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Civic Education Manual for Social Studies Teachers



CIVIC EDUCATION MANUAL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS



2015

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INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY:

The Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS)

By Ernesto Grio, PhD

In August 2004, the founding members of a still nascent organization, the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED), met with about a dozen master teachers of Social Studies from Metro Manila to discuss and assess the state of Social Studies teaching in the schools and in general, talk about civic education.

There was a consensus among those who attended the meeting that the country needs to strengthen “the education of good citizens” in order to strengthen democracy in the country; and that the best place to start any intervention is the school system.

They also agreed on the following important points:

1. There is no core civics subject in high school, despite being a crucial period in development.
2. Creating a new subject for civics in high school is not feasible.
3. Use Social Studies as the platform; work with the existing curriculum.
4. Embed civic education components in the four (4) Social Studies subjects in high school, namely, Philippine History, Asian History, World History and Economics.

The strategy that emerged was to draft a manual that would provide civic educators, specifically those who teach the Social Studies, with the strategies to embed or “smuggle” into the existing curriculum civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to develop good citizens.

The framework for the manual was developed on the basis of certain key issues related to democracy, citizen participation and love of country. The table below shows the outline of the topics included in the Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS) manual.

| ISSUES | INTERVENTIONS |
|--|---|
| “People love their families (or their region/province) more than their nation” | PATRIOTISM embedded in Philippine History and Government in 1st Year HS |
| “There is a need to improve civic consciousness and participation of people. People do not understand how to be a citizen in a city.” | CIVIC CULTURE embedded in Asian History in 2nd Year |
| “People don’t understand what democracy is” | DEMOCRACY embedded in World History in 3rd Year |
| “There is a need to strengthen entrepreneurship as form of civic participation in economic life.” | ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP embedded in Economics in 4th Year |

Today, PCCED’s Civic Education Training Program has reached many Social Studies teachers and civic educators from as far north as Ilocos Norte to Basilan and Sulu in southern Philippines. For more than ten years since its inception in 2004, the Civic Education Program has done its part in shaping future citizens of the Philippines who possess the knowledge, skills and dispositions of good citizenship.

Civic Education and the K to 12 Curriculum

As part of the government's education reform agenda, the Department of Education (DepEd) pushed for a plan to change the national education curriculum into what is now known as the K to 12-curriculum program.

The K to 12 program expands the Philippines' basic education to 13 years divided into the following stages:

- Kindergarten to Grade 6
- Grades 7 to 10 (Junior High School)
- Grades 11 and 12 (Senior High School)

Government was very clear in its rationale for shifting to K to 12 despite protests from parents and other groups:

- A 12-year program is found to be the best period for learning under basic education and it is also the recognized standards for students and professionals globally.
- The Philippines is the last country in Asia and one of only three countries worldwide with a 10-year basic education program¹.

The new curriculum also had revisions that had significant effects on the civic education framework of PCCED. For one, the subject Philippine History is now offered in Grades 5 and 6. This presented a challenge to PCCED's belief that the best, most effective way to teach civic is at the high school level and not in elementary. Moreover, Philippine History forms the foundational module of the civic education manual.

The new curriculum also added a new subject in Grade 10 which gave civic educators new opportunities for intervention: *Kontemporaryong Isyu* (Contemporary Issues). This new subject provided PCCED with

¹ Department of Education website (<http://www.deped.gov.ph/k-to-12/faq>)

a fertile ground to embed civics in the curriculum as it includes, as subject content, not just the various issues of the day (unemployment, political dynasty, gender issues) but also civic engagement.

These developments, and the need to update the old CETS manual, gave impetus to this revised and improved set of modules. This new manual contains new ideas for the Social Studies teachers in the light of the new curriculum:

- The module on Philippine History has been retained despite the fact that it has been moved to Grades 5 and 6 for the simple reason that IT is the foundation of any attempt to develop good Filipinos. What has been done in this new manual is to link Philippine History and Asian History in a way that allows the teachers to read the latter from the perspective of Philippine History. Dr. Clement Camposano's discussion on Philippine History, therefore, provides a lens through which Asian history may be analyzed. He asked for instance: "If the Philippines, as a nation, is the work of history, what about the other countries (for example, in Southeast Asia)? How is it possible, for instance, to see other Southeast Asian nations as also works of history?"
- The module on Philippine history has also been updated to include a more expansive discussion of the coming of Islam and the history of the Bangsamoro in Philippine history. Hence, Dr. Camposano makes a parallelism between the "Filipino" nation and the Bangsamoro: "Like the "Filipino" nation in relation to which it has defined itself, the Bangsamoro too is the work of history --- and as such, a community in progress. This is also framed in relation to the continuing search for genuine and lasting peace in Mindanao—"How the Philippine government and the Christian majority choose to deal with this historically evolved identity, meaning, to what extent they are willing to come to terms with it, will help determine the outcome of the peace process in Mindanao.
- Dr. Paul Dumol has written a module for the new Grade 10 subject, *Kontemporaryong Isyu*. Since this subject will be implemented in 2017, Dr. Dumol has provided the teachers not with information or data on the issues but with a useful framework in discussing these issues to the students. He noted that any discussion of the specific issues is less important than a discussion

of ideals like the common good, truth, justice, and prudence, as framework for understanding. For example, Dr. Dumol demonstrated how issues like gender rights, same-sex marriage, and climate change can be dealt with as investigation on the truth. But he added: "There are two truths involved here: the truth about **what's happening (facts)** and the truth about the **rightness of ideas**. With regard to what is happening, the pursuit of truth means getting the facts right and getting *all* the facts."

- Reynald Trillana has suggested that the teaching of world history be done as the unraveling of the story of democracy. He asked teachers, for instance, to discuss the democratic "art" of discourse and debate in the context of explaining the history of Greece; and, to explore the duties of citizens when discussing the representative government developed by the Romans.
- Dr. Monica Ang and Natividad Gruet updated the module on Economic Citizenship and treats Economics as a field where citizens can exercise civic engagement. For instance, they stressed the need to teach Economics with the end view of improving "economic literacy." Citing CIVITAS, in a published Framework for Civic Education (1991): *"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."*

We hope that this manual provides our brave teachers, our civic educators with the weapons to combat indifference, ignorance and disengagement in politics among young people. Ultimately, the future of our country will be determined not by whether we are able to elect that one great, messianic leader who will lead us to paradise, but by citizens changing the world one classroom at a time, one barangay (village) at a time through their active engagement in social and political issues.

MODULE 1

"Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa":

Foundations of Civic Education

By Paul Dumol, PhD

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 Tagalog," 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 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 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.

The Teaching of "*Pag-Ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan*" in the Philippine History Course

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORD *BAYAN*

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 *bayán* 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. *Bayán* 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 *bayán* of the devil; heaven as the *bayán* 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 *Diksiyunaryo ng Wikang Filipino* gives a definition of *bayán* 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*.

Bayán could not, of course, have meant any other community than the barangay. *Bayán* 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 *bayán* 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 Panganiban.) 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 *bayans* saw themselves as being united in some way, then the idea arose that their *bayan* 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 *bayan* to frame the study of Philippine history. We can talk of four periods in Philippine history: the first is when the barangay was *bayan*; the second, when the town supplanted the barangay as *bayan*; the third, when the townspeople came to be called "bayan" as well; and the fourth, when the entire Philippine Archipelago came to be called "bayan." 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 *bayan*, 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 baranggay 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 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 *bayan*. The *bayan* 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 *bayan* that we observe today in many towns. The *bayan* 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 *bayan* was significant for another reason. It kept the political culture of the old barangay, but with a twist: the ruler of the *bayan*, 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 *bayan*, 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 *bayan*. I have lingered on the political personality of the *bayan* only because it so recalls the modern Philippine *bayan*, the nation, with its democratic processes in a feudal culture ultimately serving a society that is feudal in many different ways.

While the word *bayan* 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 *bayan* 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 *bayan* includes a relationship between the place and its inhabitants that goes beyond mere location. *Bayan* is never simply *bayan*; it is always *bayan mo* or *bayan ko* or *bayan niya*. *Bayan* 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* bayan. They are called "tagalabas."

If a *bayan* is the place where one was born and grew up, then it is probably the place in which one's parents and teachers live. *Bayan* includes them and anyone else who contributed to our development. *Bayan* 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 bayan* 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 *bayan* 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 *bayan* is a legacy.

The *Diksyunaryo* definition ends with a last idea that may come as a surprise: not only is the *bayan* the residence of people who were born there and who grew up there; to be considered a *bayan* these people must recognize that they grew up there. "Kanilang kinikilalang yaon ang kanilang tinubuan." *Bayan* 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 bayan*. *Pag-ibig sa tinubuang bayan* 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 bayan* 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 *bayan*, 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 *bayan*. Love of country is dynamic. The citizen seeks to leave behind a worthy patrimony to the generation that will come after him.

Of course, *bayan* 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 *bayan* is legacy, then *bayan* 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 *bayan* 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 *bayan*, 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.

MODULE 2

The Nation as a Work of History:

Philippine History

By Clement Camposano, PhD

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

This module aims to communicate the following key ideas:

- 1.) The Filipino nation is a work of history and should not be viewed as something that has always existed, or has existed as a potential and has been actualized with the passing of time; and,
- 2.) The Filipino nation as a "work of history" provides us with a more meaningful way of understanding the emergence of other countries, especially as we seek to learn from the experiences of our neighbors in Southeast Asia. In general, this module argues that the nation, as an artifice of the historical process, is a "work in progress" and that the present generation of Filipinos need to decide how they can be part of this ongoing project.

A. THE PHILIPPINES AS A NATION IN PROGRESS

DISCUSSION: The nation as the work of history

This is an argument for an understanding of the nation as an artifact of history imbued not with necessity and a fixed essence but with contingency, diversity, and positionality. A key point being contested here is the suggestion found in many Philippine History textbooks that the nation has always been there and that Philippine History is nothing more than the story of the inevitable emergence of the nation. The position taken here is that only a non-essentialist and open-ended understanding of nationhood can pave the way for a more inclusive understanding of Filipino-ness, one able to meet the demands of an increasingly plural and globalizing world.

Let me begin with a quote from a very famous historian. Teodoro Agoncillo, in his highly influential textbook on Philippine History (*History of the Filipino People*, 1990), declared in a chapter aptly titled "From Indio to Filipino" that the "Filipinos" began fighting the Spaniards the moment they settled permanently in the Archipelago in 1565, and continued this resistance until the end of Spanish rule in 1898. Agoncillo then points out that, "[all] these pockets of resistance for various causes burst into a national struggle as the Filipinos fought to liberate themselves from Spanish domination in the Philippine Revolution of 1896-97" (p. 102).

In just two sentences, Agoncillo made the following startling and related claims:

- 1.) There were Filipinos in 1565 (and if there were Filipinos in 1565, presumably there were Filipinos long before that time); and,
- 2.) The so-called "pockets" of resistance many of which occurred centuries before were directly linked to the national struggle in the late 1890s.

Agoncillo's (1990) statement clearly obscures the historical process. In particular, it ignores how the Filipino nation is in fact an artifact or a creation of this process. Instead, it creates the impression that the nation's emergence simply happened as a matter of course—the way for instance a seed eventually

becomes a tree—and without reference to the concrete economic, social, and cultural conditions and circumstances that made such an emergence possible in the late 19th Century. This module, then, challenges this view of Philippine history.

The nation as a seemingly permanent feature of our collective life was not always here. To pick an easy illustration of this crucial point, let us consider the eyewitness account of what transpired when the proud Rajah of *Maynila*, Sulaiman, went out to meet Martin de Goiti and Juan de Salcedo. Sulaiman, the account noted, assumed an air of importance and told the Spaniards “that he was pleased to be the friend of the Spaniards but the latter should understand that they were not painted Indians”. The Rajah further said, “they would not tolerate any abuse” and “they would repay with death the least thing that touched their honor” (Blair and Robertson, in de la Costa, 1992, pp. 16-17).

Obviously, there were no Filipinos then (the term itself comes from the name of the Spanish Crown Prince), and Sulaiman clearly had nothing good to say about the Visayan *Pintados*. How we today automatically think of Sulaiman and the *Pintados* as Filipinos is something we owe to the writings of historians like Agoncillo (and Zaide, and of course, Jose Rizal). We owe it to a linear narrative that strings together various unrelated events into an unbroken chain of causes and effects, a chain that eventually leads to the revolutionary outbreak of 1896. Through this narrative, the nation can “loom out of an immemorial past and ... glide into a limitless future”, to quote Anderson’s memorable line (1991, p. 19).

In his highly influential definition of the nation, Anderson (1991) conceived of it as an “imagined community” that is thought of as “both inherently limited and sovereign”.

“It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6). Anderson then points out, “...it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”.

Ultimately, according to him, "it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (p. 7).

The nation and the identity it occasions emerged only in the modern period, and yet they have come to define this period politically. Suffice it to say at this point that no other notion packs as much explosive political energy as the notion of belonging to a "nation".

Indeed, in contemporary times, it forms part of what Geertz (1973) described as the "web of significance" that renders life meaningful. Man, Geertz points out, is really "an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (p. 5), and there is no doubt that the nation is a central part of this web.

Having set aside Agoncillo's problematic narrative, allow me now to point out how the Filipino nation was born of concrete historical conditions in the 19th Century—and only in the 19th Century. These were conditions that transformed the colonial society that emerged as a result of Spanish colonialism.

Let me now state the central assumption of this module: It is entirely reasonable to suppose that ideas do not float in the air and that our capacity to produce meaning—and this certainly includes the very depth and breadth of our imagined community—is bounded or limited by the social, economic, cultural and intellectual circumstances of our lives, and of the kind of life-journeys we take; that is to say, ideas and ideologies bear the stamp of history, of the material conditions under which we live. You don't need to be a Marxist to appreciate this.

In the latter half of the 19th Century, the growth of an export economy driven by the industrial revolution in the West, as well as the rise of a domestic economy, created in Philippine colonial society a middle class whose wealth and participation in the economic and cultural life of the colony was out of step with their limited civil and political rights. Arcilla points out that, "These newly rich were the new elite which put on a sophistication expressed in Hispanic ways and attitudes" (Arcilla, p.121).

Much of the inequities and problems that the educated members of this class—the so-called

Ilustrados—complained of have in fact always characterized the Spanish colonial system. With the advent of an export economy in the 19th Century, however, these inequities and problems became mobilizing and defining issues for a newly emerged colonial middle class, hence the campaign for reforms. Unfortunately, aspirations for parity and greater participation in the economic and political life of the colony went against the grain of a centralizing political establishment. Spain, at this point in her history, was struggling to more effectively control and efficiently run what was left of her once great empire.

The claims and aspirations that came with increased wealth can only intensify with education, the desire for which was itself a natural consequence of wealth. Education led not only to insistence on equal treatment but also provided beneficiaries with modern ideas—in short, the ideological means—with which to press their case. Most importantly, education would pave the way for the growth of a collective “Filipino” identity that eventually informed the agitation for reforms.

Education meant literacy (which led to the consumption of books, newspapers and other printed materials), a common language (Spanish) and the formation of social networks that linked people from different localities and ethnic backgrounds. Education therefore overcame, for the colonial middle class, the isolating effect of local culture and ethnic diversity. Thus it became possible for educated members of the class to imagine themselves belonging to a larger and abstract community which included people from various ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the pursuit of education led to the kind of life-journeys that progressively broadened the social and cultural horizons of people. As exemplified by Rizal, such life-journeys uprooted young people from the emotional comfort and intimacy of their families and brought them to ever larger and more cosmopolitan centers in the colony and beyond (e.g., Calamba—Biñan—Manila—España). For many, these journeys would eventually involve leaving the Philippines for Spain, a process that intensified the sentimental attachment to place.

In Spain, the sentimental identification with the Philippines as the site of one’s intimate relations and, indeed, as one’s native land would be amplified by nostalgia. Exposure to liberal politics, particularly as

a way to fulfill class aspirations for equality and political participation, would give this “Filipino” identification a concrete expression as expatriate students and young intellectuals formed the vanguard of the struggle for reforms. The struggle for reforms would eventually mature into a desire for separation and independence.

The nation that emerged in the late 19th Century—the very “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983, 1991) that was articulated by *Ilustrados* like Rizal was delimited by the actual reach of Spanish evangelization and colonialism.

Aguilar (2005), in his analysis of 19th Century *Ilustrado* nationalism, states that the *Ilustrados*, molded by the nomenclature and reach of the colonial state, found it difficult to think otherwise. Thus, according to Aguilar, these early nationalists could only lay claim to the same sphere over which the colonial state exercised its authority, excluding the zones that had eluded or resisted the state’s incorporative advances. He concludes that, “[the] embryonic nation was conceived, perhaps unavoidably, in the hearth of colonial society” (p. 621).

Indeed, the evidence provided by Rizal’s intellectual labors at least strongly suggest that the chief architect of Filipino identity (Rizal) did not refer to non-Christians inhabitants of the archipelago collectively as “Filipinos”, in the way that he referred to the Christianized and Hispanized indios of Luzon and the Visayas.

This was most clearly visible in an outline of Philippine history that Rizal prepared for the planned conference of scholars on the Philippines in 1889. In that outline, he had a separate title on “Races and Independent Regions which includes all Muslim sultanates, independent tribes, *Negritos*, etc.”. This title was actually an afterthought, as seen in the correspondence between Rizal and Blumentritt (Ocampo, 1998, pp. 209-210). Given how Rizal participated in the economic and cultural institutions of colonial society, it was inevitable that the cultural boundaries of Rizal’s “Filipinas” would be coterminous with that of Spanish colonial society.

DISCUSSION: The coming of Islam to the Philippine Archipelago

The story of how Islam arrived in the Philippines must be framed by the larger story of Islam's arrival in Southeast Asia (SEA). It is also a story that implicates the maritime trade nexus that has evolved in and has characterized SEA since the first millennium.

Among other factors, the successful introduction of Islam was linked to:

- 1.) The increasing control from the 8th Century onwards of coastal trade and shipping from India by Muslims; and,
- 2.) The decline and eventual collapse of non-Muslim maritime trading empires from the 13th to the 15th centuries. The demise of the Srivijayan empire (Buddhist) in the 13th Century and of the Majapahit empire (Hindu-Buddhist) from the 15th to early 16th centuries paved the way for the emergence of Muslim trading centers.

The most powerful of these was Malacca, which was founded as a sultanate in the 15th Century. With Chinese naval support (protection), Malacca would eventually displace Majapahit as the center of regional trade and the dominant economic power in SEA. Malacca came to control and secure the eastbound commercial traffic from India and the Middle East, and would become the last great entrepot city-state of Southeast Asia prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The rise of these trading centers would not only provide Muslim missionaries (mainly Sufi) with bases from which to carry on their work of proselytizing among non-Muslims but would also give rulers of communities eager to tap into the trading networks controlled by these Muslim centers a powerful economic motive to embrace Islam. This may be said of centers like Malacca, Ternate, Aceh, Johor, Brunei, Sulu, and Maguindanao.

The Sufi missionaries preached a mystical brand of Islam, which fitted with the animist and Indic beliefs, and expectations of Southeast Asians. Given this, and given the relative simplicity of the Islamic faith as

well as its egalitarian character, it did not take long for Islam to swiftly traverse the maritime realm and gain wide acceptance among its people by the 15th Century.

The coming of Islam to Southeast Asia was therefore made possible, in large part, by the complex maritime trading system that not only brought together the coastal and riverine chiefdoms of the region but also made it the converging point of the Chinese trading zone on the one hand, and the Indian Ocean and West Asian trading zone on the other.

Aside from its uncompromising monotheism, Islam brought with it new laws, different ethical standards, and a fundamentally new understanding of the meaning and direction of life. Also, the advent of a common set of beliefs based on the Qur'an and on Islamic laws and tradition, common rituals and languages (Arabic and Malay) allowed the Muslims of the Sulu Archipelago and Mindanao to experience being part of an expanding Islamic Malay world.

Equally important was the fact that the Muslims in the Southern Philippines began to develop a sense of belonging to a wider community that extended from Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean to the Malay lands in Southeast Asia (Majul 1980, p. 25).

Although it would not be until the late 1960s when a unifying "Bangsamoro" identity could finally be articulated, a development that McKenna (1998) believed was encouraged by American colonial practices decades earlier (1998, 2000 online), the participation of the Philippine Muslims in the larger Islamic Malay world did allow them to distinguish themselves from the non-Muslim communities in the Archipelago. The coming of Christianity and Spanish colonialism, and subsequent Spanish attempts to subjugate the Muslims with the help of Christian natives, would of course intensify this process.

Resistance to Spanish colonization came to be seen by Muslims as the defense of Islam. According to Majul (1980), "[the] Muslims in the Philippines, realizing that this meant they would become vassals of a foreign king and eventually lose their faith and their freedom as an independent people, responded to the threat by greater loyalty to their sultans and their datus, a greater respect for their panditas [i.e.,

those learned in religious matters], an intensification of their Islamic consciousness, and determined efforts to resist the military incursions of the enemy in their lands" (p. 27).

It is fair to say that the "Bangsamoro" identity informing the present-day struggle of Muslims in the Philippines is the end result of this historical process, and the subsequent political, economic and cultural marginalization of the Muslim population vis-à-vis the Christian majority after independence. Like the "Filipino" nation in relation to which it has defined itself, the Bangsamoro too is the work of history --- and as such, a community in progress.

MODULE 3

ASIAN HISTORY: What is Civic Culture?

By Clement Camposano, PhD

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

The preceding discussion raises certain questions that can be explored in the teaching of Asian History. If the Philippines, as a nation, is the work of history, what about the other countries (for example, in Southeast Asia)? How is it possible, for instance, to see other Southeast Asian nations as also works of history? (Or as nations in progress, which is really the same thing?). How were these other nations formed? Were there similar processes? What was the actual historical role of colonialism in the emergence of these other nations?

Note for teachers: *It is important to bear in mind that, as the region we now know as Southeast Asia entered the 20th Century, the efforts at territorial expansion, political unification and consolidation, and administrative centralization by the colonial powers --- the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in Malaya and Burma, and the French in Indochina --- were laying the basis for the emergence of modern states. In the Philippines, the Americans would continue the process of political consolidation and centralization started by the Spaniards. Economic growth in the colonies and the rise of domestic markets have created or were creating the social conditions for the rise of nationalism and nationalist movements.*

DISCUSSION: The story of the Philippines (as a nation in progress) as a way to frame our understanding of other countries

This module focuses on the following key ideas:

1. The "civic culture" as the true foundation of a working democracy; and,
2. The Philippines is not a failed democracy but a "democracy in progress" provides a meaningful way to understand the challenges faced by other countries (especially in Southeast Asia) in their struggle to make democracy work in their specific contexts.

The main argument being advanced in this module is that for democratic institutions to work they need to be matched by a civic culture—knowledge, skills, habits and dispositions that allow people to identify with, and act for, the larger society of anonymous others.

A. THE PHILIPPINES AS A DEMOCRACY IN PROGRESS

DISCUSSION: Understanding civic culture

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. It is easy enough to see that in the Philippines, almost a century after the first republican institution was established [the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907] translating democracy into a meaningful way of life has not been achieved. One may even entertain the view that there have been serious reversals --- many will in fact argue that our electoral exercises of recent years have become increasingly expensive, violent, fraudulent, and judging by the results, meaningless. Corruption, more brazen than ever, eats up an ever-larger share of our nation's resources.

Despite our much-celebrated capacity for "people power," what we in fact have in this country is a poor imitation, indeed, a travesty of the real thing. The much vaunted "checks and balance" really mean "give and take." The word "areglo" has great currency in the halls of power: it defines the political ethos of

our times. It is convenient to blame all this on the rapacity and moral turpitude of our politicians. But, is it not that politicians merely play by the unwritten rules of this sordid game? How much of this corruption is due to popular complicity? Is not the craving for pork partly driven by the electorate's own insistence that their congressmen always bring home the bacon, so to speak?

Clearly, having a complete set of democratic institutions is not the same thing as having a fully functioning democracy. The Philippines may have acquired the formal institutions of representative democracy but Filipinos have yet to evolve a political culture --- that is, knowledge, skills, and most importantly, habits --- that will make these institutions work fully as they were intended to. I believe too that we have here the beginnings of an explanation as to why we have presidents who act like sultans, governors and congressmen who behave like rajahs and municipal mayors with the political antics of *datus*. Or indeed, why we have citizens who resemble more the *timawas* and *alipins* of old.

Sociologically, this is what I think it boils down to: What we have for a state is but a thin veneer of formal rules that obscures a vast and tangled web of personal ties. These heart-felt ties are clearly incompatible with, and thus grind against, the civic habits and rational-legal rules that serve as the operating principle of democratic institutions. State institutions continue to exist and frame political engagement, but their formal and abstract rules have been extensively reworked in everyday life to either suit private ends or satisfy personal longings.

This seems to me to be the true subtext of our electoral politics. Beyond the tight circle made up of family members, intimates and friends, lies a competitive and amoral world governed by political and economic expediency. In this world, one struggles to get ahead but carries no responsibility. Prof. Fernando Zialcita (1997) of the Ateneo claims 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 for many. Indeed, for so many of us, making sense of public life merely involves the habitual extension of the ethos of intimacy to the larger society of anonymous others.

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. Incapable of addressing public issues as public issues, people are not likely to treat elections, or any other democratic exercise, as opportunities for discerning the common good. Thus, candidates are routinely seen in personal terms and very seldom in terms of how they might be capable of promoting public welfare, or of how they might measure up to the requirements of high office.

This way, people are either seized by the overpowering charisma of would-be saviors, seduced by the glamour of celebrities, or drawn into the patronage networks operated by machine politicians and their field hands. The idea of public interest or public good is reduced to legal fiction, ritually invoked by all and sundry but never taken seriously.

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 mentally situate themselves within this larger community of anonymous others? To put it differently, what makes democratic citizenship possible? Most previous interventions in this area attempted merely to preach the virtue of citizenship from the rooftops. Not founded on a clear understanding of the nature of citizenship, these interventions were bound to fail.

Before political efficacy and genuine political participation can be attained, there is a need to lay the basis for collective political action. The operational question, I believe, is this: What is it in everyday life that will allow persons without personal or dyadic ties to work together for a common cause? It is what scholars like Robert Putnam (1995) and Francis Fukuyama (1999) call "social capital." This term refers to such things as social trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.

Social capital, according to Eva Cox (1995, online), is what makes possible 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...". An increase in social capital or, which amounts to the same thing, an

increase in experiences that generate trust and recognition of common ground, will allow people in ever larger numbers to move comfortably from the tight circle of friends and family into the larger society.

The only way to make democracy work is for people to acquire those capacities represented by social capital. Certainly, trusting and cooperating with people who are neither your relatives nor friends is quite a challenge and can be achieved only through habit and practice (Fukuyama 1999, online). Trust can never be imposed, much less legislated into existence. Social trust can only be engendered, that is, developed through active, collaborative relationship with others.

Ultimately, it is based on the mental habit of recognizing common interests “and choosing to look for collective rather than individual benefits” (Cox 1995, online). In everyday life, this would mean activities that 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 2004, p. 263).

Democracy cannot be created overnight. The end of a dictatorship does not necessarily mean the beginning of democratic government. Neither does the presence of democratic institutions mean the existence of meaningful democracy. The scope of political reform should therefore be broadened to include not only dismantling the authoritarian machinery but also the development of a culture—knowledge, skills, habits and dispositions—more in keeping with demands of democratic institutions and politics.

All these lead to the assertion that the Philippines is not a failed democracy. It is, rather, a democracy in the making, a work in progress. Filipinos can take comfort in and be inspired by the fact that the mature democracies that exist today are the painstaking work of several generations. There is no reason for democracy in the Philippines to be any different. Democracy, as a bundle of related political practices, is a moral choice. There may be a lack of fit, a serious disjunction, between the ethical demands of republican institutions and our political culture, but this is a reason to change culture, not to lose heart and slide into autocratic rule.

B. IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE EXPERIENCES OF OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

DISCUSSION: The story of the Philippines (as a democracy in progress) as a way to frame our understanding of other countries

The preceding discussion raises certain questions that can be explored in the teaching of Asian History. If Philippine democracy is a work in progress, what about democracy in other countries (for example, in Southeast Asia)? In what respect can we also see other Asian (or Southeast Asian) democracies as works in progress? (That is, as democracies in the making). What challenges are these democracies facing or have faced? How similar or different are the experiences of these other Asian (or Southeast Asian) countries? Are there common threads?

Note for teachers: As the new Southeast Asian nation-states broke from the colonial past and pursued the path of independence, most of them had to confront problems rooted in the very process of their formation. Foremost of these problems were the tensions brought about by their multi-ethnic character and the poverty and inequity that plagued their societies. In the non-communist states, these gave rise to separatist and communist movements that would preoccupy the governments of the new states in the decades to come.

Partly as a response to these challenges, all would experiment with one form or another of authoritarian rule. In some of these countries the military would also come to play dominant roles in politics (Indonesia, Thailand, and perhaps to a lesser degree, the Philippines). Yet, even as they eventually adopted different forms of democratic government, "making democracy work" in these countries remains a challenge not only because of the above problems (separatism, inequality) but also because these countries have yet to evolve civic cultures fully commensurate with their (formally) democratic institutions.

C. ACTIVITY

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES:

1. To identify key “points of insertion” in the K to 12 curriculum for the ideas discussed above (including effective strategies to help achieve embedding the ideas); and,
2. To prepare topic outlines for lessons/lesson plans (again preferably a unit plan so the big ideas and enduring understandings discussed above will provide the organizing framework for class discussions). These workshops will take as their starting point specific content standards and benchmarks specified under the K to 12 curriculum (see below).

| IKAAPAT NA MARKAHAN - Ang Silangan at Timog-Silangang Asya sa Transisyonal at Makabagong Panahon (ika-16 hanggang ika-20 siglo) | | |
|--|---|-----------------------|
| | PAMANTAYAN SA PAGKATUTO (Learning Competencies or Standards) | CODE |
| | <p>Nasusuri ang transpormasyon ng mga pamayanan at estado sa Silangan at Timog-Silangang Asya sa pagpasok ng mga isipan at impluwensiyang kanluranin sa larangan ng:</p> <p>3.1 pamamahala,</p> <p>3.2 kabuhayan,</p> <p>3.3 teknolohiya,</p> <p>3.4 lipunan,</p> <p>3.5 paniniwala,</p> <p>3.6 pagpapahalaga, at</p> | AP7KIS-Iva-1.2 |

| | | |
|--|--|------------------------|
| | 3.7 sining at kultura | |
| | Naihahambing ang mga pagbabago sa mga bansang bumubuo sa Silangan at Timog-Silangangn Asya | AP7KIS-IV- 1.16 |
| | Nasusuri at naihahambing ang balangkas ng pamahalaan ng mga bansa sa Silangan at Timog-Silangangn Asya | AP7KIS-IVg-1.17 |
| | Nasusuri ang kinalaman ng edukasyon sa pamumuhay ng mga Asyano | AP7KIS-IVh-1.20 |

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MODULE 4

Teaching WORLD HISTORY as the Story of Democracy

By Reynald Trillana

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

Civic education is, essentially, education for democracy. As a form of government, democracy requires citizens to participate in public affairs which in turn demands citizens to understand, debate, and decide on public issues. This is why the most critical ingredient to the success of any democratic system is education; or, to be more precise—civic education. Civic educators like you have the task of ensuring effective participation of citizens in the democratic process by empowering young people with the requisite knowledge, skills and dispositions of good citizenship.

This module is an attempt to use the Araling Panlipunan subject of World History as a platform to teach students the story, principles and significance of democracy as a form of government. By explaining the development of the democratic idea through the different periods of world history, the students are able to understand the value of participation, good governance, rights, rule of law and other ideals associated with democracy.

In teaching the story of democracy through world history, it is important to highlight the fact that political institutions like democracy are transmitted across time culturally and are subject to intentional design.² This is the reason why the teacher must stress the fact that democratic values and institutions are never set in stone for even the meaning of democracy changes over time. It is important to emphasize that our purpose in reviewing the history of democracy is not to “copy-paste” the solutions of the past to their own problems but to understand the lessons of history and critically examine how to reformulate these institutions to respond to our own problems today.

We suggest that in teaching world history the teacher can expound on the following ideas about democracy as they navigate the selected topics of the subject as presented below:

| <i>Subject Content</i> | <i>Concepts of Democracy</i> |
|---|--|
| Ang Pagsisimula ng mga Kabihasnan sa Daigdig (Prehistoriko- 1000 BCE) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The emergence of social/political organization • The necessity of politics and government |
| Pag-usbong at Pag-unlad ng mga Klasikong Lipunan sa Europa Kabihasnang klasiko ng Greece (Athens, Sparta at mga city-states) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ideals of classical democracy: equality, citizen participation, and the importance of debate and discussion • Understanding the common good |
| Kabihasnang klasiko ng Rome (mula sa Sinaunang Rome hanggang sa tugatog at pagbagsak ng Imperyong Romano) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is representative government (republicanism)? • The importance of the principle of Separation of Powers |

² Francis Fukuyama. 2011. The Origins of Political Order. Macmillan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ang Daigdig sa Panahon ng Transisyon | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinction between democratic and non-democratic governments (absolute monarchy) |
| Pagkamulat Kaugnayan ng Rebolusyong Pangkaisipan sa Rebolusyong Pranses at Amerikano | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Return of Democracy as Liberal Democracy • The significance of free elections, civil, political and economic rights, rule of law • The role of the middle class and education in democratic systems |
| Unang Digmaang Pandaigdig Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to deepen and strengthen democracy against non-democratic regimes. |

Key Ideas

I. Why is politics and government necessary?

Today, most people have a negative conception of politics and government. Many believe that politics is synonymous to corruption, abuse of power and to politicians who only care about their own interest and not the people's welfare. While there are indeed corrupt, abusive and selfish politicians, to teach young people such a limited understanding of politics and government is to risk making them cynical about government and therefore make them resent civic participation. "I don't want to be engaged in the dirty business of politics," is an idea we do not want to develop in the minds of the 'future of our nation.'

The fact is that our cynicism does not make politics, disappear. It is part of our lives: in our homes, schools, work, church and other social groupings. Over 300 years before the birth of Christ, Aristotle

said that man is a political animal, and political creatures we seem destined to remain³. If this is true, then as civic educators we need to teach our students not to hate and distance themselves from the political arena rather we need to help them understand the political process so they can influence it in pursuing their interests.

The process of rethinking politics can begin when we teach them about the transition of the early stages in world history from hunting-gathering society to tribes and, later on, to nation-states.

We know that the first stage of social organization is the hunting-gathering phase that is based on small groups of nomadic families. With no permanent territory and no conception of private property and division of labor, tasks are dependent on age and sex. Hence, the women gather and the men hunt. There was no need for a centralized source of authority to command obedience and enforce any kind of laws.

This all changed with the invention of agriculture.

When nomadic groups realized that they could domesticate animals and plants, they also realized that they could stay in one permanent location instead of moving from one place to another. With a stable supply of food they can now live together in a fixed territory and with a significant increase in population. Estimates place the increase in density in this term: from 1 person per square kilometer to 40-60 per square kilometer⁴.

This increase in population density meant that now more people are in contact with each other that in turn meant that there is now a need for a different form of social organization. They need a kind of social organization that can resolve conflict, dispense justice and ensure order.

³ Bernard Crick. 1993. In Defense of Politics. University of Chicago Press.

⁴ Francis Fukuyama. 2011. The Origins of Political Order. Macmillan.

It is at this point in our discussion when we can stress to the students the importance of politics and government. As shown in the historical development of social organizations, politics is the process through which people try to organize their lives collectively, and without the use of undue coercion, to create order so that, within reasonable parameters, they can live their daily lives without crashing into each other every time their interests or opinions conflict.

Here, we need to convince our young students that while they should open their eyes to the anomalies of government and to criticize any wrongdoing by a politician, they can use politics as a means to change the situation. By making them conscious of the problems of society we hope that they can be motivated towards political engagement.

II. Democracy in Greece: Equality, Citizen Participation and Debate

The Curriculum Guide for World History identified as performance standard for the "Classical and Transitional Periods in World History" the following:

Develop advocacy that promotes the values of the contributions of the classical and transitional periods and its influence to the lives of people today.

This mandated standard provides the teacher of world history with a framework to use the discussion on the "Glory that was Greece" as an opportunity to make students understand the value of democracy as a form of government and as a way of life in our present situation. By making them understand how democracy was practiced in Greece where it originated, students learn to appreciate the ideals of democracy.

There are many ways to teach Greek history and highlight democracy as an ideal but here is a suggested activity for the teachers: make students read and memorize the "Funeral Oration" of Pericles. Before you do this, you can discuss first some contextual notes important in understanding Athenian democracy:

- 1) The Athenian politician Pericles delivered the Funeral Oration at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War. He was delivering the speech, which was recounted by the historian Thucydides, as part of the Greek tradition of holding public funerals for the war dead. The funeral oration was intended to exalt the memory of the dead soldiers by praising Athenian democracy as a way of life that makes them different from their enemies.
- 2) Greece in those times was not a single political entity like a nation in our current times but rather a collection of some 1,500 separate *polis* or 'cities'. Those cities that were not democracies were either oligarchies - where power was in the hands of the few richest citizens - or monarchies, called 'tyrannies' in cases where the sole ruler had usurped power by force rather than inheritance. Of the democracies, the oldest, the most stable, the most long-lived, but also the most radical, was Athens.
- 3) It is important 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.

The kind of democracy the Greeks had is clearly characterized in the following excerpts of the Funeral Oration:

*Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority, but of **the whole people**. No one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of poverty . . .*

*Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in **the affairs of the state as well**...this is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that **he has no business here at all**.*

*We Athenians, in our own persons, take our decisions on policy or submit them to **proper discussions**: for we do not think that there is an incompatibility between words and deeds; the worst thing is to rush into action before the consequences have been **properly debated**.*

From these excerpts from Pericles' Oration we can extract and explain one of the key ideals of democracy: **political equality**. The first paragraph provides us with a basic definition of democracy: a government where power is in the hands of the whole people. It is important to emphasize that democracy is not the "rule of the majority" but the rule of the *whole* people. While majority rule is used in voting procedures (meaning, fifty per cent plus one), democracy cannot be equated with *majority rules* (meaning, the fifty per cent plus one rules). Democracy gives power and authority to all people; it treats all people as political equals.

This definition of democracy as the rule of the whole people resembles the definition of another ideal important in a democracy: **common good**. The common good has been defined as "the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily⁵." This definition of common good asserts that the good of all should mean the good of everyone in the community and not just the "good of the greater number" or the majority. This *good* is *common* because only together as a community, and not simply as isolated individuals, is it

⁵ Pope John XXIII. 1963. *Pacem in Terris*.

possible to enjoy, achieve, and spread this good. All people are obligated to work towards making the common good a greater reality⁶.

The second paragraph emphasizes an important element of a democracy: **citizen participation**. The famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle defined a citizen as one who “participates in the legislative and adjudicative activities of the state.” During that time, it is a badge of honor to participate in public life and those that are indifferent and who do not care about politics are said to “have to business here at all.”

An Athenian citizen would actively attend about 40 sessions of the popular assembly where they discuss issues and policy. The topics for discussion are given beforehand and each citizen has the right to stand up and be heard by the assembly. Around 6,000 citizens were also selected to fill the annual panel of potential jurors who would staff the popular jury courts (a typical size of jury was 501), as for the trial of Socrates.

Finally, the Athenians take pride in their ability to **debate** and discuss issues. They consider it important for people to be able to engage in discourse in order to settle disputes and arrive at the right solution. This is also the reason why *rhetoric*, or the art of discourse, is a revered focus of study in the ancient times as it “aims to improve the capability of speakers to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences especially in public debates.” In Athenian democracy, therefore, “everyone had to be his own representative.”

III. The Romans: Representative Government and the Principle of Separation of Powers

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*. Rome was a republic for the first 500 years, and an empire for the next 500 (roughly from 500 BCE to CE 500). It is in

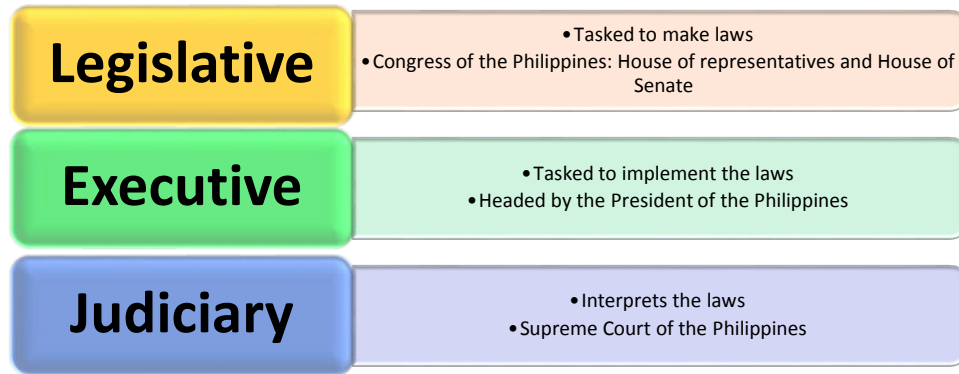
⁶ Internet source: (<http://www.catholic.com/magazine/articles/seven-principles-of-catholic-social-teaching>)

its history as a republic that we can draw out many ideals of democracy, which we can emphasize to our students.

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 developed. 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 government 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.



In a representative government, it is important for citizens to perform several important duties:

- **VOTE during elections**—Citizens need to choose representatives who are qualified and on the basis of issues because these representatives will speak on their behalf on important issues of the country.
- **PARTICIPATE in government**—Being a good citizen should not stop with participation during elections. Citizens should actively participate in government even after elections. This can be done by:
 - Making oneself aware of issues and problems of the community and the country.
 - Expressing one's opinions/views on these issues and whenever one has grievances towards government.
 - Monitoring the performance of government officials through: seeking access to information, attending assemblies, participating in budgeting process, and other mechanisms for citizen participation.

In a democracy, it is the duty of citizens to elect good leaders and to reject bad leaders. Citizens are therefore responsible for the kind of government they have.

IV. Feudalism and the Disappearance of Democracy

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 that 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 disappeared 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*.

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 – that 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.

At this point, it is important to emphasize the distinction between democracy and absolute rule (monarchies).

| | Absolute Monarchy | Democracy |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| Who leads? | A monarch/ruler | Elected representatives |
| How is power transferred? | Heritage and bloodline | Free, fair elections |
| Who has possession of power? | The governing individual (king or queen) | Power is in the hands of the people |
| What is the role of people? | Passive; merely follows the dictates of the ruler | Active citizens; freely participates in society and politics |
| Is there rule of law? | The monarch is the law. | All are equal before the law. |

V. The re-emergence of Europe: Liberalism, Constitutionalism, and the Rule of Law

When the subject content of World History reaches that part on the re-emergence of Europe (“*Paglakas ng Europa*”), it is important to discuss how democracy also reappeared as a political concept in Europe leading to the rise of what we now know as liberal democracy.

The period referred to 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.

It is important to stress that at this point in time, 80% of Europeans lived in communities of fewer than 3,000 people, rural communities without much contact beyond their vicinity. Its economy, culture and politics were basically subsistence and parochial.

The transformation of Europe was engineered by the following factors:

- ☑ The discovery of the New World in 1492
- ☑ The development of European interests in India and Africa, and
- ☑ The sudden opportunities that offered for capital profits on a grand scale

As a result Europeans started to become rich, very rich. A vastly accelerating trade resulted in the creation of a robust middle class; who did not possess political power. It is this political economic contradiction that gave impetus to the reforms that was about to sweep the continent.

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 our own 1987 Philippine Constitution.

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 of 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/colonists (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”.

These developments both in terms of politics, economics and philosophy, helped developed the ideals that would characterize liberal democracy as we know it today. Some of its most essential principles are:

- ☑ **Elections** that are reasonably fair, and free.
- ☑ A set of **rights** such as freedom of expression, of speech, of association, of information, of religion, and the right to property and
- ☑ Constitutionalism and the **rule of law**.

VI. Summary and Conclusion

At this point, it is probably wise to summarize the key ideas about democracy that we have identified in the history of the world. From Athenian democracy (Greece), we learned that democracy involves, at the very least, the following elements:

- 1) **Political equality**
- 2) **Citizen participation** and
- 3) **Debate and Discussion**

From the Romans, democracy developed the following essential elements:

- 1) **Representative Government (Republicanism)** and
- 2) **Separation of Powers**

And with the Emergence of Europe, we identified some key ideals of liberal democracy:

- 1) **Free Elections**
- 2) **Civil and Political Rights** and
- 3) **Rule of Law**

These eight (8) ideals are only some of the important characteristics of a democratic government. Not a single element can make a country democratic rather all elements must be present and must be strengthened in order to have genuine democracy.

VII. Strategies

Here are some strategies and activities teachers can use in order to emphasize the subject content of the ideals of democracy in world history.

What is Politics?

Using the definition of politics as “the process through which people try to organize their lives collectively, and without the use of undue violence, to create order so that, within reasonable parameters, they can live their daily lives without crashing into each other every time their interests or opinions conflict,” ask your students to observe and identify situations in their home, barangay and school that can be classified as politics. Then discuss in class.

Citizen Participation

Show this quotation to the class:

“Democracy is not just a question of having a vote. It consists of strengthening each citizen’s possibility and capacity to participate in the deliberations involved in life in society.” -Fernando Cardoso

After giving them a short time to read it, ask your students the following questions:

- 1) Aside from voting during elections, what are my other duties as a good Filipino citizen?

- 2) What skills and capabilities do I need to develop now so I can be prepared to participate in the debate, deliberations and discussion of issues in my community, in my province and in my country?

Representative Government

- 1) One activity is to ask your students to identify who is their representative in Congress. Ask them to research on his background and his performance in Congress by asking them to enumerate his accomplishments as a member of Congress (for example, how many bills has he filed? What kind of bills did he file?)
- 2) Another activity you can do is to ask the class to vote for one person who will be the representative to the entire class. When this representative has been chosen, talk to him/her and give a situation, an issue, a choice, etc. where he needs to make a decision (For example, "I want us to go to a field trip, decide where"; or give them choices. Maybe even a specific issues in your school). Then instruct him to go back to his "constituents" and discuss the issue with them and to come back to you with a decision.

VIII. Recommended Resource Materials

Here are some resources in the Internet, which the teachers may access to complement her teaching strategies:

- 1) <https://www.teachingchannel.org/videos/teaching-democracy-through-art>
- 2) <http://pbskids.org/democracy/parents-and-teachers/>
- 3) <https://www.tes.co.uk/teaching-resource/democracy-6128725>
- 4) http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/citizenx/teachers/democracy/lessonplan_offline.shtml
- 5) <http://www.teachitcitizenship.co.uk/democracy>
- 6) <http://www.civiced.org/resources/publications/resource-materials>

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MODULE 5

Economic Citizenship

By Monica Ang, PhD and Natividad Gruet

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

This module will offer educators a basic discussion on embedding civic education in the Economics curriculum. The primary tension between the economic assumption of “self-interest” and “social welfare” will be addressed by revisiting the key ideas of *economic literacy*. Furthermore, this module will elucidate the balanced role of government in economic development—a key aspect long been ignored by neo-liberal economic education.

Key Ideas

After decades of weak long-term performance economically, the Philippines finally has a good story to tell. The first half of President Benigno Aquino III’s term has been marked by stunning economic growth, credit rating upgrades and record stock market highs.

According to the Philippine National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB), the Philippine Gross Domestic Product (GDP) annual growth rate averaged 5.02% from 2001 until 2014, reaching an all-time high of 8.9% in the second quarter of 2010 (Trading Economics, n.d.). The GDP annual growth rate went from 3.7% in 2011 to 6.08% in 2012 until 7.2% in 2013. The Philippines was one of the best performing economies in the Asian region in the fourth quarter of 2013, second only to China, which grew by 7.5 % (Rappler.com, 2014).

According to National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) secretary Arsenio Balisacan, growth could have been better, had the country not been perturbed by various disasters such as the Bohol earthquake, the Zamboanga siege and typhoon Yolanda (Cerde, 2014). Economic growth decelerated to 5.6 % in the first quarter of 2014. But then it grew to 6.4% in the second quarter of 2014 (Rappler.com, 2014).

Several major credit-rating agencies have upgraded the Philippines to investment grade in 2013. Standard & Poor's Ratings Services and Fitch Ratings assigned the Philippines with a "stable" outlook. Moody's Investors Service gave the Philippines a "positive" outlook (ABS-CBNnews.com, 2014). Japan-based R&I raised the Philippines' long-term foreign-currency issuer rating by a notch to BBB from the minimum investment grade of BBB-, with a stable outlook (Dela Peña, 2014). Some of the reasons cited for the upgrade are a healthy fiscal situation, specifically its fiscal flexibility, improving manageability of government debt, and manageable inflation. The agencies also noted the Philippines' sound macroeconomic fundamentals, including ample foreign-exchange reserves, resilient remittances, and the Aquino administrations' reforms (ABS-CBNnews.com, 2014).

On January 7, 2013, the Philippine Stock Exchange (PSE) Composite gets to all time record at 6,000 mark. In March that year it again broke another record by ending the trading day at 6,847.47. On May 10, 2013, it achieved its 29th record close for the year closing at 7,262.38, surpassing the previous record of 7,215.35 on May 3 (Alegado, 2013). In May 15, 2013, the PSEi hit its 30th all-time high of 7403.65 and ending the day at 7,392.2 (Ordinario, 2013a).

Ironically, this impressive economic performance has failed to make a dent on crushing poverty. Even though the [Philippines had the fastest growth rate in Asia of 7.8% in the first quarter of 2013](#), the [unemployment rate rose to a 3-year-high of 7.5% in April](#). The number of people living in poverty has also largely remained the same (Agence France-Presse, 2013). In 2012, about 27.9% of the country was classified as living in poverty, virtually unchanged from 2006's 28.8% and 2009's 28.6% (Ordinario, 2013b).

The situation improved slightly last year for the extremely poor, with much of the credit attributed to the Conditional Cash Transfer or CCT program. It was not until 2013 that a dent was made in the fight against poverty, with 24.9% of Filipinos, based on their average income, being considered poor. Poverty incidence among Filipino families also declined to 19.1% in the first semester of 2013 from 22.3% in the same period in 2012 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014). After many years of slow poverty reduction, poverty incidence among the population declined by 3 percentage points between 2012 and 2013 to 24.9 %, lifting 2.5 million Filipinos out of poverty (Chua et al, 2014). But despite this slight improvement, an estimated 40 million Filipinos live below the poverty line, with a large number classified as extremely poor.

Growth has also made little impact on unemployment, which hovers at around 7%. Underemployment is nearly 20%, and more than 40% of the employed are estimated to be working in the informal sector. The number of unemployed and underemployed Filipinos increased by over one million from 10.9 million in April 2010 to 11.9 million in April 2013 – consisting of 4.6 million unemployed and 7.3 million underemployed (IBON Economic and Political Briefing, 2014). This is said to be the most number of unemployed and underemployed Filipinos in the country's history.

Moreover, job creation has been falling drastically in these first three years of the Aquino administration. While 1.4 million jobs were reported created in April 2011 (from the year before) this fell to 1.0 million in April 2012 and then turned to a negative 21,000 in April 2013 (IBON Economic and Political Briefing).

The poorest are clearly left behind by economic growth.

The mystery of non-inclusive growth

The Aquino administration has long been baffled by statistics showing that poverty incidence has remained largely unchanged in the past years. Why is this the case? Why is it that despite the reported growth of the country over the years, poverty level remains almost the same? The problem for the Philippines, and also for a lot of countries in the developing world— is how to translate economic growth into a tide that lifts all boats. The target is to attain *inclusive growth*.

What is inclusive growth? Inclusive growth is growth that allows people to contribute to and benefit from economic growth. Rapid pace of growth is unquestionably necessary for substantial poverty reduction, but for this growth to be sustainable in the long run, it should be *broad-based* across sectors, and *inclusive* of the large part of the country's labor force (World Bank, 2009). Despite inclusive growth remaining to be an intuitively straightforward and yet elusive concept ([Ranieri and Ramos, 2013b](#)), several core features can be highlighted.

Inclusive growth is intimately related to **pro-poor growth; it is growth that reduces the disadvantages of the most disadvantaged while benefitting everyone**. It also includes the manner through which growth takes place. With respect to process, **inclusive growth can be thought of as the expansion of opportunities for participation, which can include both engagement in productive economic activities and having a say on the direction of the growth process** ([Ranieri and Ramos, 2013a](#)).

Non-inclusive growth means only the few have been reaping the benefits of economic activities in the country. Poverty and inequality in the Philippines remains a big problem. In the past decades, economic growth has gone through boom and bust cycles, and recent episodes of moderate economic expansion have had limited impact on the poor.

One explanation posed is that the Philippines still has a “dual economy,” divided between a rural subsistence sector and an urban export sector (Gatbonton, 2014). High technology industries, huge banks and financial centers, condominiums and malls still exist side by side with subsistence farming and fishing, handicrafts and sidewalk vending. Until now, the Philippines’ key industries—the assembly

of garments and electronic components, overseas contract work, and business process outsourcing (BPO)—are “enclave” sectors (Gatbonton, 2014). And it’s these enclaves that are growing rapidly, while the traditional sectors are left behind.

The agriculture sector still employs over a third of all our workers, generates 15% of GDP, and supports nearly 70% of all our poor people. But it contributes less than a tenth of our economy’s yearly growth (Gatbonton, 2014). Also, while Metro Manila, Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog produce 65-70% of all our output and income; they are sucking away other regions’ financial and even human capital. The country’s biggest problem is how to employ the undereducated and largely rural young people unable to fill the jobs that the modern economy offers (Gatbonton, 2014).

The economy has to do well, but at the micro-level, each individual must have the ability to participate. For its part, government has ramped up spending on social services, e.g. the CCT scheme was expanded. Philippines has quadrupled the budget for CCT, aimed at the poorest fifth in the population of 95 million. The [cash grants](#), which range from 500 pesos to 1,400 pesos per household, are given on the condition that parents send their children to school and have their health checked regularly. Additionally, the government has increased its spending on education and universal healthcare.

The need for citizen participation

But more than these government programs, there is a need for more people to participate in the economy in a meaningful way. Each citizen must have the ability to participate in the market and reap benefits from a growing economy. Thus, every Filipino must be literate in economics.

Economic literacy is important for citizenship education because economics centers on the financial actions and choices of the individual that affect not only himself but society at large. 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."

The government's policies are general economic in nature, thus, citizens must be knowledgeable of the policies the government creates and implements. In a capitalist mode of economy, governments usually provide policies but it is the citizens that are left to "make it work." Thus it is imperative that citizens understand the market.

a. What is a capitalist economy?

A capitalist economic system is one characterized by free markets and the absence of government intervention in the economy. But many economies which are viewed to have a capitalist economic system may have high government spending. This is because the government pays for welfare, health, education and national defense. However, the economy is still viewed as capitalist because in the area of private enterprise, firms are free to decide what to produce and for whom.

In understanding this system, it is necessary to go back to the idea of the market. 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, and 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.

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.

b. Less government is better government

Under such a system, 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.

c. Market failures

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.

Here enters government. 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 if 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 land, you are not guaranteed of exclusivity. Another person can suddenly show up claiming that the land 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.

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.

d. Revisiting self-interest

Over the past few years, we have seen economies take a bad turn. Recent cases of big financial corporations filing for bankruptcy in the United States highlight the need to revisit Economics as a field of study particularly with its basic assumptions on human behavior. This self-reflection must also be done locally.

From Enron to the Lehman Brothers, what becomes undeniable is the effect- both in intensity and scope- of the failures towards the economy and the lives of everyday citizens whether they participate or not in specific activities. In these cases, employees who have retired but opted to invest in these corporations lost all of their savings, while current employees not only lost jobs but failed to also meet obligations for housing, cars, education of children, etc. The effect of these bankruptcies have also been felt by economies outside the United States (US) due to an increasing globalized economy. Students might ask "so how does this affect me?" The answer lies on the fact that having money for the intention of purchasing or saving automatically puts every individual part of the economy.

Imagine this scenario: A student receives money from his or her parents who are overseas Filipino workers (OFWs). Remittances are transacted in US dollars (as in the case of most international trading all over the world). The economic crises brought about by failed corporations in the US led to the weakening of the dollar against the Philippine peso, which in return decreases the amount of money

received by the student. If before, a dollar to peso exchange can get you almost 60 pesos, today you can only receive 44 pesos. This effect is indeed very personal. Prices of basic commodities including food, clothing, etc. are deeply affected. Thus, whether we like it or not, we are changed by someone's economic decision here and outside the country.

Given this example, we can see how choices of individuals and businesses-particularly on how to run their companies or how they choose to spend their money cannot be separated from the rest of society. At the heart of this problem is the long-held belief that economic activities are motivated (or should be) by selfish or self-interested behavior guided by perfect information and rational decisions.

e. The Evolution of *Homo Economicus*: The Economic man for others?

At the core of Economic study is the behavior of the economic man, who has been defined as an individual who makes very rational decisions based on the choices provided for him. His process of voluntary decision-making is systematic, amoral, and based on what will give him maximum utility or "happiness" (Schneider, 2010).

Man freely participates in the market with his self-interest as his only goal. The producer and consumer both fall under this category as they transact in a way that attempts to maximize profit for the supplier and to maximize utility satisfaction for the buyer. This interaction, as discussed in the second part, forms the basic dynamics of economic activity achieving an equilibrium that points to the exact price of the product. It is a relationship that isolates the producer and the consumer and aggregately reflects how the economic society works.

In the event that equilibrium is not met, it would still be the market that will "correct itself" as it continues to assume the assertiveness of the economic man in reaching its goal, and the only variables affecting his behavior would be preferences or personal taste, the imposed price of the producer (in which demand will find a way to correct that), and his capacity to spend or income (Ackerman, 2004).

The need to project human beings as *Homo Economicus* stems from the desire to “predict” the behavior of the market both for businesses and government policies to induce economic activity resulting to what famous Economist and Nobel laureate Paul Krugman calls as “mistaking beauty for truth” (Krugman, 2009) that is, fully relying on the complex and highly developed economic theories devoid of reality. There is full faith in *ceteris paribus* or all other things being held constant- including the idea of the economic man.

Krugman is not an exception but rather an example of the current movement in Economics to reflect on the supposed failures of Economics. Among these, the focus on ethics and values are at the forefront, arguing that men make choices not only on self-interest but also based on societal norms and ethical considerations (Ber-Ner & Putterman, 1998).

To bring in other considerations, social scientists have pointed to other human motivations such “love of others and duty” [Mansbridge, 1998 as cited by Anderson, 2000]. At this point, scholars have also pointed out that there is no inherent conflict between the theorized behavior of the economic man and the capacity to go beyond oneself. Rather, the fault has been how self-interest has been understood as egoistic and selfish incapable of what Adam Smith refers to as “virtue of prudence” that is, utility satisfaction requires man to think of other people’s happiness [Smith, 1790, Konow & Earley, 2007].

f. The Ethical Butcher, Brewer, and Baker

The case of Adam Smith’s famous example must then be revisited in light of the virtue of prudence. Smith removes altruism or benevolence as the reason for the butcher, brewer, and baker for them to get up every morning and provide us the food we need, but rather for their own interest—profit. But consider an amoral or unethical butcher who uses substandard pork, or a brewer who water downs his product, and a baker who sells stale bread but claims is freshly baked. What would be the effect of this? Several related outcomes can be thought of:

- 1) People will not be satisfied with the products they buy with their hard earned money and will look for other sources of these products.

- 2) The butcher, brewer, or baker will be forced to improve on their standards and think of better ways to produce in order to win back customers who will shift to purchasing from other suppliers.

In the realm of theoretical discussion, these will be more or less the predicted outcomes. Given that customers will have the assertiveness to demand their self-interest, the producers will find ways to provide in order to gain profit, and in the end reach equilibrium. However, reality will tell us otherwise. The first outcome tells us that the customers have perfect information that the producers are selling shoddy inventory, which is not always the case, perhaps may even be argued that lack of information is the norm. Given the limitations of income as well, consumers would be attracted to sellers who offer cheaper alternatives. Combining information asymmetry and limited resources, consumers might “rationally” move towards producers who offer the same product with lower prices.

The second outcome assumes that there is the presence of perfect competition, which is necessary for economics to “correct itself”. Once again, reality will tell us that there is hardly perfect competition in the market. Consumers do not have unlimited choices or array of products that allow them the position of bartering on price.

The gap between theory and reality is not a reason to disregard the discipline but rather an opportunity for educators to reposition the discipline as part of the social sciences that not only attempts to explain human behavior but a venue to convey the necessary conditions to make economics work for individuals in order to have a positive impact on society. In short, the *economic man for others and for country*.

Thus, basic concepts of economics must be underpinned with ethical considerations and the impact they have as opposed to isolating them through graphs and formulaic presentation of market behavior. What needs to be reinforced is that profit-seeking behavior is not mutually exclusive with ethical practices, but rather for businesses to work sustainably, unrestrained capitalism must be avoided [Amos, 2012, Friedman & Friedman, 2008].

But what of non-entrepreneurs or consumers? All the more responsibility is given to individuals whose consumption is utmost importance to the economy. If a producer's behavior affects society at large, a consumer's decision to either save his or her money in the bank or to spend it, multiplied by the millions of individuals who face these decisions on a frequent basis underpins the most basic reason why the economy works.

The act of putting one's money in the bank is not just a decision that has a personal consequence in the short-run or long run, but affects the way banks also invest money. The judgment to put one's income into the "money market" or investment such as stocks or bonds also move the country's economy either positively or negatively. In other words, the way we determine what to do with our money, no matter how mundane it may seem, influence change in society. Thus, it is not only important to point out what to do with regard to participating in the economy, but *why* we participate.

g. The Government is not a bystander

Particular to basic economic education is the absence of government as regards economic activity, a bystander at best busying itself with providing *public goods*, and at worst, distorts the market pricing resulting to a less than ideal outcome.

Though many examples do show Adam Smith's bemoaning of government incompetence in participating in the economy, it is undeniable that our political institutions do concern themselves with public policies that affect the market.

Government or fiscal spending is an important point to discuss because it determines how much our government provides for the bureaucracy and is largely determined through taxation. While budget making is seen largely as a political activity, a decision to build more roads or bridges directly generate economic activities both directly and indirectly.

Fiscal spending on infrastructure immediately creates jobs for those who work in construction and other related industries. Indirect outcomes come in the form of the intended beneficiaries of these activities

such as farm-to-market roads that are much needed for transporting agricultural products more efficiently, or airports and highways that attempt to increase tourism activities in the country.

The government is able to implement these policies through the money it collects from businesses and citizens. The economic man as seen in this example does not simply spend for himself but directly contributes to the overall welfare of the country. It is therefore imperative that part of economic education is situating and understanding our political institutions in the whole context of national economy.

Economic Literacy: For self and others

Elucidating the foundations of economics must therefore be grounded on reality. Furthermore, the study of economics must not be removed from the environment in which it thrives, that is society. The challenge is to therefore set new perspectives on how this field of study that relies on man's self-interested nature to move beyond defined parameters of egoistic nature and *transcend it to ethical consideration for others and of society in general.*

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MODULE 6

“Kontemporaryong Isyu”: A Framework for Analysis

By Paul Dumol, PhD

I. Introduction

This course is a perfect cap to the embedded civic education curriculum as it is in fact all about being a concerned citizen in the twenty-first century.

The teacher can offer a wonderful civic education course merely by following the syllabus prepared by Department of Education (DepEd), although with important exceptions. (See *Strategies* below.)

The teacher will be opening the world of the student, linking the Philippines to the rest of the world in the student’s mind.

II. Key Ideas

Citizenship is not being a member of a society from which you try to squeeze out everything you can for yourself and your family, but rather working with everyone in society to pursue the **common good**.

The common good is the fundamental idea of this course: “an important topic or problem for debate or

discussion” (the dictionary definition of *issue*) merits inclusion in the course only because it is considered to affect the common good in a crucial way.

This means discussing which of the **three essential elements of the common good** is affected by the contemporary issue under study:

- 1) **Respect for the person** as such,
- 2) The **social well-being** and **development** of the group itself, or,
- 3) **Peace**, that is, the stability and security of a just order. (Of course, more than one element may be affected.)

The course, however, is concerned not only with understanding contemporary issues but also with resolving them. In this sense the other fundamental idea of this course is **action**: “Action is the conscious, free, and efficacious intervention in a temporal process.” Action changes the future, and inaction ensures that nothing changes.

Ideally, the student learns to critique a proposed resolution of an issue by analyzing it according to the **four essential elements of action**:

- 1) **Intention**
- 2) **Motivation**
- 3) **The action itself** (execution)
- 4) **Thinking**.

Thinking precedes the first three elements and is precisely the primary subject matter of the course (*malalim na pag-unawa*).

In the investigation of the issues and discussion of their resolution, one idea is particularly key: **truth**. There are two truths involved here: the truth about what’s happening (facts) and the truth about the rightness of ideas. With regard to what is happening, the pursuit of truth means getting the facts right and getting *all* the facts.

With regard to rightness of ideas, the pursuit of truth means finding out what ethics says where action is concerned and what philosophical anthropology says where what the human being and society are concerned.

The pursuit of truth is especially important with regard to five items in the DepEd syllabus and these are the following:

- 1) Our ability to attribute certain events to climate change with certainty,
- 2) The relative importance of competence in the qualifications of candidates for public posts,
- 3) The claim that people have the right to choose their sex and sexuality,
- 4) The claim that people have the right to marry even if the persons to be married are both of the same sex, and,
- 5) The Reproductive Health Law (RH Law).

In the case of the first, the teacher should make sure that the students listen to scientists who disagree with the majority. Bjorn Lomborg is an example. The idea here is to introduce students to *the importance of hearing all sides*. Of course, the students may discover that the discussion is way above them. *That* is an important discovery: it underscores the importance of the science curriculum in high school and college and also the importance of experts. Investigation could then shift to finding out the reliability of different scientists.

The second item refers to the issue on political dynasties. Persons against political dynasties would disqualify anyone related to high government officials from running as candidates in elections. But how about the qualification of competence? Should someone competent be disqualified merely because he or she is related to a high government official? This is a frequent counter-argument against people who defend a strict anti-dynasty law. The discussion on political dynasties has to include this.

In the case of the third and fourth items, the teacher should make sure the students discover the many contrary ideas of many people, not to mention the opposition of both Islam and Catholicism to those who defend same-sex marriage or the right to choose one's own sex and sexuality.

There are many issues involved here: (a) what constitutes a right, (b) whether one can actually choose one's sex, (c) the rightness of choosing a sexuality contrary to the natural inclination of one's sex, and (d) the nature of marriage.

The fifth element is the RH Law. The present law is considerably less controversial than its first version. Nevertheless it contains provisions which groups still question. Once again it is important for the teacher to let all sides be heard, particularly on the issues of the role of government in the intimate lives of citizens and the freedom to act according to one's conscience.

Finally, there are two ideas that appear together in the course goal: **justice** and **prudence** (*matalinong pagpapasya*). These ideas refer to virtues that are important at the moment of choosing solutions to the issues. They are important for students to critique proposed solutions to the issues.

Justice is understood by many students today in the form of **commutative justice** and **legal justice**. With regard to legal justice, the teacher must help students see that even if something follows the law, it may still be unjust. This introduces the student to the topics of rights and natural law. There are two other forms of justice that the student should become acquainted with: **distributive justice** and **social justice**. These two forms of justice are the particular responsibility of the government, but they should be the concern of all citizens.

Prudence means taking all circumstances and all stakeholders into consideration at the moment of looking for the best solution. This means that certain solutions are not the best just because they are being used in first world countries: circumstances in the Philippines are different.

III. Strategies

The teacher should be guided by the learning competencies (standards and benchmarks), except with regard to the items discussed above.

This is the course goal:

Naipamamalas ang malalim na pag-unawa sa mga isyu at hamong pangkapaligiran, pang-ekonomiya, pampulitika, karapatang pantao, pang-edukasyon, at pananagutang pansibiko na kinahaharap ng mga bansa sa kasalukuyan, gamit ang mga kasanayan sa pagsisiyasat, pagsusuri ng datos at iba't ibang sanggunian, pananaliksik, mapanuring pag-iisip, mabisang komunikasyon, pagiging makatarungan, at matalinong pagpapasya.

The focus of the course is on a deep understanding of the issues, which should be acquired through:

- (a) *ang mga kasanayan sa pagsisiyasat,*
- (b) *pagsusuri ng datos at iba't ibang sanggunian,*
- (c) *pananaliksik,*
- (d) *mapanuring pag-iisip,*
- (e) *mabisang komunikasyon,*
- (f) *pagiging makatarungan,*
- (g) *matalinong pagpapasya.*

The first three items on this list may be summarized as "research." Critical thinking is the other tool of the student to come to a deep understanding of issues. From this it is clear that the teacher does not supply the student with information. Rather, he guides the student in research and in critical thinking. Among the items above are justice and prudence (*matalinong pagpapasya*). These refer to the student's choice of solutions to the issues.

The ways by which the student acquires his deep knowledge of contemporary issues is very similar if not identical to the way the student comes up with public-policy solutions to community problems in Project Citizen. The teachers' training for Project Citizen may be considered as training also for Contemporary Issues.

The main difference between the two is their respective subject matters: Project Citizen looks at community problems; Contemporary Issues, at national and international problems. In addition, Project Citizen limits itself to public-policy solutions; there is no such limit for Contemporary Issues.

The key ideas listed and described in the immediately preceding section may be considered the primary content of civic education in Grade 10. It is suggested that the teacher analyze contemporary issues and their solutions according to the key ideas.

An example: discuss how each contemporary issue is related to the common good in the Philippines. The discussion could descend to the level of the essential elements of the common good. Another example: discuss solutions to issues by analyzing them from the point of view of (a) intention, (b) motivation, (c) justice, and (d) prudence.

It would be through the cumulative experience of analyzing the various issues that the students would gradually learn the meaning and importance of these ideas.

A special place is occupied by truth in this course. The mere fact that the subject matter of the course is *issues* means that the truth is in question in each and every topic. The question of how to determine the truth given the abundant material will arise again and again. The teacher must train himself on this question. What should not happen is to resolve issues by counting votes, whether this be by votes from the students or by counting experts and institutions for and against or by counting the number of countries using particular solutions. A unit could end in skepticism; why not? Or it could end without any answer: why not? But one thing should always be clear: *why* the students and teachers are skeptical or nonplussed. In other words, the areas of *further* research or discussion should be clear.

Since the method of the course is a compound of research and discussion, the coverage of subject matter will be *slow*. That means it is quite probable that certain issues will be scarcely touched on. The teacher should therefore make a careful choice of which issues to discuss with thoroughness. Perhaps that issue should be picked which is in some way linked to others in the group to which the issue belongs.

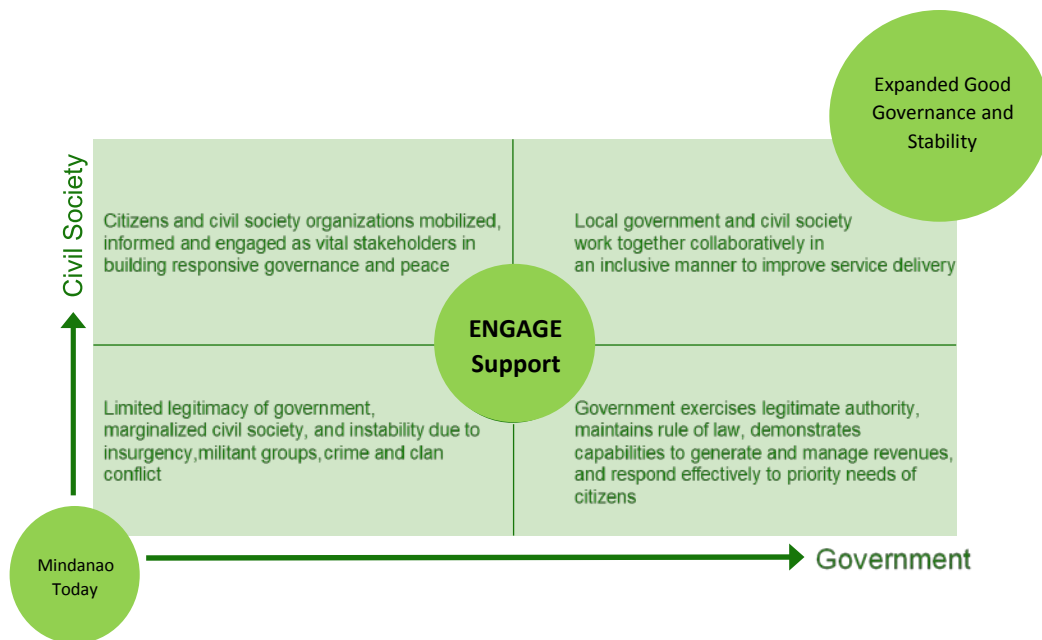
ABOUT ENGAGE

USAID-ENGAGE: PROJECT OVERVIEW

PROJECT BACKGROUND AND GOALS

Enhancing Governance, Accountability and Engagement (ENGAGE) is a five-year USAID-funded project targeting conflict-affected areas (CAA) in Mindanao: Cotabato City, Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Zamboanga City, Isabela City, Basilan and Jolo. Through the promotion of good governance, ENGAGE improves peace and stability in the target areas through two inter-related objectives:

- Strengthen the capacity, legitimacy, transparency, and accountability of local government; and,
- Increase the involvement of citizens in governance through civic education, civil society, strengthening, and the promotion of participatory mechanisms



The aforementioned target areas represent important commercial hubs in Central and Western Mindanao that straddle one or more of the many fault lines of clan, class, ethnicity, and religion within conflict-affected Mindanao. Working from these anchors, ENGAGE will establish and grow models of good governance—strengthening both the supply and demand sides—increasing government and citizen will and capacity to improve service delivery and better resolve conflicts.

Now covering 30 local government units (LGUs)¹ in its third year of implementation, ENGAGE operates out of two main offices in Davao City and Zamboanga City and four satellite offices in Cotabato City, Marawi City, Isabela City and Jolo. Area Coordinators (ACs) and Municipal and Community Engagement Officers (MCEOs) provide direct technical assistance to civil society and local government leaders in these 30 partner communities. ACs and MCEOs are recognized leaders in and from the locales in which they work, and are responsible for all ENGAGE field-level activities. They have proven experience and skills to work effectively with civil society and government in very challenging, security-sensitive

environments. They establish and maintain relationships with all actors in their locales and ensure clear communication. They understand the cultural, religious, political and security dynamics and are able to tailor programming—approaches, activities and communication—to mitigate risk and maximize impact.

ABOUT PCCED

The **Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED)** is a non-stock, non-profit organization dedicated to the effective promotion of good citizenship and participatory democracy through civic education. This pursuit is guided by our vision: "making democracy work out of love of country".

Our mission is three-fold:

1. To institute and implement innovative educational programs that bring people to love their history, environment, heritage, and cultures.
2. To deepen understanding civic and democratic values through active research.
3. To work with institutions to lay the basis for greater public participation in governance.

A Brief History

Prior to its incorporation in October 1, 2007, PCCED's first major initiative in education for democracy was in 2004, when its members received a grant from the US Department of State Small Grants Commission to create the Civic Education Training Seminars. The second major initiative followed a year later in 2005 when *Project Citizen* was implemented by PCCED at the high school level.

In 2006, PCCED members joined a workshop in the United States to be trained in the Project Citizen pedagogy. The official licensing agreement with the Center for Civic Education, the initiator of Project Citizen, was signed, and in 2007, the first Project Citizen textbook was launched in the Philippines.

Today, PCCED continues to work with teachers, students, local government units and other stakeholders to strengthen people's participation in democracy by capacitating them with civic dispositions, skills and knowledge. This is done through a number of programs that include:

Our Programs

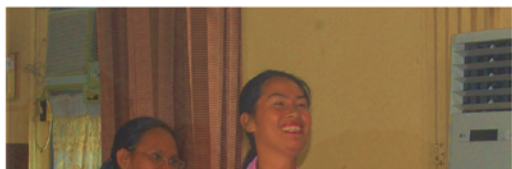
Participatory Budgeting (PB)— provides people with an effective avenue to decide how a part of the public budget should be allocated. Through the program, members of a community are provided with technical skills that will enable them to participate in the creation of development plans and well thought-of project proposals that are reviewed by the local government.

The **Barangay Rule of Law Seminars (BRLS)**— is a program that supports the *Katarungang Pambarangay*, a system for resolving conflict in the barangay that gives a select group of citizens, called *Lupon Tagapamayapa*, an important role in maintaining peace and harmony in the community. Through the BRLS, these administrators of justice at the barangay-level are provided with increased procedural and technical skills and knowledge in implementing the *Katarungang Pambarangay*. More importantly, through the BRLS, Lupon Members are enabled to understand the importance of their role in community-building by using the *Katarungang Pambarangay* as a transformative tool in fostering peace, harmony, and a strong sense of civic duty among community members

Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS)— a program designed to help Social Studies teachers to integrate civic education into the existing curriculum: love of country in Philippine History, civic virtues in Asian History, democratic participation in World History, and economic citizenship in Economics. The program comes with a teachers' manual.

Project Citizen— an approach for education in democracy involving the training of students in seeking public policy interventions to solve community problems. It is an international program, for increasing the democratic participation, political efficacy, and civic engagement levels of students at the middle and high school levels, and is currently being implemented in more than 60 countries.

Democracy Camp Philippines— an intensive seminar-workshop for youth leaders, designed to provide them with in-depth and immersive training in the critical knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for them to be effective citizens in a democracy. Interspersed with practical and real-world skills training in program management and consensus building, Democracy Camp Philippines further hones the leadership skills of the participants. The event is also designed as a forum for youth leaders around the country to engage in dialogue over critical concepts and issues directly relevant to Philippine democracy.



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