefs. What it needs is constant nourishing from the citizens themselves.

Finally, *"democracy is not a machine that would run by itself"* according to an eminent scholar of democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville. It has to be constantly replicated and taught to the next generation to avoid the cycle of degeneration as noted by Polybius. Wondering why the American Revolution was so successful and why the French Revolution failed, Tocqueville notes in his famous work *Democracy in America* that it is the spirit of the people, their disposition towards the ideals of self-government and their concern for the community which makes democracy flourish. This was the only way for democracy to avoid degenerating into mob rule. Democracy does not need to be watered by the blood of tyrants and heroes, contrary to Jefferson's beliefs. What it needs is constant nourishing from the citizens themselves.

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SYLLABUS

SUBJECT CONTENT	KEY CONCEPTS FOR DISCUSSION
UNIT I: “Ang Simula ng Kabihasnan”	
“Heograpiya ng Daigdig”	
“Mga Unang Tao”	
“Mga Unang Kabihasnan”	
Unit II: “Ang Daigdig sa Panahon ng Transisyon”	
“Kabihasnang Klasikal sa Asia at Europe”	
“Ang lungsod-estado ng Greece”	<p>POLIS, THE CITY-STATE -- the root word of “politics” and “polite”. The “polites” were citizens who were concerned about or involved in the affairs of the state. Those who were not involved or concerned because of apathy or ignorance were called “idiotes”. Athens was the epitome of the polis, acknowledged as the birthplace of democracy.</p>
<p>“Kasaysayang pampulitika” and “Kaisipang Pampulitika”</p>	<p><u>Aristotle’s Typologies of Government</u></p> <p>Positive Rule of One: Monarchy (“mono” meaning “one” and “archon” meaning ruler)</p> <p>Negative Rule of One: Tyranny (refers to a dictatorship; not so much oppression as someone who becomes an illegitimate ruler by intrigue, demagoguery, force or all three)</p> <p>Positive Rule of a Group: Aristocracy (refers to rule of the “best group”)</p> <p>Negative Rule of a Group: Oligarchy (refers to rule of the “most powerful”, which could mean rule of the richest or strongest military power)</p> <p>Positive Rule of the People: Politeia (from the word “polis”; equivalent to modern-day democracy)</p> <p>Negative Rule of the People: Democracy (“demos” meaning people/mob and “kratein” meaning power = mob rule)</p> <p>The best form was politeia, because the many working for the good of society was better than the few. But politeia requires the presence of a strong middle class. Today, the term “democracy” is used in place of “politeia”.</p>

<p><i>Athens</i></p>	<p>Solon = member of the Aristocratic Council who advocated the creation of the constitution to limit the powers of the aristocrats; origin of the word “solon” which means legislator or lawmaker</p> <p>Direct Democracy -- citizenship was limited to male land-owners and excluded slaves, females, the very old and the very young. Since number of citizens was small, democracy could be direct</p>
<p><i>“Ang Republikang Romano”</i></p>	<p>Rome was a republic for the first 500 years, and an empire for the next 500 (from 500 BCE to CE 500). As a republic, it had a 300-man Senate from the aristocratic class (patricians) who guided the state and dominated the common people (plebians).</p> <p>The size of the Roman Empire made direct democracy impossible. This would lead to republicanism (from “res publica” which means “public things”).</p> <p>REPUBLICANISM – indirect democracy through the selection of leaders to represent the people in government</p> <p>POLYBIUS – Greek thinker who studied Roman politics and identified the notion of republicanism (representative democracy) and the mixed constitution as the stabilizing force in the Roman government.</p> <p>MIXED CONSTITUTION: a type of government in which none of the three branches of government – the consuls, the senate or the popular assemblies -- could abuse their powers due to the distribution of powers.</p> <p>Each branch would check and balance the other. This is the origin of the modern-day separation of powers between the three equal branches of the executive, legislative and judicial branches in our presidential government today.</p>
<p><i>“Kabihasnang Klasikal sa Africa at America”</i></p>	
<p><i>“Pag-usbong ng Europe” and “Kasaysayan ng Piyudalismo”</i></p>	<p>FEUDALISM -- The fall of the Roman Empire due to sheer size, invasions, wars, and famine led to the rise of feudalism – a system of authority where warlords pledged military allegiance to a greater or more powerful lord in exchange for protection and land. Ideas about democracy</p>

	and republicanism were set aside in favor of feudal concepts. This period stretches from around 500 C.E. to 1000 C.E., known as the early or <i>Low Middle Ages</i> .
UNIT III: Pag-iging ng Ugnayang Pandaigdig at Pagtatag ng mga "Nation-State"	
"Paglakas ng mga Bougeoisie"	BOURGEOISIE -- From 1000 to 1300 C.E. (the <i>High Middle Ages</i>), there was a rebirth of the cities as centers of civilization due to improved economic and social conditions, particularly increase in trade. <i>Merchant guilds</i> and <i>craft guilds</i> were established, and together with other professions such as the bankers and lawyers, they would constitute a new class of citizens who were not royalty, members of the Church, nor peasants – they were the <i>bourgeoisie</i> or the middle class. The bourgeoisie according to Aristotle would be the main ingredient for a successful democracy.
"Pagtatatag ng national monarchy"	<p>The kings and emperors in Europe during the High Middle Ages established the principle of <i>hereditary succession</i> (the first born sons would be the next king or emperor) as well as the <i>divine right</i> to rule, with the help of the archbishops or even the popes (to show the masses that they were chosen by God to rule). These national monarchies would lay the foundation of the modern nation-states and would lead European countries such as England and France to great economic and political power.</p> <p>MAGNA CARTA -- Kings, the nobility, and the leaders of the Catholic Church often clashed in certain matters such as over taxation. In England in 1215, the English king was forced by the English nobility to sign the <i>Magna Carta</i> – the Great Charter – which gave the nobles protection from illegal trials and excessive taxation. The Magna Carta would also protect the Church's right to appoint its own bishops in England, as well as the right of towns to some of their freedoms.</p> <p>CONSTITUTIONALISM -- This would be the beginning of constitutionalism, the system of government that limits the powers of the ruler through law or the constitution, and by dispersing powers to other groups. This would lead to the creation of the Constitutional Monarchy – a monarchy limited by law.</p>

	<p>PARLIAMENTS – with these limitations, the English king would have to call on representatives of the people in gatherings called “parliaments” (from the French word “<i>parler</i>” which means “to speak”) whenever he wanted to impose new taxes or new policies. Eventually the French would also have their own “parlements”, called the <i>estates-general</i>.</p> <p>Today, “parliament” is synonymous with the word “Congress”. It is the institution that represents the people in law-making in government. The English parliament is also known as the “mother of all parliaments”.</p>
<p>“Renaissance”</p>	<p>RENAISSANCE INSPIRED BY THE GREEKS AND ROMANS – Since the fall of the Roman Empire, the works of the Greek and Roman civilization were lost to the Europeans. The ideas of the Greeks and Romans were still studied in the Arab civilizations in the Mediterranean however. In the twelfth century, Roman law was retrieved from the Byzantium Empire, and the works of Aristotle were rediscovered through the Muslims in Spain. There was a revival of learning in Western Europe in the first universities established in places such as Paris and Oxford as inspired by these recovered works.</p> <p>SCHOLASTICS -- The <i>Scholastics</i> such as <i>St. Thomas Aquinas</i> would reintroduce the philosophy and science of the Greeks to the Western world. They did this by integrating some of the pagan beliefs of the ancient Greeks with the ideas of Christianity, in what is known as the synthesis of reason and faith.</p> <p>The social rebirth known as the <i>Renaissance</i> (which means “rebirth” in French) started in Italy in the 1300 and would spread to the rest of Europe around 1500. There was a tremendous explosion of scientific, literary and artistic development.</p>
<p>“Unang Yugto ng Imperyalismo at Kolonisasyon”</p> <p>and</p>	<p>COLONIZATION -- With economic, social, and political recovery, Europe began its age of expansion and imperialism, initiated by the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and followed by Netherlands, France, and England. This would lead to the colonization of the Americas or the “New World” (with Christopher Columbus</p>

<p><i>“Nasusuri ang mga dahilan at epekto ng unang yugto ng imperyalismo at kolonisasyon sa Europe”</i></p>	<p>arriving in 1492); southern Africa; India; and Southeast Asia. A Portuguese under the employ of the Spaniards – Ferdinand Magellan -- found his way to the shores of what was to be called “<i>Las Islas de Filipinas</i>”, the Philippines, in 1521. Thus the Philippines became a colony of the Spanish monarchy for more than 300 years.</p> <p>ABOLUTE MONARCHY – this was the predominant form of government at that time. Kings and emperors (such as Louis XIV or the “Sun King” in France) were leading their nations to conquering foreign lands.</p> <p>BILL OF RIGHTS – In England however, the parliament was successful in controlling the powers of their king which led to the strengthening of the constitutional monarchy. The English people launched the <i>Glorious Revolution</i> in 1688 in reaction to the perceived tyranny of their king. With their success, they forced through the first-ever Bill of Rights, which gave the people more protection against possible abuses of the royalty.</p>
<p><i>‘Nasusuri ang kaganapan at epekto ng Rebolusyong Siyentipiko”</i></p>	<p>The debate between those who favored absolute monarchy and constitutional monarchy was situated in a period of great scientific breakthroughs and an explosion of knowledge called the Scientific Revolution. Aside from great scientists such as Newton and Descartes, political philosophers were also creating their own milestones.</p> <p>JOHN LOCKE -- The leading proponent of constitutionalism and liberalism was the great English philosopher John Locke. Locke asserted that <i>man has the right to life, liberty and equality, and the right to property.</i></p> <p>SOCIAL CONTRACT -- Locke also advanced the idea that society is established through a social contract among the citizens. They come together so they can better enjoy and protect their property. Thus, <i>government exists only</i></p>

	<p>through the consent of the governed. Thus, governments are further limited by law in this manner:</p> <p><i>The law applies to all equally, whether rich or poor</i></p> <p><i>The law must not be arbitrary or oppressive</i></p> <p><i>Taxes may not be raised without the consent of the people</i></p> <p>LIBERALISM – The limitation of government powers and giving the people the freedom to pursue their own interests within the bounds of the law, and with limited government intervention, is known as liberalism. If the government fails in its duty to serve the people or oppresses them, then the people have the <i>right to rebel</i>. The ideas of Locke are so influential, that the American Declaration of Independence is said to be “pure Locke”. The ideas of government limited by law, liberalism, and the protection of the basic rights of citizens are the foundations for all democratic systems today.</p>
<p><i>“Nasusuri ang kaganapan at epekto ng Enlightenment”</i></p>	<p>ENLIGHTENMENT -- Despite all the military might, the spread of colonialism by European monarchies, and the Scientific Revolution, the masses in Europe were still poor. A movement that challenged the existing social inequities gained immense popularity beginning 1760. The Enlightenment was a movement that had human reason (especially scientific reasoning) as its major tool.</p> <p>The proponents of the Enlightenment were called “<i>philosophes</i>” who envisioned a better world created by man using his reason, especially if the rulers themselves were enlightened. The philosophes challenged the monarchy, the nobility and the members of the church to reform their corrupt ways.</p> <p>The heroes of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 such as Jose Rizal and Graciano Lopez-Jaena were called “<i>ilustrados</i>”, which is the Spanish word for “enlightened ones”.</p>

	<p>JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU – A Frenchman would emerge as one of the most influential philosophes. Jean Jacques Rousseau was the first political philosopher to advance the revolutionary idea that man could create a good society through self-government, and did not need monarchies or aristocracies to govern them.</p> <p>Rousseau, like Locke, was a social contract theorist. For Rousseau, when people create society and government, they keep their <i>sovereignty, or the absolute power to rule</i>, instead of giving it to government. Democracy then should be direct, such as what they had in Ancient Greece.</p> <p>However, if sovereignty will always rest with the people, then the citizens have a corresponding obligation to work for the common good of society.</p>
<p><i>“Nasusuri ang kaganapan at epekto ng Rebolusyong Pampulitika at Panlipunan sa Europe (Rebolusyong Pranses) at Amerika”</i></p> <p><i>“Naiuugnay ang Rebolusyong Pangkaisipan sa Rebolusyong Pranses at Amerikano”</i></p> <p><i>‘Naiuugnay ang Rebolusyong Pangkaisipan sa pag-unlad ng nasyonalismo sa mga bansang sakop’</i></p> <p><i>‘Naipahahayag ang pagpapahalaga sa nasyonalismo sa iba’t-ibang bahagi ng daigdig”</i></p>	<p>THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1776) – the British colonies in the new world were not left untouched by the revolutionary ideas of the likes of Locke and Rousseau. When the colonies successfully revolted against the British king after he had imposed new taxes and policies that were seen as tyrannical, they declared their independence and created the first-ever self-governing republican, constitutional, liberal democracy. In the words of Lincoln, theirs was a government for, of, and by the people.</p> <p>THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT – it took the newly-independent Americans almost 10 years from independence to create their government (with the 1788 ratification of their Constitution). Inspired by the Greeks, the Romans and the modern philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau, they created a government that had the following characteristics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A written constitution that would serve as the fundamental law of the land • divided into three co-equal branches (executive, legislative, judicial branches) to ensure that no branch could abuse its powers; this separation of powers would create a check-and-balance mechanism • federal system which grants the state governments significant autonomy and powers, to prevent further abuses from a powerful national government • bicameral congress or parliament (two chambers consisting of a lower house and a senate) to represent the people in law making, as a further distribution of powers

	<p>AMERICAN BILL OF RIGHTS – the first 10 amendments the Americans made to their Constitution would eventually constitute their Bill of Rights, which further protected the citizens against any abuse of power by government. These amendments would guarantee certain rights such as the right to assembly, the freedom of religion, the freedom of speech, and the freedom over their private property.</p> <p>The Philippine government has all of the features mentioned, except that the Philippines is a unitary government (one central government with no states) and the US is a federal system. The Philippine Bill of Rights is also incorporated directly into the Constitution.</p> <p>THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789) – the American Revolution was admired in Europe, especially by the philosophes of the Enlightenment. The Americans became the great experiment with self-government. Poverty, social unrest, and inequality in Europe would eventually erupt in France in 1789, as the masses rebelled against the tyranny of their absolute monarchs. They rose up in arms with the slogan of <i>Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité</i> -- Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood.</p> <p>The French Revolution failed initially. The new French Republic would be transformed back to an empire, with Napoleon Bonaparte as emperor. Eventually, however, France would become a constitutional government but only in 1830 – four decades after their revolution.</p> <p>But the importance of the French Revolution lies in the fact that the battle cry of liberty, equality, and brotherhood would inspire many people across the world who were yearning for freedom and democracy, such as the heroes of the Philippine Revolution and the other colonies of the Europeans.</p>
<p><i>Ikalawang Yugto ng Imperyalismo at Kolonisasyon</i></p> <p>and</p> <p><i>Tunggalian ng Interes</i></p>	<p>Beginning the middle of the 19th century, many wars of revolution broke out across all of Europe and in their colonies, such as Argentina, Mexico, and the Philippines in 1898. These outbreaks of violence in Europe were driven by the unrest of the poor masses. There were many new problems attributed to the rise of industrial capitalism, which saw a worsening of the plight of the workers and laborers, and the decay of cities. This widening gap between the rich capitalists and the poor laborers led one of the great modern political philosophers to make his treatise on the nature of capitalism and its negative consequences.</p>

	<p>KARL MARX and COMMUNISM – Marx was someone who believed in the inevitable conflict between social classes. He also believed that one day, there would be no more governments as the masses (<i>proletariat</i>) would rise up in revolution and take over the reigns of power. Then a society would be created where there were no social classes, everyone was equal, and no one owned anything because everything belonged to everyone. This stage in human history Marx dubbed as Communism. However, Marx stressed the importance of a revolution to overthrow the existing governments that believed in capitalism – the final stage before communism -- and that this revolution must happen in every country of the world.</p> <p>WORLD WAR I – the outbreak of World War I significantly affected the development and spread of democracy. The Allies (Britain, France, Italy, the US and Russia) won against Germany and Austria in the four-year conflict which began in 1914.</p> <p>RISE OF COMMUNIST RUSSIA – But due to the great loss of lives the Russians suffered in World War I and the continued poverty of the masses, the Russians launched a revolution in 1917. Vladimir Lenin, a believer in the ideas of Marx, spearheaded this October Revolution. A new constitution in 1919 created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), as well as the Communist International, which was the organization dedicated to the spread of Communism worldwide.</p> <p>RISE OF TOTALITARIANISM: Fascism, Communism, Ultra-nationalism, Nazism -- after the first world war, there was an uneasy peace for a few years in which new threats to democracy became stronger. The ideology of totalitarianism is the total submission of the people to the state. It had many variants. There was fascism in Italy under Benito Mussolini. There was communism in the USSR. There was militant or ultra-nationalism in Japan. Then there was Nazism in Germany under Adolf Hitler.</p>
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<p><i>Ang Daigdig Ngayon at sa Hinaharap</i></p> <p><i>Mga Ideolohiyang Laganap</i></p> <p><i>Cold War at Neokoloniyalismo</i></p> <p><i>Globalisasyon</i></p>	<p>WORLD WAR II: Not surprisingly, it was the totalitarian countries that triggered the Second World War (with the exception of the USSR). Germany, Italy and Japan would comprise the <i>Axis Powers</i>, and the same group of Britain, France, USSR and the Americans would be the <i>Allies</i>. From 1939-1945, the Second World War was waged. The Axis Powers were defeated, and with this, the last colonies of the European empires were de-colonized but the Allied Victory did not result to the peace everyone wanted.</p> <p>THE COLD WAR and the IRON CURTAIN: The former Allied Powers would then be split by ideological differences, emanating from the beliefs of the Soviet communists, and the capitalist democracies of Western Europe and the US. These differences were so intense that this contest of “superpowers” (mainly between the US and the USSR) was labeled the Cold War -- it was a war for all intents and purposes, except that the major contenders did not enter directly into a shooting war against each other, thus it was “cold”. With this, Germany was divided into two – Eastern Germany under the Soviets, and Western Germany under the Americans. This division in Europe between the communists and the democrats was called the Iron Curtain, as exemplified by the Berlin Wall which divided the two Germanys.</p>
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	<p>First, Second and Third World: The world was divided for the next half century between the First World (the capitalist democracies of North America and Western Europe), the Second World (the communists in the USSR, China, Cuba), and the Third World (the rest of the world, mainly the poor and developing countries who were once colonies of the Europeans).</p> <p>It was in the Third World that the two superpowers, the US and USSR, would fight the Cold War. It was also a controversial period because as the US was trying to spread democracy and curtail the USSR, the Americans supported various ruthless dictators and military rulers, such as those in South America, Ferdinand Marcos, Saddam Hussein, and the Taliban in Afghanistan.</p> <p>In the end, democracy won as the USSR collapsed, as signified by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Communism as a threat to democracy has therefore been neutralized.</p> <p>However, some claim that this is merely another wave of democratization. <i>As history has demonstrated, economic problems, social inequalities, and unrest from the masses can trigger a reversal of democracy.</i> While the USSR has collapsed and communist China has slowly and selectively opened its borders to free-market capitalism, there are many states in Africa and the Middle East that are non-democratic or totalitarian regimes. North Korea and Cuba remain the last communist regimes in the world; but democracy cannot be said to be totally triumphant.</p>
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*M*ODULE 4

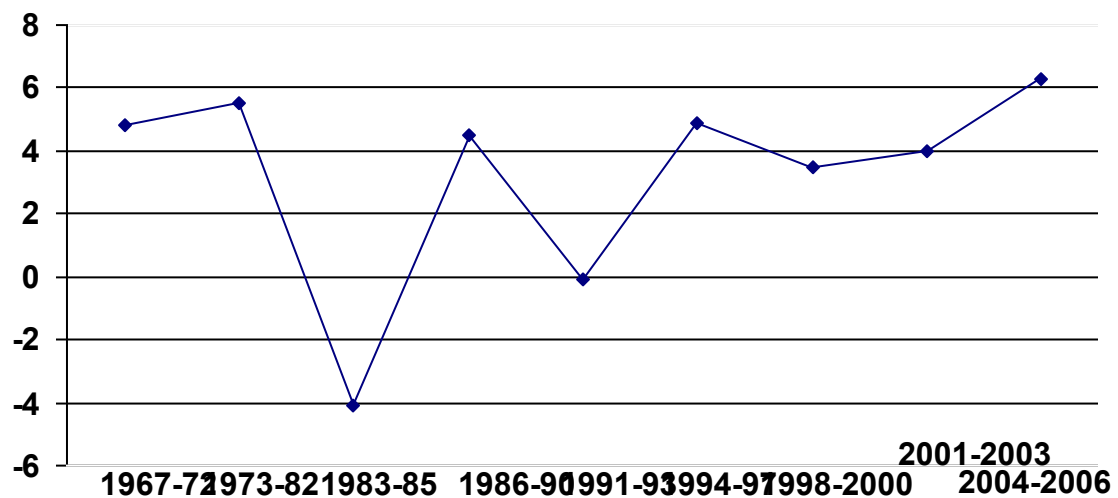
ECONOMIS

E CONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

BY MONICA C. ANG AND JOHN V. AVILA

The Philippines has often been described by scholars as a development puzzle. On the one hand, the country has recognized superior endowments and characteristics (physical resources and human resources). On the other hand, we see the country's weak long-term performance economically.

The “boom-bust” pattern of economic growth typifies the Philippine development experience. The domestic economy is characterized by episodes of expansion interrupted by periods of economic downturns. The overall trend is sluggish, if not sporadic, rather than steady upward growth. The country's record of economic performance is rather an exception in a region characterized by sustained high growth rates. The Philippines has not experienced the kind of growth experience of our neighboring countries in the Asian region.



Source: www.nscb.gov.ph

Relatedly, the incidence of poverty in the Philippines appears more widespread and persistent. An IMF study showed that while the poverty rate has decreased in the last 25 years, the decline has been slower than in countries in the region. In addition, studies also show that

income distribution in the Philippines, which has barely changed between 1957-1994, is extremely unequal. The current economic difficulties have further widened the gap between rich and poor. Sluggish economic growth has not significantly eased the incidence of poverty and inequality in the Philippines.

	% below US\$1/day	%below US\$2/day
1985	22.8	61.3
1990	19.1	53.5
1991	19.8	55.0
1994	18.4	53.1
1996	14.8	46.5
1998	14.6	47.7
1999	13.7	47.1
2000	12.7	45.9
2006	15.5	47.5

Source: World Bank World Development Indicators

In book *The Elusive Quest for Growth*, William Easterly (2001) says that the most important thing to remember in solving the development problem is that people respond to incentives. Once the right incentives are in place, people will work towards getting themselves out of poverty. Using this logic, Filipinos then either lack the right incentives to prosper or they do not understand the market, and are not able to respond to its incentives.

As the authors of CIVITAS, in a published Framework for Civic Education (1991), contend, *“Ignorance of economics on the part of citizens called upon to judge the ideas, criticisms, warnings, policies and proposals that swirl about them in public debate is [dismal]. Like ignorance in general, ignorance of economics in today's world forms a prison from which citizens - if they are to be adequate judges of public discussion - must be given the tools to escape.”*

Thus it is imperative that Filipinos understand the market.

FROM SELF-INTEREST TO COMMON GOOD

People necessarily have to live in a community. The individual cannot satisfy all his needs alone. He has to live with others in order to survive. He is not self-sufficient. The word “community” comes from the Latin word *communis*, meaning common, public, and shared by all or many. A community then denotes a group of people, having shared interests, living

together.

According to Adam Smith, it is the **market** that enables a community to come together. Markets are based on the simple logic of mutual benefits. Producers want to know what consumers want and how much they are willing to pay for their wants. At the same time, consumers want to know who are willing to give them what they want and at what cost. Both producers and consumers get the information they want through **prices**.

The price system collects all information available in the economy and makes it available for everyone. Here we see the efficiency of markets. The market allows the buyer and the seller to conduct and exchange based on the information they need. Only the buyer knows how much he values a certain good or service and how much he is willing to pay for it. At the same time, only the seller knows how much the production of a certain good or service costs, the price system brings together these information and allows individuals to engage in an informed transaction. Thus, markets are based on consent. It uses prices to let buyers and sellers freely decide on what to do with their resources.

Self-interest is the driving force by which men act (Smith, 1965). People work according to the benefits that he will receive. Smith claims that *"it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their self-interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our necessities, but of their advantages."* This means that our needs are met not because other people care about our welfare. They provide for us because they will benefit from meeting our needs. In other words, everyone benefits from the pursuit of everyone else's self-interest.

But something else is part of this picture. If self-interest is the sole director of society, then society becomes a dog-eat-dog world. It will be merely composed of people taking advantage of one another. Markets then become an avenue for exploitation. Here is where competition comes in. **Competition** acts as the regulator of selfish actions (Smith, 1965). When self-interested individuals enter the market to engage in an exchange, they are faced with other individuals with similar motives. Often, other individuals possess the same goods and services that you offer. An individual then will have to repackage his offer in a way that seems to be more attractive to the prospective customer.

Because competition exists, a producer will not be able to charge an unreasonably high rate. He will be conscious of other sellers who are willing to charge a much lower price. Since he wants to get the business, he will have to lower his price to the level which the buyer agrees to. The one who refuses to lower his prices will end up without any buyers in the end. Similarly, the buyer who offers too low a price will end up without any sellers because competition exists among buyers as well. There will always be another buyer who will be willing to pay more

because he values the good more than the original buyer.

Moreover, a seller will never be forced to sell at the point of a price so low that he will not be able to recover his costs of production. He has the freedom to decide not to sell if the buyers offer a ridiculously low price. A buyer will also never be forced to spend beyond his means. He has the freedom to decide not to buy if the price becomes higher than the value he gives to the commodity.

In the market, everyone can freely decide what to buy and sell. The market, being based on consent, allows both buyers and sellers the freedom to decide when to engage in exchanges and when not to. Therefore, in a free market, you have to persuade others. Here we see this general principle that Adam Smith explored. The self-interest of men can and will yield to social harmony and productivity. The price system acts as the “**invisible hand**,” directing buyers and sellers to meet and agree at a certain point. This point of agreement (i.e. the price) reflects the satisfaction of two parties. The buyer gets what he wants. The seller also gets what he wants. Both are happy not despite man’s self-interest but because of it.

MINIMAL GOVERNMENT

The market takes care of the community’s needs if it is left alone. This is the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. *Laissez-faire*, a French phrase meaning “let it be,” maintains that private initiative is best allowed to roam free. This is so because only the sellers themselves know the costs of production of a certain good or service and only the buyers know how much they value a good or service. Thus, only these private people, the buyers and sellers themselves, would know the best price to set for a certain product.

The best government then is the least government. In fact, Adam Smith gives the government three limited roles: the protection of society from the violence and invasion of other societies, the establishment of justice, and the provision of public institutions and public works. All these functions were just to *facilitate* commerce.

When the government goes beyond its limited functions, it distorts the market. Recall that the price of a commodity reflects the cost of its production and the value accorded to it. Only the producer knows the first piece of information and only the consumer knows the second. No one else has access to these pieces of information other than the two concerned parties. Thus, no one else can dictate prices. Only the immediate buyer and seller can set the price of a certain commodity since only they know the pertinent information. The government cannot and should not dictate prices since it does not know both the cost and the worth of the commodity more than the buyer and the seller does. If prices are interfered with, they would not convey the correct information. “*The more interference, the more inaccurate the information, the less economic coordination, and the less satisfaction of wants*” (Boaz, 1997).

Price controls “discoordinates” the market because it is not the buyer and sellers that dictates prices but an outside third party. The law of supply and demand dictates that prices rise because there is either a rise in demand or a fall in supply. This is market logic. When the government controls prices and set the price of a product at an unreasonably low rate, producers will lose money as they cannot recover the costs of production. Eventually they will be out of business and without producers willing to supply, consumers will be without that particular product. Similarly, when governments keep prices unnaturally high, consumers will also be dissuaded from buying. Disaster happens when the government tries to control prices because it does not have the information it needs to make the right decision. It simply does not know.

Government abstinence should include more than controlling prices. We usually have very high expectations of what a government should and could do. Unfortunately, in reality, it has very low capacity to do the things we want it to do. The government relies on taxes as its main resource. If we want the government to do more, then we should be ready to pay more. At the same time, we foster a culture of dependency when we expect too much from the government. We usually think that it should give jobs for the people, provide subsidies for basic commodities, and give tax exemptions for certain vital industries. We do not see that we are demanding that government repeal economic laws. Problems arise when the government intervenes in the market. It may do its best to command the market but the market would not obey.

There are certain “iron” laws of economics. There are laws that the people, and even the government, even with all its resources for coercion, cannot repeal. These laws include the law of supply and demand, the law of productivity and income (the higher the level of productivity, the higher the level of income) and the law that states that there is no such thing as a free lunch (Estanislao, 1995). There are consequences when we try to distort these market laws. When the supplier is not allowed by the government to sell to the buyer of his choice, he will find other ways to make sure his self-interest is met. Black markets and extra-legal markets are created. When someone’s productivity is not met with a commensurate compensation, he will flee that market. Brain drain happens. When we ask the government to subsidize a commodity, e.g. electricity, someone pays for it. Subsidies are not free. The taxpayers pay for them. Increased subsidies translate to a need for higher taxes.

Whenever a better way is found to satisfy a want, or when consumers no longer want a service or product, some of the resources previously used to produce this service or product may be diverted to another. People will then have to lose their jobs or their investments. Let’s take the example of the beeper industry. The beeper industry died with the rise of cellular phones. What if we pitied the people who worked transcribing messages to be paged to the beepers and we asked the government to preserve their jobs? The government will then have

to bar the emergence of the cellular phone industry because its entrance would mean the death of the beepers. But while preserving jobs, we inhibit the productivity and output that society would be having given the convenience of having cellular phones. Moreover, millions will never have the jobs created by the more dynamic cellular phone industry. While we should be sympathetic to those who lose their jobs, we should not lose sight of the benefits of competition. It makes no sense to ask the government to step in, e.g. preserve the old industry to maintain jobs for the people.

The consumer is king. The market moves to serve the needs and wants of the consumer. *"Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer"* (Smith, 1776). Thus, the consumer holds great power. His demands dictate what kind of products he gets. If he demands quality products, he gets quality products. Thus competition allows **creative destruction** to happen. This describes the process of transformation that accompanies innovation. Creative destruction, popularized by Joseph Schumpeter, happens when the old is replaced by the new for the sake of improvement. The speedier cassette tape replaced the popular vinyl record, only to be substituted by the better sound-producing compact disc. Now, even the compact disc is being challenged by the handy MP3 player.

Freedom must be fostered in the market. The government must not limit the activity of free and voluntary exchanges. To do this would be inefficient. It is best to sell where you can get the highest price and best to buy where you get the lowest price. Having a "Filipino First" policy, wherein the people are required to buy Filipino products regardless of the quality and the local producers are given exclusive tax privileges is a distortion of market logic. Suppose we have a Filipino product that is of poor quality and high price and a foreign product that is of good quality and of a lower price. Should Filipinos be forced to buy the local product and pay a high price for an inferior good? In the end, we are punishing local consumers and at the same time rewarding local producers for their inefficiency.

Interfering in the market leads to inefficiency and corruption. What is needed is to abide by the discipline that the market requires. The market yields good work because it rewards productivity and punishes mediocrity. To survive, people need to be good workers, to have an edge over others, i.e. to be competitive. Eventually, the market creates a culture of excellence.

WHEN MARKETS FAIL

Unfortunately, the market is not perfect. Adam Smith may have given us a brilliant thesis on how self-interest can be harnessed for the common good but he himself recognized that sometimes markets do not work properly. Sometimes individual rationality and firm's

profit-seeking behavior do not lead to optimum results. As efficient as it may seem, the market also fails.

A **market failure** can occur if either one of three situations arises: first, someone in the market gains great market power that he is able to block other competitors (and gains from competition) from entering the market. This leads to **monopolies**.

Second, some actions can have certain side effects, known as **externalities**. An externality is an unintended cost or benefit resulting from an economic transaction that other people receive. For example, a firm may pollute the environment. A certain fisherman decides to overfish to gain more income and in the process depletes the ocean of resources for other fishermen.

Last, some essential goods and services may not be provided for because they are not profitable. This happens in the case of **public goods**. An example of this is street lighting. It is impossible to discriminate against certain consumers when you provide for street lights. It is difficult to charge people who benefit from the lighting but it is vital that the streets are well-lit to avoid accidents and prevent crime.

Market failures happen because the people are not well-informed enough to make right decisions. Without information, uneducated decisions are made. This leads to inefficiency. Thereby, actions are not always rational and markets do not always produce the most efficient outcome. Therefore a certain degree of action is needed to make markets work as they should, not to interfere in the market system, but to facilitate the market system. This can be done by government action.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE MARKET

The government is the agency that has the **legitimate use of coercion**, in other words, the government can use force to ensure societal welfare. Thus it is supposed to harness this power to solve market failures. Only the government can force the responsible parties to pay for the costs of negative externalities, e.g. cleanup costs for pollution. It can use laws, regulations, fines, jail sentences, even special taxes to reduce the damage created to the environment.

The government also has the strength and authority to extract resources from the people to provide for public goods. It can tax the citizens to pay for goods that the citizens will be enjoying like national defense and public education.

Aside from these, the government's job in facilitating the market system also includes providing a legal framework to enforce property rights. A property right allows producers and

consumers to transact in the market by telling everyone else who owns what. Thus, property rights must be defined, their use must be monitored, and possession of rights must be enforced. We have papers and contracts to prove that a certain piece of property is ours. These titles are evidences that we own a property and since it is ours, we can freely choose how to use or not use it. We can let others use it if we want to. We can even sell the property is we choose to. Since the property is ours, no one can take it away from us without our consent.

All these rights must be protected in the market because it determines exchanges. Without the assurance that a certain price of property is yours, you will find it difficult to enter in transactions because there is no assurance that transactions are assured. Suppose you buy a piece of land from someone. Without a title that proves you are now the rightful owner of the said house, you are not guaranteed of exclusivity. Another person can suddenly show up claiming that the house is his. Your transaction earlier becomes as good as nothing except that you spent for it. The government can force people to follow rules governing property rights and punish people who do not. In this way, transactions are guaranteed.

The government should play a role in helping the poor escape a life of poverty. Creative destruction can hurt. Loss of jobs for people with obsolete working skills is the cost of new innovations valued by consumers. Although we earlier recognized that a market economy open to creative destruction generates new opportunities for workers, we should also realize that it can cause severe hardship in the short term. Real people with families to take care of lose their main source of livelihood.

Markets are limited inasmuch as they are neutral. Markets simply let society harness self-interest for the common good. Markets find it difficult to handle the unequal distribution of income. Some disparity in wealth will occur because the market does not care about equal distribution. Its priority is efficiency, that resources are allocated not equally to all people but efficiently, to the better producers and consumers. Such egalitarian concerns are important. While the market rewards people according to their skills, abilities and efforts, it must be recognized that inequality of opportunities does occur. It must be noted that there are many people who have no wealth, no skills and no other resources to earn a living in the market economy. An untamed market system may have inherent biases favoring those who already possess greater resources. For example, rich people can give their children a better education and capital. This can create or even increase inequality.

Here enters the state. The government does have a role to make sure that these people can adjust to the discipline of the market. It must provide support for the unemployed through insurance, free health care, and pension benefits for retired persons. It must also provide people with opportunities to better themselves such as free public education, microfinance and livelihood skills training. These programs provide what is called a **social safety**

net.

Government intervention can only occur when markets are not working the way they are supposed to. In other words, the market may sometimes fail to allocate resources efficiently in a way that the society achieves the maximum welfare.

SOLIDARITY AND MARKETS

Economics has been criticized as a *dismal science*. Its focus on the self-interest of people makes us assume the worst about people's motives. Following the logic of the market, we can assume that all people are solely motivated by their needs and wants. People are merely "two-legged calculators," always on the lookout for the maximization of their self-interest. The economic man is amoral, ignoring all social values unless adhering to them gives him utility. Such an assumption about humans is not only untrue but also unethical.

We may be self-interested but we are also capable of selfless actions. Many people are also motivated by social preferences, like the interests of others. Also, concerns for fairness and reciprocity cannot be ignored in economic interactions (Fehr, 2002). People are not *homo econominus*, or mere rational and self-interested actors who desire wealth and have the ability to make judgments towards this goal. It is important to understand that we are selfish people and something good does come out of our self-interest. But at the same time, it is as important to recognize that we are also beings capable of being motivated by more than just self-interest.

Human beings have the capacity for kindness, compassion and cooperation. A community does not develop just because people live and act together. A community does not merely mean a collection of different individuals but a "unity of persons." Thus there is a need for participation and solidarity in a community. The individual has inherent dignity and value, and the natural result of this affirmation is the right to participation (Gronbacher, 1998). It is only through participation that he is fully part of the community because he gets to relate with the other members alongside fulfilling himself.

Communal responsibility can sometimes take the place of government intervention. It has been suggested that a broader enlightened self-interest can and should be promoted as a better alternative to the state. One compelling reason is that collective action is sometimes more efficient than government action.

Earlier we maintained that the government performs an important function of enforcing property rights and contracts. We refer the costs of defining, monitoring, and enforcing property rights as **transaction costs**. We cover such transaction costs by paying the government, i.e. taxes. But cooperation enables us to transact with less cost. Consider buying a banana from a store. In buying the banana, your cost is not only the cost of the production of

the banana. You also pay for the cost of determining from which store sells bananas and which store offers the lowest price, the cost of bargaining with the seller to give you the best price, and the cost of making sure that the seller will abide by your agreement, that he will give you a banana after you paid for it. All these goes in the price of the said banana.

When a community has high social capital, they are able to do things through the notion of trust alone. When people transact repeatedly, trust is fostered. We see this in the notion of “suki” wherein the buyer and the sellers have already established a relationship based on the quality of product that the producer sells and the patronage of the buyer. In this scenario, the buyer will have reduced costs due the fact that he trusts the seller to give him good products. He will not have to spend for gathering information on which store sells the best quality product and will not need to bargain for a lower price. He will also not need to be afraid that the seller might trick him. He immediately knows that he can get the best quality product for the best price at the said seller’s store without being taken advantage of. At the same time, the seller is rewarded by the loyalty of the buyer.

Here we see the **value of work**. Work is seen not just as a means to serve self-interest. Work is also service to the community. People cannot perform all the functions of society, and so to be efficient, society divides the labor among its members. One type of work is as important as the other. The community needs farmers, drivers, and household helpers as much as it needs doctors, lawyers and businessmen. When people realize the value of their contribution to society, pride in work will result. “The market, instead of merely providing persons with opportunities to have more, also presses them to be more, and thus gain fuller meaning and a higher sense of accomplishment in their lives (Estanislao, 1995).”

A market economy is premised on the notion of specialization and competitive exchanges between different producers. Economic growth is a consequence of the division of labor and the efficiency of the resources or capital used in production. Participation is based on relative competencies or comparative advantages of the players. The economic development of a country depends on how well it utilizes its natural endowments and its productive capacity. Successful countries must also rely on the entrepreneurial spirit of its citizens to propel growth. A person who is competent, creative, and enterprising is more likely to be more successful and have greater prospects of generating wealth for him and for others. Thus, in the market, every citizen has a role to play.

When we have free competition in place and work seen as service to the community, we have a picture of a well-run economy wherein citizenship thrives. Herein, we have economic citizenship.

ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

Individuals play a significant role in the economic performance of the Philippines. An individual's work and spending habits enable him to influence the expansion of the domestic economy. Economic activities therefore are integral to a country's development as well as the development of the individual person. In other words, the level of development of the Philippines depends on the manner by which individuals participate in the economy.

Economic activity should benefit the person so that he may be able to contribute to the community. Individuals possess the power to harness and shape the market through their own decisions, either as producers and entrepreneurs or as consumers and investors. This behavior constitutes what we may call economic citizenship.

Economic citizenship is an integral part of a person's development, which in turn affects the development of the society and the country. The ability to generate income provides individuals with a degree of autonomy that allows them to make choices about what they want. Wealth assures our basic needs but also provides us some degree of autonomy or independence. With some means of livelihood, economic citizens can have the opportunity to be more socially and politically engaged. When Filipinos are not preoccupied with looking for their next meal and are stable enough to enjoy some personal leisure, they can have the prospect of giving some thought and time to engage in issues like environmental protection, tolerance of diversity, and increased political participation. A shift from survival values (preoccupation with basic needs like food, water and shelter) to what we may call self-expression values (preoccupation with morality, creativity, tolerance) happens (Inglehart, 1998 & 2000). Persons can seek to further develop themselves when they are no longer preoccupied in obtaining things for their survival. In short, economic growth is a means to promote not only the well being and dignity of individuals but also enhances their political freedom and ability to participate in the political process.

With greater economic prosperity, individuals are more able to actively involve themselves in a variety of social issues. Persons are empowered when they can meaningfully and beneficially participate in the economy. Studies have shown that the higher the level of economic development, the greater the prospects for society to be more open and free. Investments in education and health help strengthen the productive capacity of individuals. As individuals prosper, the larger society also gains. The more well-off people there are in a given society, the more likely they will seek and value a democratic system because their wealth will have an effect on the concentration and dispersion of power. With rising prosperity, people are more capable of making choices about things that affect their welfare. Ultimately, this behavior will extend from making choices at the grocery store to choosing political representatives and having a say in policy decisions.

Seymour Lipset (1981) posits his "explicit thesis" saying that the richer a country is, the greater the chance that it will sustain its democracy. In fact he even says only in a wealthy society could there be a sufficient number of educated and intelligent people capable of self-restraint. "A society divided between a large impoverished mass and a small favored elite results either in oligarchy (dictatorial rule of the small upper stratum) or in tyranny (popular based dictatorship). (Lipset, 1981)"

Now we can talk about responsibilities of an economic citizen. Since markets do fail, we need to do our part to make it work. Citizen action in economic citizenship may be composed of production, consumption, saving, and advocacy.

CITIZEN ACTION

Economic citizenship entails **producing what is needed and producing it well**. Given the discipline of the market, the *puede na yan* attitude and the tendency to rush or cram work will be unacceptable. Work that is haphazardly done and of poor quality will not find itself a buyer in the market.

In the aggregate, the Philippine economy remains uncompetitive because it is not able to produce world-class products. In this era of globalization and intense international competition, Filipino manufacturers and exporters must be able to produce high quality products and services at a reasonable price. What is important for labor to be competitive and productive are values that stress attention to detail, excellence and hard work, not the so-called "protection" from competition.

When citizens realize that they need to be productive in order to survive, they will have a genuine appreciation about the value of education, they will realize that they need to make themselves more attractive in the market, and they do this by improving their skills. Education or human capital, as some economists would call it, is partly responsible for the differences in productivity and overall level of economic growth. Investment in education and the importance of life-long learning is essential for achieving higher levels of development.

This sense of work as service then determines a standard of justice. When people are productive and when they work well, they are giving to other people quality work that these other people deserve. While profit is the main measure of a successful business, corporations and private firms are also responsible to the larger society. The idea of corporate social responsibility underlines the importance of making private firms more responsive to the growing needs and concerns of a range of different stakeholders. The private business sector is increasingly compelled to operate their companies in a manner that is not detrimental or harmful to the community. Factories and industries are criticized if they pollute the environment. Corporations are asked to engage more in civic action, like supporting public

schools and cleaning up the environment. Corporate citizenship is increasingly invoked to convey a sense of social obligation and for companies not to be exclusively preoccupied with just making profit.

Ethical behavior should also be meticulously observed in the ordinary conduct of business. A market economy is founded on the voluntary agreements and contracts. A market economy is built on the rule of law and institutions. Such contractual arrangements are premised on trust and transparency and those that do not honor contracts weaken confidence in the economy. Respect for proprietary rights and just compensation of work are vital.

A market will not prosper when economic agents are habitually dishonest. Businessmen who do not declare and pay the right amount of taxes are directly responsible for the fiscal crisis currently confronting the Philippine economy. Unable to raise tax revenues, government will not be able to effectively deliver public services and will be forced to borrow to finance its operation. Historically, the domestic economy has been periodically faced with economic crises caused by fiscal imbalances. Chronic budget deficits and balance of payments crises have been a constant feature of the Philippine economy. Corruption further aggravates this condition. Corruption saps resources available for development, distorts access to services for the poor, and undermines public confidence in the government.

It is useful to recall some market logic here. Markets reward excellence because people want value for their money. Markets reward courtesy and good service because people prefer to deal with well-mannered partners and sellers than rude ones. Markets reward honesty because people would rather do business with those who are known for their integrity than with those who are known to be corrupt.

Economic citizenship also entails **responsible consumption**. By buying from one company or another, an individual is, in effect, financially supporting that company's policies and practices. On the other hand, an individual can communicate his dissatisfaction over some product or service or even some corporate policies by simply not patronizing the products.

Awareness of such market power will result in productivity. When an individual purchases a good or avails of a service, he naturally expects that it be of satisfactory quality and functions according to the sales description. Products and services must meet certain acceptable proper standard and must be at a reasonable cost. If such a purchase does not meet the consumer's, then he has good reason to complain. If the complaint is not heeded, then he can easily give his business to a competitor. Consumer activism encourages excellence.

Subjected to daily advertisements and enticements, individuals are constantly pressured to spend. Citizens should be aware of the difference between needs and wants. This involves

evaluating and assessing what they need so they can make the right decision. With limited financial means, one has to learn the value of money and how to prioritize, balancing what is really needed and what is just a desire or want. To raise awareness of different reasons for wanting goods and services focuses their minds on prioritizing desires and delaying gratification. Skills such as pre-purchase planning and good money management are important in promoting consumer responsibility.

Responsible saving is also vital in having a robust economy. Justice must be due not only to the present community but also to the future community. Savings is about thinking in the long-term, that a material legacy is passed on to the next generation. Consumer responsibility also extends to an individual's spending behavior. Consumerism can be a negative factor, particularly if it means spending beyond one's means. Accumulating expenses may lead to high personal debt that outpaces income generation. On a more macro level, overconsumption may contribute to an inflationary situation and low savings. On the other hand, thrift and frugality are considered significant values in progressive societies. Countries with high levels of savings and low stable inflation tend to be more successful.

This is why sustainable development is very crucial. Citizens have a responsibility to take care of natural resources. Efficiency is not the sole criteria for a progressive economy. Producers and consumers alike also have a social responsibility to contribute to promoting the general welfare, both the present and the future. Investments should also be made in developing the human as well as social capital of the economy

Lastly, citizens have a responsibility to lobby their governments for action. **Advocacy** is a requirement for economic citizenship. Consumers should be strong advocates of the free market. An atmosphere of competition directly benefits consumers who gain from low prices and better quality. They will have more choices and greater opportunity to satisfy their personal preferences. Globalization helps bring about greater competition and more consumer choices through the importation of cheaper quality goods or through the entry of foreign firms that will compete and break up domestic monopolies. Consequently, consumers should be natural supporters of globalization and strongly oppose anti-competitive behavior as demonstrated by monopolies and oligopolies. Advocates of economic nationalism and protection of local industry only serve the selfish interest of the few and disadvantage the consuming public. Economic reform have been frustrated by those who seek to limit economic competition that challenge their privileged position and interests.

The ultimate strength and staying power of the consumer movement stems from its status as more than an aggregation of bargain-minded consumers; it is a movement of *citizens* petitioning their government. They seek not just more equal buyer-seller relationships in the marketplace but a new role for citizens in the American constitutional system of self-governance. Corporations are not the only institutions which can wield abusive, unaccountable

power, after all. Governments can and do, as well, often as the agent for business. If the marketplace is going to become more honest and competitive, it requires a more vigorous, muscular form of citizenship.

Countries with a strong sense of economic citizenship are in a better position to confront poverty and generate wealth. Awareness of economic rights and responsibilities contribute to more stable and sustainable economic growth. In this sense, everyone must be able to examine what contribution they can make to the domestic economy. Our actions as consumers and producers generate social virtues and outcomes that underpin economic success.

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CURRICULUM CONTENT

ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

The practice for teaching economics to fourth year high school students currently follows the standard textbook approach to introductory economics. The student is given a broad overview of the discipline or field, covering its major concepts and theories. Terms such as scarcity, distribution, supply, and demand are presented to familiarize the class with the operation of a market economy. The sub-fields of macroeconomics and microeconomics are also discussed introducing such ideas as the role of the government and the operation of private firms in the domestic economy. Students are also made aware of the dynamics of monetary and fiscal policy. Some attention is also given to the international dimensions of the subject by highlighting issues relating to the global economy. During the course of the school year, the student is also introduced to the various sectors of the national economy, including the agriculture, manufacturing and services sectors.

The apparent objective of the approach is to make students literate in the discipline of economics by familiarizing them with key concepts and terms as well as the scope of the field. By providing a general survey, the student is expected to develop some basic understanding of the operation of the domestic economy. Knowledge about the workings of the market economy is important in enabling these students to participate fruitfully in any discussion or debate involving economic issues.

Fourth year high school economics could also serve as a venue to teach good citizenship. Traditional views on citizenship usually focus on political and social relations without relating its economic dimension. Through the study of basic economics, instructors can provide their students with a greater appreciation of good citizenship as it applies in the economic sphere. Students can be better citizens through their participation and involvement in the domestic economy. Schools have the responsibility for helping to provide students with a rudimentary knowledge of economic issues but also skills they need to function as good citizens. This, of course, involves much more than just teaching introductory economics.

Economic citizenship is the power of individuals to harness and shape the market through their own choices, whether as entrepreneurs, consumers or investors. This implies not only a private dimension but also a public one. When individuals engage in economic activity, they create wealth for themselves or achieve a certain utility. Through their work, they attain a minimum level of economic security sufficient to permit meaningful participation in the life of a society. This notion also denotes a relational aspect. A person's economic behavior can contribute to the development or the satisfaction of wants of others. An economic citizen should not only be concerned about his own development or satisfaction but should also look beyond himself to consider the welfare of others. This means that one should consider not only the short-term effects of an economic decision, but also its long-term effects and unintended outcomes. Through some comprehension of economic concepts, students can also have an appreciation of the connection between personal self-interest and societal goals.

The core principle of citizenship is the idea of people participating in some fashion in their own governance. In economics, this can be imparted in three ways: (1) through an awareness of the importance of economic liberty or freedom; (2) the recognition of the responsibilities of economic citizenship; and (3) developing active participation in economic decision-making.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Economic freedom signifies freedom of choice, of employment and of exchange. In this sense, students are made aware of their rights as economic citizens. Freedom of enterprise, right to private property, and consumer protection are some topics that can be developed and integrated into the fourth year course. The need to foster a free and open economic system can be highlighted here. Understanding the nature of how a market economy works can contribute to better appreciation of the significance of economic rights as well as the factors that might constrain them.

Students can learn that citizenship rights are absolutely necessary to ensure the full participation of citizens in democratic governance of society. The attainment of minimum levels of economic security is to ensure participation in public life. Allowing private actors to trade and invest more freely across borders has been advocated in terms of efficiency, but also in terms of promoting equal economic citizenship. Limited opportunities for ownership, barriers to market entry, and the lack of competition can undermine economic freedom.

This could be introduced during the discussion on production and consumption in the course syllabus on economics. In production, students can learn the importance of private enterprise and free market entry. They can be involved in a discussion about how monopolies and oligopolies act to limit economic freedom. In the discussion on consumption, they can be

made aware of their rights as consumers. Competition offers a wider range of choices and fosters better services and products. The course can also stress the importance of the rule of law as a basis for a vibrant economy.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is not just a collection of rights but also entails certain responsibilities and obligations. Here, students can be made aware that their personal economic decisions have consequences beyond themselves. Through economic reasoning, they learn that individual choices have certain social outcomes, both positive and negative (or what economists term as externalities). In this sense, they are taught that profit-oriented behavior must be balanced against the common good. Students learn that the proper aim of economic activity is not just to make a lot of money but also to guarantee a better quality of life for others. This expands the notion of citizenship beyond the individual to involve the larger community or society.

These topics can be raised in various parts of the fourth year course on economics. For instance, in discussing macroeconomics, students can analyze the impact of public policies and events upon such social goals as freedom, efficiency and equity. In microeconomics, the idea of corporate citizenship can be discussed to convey the set of social obligations that companies and private businesses must have. In general, class discussions can highlight the social and distributive implications of business decisions and of government policy.

The economic conditions of a developing country like the Philippines presents many opportunities for stressing this theme. Students can be asked to describe and assess the economic problems confronting the country and propose ways that they can contribute to reduce or alleviate poverty in the country. Emphasis should be given to approaches that would promote entrepreneurship, job and income generation, and cooperative activity. Increased trade and commerce inevitably leads to the improvement of standards of living. In this sense, students acquire the view that work is a moral obligation.

PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING

Citizenship also involves the question of how and when citizens are to participate in the governance of markets. Many decisions that the governments make are economic in nature and it is important for democratic systems to foster participation in economic governance. Public policies, such as taxes or trade policy, directly impinge on individual welfare therefore necessitating that citizens have a voice in government decisions that affect them and make economic institutions more responsive to their needs. Economic citizenship means active participation of citizens in formulating, monitoring, and influencing public policy. Civic engagement means developing initiatives to ensure accountability and transparency in

economic policy.

Given that the government plays a key role in the domestic economy, in both consumption and production, ways can be explored to increase popular participation in economic decision-making and in the overall governance of economic affairs. This could be accomplished by making those in positions of economic authority more transparent and accountable. This is to ensure that public policies, like monetary and fiscal policies, guarantee the overall welfare of society and not just a privileged few.

Government agencies and economic policy makers, particularly in the Philippines, are generally susceptible to various forms of “capture” by vested interests. Political scientist Paul Hutchcroft described the Philippine state as a “patrimonial oligarchic” state that has been repeatedly choked by an anarchy of particularistic demands from, and particularistic actions on behalf of, those oligarchs and cronies who are currently most favored by its top officials. This can be explained by the persistence of elite culture in a democratic political system that is sustained by the personalistic, patron-client relations character of the Philippine political culture. It is this rent-seeking behavior by the local oligarchy that undermines the basis for long-term growth.

High school students can be provided with the knowledge and skills that they need to fully participate in the process of economic decision-making. In the discussion about fiscal policy, the teacher can discuss the negative economic consequences of corruption and instances of government inefficiency and get the students to think of ways to counter this. They can also be made to see how markets and market institutions can be used as tools for increasing accountability or how competition can limit the abuse of economic power. Participation also means contributing to growth generation through their work. Students should realize that to be a good citizen, one must be a productive member of society. The notions of dependence and entitlements should be replaced by the concept of entrepreneurship and economic autonomy. This can be introduced during the first module on economics where discussions center on how individuals can productively engage in a wide range of economic and commercial activity. Students should feel that they have a personal stake in the domestic economy. Virtues such as hard work, diligence, industry, teamwork, punctuality, and creativity can be highlighted as crucial ingredients of active economic participation. Increased participation creates a more robust economy and healthy society.

SUMMARY

The ultimate goal of education should be to enhance competence and provide a basic understanding of the scope and application of a particular field of study. In addition, educators should also inculcate among their students the need to develop an understanding of their role as citizens in a democratic society. In economics, this means that students should

acquire not only a conceptual understanding of the discipline but also develop a sense of civic duty. Thus, economic citizenship merges with political citizenship establishing a more comprehensive approach to civic education.

Teaching economics, particularly for fourth year high school students about to enter university or college studies, is an opportunity to impart to young people the idea that they can empower themselves and others through their work and participation in the economy. They can be made to aspire that democratic principles can apply in the marketplace as well as in the political realm. An understanding of economics can instill among them a sense of public or civic commitment for nation building through self-respecting work and cooperative endeavor.

E CONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

SYLLABUS

Scope and Sequence	KEY CONCEPTS FOR DISCUSSION
Mga Saligan ng Pag-aaral ng Ekonomiya	
<u>B. Pinagkukunang-Yaman</u>	
Mapaunlad ang sarili nilang paghahanda sa pagiging produktibo	<p>Recognize and reward hard work and talent</p> <p>Foster diligence, industriousness, discipline and teamwork – need for honest, work ethic</p> <p>Punctual and on-time work and not acting always at last minute and finishing work that was begun</p> <p>Foster creativity and ingenuity; be always update with latest developments and continual improvement in our service/products</p>
C. Kakapusan	
<p>Naitatangi ang mga wastong pagpapahalaga sa paggamit ng inagkukunang yaman sa pamamagitan ng pagsunod sa mga batas sa konserbasyon, kapaligiran at likas-kayang paggamit (sustainable use)</p> <p>Naipamamalas ang responsableng paggamit ng mga limitadong likas na yaman</p>	<p>Efficient work avoiding excess and waste</p> <p>Cleanliness should extend from oneself to community</p> <p>Business should not be at the expense of the environment</p> <p>Need for social responsibility and not just profit-motive</p> <p>Seek to use business to improve society as a whole (in arts, education, environment, activities for youth, elderly, etc.)</p>

<p><i>D. Alokasyon</i> <u>G. Produksyon</u></p>	
<p>Naisasaalang-alang ang kapakanan ng iba sa pagbabahagi ng mga likas na yaman sa pamilya at lipunan</p> <p>Naipahahayag ang damdamin ukol sa mahalagang papel ng “entrepreneurship” sa ekonomiya at sa produksyon</p> <p>Nasusuri ang tungkulin ng iba’t ibang organisasyon ncg negosyo sa ekonomiya at produksyon ayon sa pakikisapi at panagutan sa pagkakaroon ng matatag na ekonomiya</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✦ Starting up a business and not just being an employee ✦ Investing money in worthwhile activity rather than just consumption ✦ Private business and not the government should decide on what business activity to create ✦ Getting into business to generate jobs/employment for others and to contribute to the economy of the community/nation ✦ Paying the minimum wage according to threshold income
<p><u>F. Pagkonsumo</u></p>	
<p>Nasusuri ang mga epekto ng paanunsyo sa pagkonsumo</p> <p>Nasisiyasat nang mapanuri ang mga anunso tungo sa matalinong pamimili</p> <p>Naipamamalas ang talino sa pagkonsumo sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng pamantayan sa pamimili</p> <p>Naipagtatangol ang mga karapatan at nagagampanan ang mga tungkulin bilang isang mamimili</p>	<p>Avoiding consumerism, impulse buying, and instant gratification</p> <p>Foster value of thrift; budgeting and planning our expenses</p> <p>Avoid accumulation of personal debts and credit to fund consumer behavior</p> <p>Exercising consumer rights, registering complains for inferior or bad products/service</p>

II Pagsusuri ng Ekonomiya	
Maykroekonomiks	
<p>Nasusuri ang epekto ng presyo at non-price sa suplay ng kalakal at paglilingkod</p> <p>2.10 Nahihinuha na ang presyo ng biling ay may epekto sa suplay ng nagbibili</p> <p>Nasusuri ang bahaging ginagampanan ng pamahalaan sa pagtatakda ng presyo sa isang pampamilihang ekonomiya</p>	<p>Avoid overpricing or short-selling of services or products</p> <p>Paying the right price for services and/or products</p> <p>As producers, avoid unfair competitive practices such as predatory pricing</p> <p>Foster competition and diversity in business to offer consumers freedom of choice</p>
<p>Napangangatwiran ang pangangailangang pakikialam at regulasyon ng pamahalaan sa mga gawaing pangkabuhayan sa iba't ibang anyo ng pamilihan</p>	<p>Fostering respect for standards, producing quality-work/goods that is reflective of demands/needs and avoiding “puede na yan” attitude; attention to detail</p> <p>Maintaining minimum product or service standards in the interest of public safety and interests; satisfy customers with goods and services of real value</p> <p>Following government rules and regulations on business activity</p> <p>Government should not over-regulate or restrict but rather support entrepreneurial activity</p> <p>Have high regard for sanctity of contract and respect for rule of law</p>

<u>Makroekonomiks</u>	
Patakarang Piskal (Fiscal Policy)	
<p>Napahahalagahan ang papel na ginagampanan ng pamahalaan kaugnay ng mga patakarang piskal na ipinatutupad nito</p> <p>2.29 Nasusuri ang mga pinagkukunan ng pananalapi ng pamahalaan</p> <p>2.30 Nasusuri ang badyet at ang kalakaran ng paggasta ng pamahalaan</p> <p>2.31 Nakapaghahayag ng pagsang-ayon o pagtutol sa mga paggasta ng pamahalaan</p> <p>Nakapagsasanay ng tamang pagkompyut ng buwis</p> <p>Nakababalikat ng pananagutan bilang mamamayan sa wastong pagbabayad ng buwis</p>	<p>Duty to pay correct tax and avoiding tax evasion</p> <p>Avoid double accounting in business</p> <p>Fight public and private corruption; duty to report corrupt practices</p> <p>Need for greater transparency and accountability for persons responsible for financial transactions</p> <p>Budget spending should be subject to independent audit</p>
III Mga Sektor ng Ekonomiya	
Sektor ng Agrikultura (Agrikultura, Pangangisda, at Paggugubat)	
<p>Naitataguyod ang mga programang may kaugnayan sa sektor agrikultura (reormang pansakahan)</p>	<p>Importance of land reform and property rights</p> <p>Need for greater investment in agricultural sector</p> <p>Paying farmers and fisherfolk a just price for their products</p> <p>Eliminating middlemen who unfairly profit from low farm prices</p>

<u>Kalakalang Panlabas</u>	
<p>3.23 Natitimbang ang epekto ng mga patakaran at programa sa kalakalang panlabas ng bansa sa buhay ng nakararaming Pilipino</p> <p>3.24 Napahahalagahan ang kontribusyon sa ekonomiya ng bansa ng mga patakdalang pera ng mga manggagawang Pilipino na nasa ibang bansa</p> <p>3.27 Nasusuri ang mga kabutihan at di-kabutihan ng kalakalang panlabas tungo sa isang masigla at maunlad na ekonomiya</p> <p>3.29 Natitimbang ang epekto ng globalisasyon sa antas ng pamumuhay ng mga Pilipino batay sa mga patakarang -liberalisasyon -deregulasyon -pagsasapribado ng mga korporasyong pag-aari ng pamahalaan</p>	<p>Need for an open economy based on competition</p> <p>Need for outward-orientation and not limited to domestic market only</p> <p>Need for safety-nets for those unable to cope with negative effects of globalization</p> <p>Importance of OFW remittances to local economy, implications on family welfare</p>

