

**DIWA Senior High School Series**



# PHILIPPINE POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE




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## DIWA Senior High School Series: Philippine Politics and Governance e-Module

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# Preface

Understanding politics may be a complex task, but this module simplifies both concepts and issues in Philippine politics and governance. *DIWA Senior High School Series: Philippine Politics and Governance* features guided activities and assessment tools that will make the study of a seemingly complicated subject matter easy and interesting. The module is especially designed not only to equip you with the fundamental ideas on politics, but to make you active and responsible citizens as well, by helping you gain a better appreciation of your role in the larger community.

The module is divided into two units. The first unit introduces the basic concepts of politics and governance and discusses the historical development and structure of Philippine democratic politics. The second unit explores the Philippine political landscape, with focus on state-society interaction and citizenship-in-practice. Specifically, the module will allow you to incorporate the theories you have learned in the classroom and practice them later in your community and beyond.

Each module is provided with well-thought-out lessons and creative activities, ranging from reflective exercises to those which will immerse you in real-life situations and make you appreciate politics in everyday life. A list of references, Web sites, and online materials are likewise provided throughout the module, which allow you to expand your knowledge of the key topics and issues. Given these features, you may learn at your own pace and evaluate your own progress. Learning thus becomes student centered.

While much of the module fosters independent learning, collaborative exercises are also prepared so that you can be equipped with values of unity, respect for diversity, and open-mindedness, among many others. It is thus the intention of this module to engage you actively in nation-building and in Philippine development. After all, *YOU*th are the hope of the fatherland!

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# UNIT I

## The Basics of Political Science and Philippine Politics

Some individuals would usually link politics to corrupt politicians and an ineffective government. This skeptic view of and the disinterest to study politics are ever present. But politics is more than just about these problems of government officials and their inefficiency. Politics also involves relationships in everyday life—in the family, in school, in the streets, and even in the most personal relations. In a typical Filipino family, for instance, power determines who gets what, when, and how (Lasswell 1936). Likewise, the question of who decides for the family is by itself a function of politics. This unit thus intends to address these misconceptions.

The first part of this unit introduces you to the basics of political science. Module 1 presents the fundamental concepts of politics and governance, while module 2 discusses the different types of political ideologies. Modules 3 and 4 review the concepts of power, and states, nations, and globalization, respectively.

Meanwhile, the second part provides an overview of politics as practiced in the Philippine setting. Module 5 examines the historical development of Philippine politics, while modules 6 to 9 discuss the structure and framework of the government—from the executive, legislative, and judiciary to local government.

## Learning Outcomes for the Unit

- Demonstrate an understanding of politics and political science, governance, political ideologies, power, states, nations, and globalization.
- Clearly identify a specific political phenomenon and how it can be studied.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the historical background of Philippine democratic politics; the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches; and decentralization and local governance.
- Explain the roles of different political institutions.

### Module 1: The Concepts of Politics and Governance

In this module, you will be able to:

- define *politics*;
- identify the various views on politics;
- differentiate governance from government;
- determine the general methods of inquiry in political science (*enrichment*);
- explore the connection between the phenomenon (politics) and the method of inquiry (political science); and
- recognize the value of politics.

#### Defining Politics

“Man is by nature a political animal.”

– Aristotle, *Politics*

(Father of Political Science)

Why did the Father of Political Science utter such a statement? Why did he say that man is a “political animal” and what do you think did he mean by this?

The inclination and interest of people toward anything political is based on the fact that individuals are inherently social. Unlike other species, humans rely on social interactions to survive. Politics is born out of these social interactions.

Heywood (2013) defined **politics** as an activity that involves the interaction of people, whose relationship is characterized by conflict and cooperation, and who come together to solve such



**Big  
Idea**

Political science does not only involve the state and the government because politics exists in the family, in school, and even in the streets. It is present in intimate personal relationships, too.

disagreements through binding solutions. However, politics is no utopian solution. There are disagreements that remain as such.



## What Have I Learned So Far?

Why do individuals have an inherent inclination toward politics?

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So, what makes social interaction a political one? Any form of social interaction that involves the art of government, public affairs, compromise and consensus, or power and distribution of resources is political. This then gives you the different views on politics, as provided in the following table.

Table 1.1 The Different Views on Politics

Views on Politics: <i>Politics as...</i>	Description of Politics
Art of government	Politics concerns the state. It focuses on the personnel and machinery of the government.
Public affairs	Politics is the conduct and management of public interest and therefore, political affairs.
Compromise and consensus	Politics attempts to resolve conflict through discussion, compromise, bargaining, and consensus, wherein people arrive at a binding decision.

Power and the distribution of resources	Politics involves the exercise of authority in the production, distribution, and use of resources. This describes who gets what and under what circumstances.
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Source: Heywood 2013

Given the views on politics above, one may think that politics only involves the state or the government. It must be noted, however, that human beings relate to each other not only in formal structures but also in collective arrangements such as families, religions, peer groups, or cultures. Power is also exercised in these types of relationships, making them political as well. For instance, who decides on specific familial matters is a venue by which authority is manifested. In religious organizations, the existence of authority is manifested as well in the presence of religious leaders vis-à-vis the followers.

Study the following pictures. How do you think is politics manifested, characterized, or symbolized in each of these illustrations? Share your thoughts with the class.

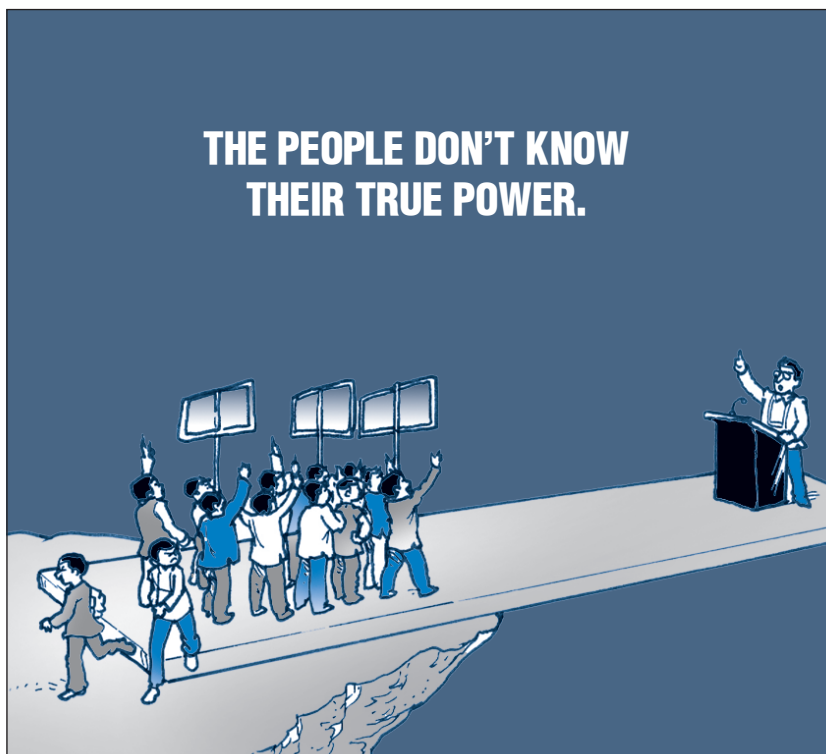


Illustration 1

Adapted from: <http://militantlibertarian.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/politicalpower.jpg>

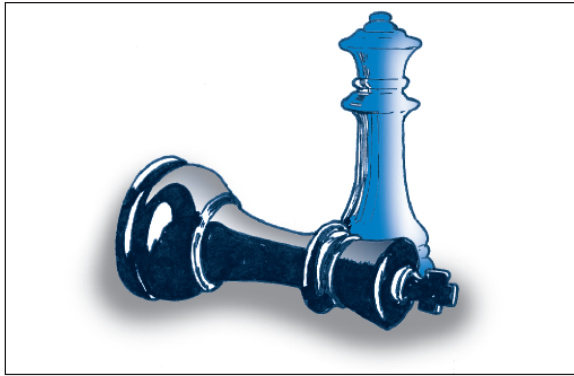


Illustration 2



Illustration 3

*Adapted from: <http://globalbalita.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Vote-buying.jpg>*

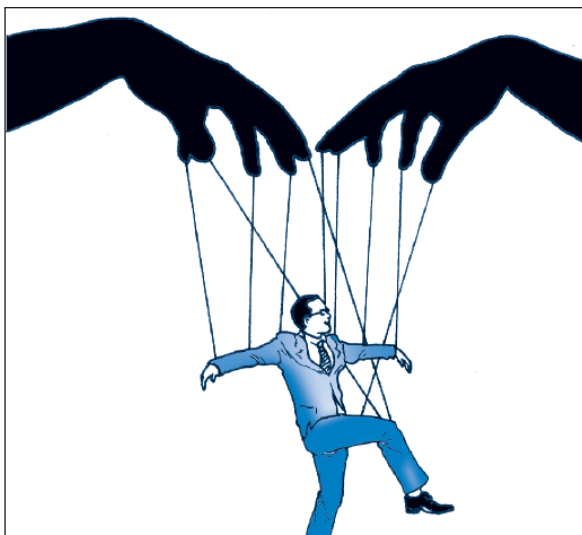


Illustration 4



## Reflect Upon

How does power determine the kinds of relationships that people have with others—be it members of the family, classmates, or persons of authority?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

When does a particular form of social interaction become political?

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## BEYOND WALLS 1.1

### Apply It in Real Life

You are a political researcher working for a nongovernmental organization whose aim is to help improve political participation of people. You are asked by the organization's executive director (ED) to submit a research output on the initial ideas regarding politics of 10 individuals in your *barangay*. In order to accomplish this, you need to formulate questions that will examine their ideas about the nature of politics. Your work will be evaluated based on the content of the interview guide and the presentation of results. Summarize your findings using the given format. Prepare a presentation using PowerPoint and be ready to present your output to the ED.

### Guidelines for the interview

1. Make sure that the questions are relevant. Give questions that pertain to the respondents' view about politics. You may also think of exciting or inviting questions to facilitate the interview. For example, "What comes into your mind when you hear the term politics?" may be a good way to start the discussion.
2. Ask one question at a time. Avoid double-barreled questions (or those having two questions in one statement). The respondent may have a hard time identifying which question to answer first.
3. Make sure that the questions are brief and easy to understand. Translate questions to the local language if needed.
4. Record your interview, but for ethical purposes, ask permission from the respondents first. Taking down notes will also be helpful in synthesizing the respondents' answers later on.

### Guidelines for the presentation

1. Prepare presentation slides that contain a summary of the results. Introduce the main objective and then present the results.
2. Use tables and charts to summarize your main points. These are not only for visual representation, but are also a good way to synthesize your ideas.
3. Check for formatting and visual impact, too. After considering the content of your slides, format must be the next on your list. For more tips, you may visit <http://office.microsoft.com/en-001/powerpoint-help/tips-for-creating-and-delivering-an-effective-presentation-HA010207864.aspx>.

### Format for the Interview Guide

#### Interview Guide

(Questions you should ask to your respondents regarding their ideas about politics)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## Format for the Presentation of Results

Respondent	Main Idea about Politics
1. Name (Optional), Age, Gender	



### Reflect Upon

What traits and characteristics do you think should a political scientist possess in relation to the research task you have done above?

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## What Is a Government?

**Political science** is a social science discipline that studies the state and the government. The **state** is a political community that involves four important elements, namely, people, territory, sovereignty, and government. The state, while is considered as something abstract for it has no existence as a material object, enjoys permanence, is not confined to a particular space, and is not embodied in any person or collection of persons (Kukathas 2008).

The **government** is the instrument of the state through which the will of the people is expressed, carried out, and formulated. Thus, the government serves as the bridge that connects the people to the state. The terms *state* and *government* are commonly used interchangeably, but in strict political science terms, they definitely mean two different things. This difference is further explored in module 4.



**Big Idea**

The individuals' satisfaction with their government is a determinant of governance.

At present, the terms *government* and *governance* are also used with confusion to a large extent. As an institution, it is the government which concretizes the policies and addresses the problems of the state. On the other hand, good *governance* arises when the government involves the people in its agenda and in the process of policy making. The extent, therefore, to which democratic participation is encouraged determines whether or not governance exists.



## Big Idea

Governance, as a prospect of modern states, demands both the political will of policy officials and the participation of citizens. This only means that you are also part of governance.

### Extend Your Knowledge

The World Bank, an international governmental organization, presents a comprehensive and holistic approach to governance. Visit <http://www.info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home> to know how the World Bank looks at good governance.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

Differentiate government from governance. What are their major differences?

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## The Study of Politics

So how do political scientists study the political world? How is it like to look from the perspective of political scientists? There are several ways by which politics can be studied. Political science is an exciting discipline because it embraces an array of theoretical perspectives and a variety of analytic frameworks. In his book, Heywood (2013) summed up these major schools of thought in political science.



### Big Idea

To study politics entails using different approaches or perspectives. A political scientist also uses tools in understanding the political world, just like how chemists or physicists use a set of tools in their own fields.

The *philosophical tradition*, otherwise known as *political philosophy*, is regarded as the traditional approach to politics. The Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle are usually associated with this tradition as they asked what “should” or “ought” instead of what “is.” This tradition underscored the analytical study of doctrines that have become the major focus of political thought.

Politics can also be studied through *empirical tradition*. Political scientists who advocate this approach believe that any account of political reality must be impartial and should thus be tested through observation. Those who work in this tradition therefore seek to analyze and explain, and not to offer recommendations, as in the philosophical tradition.

Mainstream political analysis has also been dominated by the *scientific tradition*. This tradition promotes objective and quantifiable ways of studying politics. The scientific tradition was further pushed with the rise of *behavioralism*, or the belief that social theories should arise from observation and quantifiable data.

Recent theoretical approaches contribute in widening the perspective of studying political science. Among these include rational choice theory, new institutionalism, and critical theory, which includes feminism, Marxism, and other post-positivist and postmodernist approaches. Unlike behavioralism, *post-positivism* is an approach that emphasizes how people conceive or “construct” the political world. Make a research on these recent approaches and be ready to present in class your ideas about their main arguments or premises.



## Reflect Upon

Should we approach politics with scientific objectivity, adopting a value-free stance, or should we accept that politics and its study are linked to political conviction and change? Is it possible to study politics objectively and without bias? Explain your answer.

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## Extend Your Knowledge

The following materials offer a very good introduction to the study of Political Science.

- Heywood, A. *Politics*. 4th ed. (Chapter 1). London: Palgrave MacMillian, 2013.
- Roskin, M., R. Cord, and W. Jones. *Political Science: An Introduction*. 12th ed. (Chapter 1) New York: Pearson, 2012.

## ESSENTIAL LEARNING

You have learned that politics is characterized by an interaction between individuals whose relationship is characterized by conflict and cooperation. Politics also involves the presence of binding solutions that will solve such differences, although politics is no utopian solution. A particular form of social interaction could be considered political if it involves relationships that have something to do with the art of governance, public affairs, compromise and consensus, and power relations, which all fall within political research. The ability to determine what is political is important in researching about or studying politics. The use of particular approaches in political science—whether the scientific, philosophical, or empirical ones—is crucial in understanding what politics entails.

## Module 2: Political Ideas and Ideologies

In this module, you will be able to:

- critique ideas that have a direct impact on how we try to manage ourselves as a political community;
- identify the basic tenets of major political ideologies (i.e., liberalism, socialism, conservatism, etc.);
- differentiate political ideologies;
- examine the relationship between political ideologies and configurations of political communities; and
- analyze how political ideologies create an impact on the social and political life of Filipinos.

You have learned in the previous module that politics is a social activity through which people make and amend the general rules that guide their political life. As a phenomenon, politics is studied using different theoretical perspectives. The connection between political theory and practice is established by ideologies, among many others.

Following Aristotle's contention that man is by nature a political animal, all individuals are, in essence, political thinkers. Have you heard your parents express their opinions on an issue of political relevance? How about you? Have you not noticed that individuals use political ideas and concepts when they share their opinions or whenever they speak their mind? This module explores these ideas from the perspective of major political ideologies.

### The Role of Ideas

Why did the Filipinos march against the dictator Ferdinand Marcos in what became known as the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution? Why did people do the same during the time of former President Joseph Estrada in 2001? What are the reasons behind the Million People March in 2013? There must be some motivating ideas behind their actions.

**Ideas**, however abstract they may seem, govern individual behavior. While they are not ideologies by themselves, they constitute a part of the raw material needed to create one coherent doctrine. How did the individuals who participate in rallies and protests illustrated in figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 perceive the existence of inequality and injustice during their time? How did they look at equality? What for them is justice? Surely, these political ideas are not merely a passive reflection of their personal interests because these inspired and guided them in their political action.



Fig. 2.1 Protesters during the EDSA People Power in 1986

Source: <http://i35.tinypic.com/xqakwg.jpg>



Fig. 2.2 Calls for Erap's resignation

Source: <http://www.indolentindio.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/gabriela.gif>



Fig. 2.3 Calls for the abolition of pork barrel  
Source: <http://2.bp.blogspot.com/Gngz8mxWcwA/Uhr1209KrSI/AAAAAAAAAGQ0/XK2LnOTkVtc/1600/banner3.png>

As what has been highlighted earlier, political theory and political practice are inextricably linked. Political ideas did not come out of nowhere. They are shaped and continuously reshaped by current socio-historical, economic, and political circumstances. Whether you are conscious or not, your behavior is guided by a set of ideas, beliefs, or value systems you adhere to. At a more general level and at a definitely larger scale, political ideas shape the nature of political systems and serve as glue that binds societies together.



## Big Idea

Whether you are conscious or not, ideas govern individual behavior and conduct. What you believe to be most important and what you value the most, shape and reshape the way you behave. That is the power of political ideas.



### Reflect Upon

What values and beliefs in general do you subscribe to? How do they direct your behavior?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

What is the importance of ideas? How do ideas structure human behavior and direct political systems?

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### The Nature of Political Ideology

An **ideology** is more or less a coherent set of ideas that direct or organize a specific political action (Heywood 2013). It consists of belief and value systems, a discussion of existing power relationships, an exploration of how political change is achieved in line with these power relations, and an illustration of a desired future. The following are several definitions of political ideology according to Heywood (2013).

- A political belief system
- An action-orientated set of political ideas
- The ideas of the ruling class
- The world-view of a particular social class or social group
- Political ideas that embody or articulate class or social interests
- Ideas that propagate false consciousness amongst the exploited or oppressed
- Ideas that situate the individual within a social context and generate a sense of collective belonging
- An officially sanctioned set of ideas used to legitimize a political system or regime
- An all-embracing political doctrine that claims a monopoly of truth
- An abstract and highly systematic set of political ideas



### Big Idea

Political ideologies are so powerful that they do not only direct individual behavior. They also shape the structure of a government, a political system, and an entire country.

Before focusing on the major political ideologies, it is important to present first the spectrum of political attitudes. Whether an individual is radical, liberal, moderate, conservative, or reactionary is largely represented by his or her political values and beliefs in political change. You must have heard before the terms *leftist* or *rightist*, and you might have wondered what they really mean in political discourse. Each of the political attitudes mentioned are positioned in a linear spectrum (figure 2.4)—either on the left, on the middle, or on the right. Thus, to be a leftist means being supportive of the values on the left of the spectrum, while being a rightist means espousing the value of those on the right.

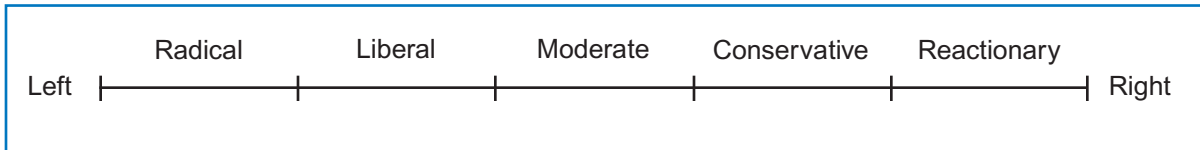


Fig. 2.4 The spectrum of political attitudes (Baradat 2012)

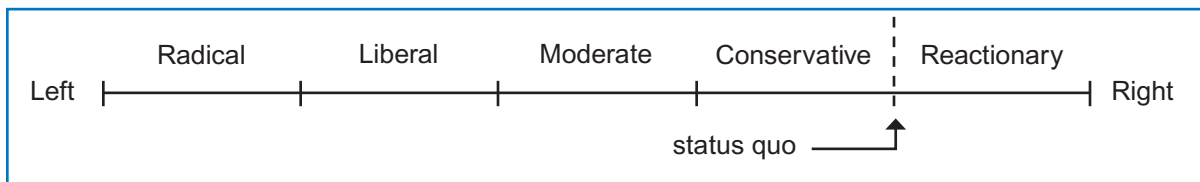



Fig. 2.5 The status quo in the political spectrum (Baradat 2012)

Each of these is an advocate of a particular political value and possesses a political attitude about changing the *status quo*, or the existing conditions. Given the illustration in figure 2.4, to be considered a leftist means supporting the causes of those on the left of the spectrum, where the radicals and the liberals are located. These groups advocate changes in the status quo. The conservatives and the reactionaries, on the other hand, are located on the right side. The conservatives are the most supportive of the status quo, which lies between the conservatives and the reactionaries. The reactionaries, like the conservatives, are reluctant to progressive change. Therefore, the farther one is from the status quo, the more dissatisfied he or she is with it, and hence more likely to be supportive of fundamental changes. The closer a person to the status quo, the less likely he or she is going to call for change.



**Big Idea**

A person's position in the linear spectrum of political attitudes determines the magnitude of change that he or she wants and the type of methods he or she wishes to use in achieving this end.





## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. Define *political ideology*.

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2. Why are ideologies considered important in the political world?

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## BEYOND WALLS 2.1

## Go Online

How do you look at the political world? What is your political personality? Visit <https://www.politicalcompass.org/test> to know your position in the political compass.

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## Major Political Ideologies: Key Ideas and Theories

In this section, you will learn the basic tenets of the classical ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, and socialism) and other ideological traditions that emerged as a reaction to these classical ones. To review, it was mentioned that these ideologies offer a specific lens on how to see the political world. The following presents a way of looking at this world, particularly in terms of power relations, the type of change that is sought and ways on how to achieve it, and a view of the desired future.

Table 2.1 Major Political Ideologies and Their Key Tenets (Heywood 2013)

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Liberalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belief in <i>individualism</i> underscores the importance of the human individual compared to any other group.</li> <li>• <i>Liberty</i> of the individual must be protected. An individual has freedom when he or she is able to act as he or she pleases.</li> <li>• <i>Reason</i> can lead individuals to make wise judgments, which could solve issues or differences.</li> <li>• <i>Equality</i> implies that individuals are born equal, at least in moral terms. Equal rights and entitlements are at its core. It must be noted, however, that liberals do not endorse social equality or equality of outcome.</li> <li>• <i>Tolerance</i> is the willingness of individuals to allow others to think and behave in ways they do not approve. It is a guarantee of individual liberty.</li> <li>• Authority and social relationships must also be based on agreement or <i>consent</i>.</li> </ul>

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Conservatism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tradition</i> must be conserved. These traditions include established customs, institutions, and ways of doing things that have endured through time.</li> <li>• The belief in <i>pragmatism</i> highlights the limits of human reason. As a belief, pragmatism emphasizes that action should be shaped by practical circumstances and goals.</li> <li>• <i>Human imperfection</i> presents the pessimistic view of conservatives on the individual. Accordingly, individuals are morally corrupt and are therefore the sources of crime and disorder. Order could thus be achieved through a strong state.</li> <li>• Conservatives believe that society is an organic whole and is a living entity, more than being an artifact of human ingenuity. This belief is known as <i>organicism</i>.</li> <li>• Conservatives also believe that social position and status are only natural. With this, <i>hierarchy</i> is thought to be inevitable.</li> <li>• <i>Authority</i> must be exercised from above. Leadership is provided to guide and support those who lack knowledge and education and those who have little capacity to act for their own interest.</li> <li>• Conservatives look at <i>property</i> as significant because it is the individual's source of security and independence from the government.</li> </ul>
Socialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belief in the <i>community</i> highlights the degree to which the individual is connected with others. Identity is therefore a product of social interaction more than innate qualities.</li> </ul>

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Socialism (... continued)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brotherhood or <i>fraternity</i> speaks of a shared common humanity. Socialists thus prefer cooperation rather than competition and collectivity rather than individualism.</li> <li>• Socialists put primacy on <i>social equality</i> over other values. This is believed to be the basis for social stability and cohesion.</li> <li>• Socialists look at society in terms of differences in the distribution of income or wealth. <i>Social class</i> is believed to be an important social cleavage, which divides societies. The interests of the working class and the oppressed should be upheld. With this, eradicating economic and social inequalities is deemed as the primary goal of socialism.</li> <li>• <i>Common ownership</i> is also central to socialist thought. Unlike private property, common ownership is a means to harness material resources for the common good.</li> </ul>
Marxism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Historical materialism</i> or the materialist conception of history provides that the economy (mode of production) conditions all other aspects of social life—including the law, government, politics, education, etc.</li> <li>• The <i>dialectic</i>, a process of interaction between competing forces, drives change and leads to a higher stage of development. Historical change is therefore a consequence of contradictions in the mode of production, as reflected in class conflict.</li> <li>• The exploitation of the proletariat (workers) by the capitalists (owners of the means of production) would develop <i>class consciousness</i> among the former, hence ushering a proletarian revolution which will facilitate the creation of a communist society.</li> </ul>

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Marxism (... continued)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A <i>communist society</i>—one that is classless and stateless—will arise when class antagonisms fade.</li> </ul>
Social Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social democrats stand for a balance between the market and the state, and between the individual and the community.</li> <li>• This ideology promotes compromise between the acceptance of capitalism and the <i>distribution of wealth</i> according to moral, rather than market principles.</li> <li>• Social democratic thought is concerned with the weak, the vulnerable, and the underdog.</li> <li>• Compassion, common humanity, freedom, equal opportunities, paternal duty, and care are among the values social democracy recognizes.</li> </ul>
Fascism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fascism is an ultranationalist ideology. As such, it subscribes to the idea of a supreme race, whose members should enjoy the natural resources. It is by nature exclusive as it excludes nonmembers of the race.</li> <li>• Fascism was manifested during Mussolini’s fascist dictatorship in Italy and Hitler’s Nazi dictatorship in Germany.</li> <li>• Common values upheld are struggle, leadership, power, heroism, and war.</li> </ul>

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Fascism (... continued)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The “new man” or a hero who is motivated by duty, honor, and self-sacrifice; and gives unrelenting obedience to the supreme leader is a fascist ideal.</li> <li>• Fascism has an anti-character: antiliberalism, anti-individualism, anticapitalism, etc.</li> <li>• Fascists believe in a <i>unified national community</i> or strength through unity. As such, individual identity is not as important as that of the social group or community.</li> </ul>
Anarchism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The state, or any political authority, is seen as both evil and unnecessary.</li> <li>• Anarchists prefer a <i>stateless society</i>. Individuals can best manage their own affairs through voluntary agreement and cooperation.</li> <li>• Anarchism is thus at the intersection of liberalism and socialism.</li> </ul>
Feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feminism is diverse but its unifying theme is the desire to enhance the <i>social role of women</i>.</li> <li>• Society is characterized by <i>sexual or gender inequality</i>.</li> <li>• The structure of male power must be overturned, hence the belief in gender equality.</li> <li>• Its strands include liberal feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism. There are also “new feminisms” that emerged.</li> </ul>

Major Political Ideologies	Key Tenets
Green Politics/ Ecologism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This ideology is linked with the emergence of <i>environmental movement</i>. It also rose as a revolt against industrialization.</li> <li>• It is concerned with the damages brought by economic development and by the declining quality of human existence.</li> <li>• Conventional ideologies are a vehicle of ecologism. <i>Ecosocialism</i> looks at the destruction of the environment due to capitalism; <i>ecofeminism</i> traces this crisis to male power; and <i>ecoconservatism</i> links the cause of conservation to the desire to preserve tradition and institutions.</li> </ul>
Cosmopolitanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideological expression of <i>globalization</i></li> <li>• It is a belief in a <i>cosmopolis</i> or a <i>world state</i>. It is thus associated with the project of world government.</li> <li>• Modern cosmopolitanism tends to have a moral or a cultural character, believing that the world constitutes a single moral community.</li> <li>• Cosmopolitanism focuses on the idea that all other people in the world have obligations to each other regardless of nationality, ethnicity, and the like.</li> </ul>



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What are the differences among the major political ideologies reviewed previously?

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2. What similarities do these political ideologies share?

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Look at the following pictures. What political values or ideas inherent in the political ideologies presented do the pictures depict, if not refer to? Share your thoughts with the class.

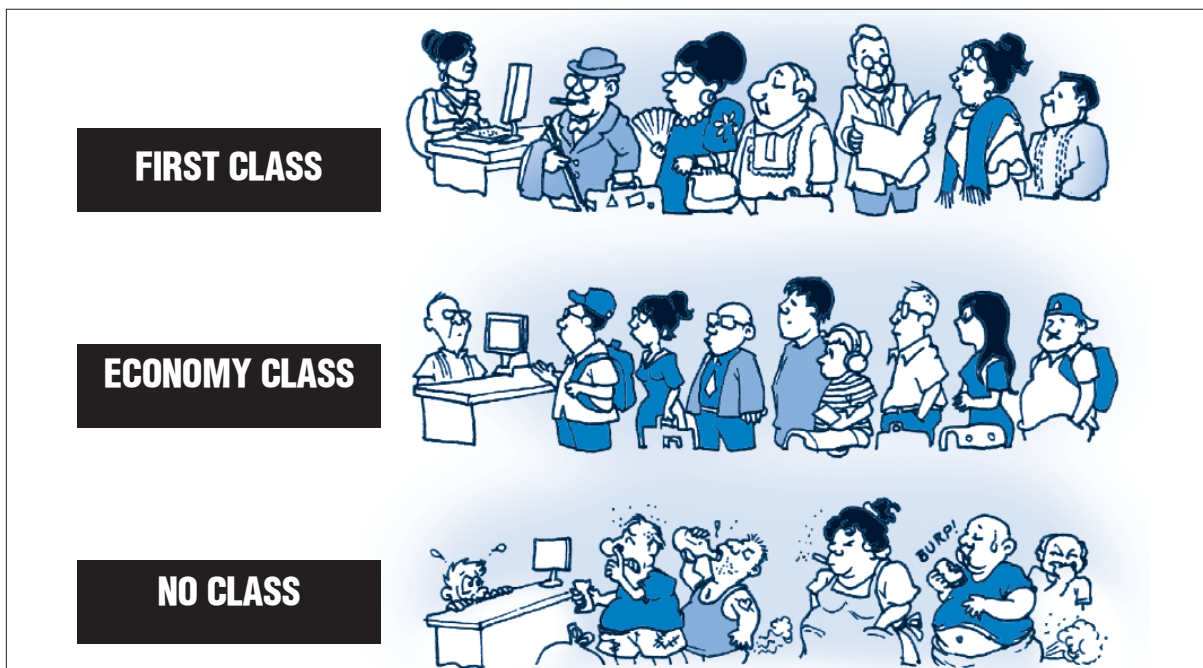


Illustration 1

Adapted from: [http://www.toonpool.com/user/589/files/no\\_class\\_206785.jpg](http://www.toonpool.com/user/589/files/no_class_206785.jpg)



Illustration 2

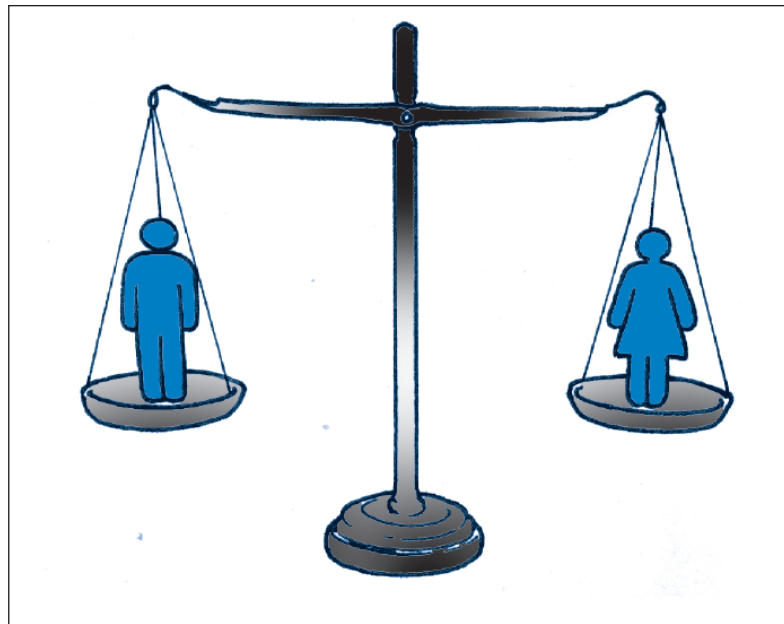


Illustration 3

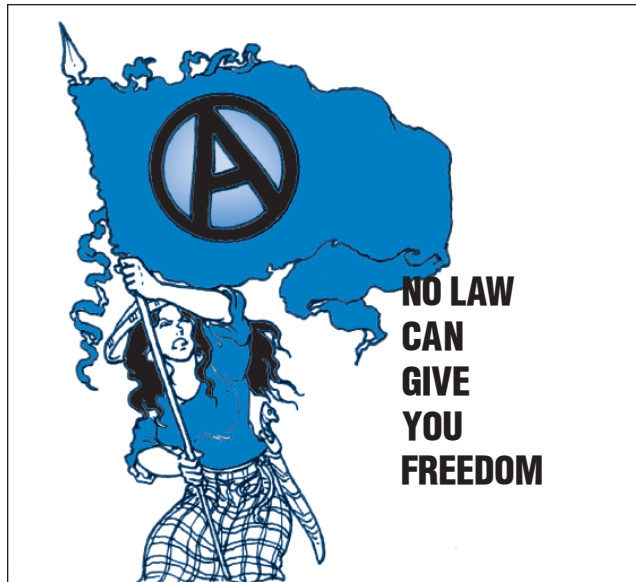


Illustration 4

Adapted from: <http://www.reallibertymedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/anarchism-law-and-freedom.jpg>



### Reflect Upon

1. After learning some of the key principles of different political ideologies, which of them do you agree with most and why?

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2. On a more general level, how are these political ideologies reflected in the Philippine society?

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3. Identify political ideologies that are in place in the Philippines.

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## Ideologies and the Philippine Society

One may ask how political ideologies have affected Philippine politics and society. According to Buendia (1992), ideologies are critical in a country's political life as they make and unmake regimes and governments. He continued, "in the Philippines, ideologies remain to be sharpened and fashioned to the country's needs and demands for development. Many of the solutions proposed by various ideologies are shaped by the way the national problems are defined or seen" (p. 64).

Which values and beliefs materialized in the course of Philippine political history? Has liberalism triumphed over other beliefs in the country? Or has communism weakened in the Philippines? Is feminism present and how has it influenced our society?

While the larger portion of the Philippine society is not motivated by any ideology, several groups, political parties, and sections of the country espouse certain ideologies. As Buendia (1992) claimed, these organizations and their ideologies continue to compete in offering solutions and programs of government to respond to the nation's problems.



Read the article "Ideologies in the Philippines: A Comparative Analysis" written by Rizal Buendia (1992), available at [http://dl.nsf.ac.lk/bitstream/handle/1/13975/ER-18\(7-9\)-20.pdf?sequence=2](http://dl.nsf.ac.lk/bitstream/handle/1/13975/ER-18(7-9)-20.pdf?sequence=2). Answer the following questions afterward.

1. What conceptualization of ideology did the author use? How did he look at ideology?

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2. What ideologies used by groups or organizations in the Philippines did the author present? How did these ideologies look at Philippine society? What are the most

pressing problems the country faces according to these groups and organizations, and what solutions do they espouse? How have these ideologies influenced the course of Philippine society?

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3. What are the other ideologies that have arisen out of the need to address specific problems in the country at present? Which groups or sections of our society espouse these ideologies? What influence do they have in the Philippine society, for instance, in policy making? Which of these do you adhere to and why?

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### BEYOND WALLS 2.3

### Apply It in Real Life

You are a speechwriter for a Philippine senator who is a known feminist. The public official is expected to deliver a speech before university students and several luminaries regarding issues of women and feminism in Philippine society. The senator asked you to write about women and their participation in Philippine politics. The senator will evaluate your output based on content (relevance) and structure (grammar and organization). The senator is given 30 minutes to deliver the speech and entertain questions. It is thus ideal that the speech runs for about 6 to 7 minutes to give ample time to answer questions from the audience.

### Extend Your Knowledge

The following are Internet links you can visit to update you with information, projects and other interesting articles related to political ideas and ideologies.

- The Center for Political Ideologies at <http://cpi.politics.ox.ac.uk>
- Conservatism Today at <http://www.conservatismtoday.com>
- Marxist Archives at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/>

Here are some online articles that present ideologically motivated conflicts and gender ideologies in the Philippines:

- Bautista, M. “Ideologically Motivated Conflicts in the Philippines: Exploring the Possibility of an Early Warning System.” (2005). [http://hdn.org.ph/wp-content/uploads/2005\\_PHDR/2005%20Cynthia\\_Bautista.pdf](http://hdn.org.ph/wp-content/uploads/2005_PHDR/2005%20Cynthia_Bautista.pdf).
- Sobritchea, C. “The Ideology of Female Domesticity: Its Impact on the Status of Filipino Women. *Review of Women’s Studies*, 1, no. 1 (2015): 26–41. <http://www.journals.upd.edu.ph/index.php/rws/article/viewFile/3249/3047>.

### ESSENTIAL LEARNING

You have learned the importance of ideas in shaping the behavior of an individual at the micro level and the society at large. Political ideologies are powerful such that they shape the structure of a society—the institutions and the ways of doing things. These ideologies are comprised of beliefs and value systems that give rise to political processes; they also constitute ideas about change and its desired future. Ideologies vary from the classical to the contemporary ones. These ideologies have different perspectives on various issues, but also have similarities on a number of respects. The relevance of these ideologies rises and falls depending on their significance to explain current social, political, and economic circumstances.

## Module 3: What Is Power?

In this module, you will be able to:

- define *power*;
- recognize the nature, dimensions, types, and consequences of power;
- analyze the nature, dimensions, types, deployments, and consequences of power; and
- assess how power is exercised in different situations.

In the previous discussion on the different views on politics, you have learned that politics also involves power and the distribution of resources. It is thus seen as the exercise of authority in the state. Personal relationships are also characterized by power, whether you are conscious of this or not. You can notice how power is practiced in everyday life, even in the most ordinary situations. In this module, you will be introduced to the nature and types of power, and analyze its relevance and consequences in shaping the structure of different organizations and situations.

### Definition of Power

In its broadest sense, power is one's ability to achieve a desired outcome. However, in political terms, *power* is the ability to influence another—the way one thinks or behaves—in a manner not of his or her own choosing (Lasswell 1936). It thus involves one's capacity to get things done, and to make someone do something he or she would not otherwise do.

*Political power* involves three interrelated concepts: legitimacy, authority, and sovereignty. According to Roskin et al. (2012), *legitimacy* refers to the people's perception that their government rules rightfully, and thus must be obeyed. *Sovereignty*, on the other hand, speaks of the ability of a national government to be the sole leader, which has the last word of law in that society. Lastly, *authority* is seen as the political leader's ability to command respect and exercise power.

Power comes in different faces or dimensions. It can be considered as decision-making, agenda setting, or thought control.



**Big  
Idea**

Power characterizes much, if not all, of people's relationships, may it be at the most personal level or in their relationship with the government or a larger polity.

Table 3.1 Dimensions of Power (Heywood 2013)

Power as decision-making	Power is perceived as the influence on the content of decisions. Who decides, what to be made, and how to execute such decision all involve power.
Power as agenda setting	Power involves the ability to set or control political agenda, highlighting one at the exclusion of other issues.
Power as thought control	Power is seen as an ideological indoctrination or a psychological control where one has the ability to change or shape how another thinks or behaves.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

What is power and what are its dimensions?

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## Reflect Upon

1. Look at everyday situations in your school. How is power exhibited and in what types of relationships does it exist?

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2. In what particular instances in your school could the dimensions of power be identified? In what other situations are these present?

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### Power and Authority

While power is defined as the ability to command obedience and is rested on coercion, most political systems have developed mechanisms by which people obey orders. Power is considered as authority when it is recognized as legitimate. Max Weber (1922) distinguished three types of authority: traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic.



### Big Idea

Power and authority are usually used interchangeably. In political science, authority is legitimate power. When the exercise of power by a leader is recognized and is accepted by those he or she governs, such is considered as legitimate power.

Table 3.2 Types of Authority (Weber 1922)

Traditional	Authority is based on acceptance of and high regard of traditions. Monarchies are examples of this type.
Rational-legal	Authority is based on impersonal rules and regulations. People obey through a legitimate command from the leader.
Charismatic	Obedience is based on personal characteristics of a leader, whose qualities are considered to be exceptional.



**BEYOND WALLS 3.1**

**Go Online**

How do the various types of authority differ from each other? Search the Web and look for leaders who have exercised traditional, rational-legal, or charismatic authority.

How are the concepts of power and authority presented in the following illustrations? What are your thoughts about such representations? Share them in class.



Illustration 1

Adapted from: <http://ils.unc.edu/daniel/614/powercartoon.GIF>

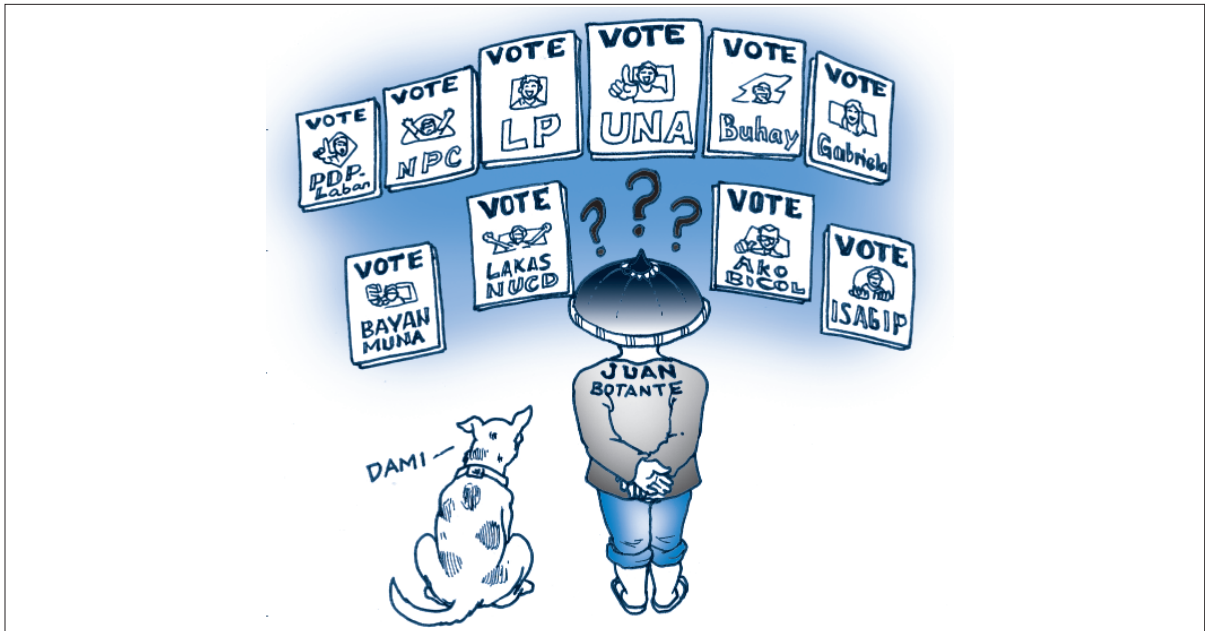


Illustration 2

Adapted from: <https://thepodcaste.com/2016/03/18/political-dynastygraft-and-corruption-and-the-rise-of-mayor-rodrigo-duterte/>



## BEYOND WALLS 3.2

## Read and Answer

Read the article titled “Political Transitions and Legitimacy” by Randy David at <http://opinion.inquirer.net/69879/political-transitions-and-legitimacy> and answer the following questions:

1. What is political legitimacy according to the author?

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2. How similar are the cases of the Philippines and Thailand regarding the crisis on legitimacy?

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3. Which of the contentions of the author do you agree with the most? disagree with the most? Why?

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## The Exercise of Power and Its Consequences

Power defines social and political relationships. Who gets what, when, and how much are usually determined by power. From political systems characterized by democratic institutions or dictatorships, down to interpersonal relationships between and among individuals, the struggle for power is ever present.



### Big Idea

The use of power has consequences. From micro to macro settings, power determines who gets what, where, and when.



### Reflect Upon

1. Try to think of relationships within your family. Who exercises power and what consequences does this have?

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2. How about in school and in the workplace? Can you give instances where power relations exist? Is the relationship between employers and employees characterized by power, too? Explain.

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In the system of governance, power relations determine how resources are distributed. For instance, the relationship between the leader and the governed is shaped by inequality in power. Such is likewise evident in the global order. In world politics or international relations, according to realists, power relations decide the type of relationship between states. Realists maintain that economic, political, and military powers usually dictate the influence of one country over the affairs of another—if not the global order. However, liberals argue that the adverse effects of inequality of power are mitigated by a rules-based world order. Either way, there is a common recognition of the existence of power even at an international scale.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

How important is power in both domestic and international politics?

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### BEYOND WALLS 3.3

#### Go Online

Like in the system of government, power in the workplace also has its own consequences. Visit [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/judith-e-glaser/power-and-influence\\_b\\_3411673.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/judith-e-glaser/power-and-influence_b_3411673.html) and read how power and influence are manifested and redefined in the workplace. Afterward, ask questions to your working family members and determine whether this article reflects power relations in their workplace. Support your answer.



### BEYOND WALLS 3.4

#### Apply It in Real Life

You are a budding visual artist and the university where you graduated from asked you to create an artwork that emphasizes the consequences of power in Philippine society. The work can either be a sculpture or a painting, which will be enlarged once approved to be displayed by the university officials. The approving board will be comprised of school officials and professors. Your work will be evaluated based on artistry and relevance to the theme.

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

The following are online sources that can help you understand further the concept of political power. The first link provides related Web pages that could expand the discussion on the basics of power, while the second link presents relevant theories that explain power.

- <http://www.britannica.com/topic/political-power>
- <http://www.sociology.org.uk/papt1.pdf>

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

Politics cannot be studied without having a focus on power. Power is the ability to influence another. It can also be seen as coercion or the use of intimidation to get desired outcomes. Power can also be legitimate—that is, the exercise of influence is recognized and that the governed accords obedience to the leader. Power comes in various forms and dimensions, and it exists in different levels of relationships: from the personal level, to the governmental, and up to the international level. It has different consequences, but what is notable is that it defines all types of relationships. After all, power involves who gets what, when, and how much.

## Module 4: States, Nations, and Globalization

In this module, you will be able to:

- define *nation* and *state*;
- differentiate state from government;
- differentiate nation from state;
- explain meanings of globalization;
- identify several forms of globalization; and
- evaluate how globalization influences nation-states.

You have learned in module 1 that political science is the study of the state and the government. In this section, you will further learn about the state and will be acquainted with the basic differences among state, government, and nation. You may wonder what could be the importance of states as a political entity and as an actor in the global order, given the increasing interconnectedness of the world at present. The relationship between the state and globalization will also be addressed in this part.

### States, Governments, and Nations

The **state** is a political community that has sovereign jurisdiction over a clearly defined territory, and exercises authority through several institutions, including the government. Heywood (2013) offers five features of a state:

1. It is sovereign.
2. Its institutions are public.
3. It is an exercise of legitimation.
4. It is an instrument of domination.
5. It is a territorial association.

The state has four elements, namely: sovereignty, government, territory, and people. *Sovereignty* refers to both jurisdiction (the ability of a state to exercise its authority over its territory and people) and independence (the freedom from external control). The *government* is the machinery of the state through which the people's will is formulated and carried out. The *territory* includes all the land, sea, and airspace the state exercises jurisdiction on. Finally, the *people* or population is the organization of human beings living together as a community.



### Big Idea

Because the state exercises public authority, it is considered as a very powerful entity. However, this is challenged by several phenomena, such as globalization.

There are several classifications of states depending on the perspective one conforms to. Roskin (2012) claimed that while no international tribunal classifies states based on strength, analysts provide three categories.

Table 4.1 Types of States

Types of State	Characteristics
Effective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The state controls and taxes the entire territory.</li> <li>• Laws are mostly obeyed.</li> <li>• The state provides general welfare and security.</li> <li>• There exists only minor corruption.</li> </ul>
Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime has penetrated politics.</li> <li>• Government is weak in fighting lawlessness, corruption, and poverty.</li> <li>• Justice is bought and elections are often rigged.</li> <li>• Governmental revenues go to private pockets.</li> </ul>
Failed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No national government exists.</li> <li>• The state is ruled by warlords, private army, and militias.</li> <li>• “Gun” is the law.</li> <li>• Education and health standards decline.</li> </ul>



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What is a state and what are its characteristics?

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2. Is the Philippines a state based on these characteristics? Explain your answer.

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## Reflect Upon

Given the present condition of the country and based on your own observations, would you consider the Philippines an effective, weak, or failed state? Why?

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Roskin (2012) held that a state is a powerful entity strong enough to enforce its will. *Political institutions*, the working structures of government, are important in the proper functioning of a state. As what you have learned in module 1, the **government** serves as a mechanism of the state, through which the will of the people is expressed, formulated, and carried out. One way of studying political institutions is through identifying the locus of power—that is, by asking the question, “Who governs?”



## Big Idea

The constitution sets out the type of government a country has, including the political processes and institutions within it.

From this, governments may be classified in several ways. One of the earliest classifications was that of Aristotle. He distinguished governments based on who governs and whether or not such government is positive (legitimate) or negative (corrupt). The table below presents Aristotle’s classic work.

Table 4.2 Aristotle’s Six Types of Governments

Who governs? How many?	Positive Forms	Negative Forms
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

From this categorization by Aristotle, comparative political scientists would later on provide several other government typologies. What other types can you provide? Visit the Web sites below. You may use the suggested matrix to guide you in your research on the types of governments.



## BEYOND WALLS 4.1

## Go Online

The following links provide the basic classifications of governments. You may also look for other articles to aid you in this activity.

- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2128.html>
- <http://www.livescience.com/33027-what-are-the-different-types-of-governments.html>
- <http://dirp3.pids.gov.ph/ris/eid/pidseid0602.pdf>
- [http://www.lewishistoricalociety.com/wiki/tiki-print\\_article.php?articleId=136](http://www.lewishistoricalociety.com/wiki/tiki-print_article.php?articleId=136)

Summarize the main ideas using the following matrix. Use a separate sheet of paper if necessary.

Type of Government/ System	Main Features	Advantages	Disadvantages	Examples



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What are political institutions?

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2. How may governments be classified?

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Now that you have learned these basics, how different then is a state from a government? There are several key differences according to Heywood (2013):

Table 4.3 Key Distinctions between State and Government

State	Government
More extensive; it encompasses all institutions and citizens	An element/part of the state; it is the means through which state authority is exercised
Continuing and permanent entity	Temporary and can be changed from time to time
Exercises impersonal authority; its personnel are trained in bureaucratic ways	The “government of the day” is ideologically biased
Represents the interest of the society or the common good	Represents the interests of those in power at a given period

How about a nation? How different is it from a state and from a government?

If a state is a political community bound by political obligations, a **nation** is a group of people bound together by commonalities in language, history, traditions, and religion. In this case, a nation is not just *cultural*, but could be *political* as well—especially when the people share a common civic consciousness. Although not necessary, a nation can also be seen as *psychological* when people share loyalty or affection in the form of patriotism (Heywood 2013).

The integration of the state and the nation forms the **nation-state**. This political organization is widely recognized today. As an entity, its strength relies on the fusion of both the cultural and political aspects present in a state and in a nation, allowing for cultural cohesion and at the same time political unity. However, nation-states have been met with challenges, including, but not limited to, the growth of ethnic politics and globalization. How has globalization influenced the nation-state?



## Big Idea

The nation-state is at the intersection of the cultural aspect of the nation and the political aspect of the state. The Philippines is an example of a nation-state.



### Reflect Upon

What cultural belief and value systems do you share with the larger Philippine society which makes you feel that you belong to the Filipino nation?

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## Globalization and the Nation-State

Globalization is considered to be the most important threat to the nation-state. But what is this phenomenon? What impact does it have to people and nation-states? Heywood (2013) defined **globalization** as the process through which societies have become so intertwined or interconnected that events and decisions in one part of the world have significant effects on the lives of people in the other part of the world. Transformations in production of goods and the flow of financial capital can be a result of the further integration of economies in the world economy. For example, changes in domestic politics and economy of the Philippines can actually be caused by events happening in different countries. To illustrate this, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Integration may have caused the developments in Philippine educational policies (e.g., the implementation of the K to 12 Basic Education Program) so that the movement of students within the member-countries will be “free-flowing” too. How and why does this happen? What are the characteristics of globalization as a phenomenon? Heywood (2013) enumerates its features.



**Big Idea**

Improvements in communication brought about by the Internet created a borderless world where distance and territorial boundaries have seemingly become less significant.

1. Declining relevance of geographical distance
2. Lessening significance of territorial boundaries
3. Deepening and broadening of political processes, such that the local, national, and global events constantly interact.

Globalization resulted in a growing interdependence among actors, activities, and processes all over the world. Several forms of globalization can be identified, of which Heywood (2013) listed three—economic, cultural, and political. The following table summarizes the key features of these forms of globalization and enumerates some examples.

Table 4.4 Forms of Globalization

Forms	Features/Characteristics	Manifestations/Examples
Economic Globalization	All economies have been integrated in a global economy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Internationalized production</li> <li>• Financial capital flowing freely between countries</li> </ul>

Cultural Globalization	Information, commodities, and images from one part of the world make cultural differences between nations and individuals less significant.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>McDonaldization</i> or what George Ritzer (1993) called as rationalization that Max Weber found in bureaucracies extended to fast-food chains. This then leads to standardization of processes such as production.</li> <li>• Information revolution</li> <li>• Global brands penetrating the local scene</li> </ul>
Political Globalization	The importance of international organizations, transnational organizations, and nongovernmental organizations is being recognized.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Influence on domestic issues of organizations such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, International Red Cross, and World Wide Fund for Nature</li> </ul>



### What Have I Learned So Far?

What is globalization? What are its characteristics?

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What are your views about the following illustrations? How do they present the concept of globalization? Do you agree with the representations depicted in these illustrations?



Illustration 1

Adapted from: <https://estherspace.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/globalization.gif>



Illustration 2

Source: [http://travelstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/globalization\\_by\\_guille3691-1-862x482.jpg](http://travelstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/globalization_by_guille3691-1-862x482.jpg)



## Reflect Upon

How are Filipinos affected by globalization? To what extent has your family been influenced by this phenomenon?

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How does globalization pose a challenge to the state, if not the nation-state? How does globalization challenge the Philippines? Read the article in the next activity and assess how this phenomenon affects the Philippine society.



## BEYOND WALLS 4.2

## Read and Answer

Read the article written by Rommel Banlaoi, which can be accessed at [http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance\\_files/Pub\\_Growth%20Governance/Pub\\_GrowthGovernancech16.pdf](http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech16.pdf). Answer the following questions afterward:

1. How related are the ideas of globalization and nation-building in the Philippine context?

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2. According to the author, what is the reason(s) why the Philippines encounters difficulties in meeting the challenges of globalization?

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3. Do you agree with the author's arguments? Why? What do other authors or articles have to say about the author's ideas?

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You are a lyricist and a group of musicians needs your help. You were asked to write the words for a song that the group is going to perform at the opening of a program for the Filipino community, first in North America and then, in Western Europe. The subject or theme of the song you will compose is about the Filipino family in the age of globalization. The group of musicians will evaluate your work based on content. You may use English or Filipino for the lyrics.

**Extend Your Knowledge**

Check the following articles for further understanding of the interrelationship among states, nations, and globalization.

- For globalization and state capacity in the Philippines, go to <http://dirp4.pids.gov.ph/ris/dps/pidsdps0320.pdf>.
- For globalization and migration, read an article at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN006918.pdf>.

**ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

In ordinary language, the terms *nation*, *state*, and *government* are used interchangeably. In this module, you have seen how different these terms are from each other. The Philippines is both a state and a nation. As a state, it is composed of elements such as people, territory, government, and sovereignty. As a nation, the Philippines is comprised of individuals who share certain commonalities as to language, identity, tradition, or history and who share a feeling of unity and belongingness with that imagined community. Globalization as a phenomenon poses threats to the existence of the Philippine nation-state, or at least, for those who are skeptic about it.

## Module 5: Historical Development of Philippine Democratic Politics

In this module, you will be able to:

- relate the evolution of Philippine politics and governance;
- describe the different stages in the evolution of Philippine politics and governance;
- analyze the evolution of Philippine politics and governance;
- assess the effects of the colonial experience on Philippine politics and governance; and
- appraise the influence of prior stages of Philippine political developments on contemporary Philippine politics.

In the previous modules, you have learned about the basic concepts in political science. This and the succeeding modules will elaborate on the history and structure of the Philippine government. The 1987 Philippine Constitution forms the basis for the current governmental structure of the country. Article II, Section 1 provides that “the Philippines is a *democratic* and *republican* state. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.” But how did our government structure evolve into what it is today? Take a look at a general overview of the historical background of Philippine politics and governance in this module.

### The Development of Philippine Government

The evolution of Philippine politics may be presented through the various historical periods that the country has undergone. The discussion will be divided as follows:

1. Precolonial period (before 1565)
2. Spanish period (1565–1898)
3. Revolutionary period (1868–1898)
4. American period (1898–1941)
5. Japanese occupation (1941–1945)
6. Postwar era or the Third Philippine Republic (1946–1971)
7. Martial Law era (1972–1981) and the Fourth Republic (1981–1986)
8. Post-EDSA or the Fifth Republic (1986–present)

### Precolonial Period

Even before the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines in 1521, there already existed a system of governance in precolonial Philippines. Back then, the Philippines was an archipelago organized into several independent and self-sufficient political units known as the *barangay*.

This unit is headed by a chief known as the *datu*. In other parts of the archipelago, the rulers were called rajah, sultan, or hadji. The datu held vast legislative, executive, and judicial

powers. You will learn more about these three powers in the succeeding modules. But for now, suffice it to say that the chieftain had powers to create rules, implement these regulations, and decide on cases. The datu also served as the military head.

During this period, the barangays already had a legal system, too. Most of the laws, which evolved based on native customs and traditions, were unwritten and were passed on from one generation to the next by oral tradition. In terms of justice, a system of trial in the form of *trial by ordeal* was administered. A system of punishment also existed during that time. The barangay administered laws, and cases were settled as well through mediation and compromise.

Present also during the precolonial times was the system of *stratification*, which was deemed politically significant. The stratification was based on class, which included the nobility (*maharlika*), the freemen (*timawa*), the serfs (*aliping namamahay*) and the slaves (*aliping sagigilid*). The datu belonged to the *maharlika* class. Women also played a pivotal role during this period as they held important positions in precolonial Philippine society. The precolonial system was already complex and sophisticated, such that foreign relations were already established as early as this period. The following photos depict such organized and systematic government our forefathers established during that time.



Fig. 5.1 A painting by Fernando Amorsolo depicting Lapulapu, a datu of Mactan  
Source: <http://www.filipiknow.net/life-in-pre-colonial-philippines/>



Fig. 5.2 The datu occupied the highest rank in the barangay, the most basic political unit in precolonial Philippines and up to this day.

Source: <https://gintongkalatas.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/first-1.jpg>



Fig. 5.3 This painting by Manuel Pañares depicts trade at Port of Sugbu. Foreign trade was existent long before the Europeans arrived in the Philippines.

Source: [http://panarescollections.weebly.com/uploads/8/5/0/5/8505258/8753905\\_orig.jpg](http://panarescollections.weebly.com/uploads/8/5/0/5/8505258/8753905_orig.jpg)



Fig. 5.4 This painting by Fernando Amorsolo depicts Princess Urduja. Women during the precolonial times exercised a multitude of powers and privileges and enjoyed a high status.

Source: <http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-oeKT0YQ04UY/Tgucl-B6zml/AAAAAAAAAO0/v7EwgJcAYUY/s1600/Princess+Urduja.jpg>



### What Have I Learned So Far?

What were the characteristics of our precolonial system of government? How did these reflect the current political system? Give some examples.

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## Reflect Upon

Observe the structure of your barangay. How does your barangay settle disputes? Do you feel the government is at work when disputes are settled? Explain your answer.

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## Spanish Period

Ferdinand Magellan's arrival in the Philippines in 1521 became the Spanish Crown's basis for the occupation of the archipelago. Thereafter, a number of expeditions were sent to formally colonize the archipelago. However, it was only during Miguel Lopez de Legazpi's conquest of the islands in 1565 did the formal establishment of a colonial government take place.



## Big Idea

The Spanish colonization of the Philippines necessitated the introduction of government structures that changed the way of life of the early Filipino people.

The Spanish takeover brought changes in the archipelago's governmental structure. The Philippines was indirectly governed by the king of Spain through Mexico through the Council of Indies in Spain. When Mexico gained independence in 1821, the Philippines was directly ruled by Spain until 1898, when the country was ceded to the United States of America under the Treaty of Paris.

If the precolonial government was characterized by independent barangays, the Spaniards consolidated power under a centralized government, which was led by the *governor-general*. With his authority based in Manila (Intramuros), the governor-general was likewise an all-powerful individual. He had executive, legislative, judicial, administrative, and military powers. The centralization of power and the creation of a basic unitary government is thus a Spanish influence.

The barangays were consolidated for the purpose of administrative efficiency. When the Spaniards were about to implement their imperial design, they noticed that the sparse

indigenous population were scattered in forest lands and coastal areas. With this, the friars enticed the natives to live in towns.

Recognizing the influence of the *datus* for the easier pacification of natives, the Spaniards appointed the chieftains as the *cabeza de barangay*. The *datu's* traditional powers, however, were lost and were limited to collecting taxes. The unified *barangays* composed the *pueblos* or towns, which were led by the *gobernadorcillo* (“little governor”). The consolidated towns then formed into provinces, which could be categorized into two. Provinces that were fully subjugated were called *alcaldia*, headed by the *alcalde mayor*; while provinces that were not entirely pacified under Spanish authority were called *corregimiento*, led by the *corregidor*.

If during the precolonial period the *datu* and the council of elders created laws, laws during the Spanish period emanated from Spain. On the other hand, there was a *Royal Audiencia* which was an independent body created to hear and solve cases. Initially, the governor-general headed the judicial body, but the chief justice replaced him permanently. *Audiencias* were established in Manila, Cebu, and Vigan. While the *Audiencia* was not an exact model of the present-day Supreme Court (Santos, n.d.), it nonetheless had influence on its structure.



## Big Idea

The influence of the Spaniards on Philippine politics is still evident today.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

How did the government structure change during the Spanish period? What were some of the influences of the Spaniards in the political system of the country?

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## Revolutionary Period

During the second half of the 19th century, the nationalist sentiments of the Filipinos were awakened. The *Propaganda Movement*, led by key figures such as Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena, advocated reforms—such that the same rights and freedoms being enjoyed in Spain would also be granted to the Filipinos. They wrote novels, manifestos, and articles that called for reforms. However, the failure of the Propaganda to initiate changes in the society gave birth to a secret association, the *Kataas-taasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Katipunan). Founded in 1892 by Andres Bonifacio and a group of patriots, the Katipunan sought independence from Spain and set the 1896 Revolution in motion.



### Big Idea

The executive, legislative, and judicial branches created during the Revolutionary Period were reflective of the revolutionary forces' ideal of an independent Philippine state.



Fig. 5.5 The pacifist and Europe-based members of the Propaganda Movement were from the elite and wealthy.

Source: [http://philippineamericanwar.webs.com/Filipino%20Ilustrados\\_1890.jpg](http://philippineamericanwar.webs.com/Filipino%20Ilustrados_1890.jpg)



Fig. 5.6 A Carlos V. Francisco painting that depicts the Philippine Revolution of 1896  
Source: [http://nosfecatu.blogspot.com/2016\\_01\\_01\\_archive.html](http://nosfecatu.blogspot.com/2016_01_01_archive.html)

As an organization, the Katipunan adopted its own form of government, which had national and local levels. The Katipunan was governed by the *Kataastaasang Sanggunian* (Supreme Council), which was composed of the president, secretary/secretaries, treasurer, and fiscal. The *Sangguniang Balangay* (Provincial Council) and the *Sangguniang Bayan* (Popular Council) was also organized in each province and town, respectively. A *Sangguniang Hukuman* (Judicial Council) was also created to adjudicate on cases involving members of the organization.

Events, however, led to the division of the Katipunan into two factions: the Magdalo and Magdiwang. The Spaniards were about to make an offensive in Cavite and a unified leadership was deemed necessary. On 22 March 1897, the *Tejeros Convention* was called, where Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo was elected as president.

On 1 November 1897, Aguinaldo established the *Biak-na-Bato Republic*. Its constitution declared the creation of an independent Philippine state. The republic, however, lasted for only a month after the *Pact of Biak-na-Bato* was signed. It provided for the amnesty and monetary indemnity of Aguinaldo and other revolutionaries, including the exile of the revolutionary government to Hong Kong. The pact was supposed to signal the end of the revolution, but Aguinaldo and his men purchased more arms and ammunition to prepare themselves for another siege.

By April 1898, the Spanish-American war broke out. Aguinaldo sailed for Cavite from Hong Kong and by 24 May, he established a dictatorial government. It was under this dictatorial government that the Philippine independence from Spain was declared on 12 June in Kawit, Cavite.

Soon after, the dictatorial government was replaced by a revolutionary government. On 15 September 1898, months after the declaration of independence, the Malolos Congress convened, which produced the Malolos Constitution. On 23 January 1899, the *First Philippine Republic* was established with Emilio Aguinaldo as its president. A Supreme Court of Justice was likewise created, which addressed cases. However, the outbreak of the Filipino-American War suspended the activities of these institutions. In 1901, Emilio Aguinaldo was captured by American forces, leading to the dissolution of the First Philippine Republic.

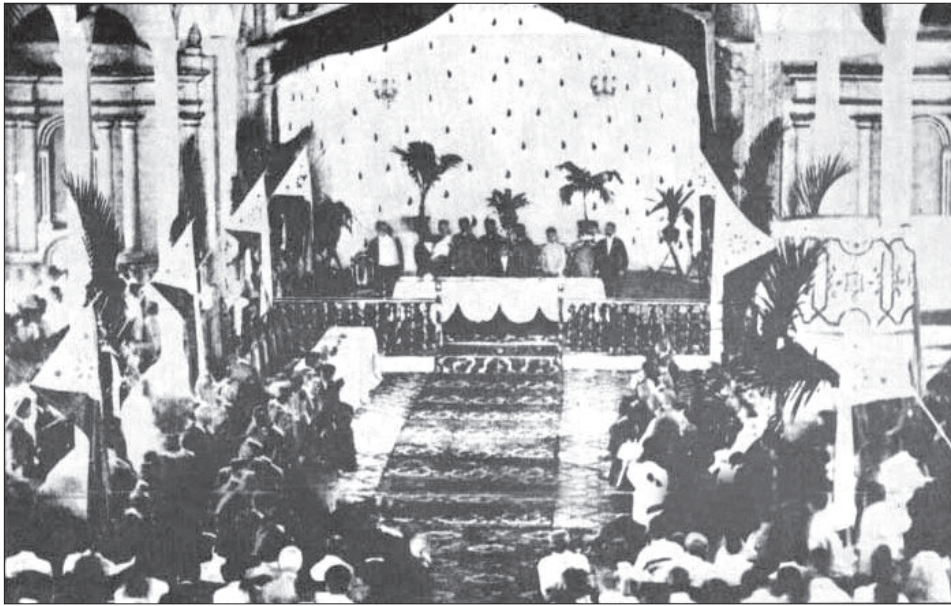


Fig. 5.7 The opening of the Malolos Congress at the Barasoain Church in Bulacan  
Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Malolos\\_Congress.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Malolos_Congress.png)



### Reflect Upon

1. Imagine the revolutionary forces' struggle against a new colonizer during the revolutionary period. What could have gone wrong that resulted in the failure of the revolution?

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2. What struggles does the nation face at present? Are the Filipinos bound to repeat history? Explain your answer.

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## American Period

The signing of the *Treaty of Paris* signaled the end of the Spanish-American War. The treaty involved United States' payment of \$20 million to Spain after the latter ceded all its imperial possessions, including Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The American occupation of the Philippines definitely precipitated the Philippine-American War. Following the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo and the defeat of revolutionary forces, the official end of hostilities was declared in 1902. Regardless of this, individual uprisings all over the archipelago still persisted, making the Philippine-American War one of the longest wars the United States has ever been to.



Fig. 5.8 The Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 December 1898.

Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/John\\_Hay\\_signs\\_Treaty\\_of\\_Paris%2C\\_1899.JPG](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/John_Hay_signs_Treaty_of_Paris%2C_1899.JPG)



Fig. 5.9 A photograph of Filipino soldiers during the Filipino-American War

Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Filipino\\_soldiers\\_outside\\_Manila\\_1899.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Filipino_soldiers_outside_Manila_1899.jpg)

In 1898, after America's capture of Manila, the United States forces established a *military government* in the Philippines. It was led by a military governor, who exercised all powers of the government. The military governor administered the Philippines through the authority of the US President, who was also the Commander in Chief of the US Armed Forces. The military governors were Gen. Wesley Merritt (1898), Gen. Elwell Otis (1898–1900), and Maj. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, Jr. (1900–1901).

The *Spooner Amendment* eventually ended the military regime. A civilian governor replaced the military governor. The Americans established the Insular Government of the Philippine Islands under the authority of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, a division which oversaw the civil affairs of some US foreign territories. What ensued thereafter was the establishment of governmental structures that would later on affect or shape the course of Philippine politics.



## Big Idea

If “god, gold, and glory” guided the Spaniards’ conquest of the Philippines, the Americans’ was founded on the belief in democracy.

William H. Taft (in office 1901–1904) became the first civil governor of the Philippines. The civil governor acted as the head of the executive branch and also exercised legislative powers as the head of the *Philippine Commission*, a lawmaking body, whose members were all appointed.

In 1902, the Philippine Organic Act (Cooper Act) was enacted, which provided for the creation of a Philippine legislature. The legislature would be bicameral, with the all-appointed Philippine Commission as the upper house; and the *Philippine Assembly*, whose members were to be elected, as the lower house. In 1907, the first nationwide election was held and the Philippine legislature held its first session. By 1916, the Philippine Autonomy Act (Jones Law) provided for the reorganization of the Philippine legislature into a fully elected and Filipino-controlled bicameral body. The Philippine Commission became the *Senate*, while the Philippine Assembly became the *House of Representatives*.



Fig. 5.10 William H. Taft, first civil governor of the Philippines

Source: [https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Howard\\_Taft#/media/File:William\\_Howard\\_Taft.jpg](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Howard_Taft#/media/File:William_Howard_Taft.jpg)



Fig. 5.11 US President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the Tydings-McDuffie Law with American and Filipino statesmen behind him.

Source: <http://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.timetoast.com/public/uploads/photos/5305778/Mcduff.jpg?1396505938>

Meanwhile, Filipino statesmen were already working toward total Philippine independence from the United States. Until in 1934, the *Tydings-McDuffie Act* (Philippine Independence Act) was ratified by the US Congress. It established the *Philippine Commonwealth*, which provided for a 10-year transition period that would prepare the Filipinos for self-governance. The 1935 Constitution was promulgated, which paved the way for a presidential and unicameral legislative system called the *National Assembly* of the Philippines. The legislature was later restored to bicameral after an amendment in the Commonwealth Constitution. An independent judiciary was also established, with judicial power vested in a supreme court and such other inferior courts as provided by law. President Manuel Quezon and Vice President Sergio Osmeña headed the first Commonwealth government. The Commonwealth government went in exile when the Japanese occupied the Philippines from 1942–1945.

The influence of the American occupation on the structure of government of the country is very evident. The democratic political institutions established, including electoral and party politics, constitutional law, the secret ballot, and the legislature, are manifestations of the strong influence the Americans had on our current political system. Similarly, our belief in the democratic ideals that guide governance of the country is by itself an American influence. As Teehankee (2002) noted, colonialism became the defining force in the emergence of democracy in the Philippine nation-state.



## Big Idea

The political institutions that were established in the country during the American period were based on the ideals of a democratic government.



### BEYOND WALLS 5.1

### Read and Answer

Read the poem “The White Man’s Burden” written by Rudyard Kipling in 1899 for you to have another perspective on the American colonization of the Philippines. Answer the questions that follow.

Take up the White Man’s burden—  
Send forth the best ye breed—  
Go send your sons to exile  
To serve your captives’ need  
To wait in heavy harness  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half devil and half child.

Take up the White Man’s burden  
In patience to abide  
To veil the threat of terror  
And check the show of pride;  
By open speech and simple  
An hundred times made plain  
To seek another’s profit  
And work another’s gain.

Take up the White Man’s burden—  
The savage wars of peace—  
Fill full the mouth of Famine  
And bid the sickness cease;  
And when your goal is nearest  
The end for others sought,  
Watch sloth and heathen Folly  
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—  
No tawdry rule of kings,  
But toil of serf and sweeper—  
The tale of common things.  
The ports ye shall not enter,  
The roads ye shall not tread,  
Go mark them with your living,  
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden—  
And reap his old reward:  
The blame of those ye better  
The hate of those ye guard—  
The cry of hosts ye humour  
(Ah slowly!) to the light:  
"Why brought ye us from bondage,  
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden—  
Ye dare not stoop to less—  
Nor call too loud on Freedom  
To cloke your weariness;  
By all ye cry or whisper,  
By all ye leave or do,  
The silent, sullen peoples  
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden—  
Have done with childish days—  
The lightly proffered laurel,  
The easy, ungrudged praise.  
Comes now, to search your manhood  
Through all the thankless years,  
Cold-edged with dear-bought wisdom,  
The judgment of your peers!

Source: <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/kipling.asp>

Questions:

1. What is the main theme of the poem?

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2. How does the poem justify the American colonization of the Philippines?

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3. Search for and read McKinley's *Benevolent Assimilation* policy. How does this poem relate to such policy in the Philippines?

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### What Have I Learned So Far?

What were the changes in the government structure that took place during the American period?

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## Reflect Upon

The Americans introduced reforms to the political structure of the government. Their colonial venture in the country necessitated changes on social, cultural, and other aspects as well. What aspects of you, your family, and your community are reflective of American influence?

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### Japanese Occupation

The Japanese occupation of Manila signaled the establishment of the Japanese Military Administration on 3 January 1942. It consequently led to the interruption of American rule in the Philippines.



Fig. 5.12 Japanese soldiers after the fall of Bataan on 9 April 1942

Source: <http://www.emersonkent.com/images/bataan.jpg>

As an initial move, the Japanese military forces established the *Philippine Executive Commission* (PEC), a civil government that would temporarily rule the country. It was composed of Filipinos, with Jorge B. Vargas as its chairman. While this commission exercised executive and legislative powers, everything was subject to approval by the commander in chief of the Japanese forces.

In 1943, a new constitution was promulgated and the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic was established. Jose P. Laurel served as its president. Also called the Second Republic, its executive, legislative, and judiciary structures were similar to those of the PEC. While Filipinos assumed government positions, the Japanese apparently influenced how the country would be administered. Thus, the Second Republic is commonly referred to as a “puppet” government.

Soon after the return of Gen. Douglas MacArthur to the Philippines in 1944 and the eventual defeat of the Japanese forces, the Commonwealth government was reestablished. The 1935 Constitution again became the highest law of the land. Meanwhile, Manila suffered as the second most devastated city after the Second World War, next to the city of Warsaw in Poland. By 5 July 1945, MacArthur announced the liberation of the Philippines. The reestablishment of the government under Osmeña saw enormous problems: devastation by war, destruction of the economy, political warfare, and guerilla violence. Thus, the primary problem during this period was the reconstruction of the country and of the government.



Fig. 5.13 Intramuros after the war

Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Manila\\_Walled\\_City\\_Destruction\\_May\\_1945.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Manila_Walled_City_Destruction_May_1945.jpg)



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. How did the Japanese interruption of the American rule influence the political system of the country?

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2. How did the war affect the structure not only of the political system but of the entire system of governance during that period?

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## Postwar Era

As what has been mentioned earlier, the Tydings-McDuffie Act granted independence to the Philippines after the 10-year transitional period. This happened on 4 July 1946, despite the fact that the Philippines was still rising up from the ashes brought by the war. The *Third Republic* was also inaugurated on this day.

The structure of postwar Philippine politics and government was founded on the 1935 Constitution. The said constitution provided for a presidential and unitary system, wherein the president will be directly elected by the people and will serve for four years with a maximum of two terms. There was also a bicameral legislature composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives, whose members are also directly elected by the people. An independent judicial body—composed of the Supreme Court and the lower courts—was also created. Philippine politics and government were democratic in a sense that they provided for the separation of powers and a system of checks and balances among the three branches of the government. Electoral and party politics (see unit II, module 10) also characterized pre- and postwar periods.

The first president of the Third Republic was Manuel Roxas (in office 1946–1948), followed by Elpidio Quirino (1948–1953), Ramon Magsaysay (1953–1957), Carlos P. Garcia (1957–1961), Diosdado Macapagal (1961–1965), and the first term of Ferdinand Marcos (1965–1969). Marcos's second term saw changes in the governmental structure and the ratification of a new constitution in 1973.



Fig. 5.14 Manuel Roxas took his oath of office during the Independence Day ceremony on 4 July 1946.

Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ac/Manuelroxasinaguration.jpg>



Fig. 5.15 The Philippine flag was raised as the US flag was lowered during the inauguration of the Third Philippine Republic.

Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/Philippine\\_Independence,\\_July\\_4\\_1946.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/Philippine_Independence,_July_4_1946.jpg)

### **Martial Law Era and the Fourth Republic**

In 1965, Ferdinand Marcos was elected to the presidency and his administration was characterized by an increased agricultural productivity, massive infrastructure development, and a defining diplomatic policy. In 1969, he ran for reelection and succeeded, making him the only president under the 1935 Constitution to be elected for a second term. That time, however, the country was undergoing worsening economic condition, deteriorating peace and order, social discontent, and a growing Communist insurgency.



### **Big Idea**

The declaration of Martial Law saw the suspension of the democratic principles that guided the pre- and postwar periods.

To “save” the Republic from this turmoil and to reform the society, Marcos, on 23 September 1972, announced on nationwide radio and television that he was placing the entire country under martial law. The declaration was made through the virtue of Proclamation 1081 which was signed on 21 September. Marcos rationalized that martial law was the only option that would solve the rebellion which posed a threat to the peace and order of the country. He then instituted the *Bagong Lipunan* (New Society), which envisioned a thriving and self-reliant society that is based on new social and political values.

Under Marcos’s administration, a new constitution was adopted in 1973. The 1973 Constitution provided that the Philippines will have a modified parliamentary form of government. The president will serve as a ceremonial head of state, with the following functions: address the National Assembly at the opening of its regular session; proclaim the election of prime minister; dissolve the National Assembly and call for a general election; appoint all officers and employees in accordance with the Civil Service Law, among others (Article VII, Section 6). On the other hand, the prime minister will be the head of the cabinet (Article IX, Section 1), be responsible to the National Assembly for the program of government approved by the president and determine the guidelines of national policy (Section 2), and be the commander in chief of all armed forces in the Philippines (Section 12), among others. The president and the prime minister were to be elected by the National Assembly, a unicameral legislative body composed of assemblymen elected by the people.

By 1976, the 1973 Constitution was amended. Instead of having an election for the National Assembly, an interim Batasang Pambansa would be established, composed of the incumbent president, the current regional and sectoral representatives, and the members of the cabinet. The interim Batasang Pambansa would have the same power as that of the National Assembly.

The third item in the 1976 amendments allowed Marcos to be the president and the prime minister at the same time. He shall “continue to exercise all his powers even after the interim Batasang Pambansa is organized and ready to discharge its functions. Likewise, he shall continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the 1935 Constitution and the powers vested on the President and the Prime Minister under this Constitution.” Ultimately, Marcos’s legislative powers were solidified as the sixth item allowed him to “issue the necessary decrees, orders, or letters of instructions, which shall form part of the law of the land” if the interim Batasang Pambansa or the regular National Assembly fails to address matters deemed requiring immediate action by the president–prime minister. In 1981, the constitution was again amended. With these changes in the government structure, Marcos was able to stay in the presidency longer and exercise greater powers.



## Big Idea

During Martial Law, the dictator held all governmental powers, relying on the military, force, coercion, and violence to exercise authority.

During martial law, the political rights and civil liberties of the people as well as their human rights were suppressed and violated. The suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* led to the arrest and detention of any person without proper court proceeding. There were also cases of human rights abuses among those who were vocal against the regime. Press freedom was

suppressed as Marcos established control of mass media. Through Letter of Instruction No. 1, Marcos ordered the closure of media establishments in the country. He also used his power to seize companies and industries and to place them under the control of his trusted supporters and relatives, instituting what came to be known as crony capitalism.

While Marcos already lifted martial law by 1981, he continued to exercise dictatorial powers. Calls to end his dictatorial regime brought Filipinos to take to the streets to participate in a popular and nonviolent uprising called the EDSA People Power, which ousted Marcos and ended his dictatorial rule.



Fig. 5.16 People carried religious images during the peaceful demonstration.

Source: [http://poliscidemocracy.weebly.com/uploads/4/1/6/6/41664589/7037677\\_orig.jpg](http://poliscidemocracy.weebly.com/uploads/4/1/6/6/41664589/7037677_orig.jpg)



Fig. 5.17 People flocked to EDSA in efforts to end the authoritarian regime.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/govph/15945416394/in/album-72157650893299265/>

### Post-EDSA Period

The period from 1986 onward is the restoration of democracy. The fall of the dictatorship marked the shift toward redemocratization and return to constitutionalism. A revolutionary government was created following Corazon Aquino's ascent to presidency. A Freedom Constitution was also framed, which served as the foundation of the transitory government. When a new Philippine Constitution was ratified in 1987, a democratic and republican government was established.

The 1987 Constitution featured aspects that reflected those of the 1935 Constitution, albeit several changes. The post-EDSA era, also known as the Fifth Republic, saw the revival of democracy, wherein governmental powers emanate from the people. Elections, political parties, and civil societies were thus reinstated. Civilian authority (through the president) was recognized supreme over the military. An independent judiciary was also reestablished. The Philippine legislature also returned to a bicameral form, with the rebirth of the Senate and the House of Representatives.



**Big Idea**

The ideals of the current 1987 Philippine Constitution reflect those established during the American period.



## Big Idea

Much of the present structure of Philippine government and politics mirror those of the US political system.

Corazon Aquino (in office 1986–1992) served as the first president of the Fifth Republic. She was followed by Fidel Ramos (1992–1998) and Joseph Estrada, who only served half of his term (1998–2001) after being deposed by the EDSA People Power II. Estrada was succeeded by his vice president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who eventually won the 2004 presidential

election and thus served as executive for almost a decade (2001–2010). She was followed by Benigno Simeon Aquino III (2010–2016), son of former president Corazon Aquino. Today, the Philippines is headed by Rodrigo Duterte, the first president to have hailed from Mindanao.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

To what extent does the present system of politics and government in the Philippines reflect those of the Americans?

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### BEYOND WALLS 5.2

### Go Online

Visit <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-15581450> and you will find a time line that presents the important events in Philippine political history. Look at the more recent developments in Philippine politics and society. How did the prior stages of Philippine political development affect the current status of the Philippine political landscape?

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You are a TV reporter who was asked by the producer to prepare a documentary in commemoration of the Martial Law. You need to prepare a four-minute video that will present how life was during this period. You are to interview an elderly who experienced this period in Philippine political history. The producer will evaluate your documentary based on content (relevance to the theme) and editing (visual and sound impact).

**Extend Your Knowledge**

- For a brief history of the Philippine Congress, you may visit <http://www.congress.gov.ph/about/index.php?about=history>.
- For a quick snapshot of Philippine history, you may check <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/>.
- For a comprehensive discussion of the history of the Philippine government structure and politics, check out the chapters in the book of Tadem, T.S. and Morada, N.M., (eds.). *Philippine Politics and Governance: An Introduction*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 2006.

**ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

You have read in this module a brief overview on how Philippine politics and government transformed through time. Nonetheless, what this module points out is that the current developments in the country's political landscape are heavily influenced by what took place in the past. There are several institutions and political processes that trace their roots from the precolonial up to the colonial periods. The structure of Philippine politics to date is not only a reflection of the country's struggle with colonialism but also with dictatorship. After all, the return to democracy and constitutionalism, through the 1987 Constitution, is a reflection of the nation's victory against the authoritarian system. While it is true that the Philippines espouses democratic ideals, the extent and real essence of democracy are definitely challenged in the present time. This is addressed in the succeeding modules.

## Module 6: The Executive

In this module, you will be able to:

- discuss the principles of separation of powers and checks and balances (*enrichment*);
- explain the roles and powers of the Philippine president;
- analyze how contemporary Philippine presidents exercised their powers;
- critique the Philippine presidents' exercise of power; and
- explain current issues and challenges to the Philippine executive (*enrichment*).

The Philippines has a presidential, unitary, and republican system of government. Under a *presidential system of government*, the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches are separate and distinct from each other. This means that each of the branches has its own powers and responsibilities, and that each is expected to work in its own sphere. Such setting is guided by the principle of *separation of powers* (figure 6.1). While it is true that they are distinct from each other, one branch is granted powers to check on the others' exercise of privileges. This constitutional guarantee which assures that one branch does not abuse its powers is known as the doctrine of *checks and balances* (figure 6.2). Remember, however, that while the branches of the government are guided by these principles, they also are expected to work and cooperate with each other in providing for the welfare of the citizens. In this module, the structure and organization, powers and responsibilities, and issues and challenges of the Philippine executive are discussed.

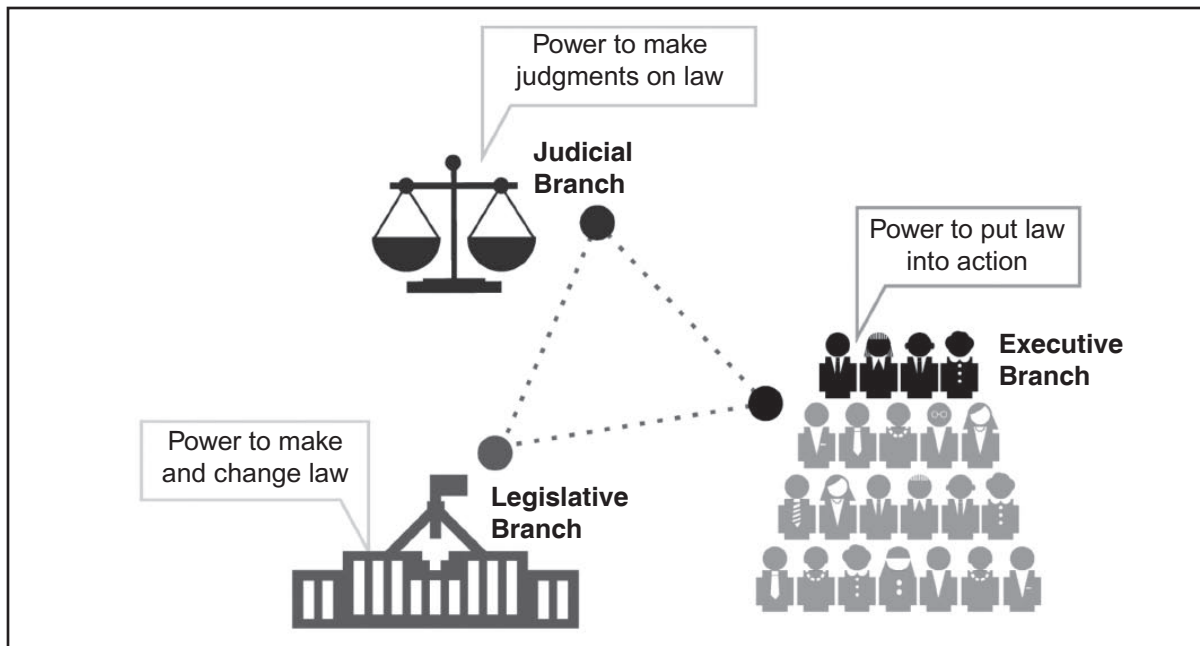


Fig. 6.1 Principle of separation of powers

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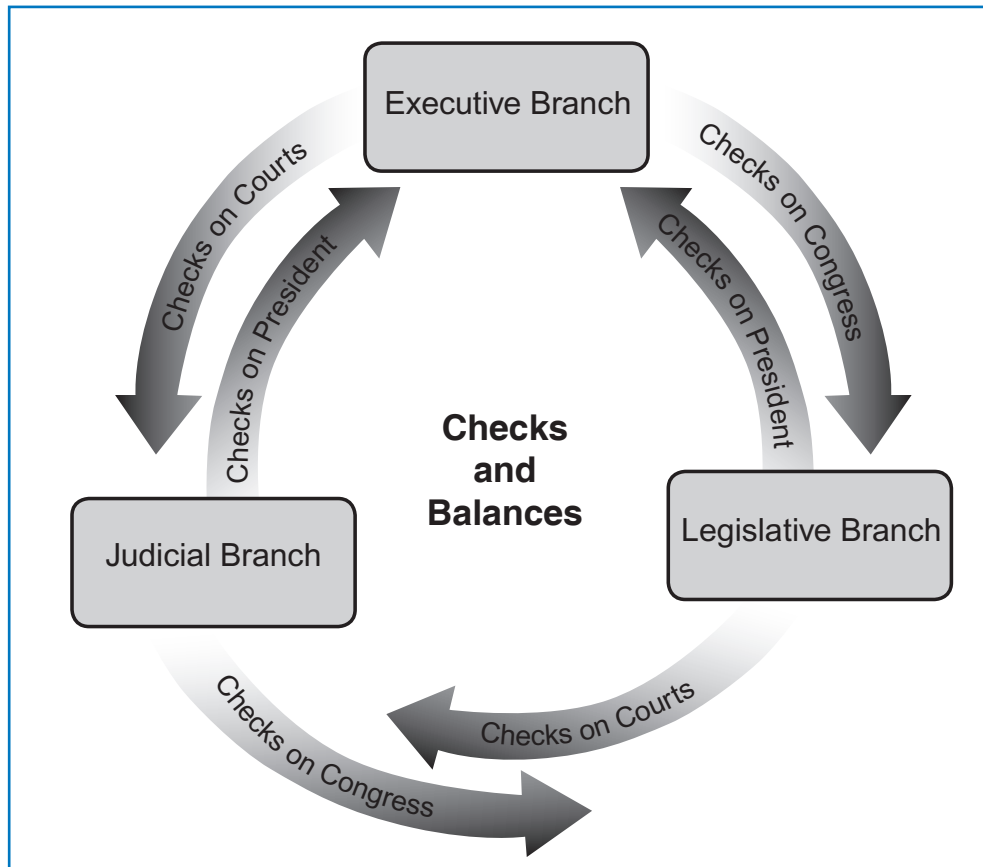


Fig. 6.2 Principle of checks and balances

The Philippines, being a unitary and republican state, will be discussed later in the following modules.

### Executive Power

*Executive power* is roughly defined as the power to implement laws in one country. If the legislature’s task is to create or make laws while the judiciary’s duty is to interpret or apply these laws, the executive branch of the government is vested the power to execute these laws and make sure that they are properly implemented.

**Big Idea**

The President of the Republic of the Philippines is both the head of government and head of state. This means that he or she holds both governmental and ceremonial powers.

The structure, organization, powers, responsibilities, and prohibitions of the executive branch are provided under Article VII of the 1987 Constitution. Section 1 states that the “executive power is vested in the President of the Philippines.”



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What are the doctrines of separation of powers and checks and balances?

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2. How does executive power differ from legislative and judicial powers?

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Given this, the president is entrusted to execute laws, and control and administer government affairs. The president is also regarded as the government's chief executive officer. But before we have an elaborate presentation of the specific powers of the president, it is first necessary to look at the qualifications, manner of election, and terms of office of the president and the vice president.

Table 6.1 Qualifications, Election, and Terms of Office of the President and Vice President, as Provided for in the Article VII of the 1987 Constitution

Public Official	Qualifications	Manner of Election	Term of Office
President	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A natural-born citizen</li> <li>2. A registered voter</li> <li>3. Able to read and write</li> <li>4. At least 40 years of age on the day of the election</li> <li>5. A resident of the Philippines for at least 10 years immediately preceding his or her election (Section 2)</li> </ol>	<p>The president and vice president shall be elected by a direct vote of the people (Section 4)</p> <p>The person having the highest number of votes (plurality method) shall be elected.</p>	<p>Six years</p> <p>The term begins at noon on June 30.</p> <p>The president shall not be eligible for reelection (Section 4, paragraph 1).</p>
Vice President			<p>Six years</p> <p>The vice president shall not serve for more than two successive terms (Section 4, paragraph 1)</p>

Should there be any questions pertaining to the election, the Supreme Court shall be the one to settle questions about the election, returns, and qualifications of these officials. As provided by Article VII, Section 4: “the Supreme Court, sitting *en banc*, is the sole judge of all contests relating to the election, returns, and qualifications of the President or Vice President.” The Supreme Court serves therefore as the Presidential Electoral Tribunal.

The presidential election is held on the second Monday of May, unless otherwise provided by law. In case of a tie, the candidate who will win will be chosen by the vote of a majority of Congress (both Senate and House of Representatives), voting separately.

There are, however, instances when the position of president or vice president will be vacated. This is an issue of presidential succession and the constitution also has provisions regarding such circumstances.



## Big Idea

The President is not only the head of the executive department but of the entire country; hence he or she is referred to as the *pangulo*.



### BEYOND WALLS 6.1

### Read and Answer

Read the following provisions on presidential succession based on Article VII of the 1987 Constitution. Answer the questions that follow.

**SECTION 7.** The President-elect and the Vice-President-elect shall assume office at the beginning of their terms.

If the President-elect fails to qualify, the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until the President-elect shall have qualified.

If a President shall not have been chosen, the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have been chosen and qualified.

If at the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died or shall have become permanently disabled, the Vice-President-elect shall become President.

Where no President and Vice-President shall have been chosen or shall have qualified, or where both shall have died or become permanently disabled, the President of the Senate or, in case of his inability, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall act as President until a President or a Vice-President shall have been chosen and qualified.

The Congress shall, by law, provide for the manner in which one who is to act as President shall be selected until a President or a Vice-President shall have qualified, in case of death, permanent disability, or inability of the officials mentioned in the next preceding paragraph.

SECTION 8. In case of death, permanent disability, removal from office, or resignation of the President, the Vice-President shall become the President to serve the unexpired term. In case of death, permanent disability, removal from office, or resignation of both the President and Vice-President, the President of the Senate or, in case of his inability, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, shall then act as President until the President or Vice-President shall have been elected and qualified.

The Congress shall, by law, provide who shall serve as President in case of death, permanent disability, or resignation of the Acting President. He shall serve until the President or the Vice-President shall have been elected and qualified, and be subject to the same restrictions of powers and disqualifications as the Acting President.

SECTION 9. Whenever there is a vacancy in the Office of the Vice-President during the term for which he was elected, the President shall nominate a Vice-President from among the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who shall assume office upon confirmation by a majority vote of all the Members of both Houses of the Congress, voting separately.

SECTION 10. The Congress shall, at ten o'clock in the morning of the third day after the vacancy in the offices of the President and Vice-President occurs, convene in accordance with its rules without need of a call and within seven days enact a law calling for a special election to elect a President and a Vice-President to be held not earlier than forty-five days nor later than sixty days from the time of such call. The bill calling such special election shall be deemed certified under paragraph 2, Section 26, Article VI of this Constitution and shall become law upon its approval on third reading by the Congress. Appropriations for the special election shall be charged against any current appropriations and shall be exempt from the requirements of paragraph 4, Section 25, Article VI of this Constitution. The convening of the Congress cannot be suspended nor the special election postponed. No special election shall be called if the vacancy occurs within eighteen months before the date of the next presidential election.

SECTION 11. Whenever the President transmits to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

Whenever a majority of all the Members of the Cabinet transmit to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall reassume the powers and duties of his office. Meanwhile, should a majority of all the Members of the Cabinet transmit within five days to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Congress shall decide the issue.

For that purpose, the Congress shall convene, if it is not in session, within forty-eight hours, in accordance with its rules and without need of call.

If the Congress, within ten days after receipt of the last written declaration, or, if not in session, within twelve days after it is required to assemble, determines by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, voting separately, that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall act as the President; otherwise, the President shall continue exercising the powers and duties of his office.

SECTION 12. In case of serious illness of the President, the public shall be informed of the state of his health. The Members of the Cabinet in charge of national security and foreign relations and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, shall not be denied access to the President during such illness.

Questions:

1. What are the instances when a vice president will act as president?

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2. When shall the vice president become the president?

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3. Who shall take over when there is a vacancy in the Office of the Vice President? What rules apply?

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4. Give examples of presidential succession in recent history.

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### Powers of the President

The Philippine president is granted specific powers by the Constitution. The following are some of his or her powers:

- Control over all executive departments, bureaus, and offices
- Power of general supervision over local governments and autonomous regions
- Power to nominate, appoint, and remove officials
- Budgetary and fiscal power
- Military power (him or her being the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines)
- Power to contract or guarantee foreign loans on behalf of the country
- Pardoning power
- Powers to check other branches of the government

What other powers of the president can you think of? List them and prepare to share them in class.



### Reflect Upon

1. How powerful does one become after being elected as the president of the Philippines?

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2. If you become a president, what do you think would people expect from you?

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## Checks on the President's Power

As what has been mentioned earlier, the branches of the government are given the ability to check on the other branches' exercise of power. This will also provide political stability and prevent abuse. Here are the ways on how the president's exercise of power is checked.

- The Congress specifies the conditions and restrictions of certain powers it assigns to the president.
- Only through the authorization and specifications of Congress could the president exercise power of taxation.
- The Congress can request the department heads under the executive department to appear and be heard on any matters pertaining to their corresponding departments.
- The Congress can override the president's veto by two-thirds vote in each house.
- The Supreme Court may declare executive orders and proclamations unconstitutional.
- The Supreme Court may review the declaration of martial law and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.



### Reflect Upon

What do you think could happen if the president's power is left unchecked?

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### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. The president's powers are enormous. What are some of them?

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2. How is the principle of checks and balances manifested in the Philippine government?

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## Philippine Presidents during the Contemporary Period (Fifth Republic)

Before discussing the presidents of the Fifth Republic (post-Martial Law period) and the issues they encountered during their term of office, look at the time line below so that you would have an idea of the succession of power after 1986.

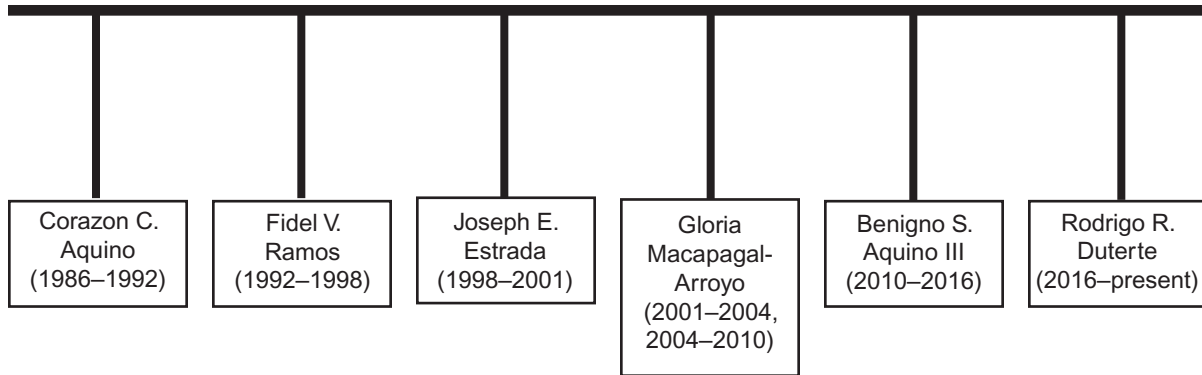


Fig. 6.3 The Presidents of the Fifth Republic

### Corazon C. Aquino

President Corazon Aquino has been regarded as an icon of Philippine democracy. It was during her term that the Philippines found its way back to democracy and constitutionalism.



Her leadership directed *redemocratization* in the Philippines, that is, rebuilding of democratic political institutions that were abolished during Marcos's time. It was under her administration that elections and other mechanisms for popular participation in governmental affairs—including political parties and the civil society—were restored. Definitely, her administration focused on the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Apart from these, *constitutionalism* was also restored, wherein civilian authority was held supreme over the military and the independent and coequal branches of the government were created.

While Aquino's government was characterized by bargaining and compromise, there were important legislations that were passed such as the Local Government Code of 1991 (discussed in module 9). She also dealt with the issues and charges of human rights violations by the military during the Martial Law. Aquino, however, was not able to prosecute the involved military leaders because she needed their support for

her administration to succeed. Still, her administration was disrupted by about seven coup attempts—an average of one per year. That definitely is politically unstable.

Aquino also initiated bureaucratic reforms. Apart from devolution of powers as provided by the Local Government Code of 1991, Regional Development Councils were created to work on economic and social planning. Reforms for accountability and transparency of public officials also took place. With regard to problems of counterinsurgency and peace and order, Aquino addressed these through the creation of Autonomous Regions (the Cordillera Administrative Region in 1987 and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao in 1989) as provided by the 1987 Constitution.



**Big Idea**

The current constitution is a product of President Corazon Aquino's administration.



**Big Idea**

Reforms are what people demand from presidents in times of difficulties and troubles that are happening in the society.

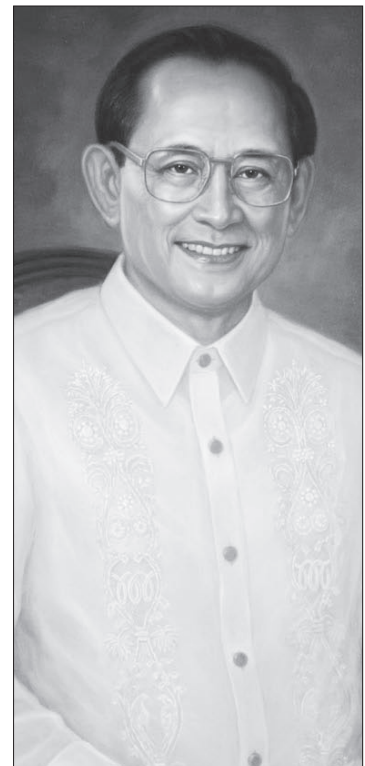
Aquino's presidency was not without criticisms. While she vowed to work on corruption and transparency, her administration would later on be criticized for its failure to deliver basic services and allegations of corruption among her wealthy and influential relatives.

### **Fidel V. Ramos**

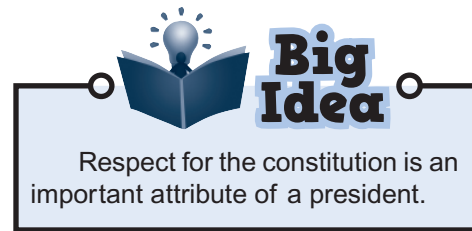
President Fidel Ramos is known for his vision of Philippines 2000. His administration opened the Philippine economy to foreign investors, prompting increased investments in the country after Martial Law.

He consolidated the gains of redemocratization, whose foundations were laid by Aquino. Among his ideals was the *Philippines 2000*, which focused on political continuity and strong improvements in the economy. While skepticism about a possible declaration of martial law grew during his time, he respected constitutionalism when he stepped down from the presidency for the 1998 general elections.

Ramos dealt well with the members of the Philippine legislature through the *rainbow coalition strategy* directed by then Speaker Jose de Venecia Jr. This strategy brought together various political parties to support the legislative agenda of the



president. Because of this harmonious relationship, significant legislations were passed through the Legislative Executive Development Advisory Council. But Ramos's ability to deal well with the members of the Congress is not only attributed to the strong political leadership of the Lakas-NUCD, but also to his strong political skills, which he was able to develop as a former military general.



However, just like his predecessor, Ramos was seen to be weak in prosecuting military rebels. While Ramos was credited for keeping the military within their constitutional limit, his inability to punish military personnel who violated human rights exhibited his dependence on this group as well. It was also in his administration that the Rebolusyonyong Alyansang Makabansa–Soldiers of the Filipino People–Young Officers' Union (RAM-SFP-YOU), and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) returned to the folds of law through peace talks.

Regarding bureaucratic reforms, Ramos continued modernization and capacity-building in the government. He also modernized the Armed Forces, the Commission on Elections, the Department of Justice, and the Sandiganbayan. To address the problems on peace and order, Ramos forged negotiations and peace agreements with rebel groups. If Aquino projected in the international arena the image of Filipino people power and return to democracy, Ramos pursued international relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the United Nations (UN).

His administration was criticized for corruption, despite his efforts to promote transparency and accountability in the government. He was accused of corruption in the PEA-AMARI scam for favoring the said group in the Manila Bay reclamation deal, misuse of funds in the Centennial Expo, and the conversion of the parts of the military base in Fort Bonifacio to private or civilian use.

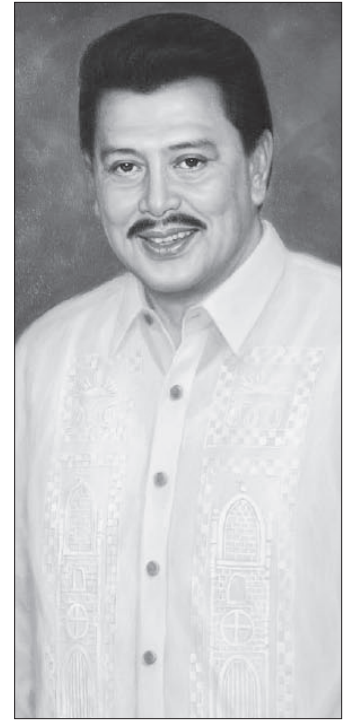
### **Joseph E. Estrada**

Joseph Estrada was a former movie star. He became known for his charisma and appeal to the masses. But because of plunder and corruption in the government, he was deposed and was succeeded by his vice president.


Estrada was known as the president of the masses. His campaign battlecry "*Erap para sa mahirap*" brought hope to the *masa* (lower class people) who saw him as the president who could relate to them. At the core of his government policies was addressing the problems

of poverty, criminality, and corruption. He wanted to further democratize governance by being a roving president—holding offices in Visayas and in Mindanao. Aside from continuing the democratic consolidation, Estrada gave cause for constitutionalism when he answered questions against his administration during the impeachment complaint he faced in 2000.

Unlike the previous president, Estrada did not have a good rapport with the members of the 11th Congress. Later on, the House of Representatives, through Speaker Manuel Villar, obtained the required signatures for Estrada’s impeachment. Estrada also pleased and displeased members of the military after suspending the modernization of the Armed Forces and cutting its financial resources. He defended the move by saying that the government had to tighten its budget. It was also during Estrada’s administration when a total war against the Muslim terrorists and secessionist groups was launched. Nonetheless,



he prioritized reforms in the law enforcement agencies and the judicial system to bring about peace and order.



**Big Idea**

While the president is the head of state and one of the most powerful persons in the country, there is no individual more powerful than a united people who want to create societal change.

Just like his predecessor who vowed to fight graft and corruption, Estrada failed to address this systemic problem. In fact, his administration was rocked with issues of diversion of funds and plunder. Ultimately, he was charged of four counts of corruption. He was eventually deposed in 2001 when the Filipino people called for his resignation in the *EDSA People Power II*.

### **Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo**

A former member of the Congress, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo rose to power in the EDSA People Power II when she, as vice president, assumed the country’s top governmental post after Estrada was ousted. In 2004, she was elected for a fresh presidential term, where she served until 2010, amidst issues of massive electoral fraud against Fernando Poe Jr. Her primary agenda was known as the Strong Republic.

Credited for bringing the trust of the international arena back to the Philippine government, Arroyo continued democratic consolidation during the term of Estrada. Legislative–executive relations were definitely excellent during the time of Arroyo because unlike her predecessor,

she was more familiar and skillful in dealing with the members of the Congress. While impeachment complaints were attempted due to the issue of massive electoral fraud during the 2004 elections—infamously known as the “Hello Garci” scandal—it did not prosper as she was supported by her allies in the Congress.

Learning from the past experiences of the previous presidents and the Oakwood Mutiny that challenged her administration, she appointed several retired military officers in her administration while keeping a close watch over the military’s needs so as not to disappoint them.

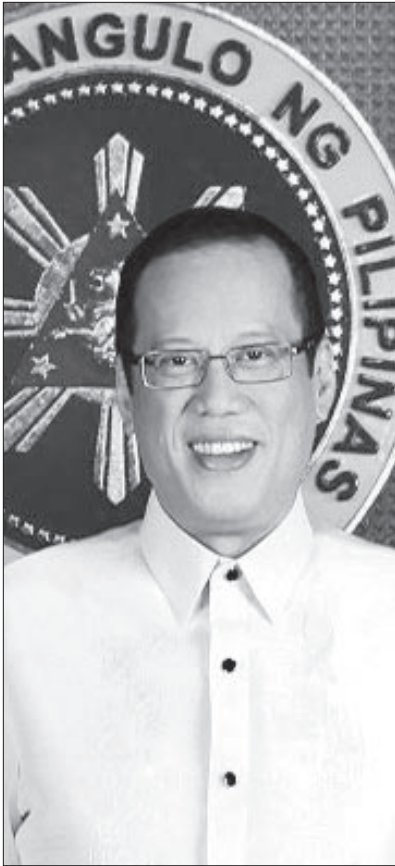
In spite of bureaucratic reform during her administration, Arroyo was criticized for appointing political allies to vital governmental offices. There also was a weak reform in the justice system, the Commission on Elections, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. While she declared to fight graft and corruption in her first State of the Nation Address (SONA), introduced several key strategies, and even established new anticorruption agencies during her administration (following the onset of the Fertilizer Scam and the NBN-ZTE scandal), questions about the effectiveness of these policies and institutions were raised. Arroyo faced graft and corruption cases filed against her during the administration of President Benigno S. Aquino III.



### **Benigno S. Aquino III**

Benigno S. Aquino III’s rise to power started when the people called for him to run as president months after his mother, former President Corazon Aquino, died in 2009. In 2010, he won the presidential election and became the 15th president of the country. Aquino began his efforts to get rid of a corruption-laden government via the campaign slogan “*Daang Matuwid.*” His SONA focused on governance reform and anticorruption.

Good governance reforms were established, including the reformation of procurement and budgeting processes to ensure efficiency and to reduce opportunities for corruption. While others believe that the impeachment of the late Chief Justice Renato Corona in 2011 was politically motivated, the Aquino administration believed it was part of the reform for accountability and restoration of integrity.



The Aquino administration's efforts to address systemic corruption have received favorable commendations from both international and local organizations, which resulted in the improvement of the country's performance on corruption and political stability. However, the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) scam rocked the administration's efforts toward "Daang Matuwid" and its promise of good governance, greater transparency, and accountability.

In 2012, the Philippines experienced one of its highest economic growth rates. The first quarter GDP of 2013 was at 7.8%, up from 6.8% in 2012 and 3.6% in 2011. Fitch Ratings, Standard and Poor's, and Japan Credit Rating Agency have also rated the Philippines at the investment grade level. Similarly, the World Economic Forum ranked the Philippines 65th in the Global Competitiveness Index, up from 85th in 2010.

As in the previous administrations, Aquino was challenged by the search for an enduring solution to the peace problem in the country. In October 2012, the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) signed a peace agreement. The agreement served as the framework agreement that would create an autonomous political entity called Bangsamoro, which will replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The bill, called the Bangsamoro Basic Law, that would have established this political entity was not passed because it was met with strong public opposition after the Mamasapano incident in Maguindanao, where 44 PNP Special Action Force commandos were killed after a "misencounter" with the Moro rebels.



**Big Idea**

All presidents experience challenges in their leadership. Most of these are longtime challenges that are rooted in the injustices and wrong decisions committed by leaders in the past.

Aquino's administration also saw a reform in the education sector after the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013 was signed. The law institutionalized the K to 12 Basic Education Program, an expanded curriculum which aimed to decongest the previous basic education program, and make it at par with regional and international standards. Despite the aims of

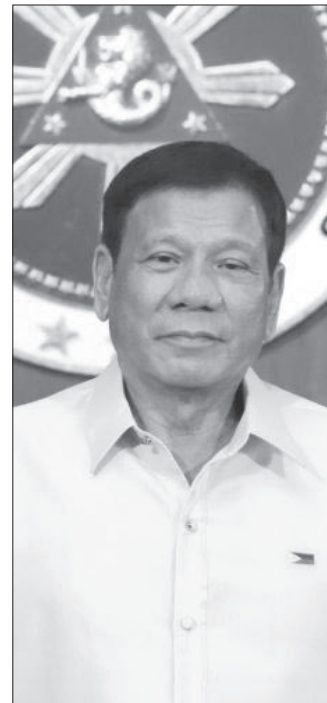
the reform, several groups pointed out that the government should have addressed first the lack of classrooms, textbooks, and other resources instead of adding two years in the basic education.

Finally, the Aquino administration has also been very outspoken in defending the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity in the West Philippine Sea, after China's claims in sovereign rights. In January 2013, the government initiated arbitral proceedings under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Ultimately, on 12 July 2016, the Philippines won the arbitration case against China over the West Philippine Sea after the United Nations Arbitral Tribunal ruled China's "nine-dash line" claim invalid.

### **Rodrigo R. Duterte**

Before being elected as president, Rodrigo Duterte was the longest-serving mayor of Davao City for a total of seven terms. Running with the campaign slogan "Change is Coming"—primarily with a platform of having a corruption-free government and crime- and drug-free society—Duterte won as president with a total of 16 601 997 votes or 39% of the total votes cast in the May 2016 elections.

In his promise to stamp out corruption and criminality, he said: "I will be strict. I will be a dictator, no doubt it; but only against forces of evil—criminality, drugs, and corruption in government." Having successfully rallied the campaign under these themes, Duterte, however, has been criticized for the absence of a coherent socioeconomic policy during this period. Known for his inflammatory comments, he has also long been besieged by allegations of ties to death squads, extrajudicial killings, and human rights violations.



Based on the eight-point economic agenda of Duterte released on 12 May 2016, the administration is set to continue the previous administration's policies. The following are the targets:

1. Continue and maintain the current macroeconomic policies. Reforms in tax revenue collection efforts will be complemented by reforms within the bureaucracy of tax collecting agencies.
2. Accelerate spending on infrastructure by addressing major bottlenecks, and maintain the target of setting aside 5% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) to infrastructure spending.

3. Ensure attractiveness of the Philippines to foreign investors, and enhancing competitiveness in doing business in the country. This also means reducing crime to attract investors, and increase security of businessmen and consumers.
4. Provide support services to small farmers to increase productivity and improve market access. Provide irrigation and better support services to farmers. Promote tourism in the rural areas.
5. Address bottlenecks in our land administration and management system.
6. Strengthen basic education system, and provide scholarships for tertiary education, which are relevant to private employers' needs.
7. Improve tax system by indexing tax collection to inflation rate, "to enable those who earn a little to have more in their pockets."
8. Expand and improve implementation of the conditional cash transfer (CCT) program.

In his first SONA delivered at the opening of the 17th Congress, Duterte focused as well on his campaigns for good governance, peace and order, women's rights, and transparency. Moreover, the president has been very vocal about the administration's war against drugs despite having been heavily criticized for the killings associated with his campaign.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. How similar or different were the presidents in their exercise of their powers?

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2. What were the challenges each of them faced? What does these challenges say about the strength of their administrations?

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## Reflect Upon

Given the enormous problems of the country at present, what do you think are the qualities that a president should possess? Why?

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### Issues, Prospects, and Challenges

Noted sociologist and political analyst Randy David (2004) claimed, “A strong republic is a political order that rests on strong institutions rather than on charismatic or benevolent leaders. It draws its life from the participation and submission to authority of mature citizens rather than from any ability to buy or coerce the loyalty of powerless subjects. It is a system of rational administration based on legal authority.” Truly, as to leadership, accountability, and integrity, *political patronage* and electoral fraud still characterize much of post-EDSA Philippine politics.



## Big Idea

Political patronage involves the allocation of rewards or benefits by a patron (usually an elected official) to a client (usually a donor or supporter) in return for the client’s support. Many observers have considered patronage as a characteristic of Philippine politics.

For instance, the inability of past administrations to punish erring members of the military possibly points to the president’s need to back his or her political survival and longevity through the military. Questions on transparency and accountability remain to be among the most important challenges the presidents of the Fifth Republic face. To whom are the presidents really accountable—to the people who elected them or to the specific groups that supported (financial help included) them during the election period? Aside from these issues, the use of personality appeal to win votes (including the use of celebrity appeal, otherwise known as “celebrification” of politics) still very much characterizes the country’s political landscape. In fact, presidents during the post-Martial Law period have used this kind of appeal to gain mass support.

According to Tadem (2006), restoration and consolidation of democracy, constitutionalism and rule of law, public accountability, and human development are at the core of the Philippine president's crucial mandates. Economic growth, peace process, welfare, human rights, and the Philippines' place in the globalization process are among the key issues a president must work on. If the culture of patronage and the issue of corruption are not addressed, is it necessary therefore to direct structural and institutional reforms? For example, should the country change its system from presidential to parliamentary? This remains a challenge not only for the current but also for the future administrations.



## BEYOND WALLS 6.2

### Apply It in Real Life

You are a political analyst, and you are asked to talk on national television about the trust ratings of the Philippine president as compared to other government officials and members of other branches of the government. You will include in your talk (which will last for a maximum of five minutes) the most recent data from one of the following opinion polling bodies: the Social Weather Stations or Pulse Asia. What data will you present? How are you going to present it?

In order for you to present your ideas properly, you are required to submit your script, which contains how you are going to show your interpretation of data. You must also prepare a graphic representation of data, which will serve as a visual aid while you discuss. Your work will be assessed by the program director and will be evaluated based on content (data) and presentation (clarity and spontaneity).

### Extend Your Knowledge

For a comprehensive profile of the past Philippine Presidents and interesting topics about Malacañang, the official residence of the President, visit <http://malacanang.gov.ph/presidents/> and <http://malacanang.gov.ph/about/malacanang/>. Meanwhile, the Web site <http://www.gov.ph/aquino-administration/> will give you a comprehensive discussion of Benigno S. Aquino III administration's accomplishments.

For an excellent reading of the issues, prospects, and challenges to the Philippine executive, you may check pages 117–152 and 179–215 from Tadem and Morada's (eds.) *Philippine Politics and Governance: An Introduction* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2006).

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

You have learned in this module the nature of executive power. It is the power of the executive branch to implement the laws created by the legislature. Under Article VII, Section 1 of the 1987 Constitution, executive power is vested in the President of the Philippines. The constitution provides qualifications and prohibitions to the president, but equally important are the political skills and the political will needed in addressing key issues in the government—from social welfare, economic development, public accountability, transparency, to good governance, among many others. The Philippine president is challenged by the culture of patronage and the use of popularity appeal rather than programs-based stance and reforms. The extent to which the succeeding presidents address these issues determines the strength of their administrations and the type of legacies they will leave the Filipino people.

## Module 7: The Legislative

In this module, you will be able to:

- discuss the roles and responsibilities of the Philippine Senate and the House of Representatives;
- assess the performance of the Philippine Congress;
- appraise the impact of Congress's performance on Philippine development;
- determine the challenges that are being faced by the legislative branch (*enrichment*); and
- articulate a position or advocacy to a Philippine legislator through a formal correspondence.


How many years of basic education should a student complete? What punishment will somebody get if he or she steals? How much tax should be imposed on properties? Can a Filipino abroad vote during elections? How fast can a person drive his or her car on a highway?

Have you ever wondered what rules apply to these questions? Or have you ever thought who creates these rules in the first place?

The lawmakers in the Philippine legislature create these rules or laws. In this module, you will learn about the organization of the legislative branch; how policies are created in relation to legal and political dynamics; and the several issues, challenges, and prospects that lawmaking and exercise of legislative powers entail.

### Legislative Power

You have learned that under the principle of separation of powers, the three branches of government exercise powers independent of each other. The legislative branch creates the laws which the executive implements and which the judiciary interprets. This is known as the *legislative power*.



**Big Idea**

The policies needed to address issues such as poverty, welfare, economic development, criminality, social justice, human rights, and many others are usually in the form of laws created by a state's legislature.

Article VI, Section 1 of the 1987 Constitution provides that the power to enact laws is vested in the **Philippine Congress** (comprised of the Senate and the House of Representatives), except when this power is reserved to the people through initiative and referendum (discussed in module 12).



## Reflect Upon

What would a society be like if there were no rules enacted by a body like the legislature?

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## The Philippine Congress

### *Structure and Organization*

The country has a bicameral legislature because the Congress is comprised of two chambers. The following summarizes the composition of the Congress, and the qualifications, election, and terms of office of its members, based on the provisions of the 1987 Constitution.

Table 7.1 Congress: Composition, Election, and Terms of Office

	Senate	House of Representatives
Composition	24	250 (unless otherwise fixed by law)
Manner of Election	Elected at large (or nationwide) by qualified voters	By district proportional representation and by party-list system
Term of Office	six years	three years
Maximum Term of Office	two consecutive terms	three consecutive terms

Table 7.2 Qualifications of the Members of Congress

Senate	House of Representatives
At least 35 years old	At least 25 years old
Registered voter	Registered voter in the district (except in the party-list)
Able to read and write	Able to read and write
Natural-born citizen	Natural-born citizen
Resident of the Philippines for not less than two years	Resident of the district for not less than a year



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What is legislative power and in whom is it vested?

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2. What are the qualifications of the members of each house of the Congress?

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Article VI of the constitution also provides for privileges of and prohibitions on the members of Congress. Say for instance, its members shall receive a fixed compensation as determined by law (Section 10) and they shall be given privilege from arrest when the Congress is in session, unless the offense they committed is punishable by more than six years of imprisonment (Section 11). The members are required by law to provide full disclosure of their financial and business interests (Section 12). They are also prohibited from holding any other office or employment in the government (Section 13) and restricted from appearing as counsel before any court of justice or electoral tribunal (Section 14).

The constitution also mandates the Congress to convene once every year on the 4th Monday of July for its regular session unless otherwise provided by law, and they shall continue to be in session for such number of days as determined until 30 days before the opening of its next regular session (Section 15). The President, however, may call special sessions to handle emergencies or urgent issues. Each chamber should also have its own set of officers. Section 16 provides that the Senate shall elect its President and the House of Representatives, its Speaker, by a majority of all its respective members. Each house may choose other officers if deemed necessary. The Congress shall also have its Electoral Tribunals, bicameral Commission on Appointments, and standing and ad hoc or special committees.



Visit the Web sites of the Senate (<http://www.senate.gov.ph/>) and the House of Representatives (<http://www.congress.gov.ph/>) and look for the following:

1. Current composition of both chambers
2. Officers in each chamber
3. Offices and committees created and their functions

### *Powers and Functions of the Congress*

The 1987 Constitution sets limits to the Congress's exercise of power to create laws. For instance, the Congress shall not pass a law that abridges the freedom of speech, expression, and the like (Article III, Sections 4–5, 10, and 22). Similarly, it is provided that the Congress may not increase appropriations recommended by the President (Article VI, Section 25); that the rule of taxation shall be uniform and equitable; and that tax exemptions to charitable institutions (and the like) shall be provided (Article VI, Section 29).

The Congress is also given powers to check on the powers of the president. Among these are:

- Check the president's power to appropriate money for government use (Article VI, Section 25).
- Provide consent on appointments made by the president (Article VII, Section 16).
- Request heads of executive departments to appear before the Congress (Article VI, Section 22).
- Check the president's power as commander in chief in the suspension of writ of habeas corpus or declaration of martial law (Article VII, Section 17).
- Concur with president in granting amnesty to individuals (Article VII, Section 19).

The members of the Congress shall be the only judge of all contests related to the election, returns, and qualification of their respective members, through the *House and Senate Electoral Tribunals*. The Senate shall also have the sole power to decide on all cases of impeachment by two-thirds votes. The Congress may also punish its members for disorderly behavior (Article VI, Section 16).



## Big Idea

While the Congress is granted the power to enact laws, there are mechanisms by which its exercise of power can be checked. This is, of course, guided by the principle of checks and balances.

With respect to international relations, the Congress also exercises functions known as *diplomatic powers*. The following are good examples:

- Declaration of the existence of a state of war [Article VI, Section 23(1)]
- Granting of emergency powers to the President in times of war or emergency [Article VI, Section 23(2)]
- No treaty or international agreement shall be valid and effective unless concurred in by at least two-thirds of all the members of the Senate (Article VII, Section 21).

What other powers does the Congress possess? Share them with the class.



## Reflect Upon

Rules and policies are important in the proper and orderly functioning of a society. The legislature becomes important in this regard. How about in your family? Who creates rules? What are some of these rules? Do you think it is necessary to follow these rules?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

What are some of the powers and functions of the Congress?

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### The Lawmaking Process and Legislative Performance

How are laws created? What processes did they undergo before they became laws? This section presents the basics on how a bill becomes a law.

The Web site of the Philippine Congress (<http://www.congress.gov.ph/>) presents the legislative process. Here is a summary:

1. Preparation of the bill
2. First reading
3. Committee consideration/action
4. Second reading
5. Third reading
6. Transmittal of approved bill to the other house (where procedures 1 to 5 also happen)
7. Conference committee (if there are differences or disagreements)
8. Submission of the bill to the president
9. Presidential action on the bill

If the president approves the bill, the same is assigned an RA (Republic Act) number and is then transmitted to the House where it originated. Afterward, copies of the bill are reproduced and sent to the office of the Official Gazette for publication and distribution to the implementing agencies. Finally, it will be included in the annual compilation of Acts and Resolutions.



**Big Idea**

A *bill* is known as a proposed law. It can originate from either house of the Philippine Congress.



**Big Idea**

Since the country is under a system known as *bicameralism*, a bill that originates from and is considered in one house shall be transmitted to and likewise be discussed in the other chamber.

If the bill is vetoed, it is transmitted to the House where it originated together with the message of the president citing the reason for the bill's disapproval. The Congress may decide to override the veto of the president. If two-thirds of the members in each house vote to override the veto, then the bill becomes a law.



## What Have I Learned So Far?

Why do you think some observers say that lawmaking is more cumbersome in bicameral than in unicameral legislatures? Do you agree with this?



## BEYOND WALLS 7.2

### Read and Answer

Read the following press release about a bill that institutionalizes political debates to promote citizens' right to information. Answer the questions that follow.

#### **Institutionalize political debates to promote the citizens' right to information**

Written by: Dionisio P. Tubianosa, Media Affairs and Public Relations Service

03 October 2015

The House Committee on Suffrage and Electoral Reforms is now in receipt of a proposed statute institutionalizing political debates among national candidates.

Rep. Teodorico T. Haresco, Jr. is confident Congress could still pass HB 6164 to be known as the "Political Debates Act of 2015," amending Republic Act No. 9006 otherwise known as "The Fair Elections Act."

"I believe that a well-informed voting population would be able to carefully and intelligently choose the qualified and rightful leaders of the country," Haresco stressed.

HB 6164 aims to institutionalize political debates among candidates by making it mandatory for national television and radio networks to sponsor at least three (3) national debates among presidential candidates and at least one (1) national debate among vice presidential candidates, the author explained.

Each debate, he added, shall not be less than sixty (60) minutes, exclusive of airtime commercials and advertisements.

"Section 7 of R.A. 9006 states that the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) 'may require' broadcast media (Radio/TV) entities to sponsor said debates. We must change the word MAY, which is not mandatory, to SHALL, to make it mandatory," the author pointed out.

The said Section 7 also provides that "The debates among presidential candidates shall be scheduled on three (3) different calendar days: the first debate shall be scheduled within the first and second weeks of the campaign period; the second debate within the fifth and sixth week of the campaign period; and the third debate shall be scheduled within the tenth and eleventh week of the campaign period."

Likewise “the sponsoring television or radio network may sell airtime for commercials and advertisements to interested advertisers and sponsors,” Haresco noted.

The Fair Elections Act, Haresco pointed out, requires the COMELEC to procure free airtime from at least three national television and radio networks for equal allocation to all candidates for national office.

This, he said, is in line with the policy enunciated in the said law, which declares that the State shall, during the election period, supervise or regulate the enjoyment or utilization of all franchises or permits for the operation of media of communication or information to guarantee or ensure equal opportunity for public service, including access to media time and space.

“However, for the past elections, there has been no mechanism that requires nationally elected candidates to make known their qualifications, platforms and their positions on national issues through intelligent debate,” Haresco explained.

Source: <http://congress.gov.ph/press/details.php?pressid=9042>

#### Questions:

1. Is there a need to create a law to institutionalize political debates among candidates in national elections? Why?

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2. What does this proposed law, House Bill 6164, say about the function of the Congress in relation to the country’s political development?

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How well does the Philippine Congress perform in relation to passing laws and solving issues and problems the country faces? This section presents the legislation during the administrations of the presidents in the Fifth Republic. It is important to note that executive-legislative relations are important in considering matters pertinent to the socioeconomic and political developments of the country. One of the most important challenges to the legislative performance has something to do with the slow pace of legislation.

The logic is basic: societal problems need to be addressed in the quickest way possible using the most viable strategy or manner. If the Congress does not pass legislations to quickly address issues, then it is not true to its mandate. If the Congress does not pass laws that represent the interests of the people it claims to stand for, then republican democracy has failed. Look at the activity below. Browse through the statistics on legislative performance from the 13th to the present Congress. What does this say about the Philippine Congress?



## Reflect Upon

Try to imagine the Philippine executive and legislative not being able to settle their differences as to policy making. What impacts would it have on the lives of ordinary people?

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## BEYOND WALLS 7.3

## Go Online

The Web pages of the Senate ([http://www.senate.gov.ph/lis/leg\\_sys.aspx?congress=17&type=bill](http://www.senate.gov.ph/lis/leg_sys.aspx?congress=17&type=bill)) and the House of Representatives (<http://www.congress.gov.ph/legisdocs/?v=bills>) present statistics on its legislative performance, including the laws passed during different administrations. Specifically, the Legislative Information System (LEGIS) of the House of Representatives is a repository of the bills prepared from the 8th through the 17th Congresses. Visit <http://www.congress.gov.ph/legis/> and answer the questions afterward.

Here is a screenshot of the platform:

### LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION SYSTEM

The LEGIS is a search-based system that allows access, retrieve, or save structured bills information and status as well as download full texts of Bills, and Resolutions, its Authorship, Committee Referrals, and Nature of Bills from the 8th Congress to the present 17th Congress.

#### Select Period of CONGRESS

- 17th Congress (Filed 06/30/2016 - present)
- 16th Congress (Filed 07/01/2013 - 06/30/2016)
- 15th Congress (Filed 07/01/2010 - 06/30/2013)
- 14th Congress (Filed 07/01/2007 - 06/30/2010)
- 13th Congress (Filed 07/01/2004 - 06/30/2007)
- 12th Congress (Filed 07/01/2001 - 06/30/2004)
- 11th Congress (Filed 07/01/1998 - 06/30/2001)
- 10th Congress (Filed 07/01/1995 - 06/30/1998)
- 9th Congress (Filed 07/01/1992 - 06/30/1995)
- 8th Congress (Filed 07/01/1987 - 06/30/1992)

Questions:

1. What important laws were created in each of the congressional terms? What does this say about the performance of the said Congress?

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2. How important is the use of e-governance (i.e., the use of information and communication technology or ICT in governance, the utilization of Web pages to publish information, etc.) in a country? Did you find the Web pages useful?

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## BEYOND WALLS 7.4

## Apply It in Real Life

You are a newly elected member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines. Under oath, you are tasked to write a bill, which shall be dealt with by the entire legislative body. Your bill will be evaluated based on the soundness of the proposal (or even through party politics!) as evidenced by the vote from the body. The House (in this case, the entire class) will subject your bill to a vote!

### Guidelines in Writing a Bill

1. The following questions must be considered in preparing a bill:
  - a. What does the bill intend to solve? What problems does the bill plan to address? (You have to do a comprehensive research.)
  - b. Why is such considered a problem? What are the indicators that such problem exists?
  - c. What do current legislations say about this problem, if there are any? Are there policy gaps? (In this case, your bill can propose to amend an existing law, if not repeal it.)
2. For purposes of adhering to House rules, follow the format of how a bill is written by looking at some examples at the Web site of the House of Representatives ([www.congress.gov.ph](http://www.congress.gov.ph)).

### Issues, Challenges, and Prospects

The Philippines, apart from it being a unitary and presidential system, is also a *representative* or *republican democracy*. This means that the people or the electorate choose individuals who will represent their interests in the halls of the government. Whether or not the elected representatives serve as a functional link between the citizens and the government is an important concern. After all, how well the Congress concretizes the interests of the people through laws is a measure of the institution's ability to be true to its mandate.

Observers note that the Philippine Congress is still dominated by socioeconomic and political elites. This observation suggests whether the country's democracy is in practice or not, given that the Congress is composed of individuals who seem to come from a specific stratum. While it is true that the 1987 Constitution does not provide for educational, property, and wealth qualifications, political realities point to the idea that elections in the country are expensive and often, only those who have enough financial resources run for public office. Similarly, the Congress's composition points to another equally important question on representativeness—that there is a wide gap in social class, power, and wealth between the officials and their constituents. This raises questions if the elected officials really are able to represent the interests of the people who do not belong to the same social class as theirs.

It is a reality in the country that the interests of the dominant class prevail and that the Congress is composed of exclusivist political elite. The party-list system is a mechanism through which minorities get the chance to be elected. Laws, in this case, are expected to reflect the interests of the minorities.

As in the executive, the legislature is built around personality-oriented political parties. Rather than being founded on platforms-based stands, the parties that comprise the Congress are non-ideological. This will be elaborated in module 10 of unit 2. The Congress also still suffers from particularistic, family-dominated practices. Observers also note the presence of “Kamag-anak, Inc.” in the Congress, given the existence of political dynasties, if not political families.

Nonetheless, it is important to note as well that the Philippine Congress has served as an arena and actor in the restoration, and later on, consolidation of democracy. While the Congress has managed to create laws that address socioeconomic and political problems of the country, there still remains to be a huge concern about how—at a fast pace—could the government addresses poverty, underdevelopment, corruption, improvement of the quality of education, health services, among many others. This points to another institutional or structural concern. Some believe that the bicameral feature is contributory to the slow pace of lawmaking. Does this then necessitate a change from presidential/bicameral/congressional to parliamentary system? What do you think? Well, this remains to be one of the biggest prospects on the legislature's future.



## BEYOND WALLS 7.5

## Read and Answer

One of the most important issues that haunts the current Philippine Congress is the presence of political dynasties. Read a scholarly article at [http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228276641\\_An\\_Empirical\\_Analysis\\_of\\_Political\\_Dynasties\\_in\\_the\\_15th\\_Philippine\\_Congress](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228276641_An_Empirical_Analysis_of_Political_Dynasties_in_the_15th_Philippine_Congress) and then answer the questions that follow.

Questions:

1. How did the authors look at political dynasties in the Philippines? Do you agree with them?  
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\_\_\_\_\_
2. What is the relationship between the presence of political dynasties and issues of standards of living, human development, and inequality?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Why do you think the Congress fails to enact a law that enables the constitutional provision against political dynasties in the Philippines?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

You might be wondering what you can possibly do as a student to help improve the Philippine Congress. Your role as a citizen is indispensable and the Constitution no less recognizes that, to wit: “the State recognizes the vital role of the youth in nation-building and shall promote and protect their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and social well-being. It shall inculcate in the youth patriotism and nationalism, and encourage their involvement in public and civic affairs” (Article II, Section 13). It is the last statement that is relevant to your next activity.



**BEYOND WALLS 7.6**

**Go Online**

The participation of citizens in matters of public concern is fundamental in any democratic system. The advent of e-governance saw the extension of this participation through the use of the Internet as a platform. This is commonly referred to as e-participation.

The government recognizes the participation and the indispensable role of the youth in public and civic affairs. Browse through the Web site of the Congress and you will find the contact details of its members. That means that you can communicate with them directly on issues that you want to raise.

Observe your community. What are the current issues or problems that need to be addressed? How can your representative in the Congress be of help in this regard? Remember, solutions to problems can be in the form of legislation or a law.

Communicate your advocacies to your House of Representative member and see what your participation can do. Prepare a formal correspondence and submit it via e-mail to the concerned representative. Be ready to present the feedback from the representative or his or her office any time this semester. You may find the list of members at <http://www.congress.gov.ph/members/>.

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

- For a brief history of the Philippine House of Representatives, go to <http://www.congress.gov.ph/about/?about=history>.
- For a comprehensive presentation of how a bill becomes a law, you may check the legislative process at <https://www.senate.gov.ph/about/legpro.asp>.
- For important information about the Philippine Senate, you may visit <http://www.senate.gov.ph/about/history.asp> and <http://www.senate.gov.ph/statistical.pdf>.

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

Under a presidential system of government, the three branches of the government exercise separate powers from each other. You have learned that it is in the Philippine Congress where the power to create or enact laws and policies are vested. Important issues like poverty, criminality, welfare, social equality, and economic development are addressed through these laws or policies. Thus, the Congress plays an important role in the socioeconomic and political developments of the country. It is important to take note that executive-legislative relations also affect the quality of legislation. The structure and composition of the Congress also has a definite role to play in this prospect. The issues of patronage, presence of political dynasties, and exclusivist character haunt the Philippine legislature. The restored Philippine Congress following EDSA People Power in 1986 is faced with several challenges, including the prospect of institutional reform. Nonetheless, reform in the Philippine legislature is not only a concern of the said body but also of the different branches of the government and the civil society.

## Module 8: The Judiciary

In this module, you will be able to:

- identify the roles and responsibilities of the Philippine judiciary;
- discuss how the judiciary exercises political neutrality and fairness;
- evaluate the performance of the Philippine judiciary as a dispenser of justice and a protector of constitutional safeguards to freedom; and
- identify key actors' roles in the prospect of judicial reform (*enrichment*).

Have you ever wondered how disputes are settled? Say for instance, how is a conflict between two individuals solved? How is justice served when an individual violated a law? Where can people ask for help when the government commits violation of citizens' rights? These questions pertain to the interpretation and application of the law.

You have already learned that the national government is comprised of three branches, which are co-equal and which operate under a system known as separation of powers and checks and balances. If the legislative enacts laws and the executive implements them, what roles does the judiciary play? This section deals with the third branch of the government—the judiciary. In addressing the questions raised above, the judiciary exercises what is called its judicial power.

### Judicial Power

The power to decide on legal disputes is known as *judicial power*. Article VIII, Section 1 of the 1987 Constitution provides that “judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such other lower courts as may be established by law.” As provided in the same section, “it includes the duty of the courts of justice to settle actual controversies involving rights which are legally demandable and enforceable, and to determine whether or not there has been a grave abuse of discretion amounting to lack or excess of jurisdiction on the part of any branch or instrumentality of the Government.” Hence, the central function of the judges is to adjudicate and interpret the law.



The judicial branch is the final safeguard of liberty. It protects the people from someone else's exercise of abusive power, violence, or force.

The judicial branch is one of the three independent, coequal, and coordinate branches of the government. The independence of the Philippine judiciary is manifested in the following:

- Creation of the Judicial and Bar Council
- Expanded power of judicial review
- Fiscal autonomy of the judiciary
- Power to review proclamation of martial law and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus
- Security of tenure of the judges
- The Supreme Court as judge in presidential elections



## Big Idea

It is important that the judiciary is an independent entity, free from control by anyone. This reflects the quality of democracy that a nation lives up to.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. Why should the independence of the judicial branch of the government be maintained and protected?

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2. What constitutional guarantees are there to make sure the independence of the judiciary is evident in the Philippines?

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## Reflect Upon

How are disputes settled, say, in your school or in your family? How important is the presence of a body that addresses this concern at the bigger society?

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## Structure, Organization, and Composition of the Judiciary

The present judiciary is comprised of *regular courts* tasked to administer justice. These are organized into four, the first two being review courts and the last two being trial courts:

- Supreme Court
- Court of Appeals
- Regional Trial Courts
- Metropolitan Trial Courts, Municipal Trial Courts, Municipal Circuit Trial Courts, and Municipal Trial Courts in Cities

There are also *special courts*, which are tribunals that have limited jurisdiction over certain cases or controversies. One example is the *Shari'a Court*, which has the powers similar to the regular courts but the subjects over whom judicial powers are exercised are limited to Muslim Filipinos (Pangalangan 2011). Another is the *Court of Tax Appeals*, which retains exclusive appellate jurisdiction to review by appeal not only civil tax cases but also those that are criminal in nature. Finally, the *Sandiganbayan* is a special court that has jurisdiction over civil cases (including graft, corruption, and other offenses) committed by public officers and employees and those in government-owned or government-controlled corporations.

The expanded judicial system of the Philippines also includes *quasi-courts* or *quasi-judicial agencies*. These are bodies or agencies that exercise adjudicatory powers in certain types of controversies. While judicial powers technically pertain to and are exercised only by courts, agencies such as the Civil Service Commission, Commission on Elections, and Commission on Audit also possess quasi-judicial powers (Pangalangan 2011).



## Big Idea

The expanded judicial system of the Philippines, which comprises regular courts, special courts and quasi-judicial agencies, is important in the speedy administration and delivery of justice.

The following presents the organization of regular courts.

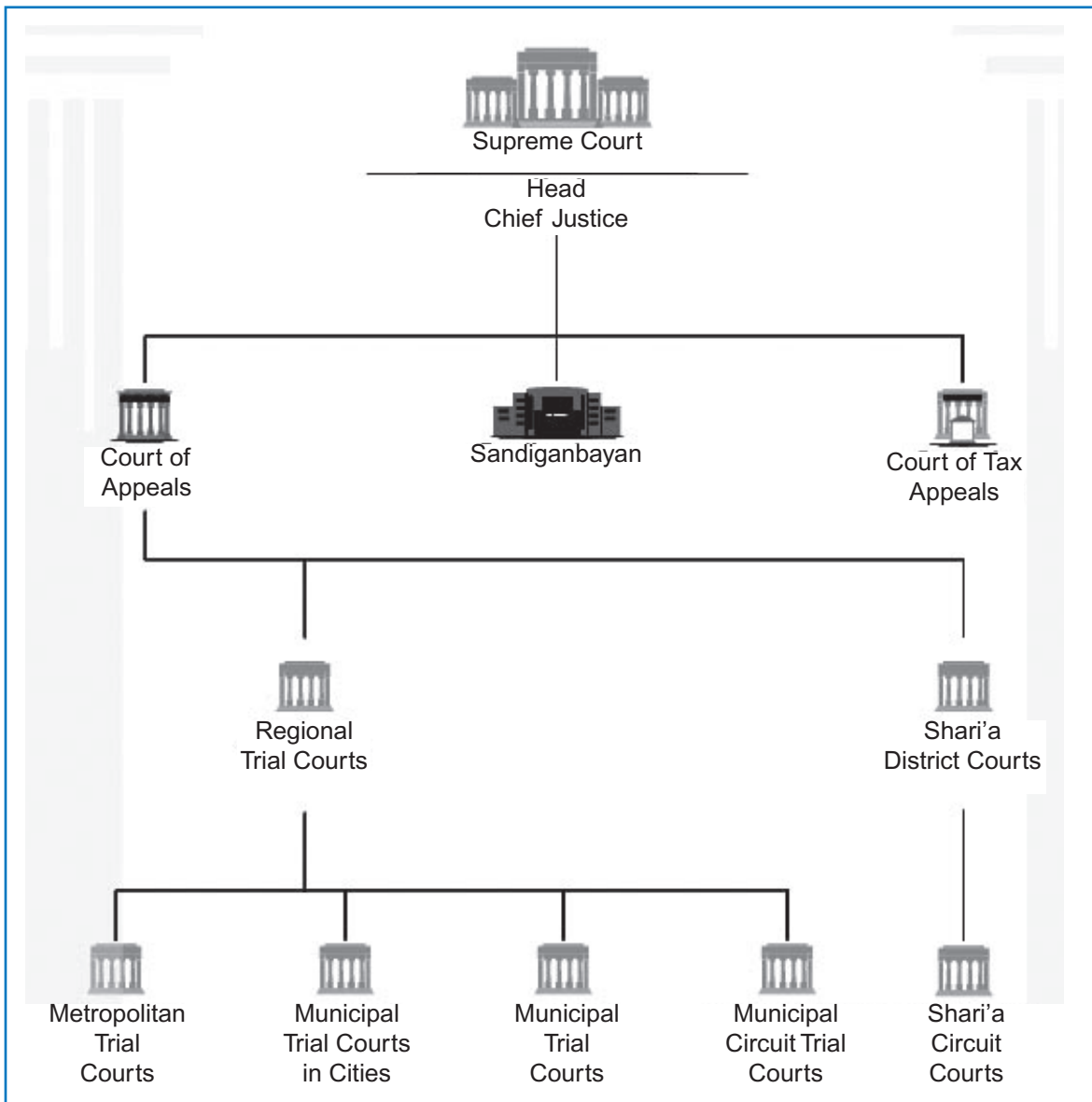


Fig. 8.1 The organization of courts

Source: <http://www.gov.ph/about/gov/judiciary/>



## Reflect Upon

Do you agree that “justice delayed is justice denied”? Explain your answer by sharing an example of a person you know, who has experienced delay in the administration of justice. What does this say about Philippine society?

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## BEYOND WALLS 8.1

## Read and Answer

Read the historical overview of the Philippine judicial system at: [http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/idedp/IAL/IAL000500\\_003.pdf](http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/idedp/IAL/IAL000500_003.pdf). Do and answer the following afterward.

1. Prepare a time line of important events in the development of the Philippine judiciary.
2. What are some of the early Filipino traditions that influenced the current system of dispute settlement?

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3. How did the colonial experiences of the country influence the current judicial system?

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## The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is also known as the *court of last resort*. It is composed of a chief justice and 14 associate justices.

### Powers of the Supreme Court according to Article VIII, Section 5 of the 1987 Constitution

1. Exercise original jurisdiction over cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and over petitions for certiorari, prohibition, mandamus, quo warranto, and habeas corpus.
2. Review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm on appeal or certiorari, as the law or the Rules of Court may provide, final judgments and orders of lower courts in:
  - a. All cases in which the constitutionality or validity of any treaty, international or executive agreement, law, presidential decree, proclamation, order, instruction, ordinance, or regulation is in question.
  - b. All cases involving the legality of any tax, impost, assessment, or toll, or any penalty imposed in relation thereto.
  - c. All cases in which the jurisdiction of any lower court is in issue.
  - d. All criminal cases in which the penalty imposed is *reclusion perpetua* or higher.
  - e. All cases in which only an error or question of law is involved.
3. Assign temporarily judges of lower courts to other stations as public interest may require. Such temporary assignment shall not exceed six months without the consent of the judge concerned.
4. Order a change of venue or place of trial to avoid a miscarriage of justice.
5. Promulgate rules concerning the protection and enforcement of constitutional rights, pleading, practice, and procedure in all courts, the admission to the practice of law, the integrated bar, and legal assistance to the under-privileged. Such rules shall provide a simplified and inexpensive procedure for the speedy disposition of cases, shall be uniform for all courts of the same grade, and shall not diminish, increase, or modify substantive rights. Rules of procedure of special courts and quasi-judicial bodies shall remain effective unless disapproved by the Supreme Court.
6. Appoint all officials and employees of the Judiciary in accordance with the Civil Service Law.

Section 6 also provides that the Supreme Court shall have administrative supervision over all courts and the personnel thereof.

The offices under the Supreme Court include the Judicial and Bar Council, the Office of the Court Administrator, the Philippine Judicial Academy, and the Philippine Mediation Center.

Section 8 provides that “a Judicial and Bar Council is hereby created under the supervision of the Supreme Court composed of the Chief Justice as *ex officio* Chairman, the Secretary of Justice, and a representative of the Congress as *ex officio* Members, a representative of the Integrated Bar, a professor of law, a retired Member of the Supreme Court, and a representative of the private sector.”

The president shall appoint the members of the Judicial and Bar Council for a term of four years with the consent of the Commission on Appointments. “Of the Members first appointed, the representative of the Integrated Bar shall serve for four years, the professor of law for three years, the retired Justice for two years, and the representative of the private sector for one year” (Section 8, paragraph 2). Moreover, “the Council shall have the principal function of recommending appointees to the Judiciary. It may exercise such other functions and duties as the Supreme Court may assign to it” (Section 8, paragraph 5).

### **Qualifications, Term of Office, Appointment, and Removal of the Members of Judiciary**

The following are the qualifications of the members of the Supreme Court as provided by Article VIII, Section 7, paragraph 1:

- Natural-born Filipino citizen
- At least 40 years old
- Must have been for 15 years or more a judge of a lower court or engaged in the practice of law in the Philippines
- Of proven competence, integrity, and probity

Paragraph 2 of the same section provides that the “Congress shall prescribe the qualifications of judges of lower courts, but no person may be appointed judge thereof unless he is a citizen of the Philippines and a member of the Philippine Bar.”

Meanwhile, Section 9 stipulates that “the Members of the Supreme Court and judges of the lower courts shall be appointed by the President from a list of at least three nominees



The Supreme Court is also known as the highest court as its decisions are considered to be final, non-appealable, and executory.

prepared by the Judicial and Bar Council for every vacancy. Such appointments need no confirmation. For the lower courts, the President shall issue the appointments within ninety days from the submission of the list.” Just like the president and vice president, the justices of the Supreme Court may be removed from office through impeachment (Article XI, Section 2).

Section 11 of Article VIII mandates that the members of the Supreme Court and the judges of lower courts shall hold office in good behavior until they reach 70 years old, or become incapacitated to fulfill their duties. The authority to discipline judges of lower courts is vested in the Supreme Court *en banc*. The judges of lower courts could also be dismissed by a vote of a majority of the members who took part in the deliberations on the issues of the case.

Finally, section 12 prohibits the members of the Supreme Court and of other courts to be designated to any agency which performs quasi-judicial or administrative functions.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What are the qualifications of members of the judiciary?

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2. Compare and contrast these qualifications with those of the other members of the two other branches of the government. What are your observations?

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## Issues, Challenges, and Prospects

The Philippine judicial system is far from perfect as it continues to face several issues and problems. Among these are the widespread perception of graft and corruption; questions on judicial independence and the manner of appointments; negative perceptions on delivering justice; delay and inefficiency in the administration of the judicial system; and people's accessibility to courts, among others.



As the one that dispenses justice, the Judiciary must be continuously reformed to adapt to changing times.

As Dressel (2011) observed, “despite constitutional safeguards for judicial independence and the assertiveness of the Philippine Supreme Court, the judicial system generally is plagued by problems ranging from limited access to justice by the poor to chronic inefficiency and widespread perceptions of corruption and political interference.” He added that the Philippines' poor have far less access to justice as compared to those who have connections and who make use of the system to their advantage. High-level corruption is rarely prosecuted. While the highest court of the land achieved points of success with regard to judicial reform, its programs are still spoiled by killing of judges, filing of libel suits against critical members of the media (as done by President Arroyo), and the granting of presidential pardon to President Estrada in 2007. There were also last-minute Supreme Court appointments done by Arroyo, which raised questions about the independence of the highest court. With President Benigno Aquino's election and platform under “Tuwid na Daan,” late Chief Justice Renato Corona, an Arroyo appointee, was impeached.

Political patronage and interference continue to threaten the independence of the judiciary. Creating a strong, apolitical judiciary is more crucial in the context of Philippine democratic consolidation. The declining political trust of the public on the judiciary and the justice system is also an important concern.

The immediate settling of cases and enhancing the administration of justice remain to be important challenges to judicial performance. The judiciary must also address the growing complexity of legislation and the need for advanced technologies, which will enable courts to cope with the challenges of the digital age.



The prospect of judicial reform does not only concern the judiciary. Other organizations and agencies are also important in this respect. You can also take part in this agenda.

Nonetheless, it must be realized that the prospects of judicial reform in the country is not solely the task of the said government branch. The judiciary encompasses an expanded justice system, and it involves several stakeholders—including, but not limited to—other branches and agencies of the government, public and private groups, and the people.



### Reflect Upon

How can you actively participate in judicial reform? What roles can you possibly play as a student in this agenda?

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### BEYOND WALLS 8.2

### Read and Answer

Read the discussion on alternative modes of dispute resolution in the Philippines by visiting [http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/idedp/IAL/IAL000500\\_009.pdf](http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/idedp/IAL/IAL000500_009.pdf). Do/Answer the following afterward.

1. Research on what disputes are settled through the Katarungang Pambarangay in your community.
2. How successful is the use of alternative modes of dispute, such as mediation or conciliation, in your *barangay* and in the larger Philippine society? What is the future of alternative modes of dispute settlement?

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### BEYOND WALLS 8.3

#### Go Online

Visit the Web site of Social Weather Stations at <http://www.sws.org.ph> or Pulse Asia at <http://www.pulseasia.ph>. Research the public's trust ratings of the Philippine judiciary and its members. Make a comparison of trust ratings of the Supreme Court or the Chief Justice with those of the other offices or officials of the government since 2001. What are some of the trends and patterns that you observe?



### BEYOND WALLS 8.4

#### Apply It in Real Life

You are a columnist in a well-known broadsheet in the Philippines. You are to write your views and opinions on a particular issue in the Philippine justice system. Your editor will evaluate your work based on content (relevance) and structure (grammar and organization). You may also format your article just like how it appears in a column in the opinion/editorial section of the newspaper.

#### Extend Your Knowledge

- For a comprehensive presentation of the Philippine judicial system, visit <http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Als/05.html>.
- To read relevant information about the Philippine judiciary, you may check its online portal at <http://www.judiciary.gov.ph>.
- For a history of the Philippine Supreme Court, go to <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/aboutsc/history/index.php>.

#### ESSENTIAL LEARNING

In the post-Martial Law period, the Philippine Judiciary was established as an independent branch of the government, protected from influence by any instrumentality, agency, or individual. This remains to be an immense challenge even at present. As the bulwark of liberty, the independence of the judiciary must at all times be protected. It protects the people from an oppressive individual or government. The prospect of judicial reform has not only been a concern of the institutions of the government. The stakeholders—including the citizens, business or private sector, and even international governmental and nongovernmental organizations—have roles to play in this agenda.

## Module 9: Decentralization and Local Governance

In this module, you will be able to:

- identify the different levels of the Philippine local government;
- explain the roles and functions of a local government unit;
- examine how decentralization affects governance;
- evaluate the performance of a local government unit;
- conduct an interview with *barangay* officials on community programs; and
- propose solutions to current *barangay* problems.

In unitary systems, the national or the central government is given substantial control and power over the affairs or directions of the country. Unlike in federal systems where the local government and central government are supreme in their own spheres, unitary systems (like the Philippines) let the national government decide for the country. In this system, all laws or policies are expected to come from the central government and are trickled down to the local level. The previous topics presented the powers of the executive, legislative, and judiciary at the national level. What was presented was governance at the central level. How about governance at the local level? Just like the national government, the local governments are likewise divided into three branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial. However, the Supreme Court has control over the local courts while the Local Government Units (LGUs) have executive and legislative powers. How does this happen? This section presents issues related to local governance and decentralization.

Local governments are the political subdivisions of a state. They are at the lowest level of an elected territorial organization within a state, both in federal or unitary governments (Atienza 2006). In a unitary system like the Philippines, local governments are created by the national government through legislation. Given this, the national government can create, merge, and abolish them (Legaspi 2001). Local governments are given the task to provide local public services and implement national welfare policies (Atienza 2006).

### Decentralization, Democratization, and Governance

The process that involves the transfer of planning, decision-making, or administrative authority from the central government to its field organizations, local government, or



Local governments are important in delivering welfare and implementing policies from the national level.



Local governments are expected to promote participation from the people as they are closer to them.

nongovernmental organizations is known as **decentralization** (Rondinelli and Cheema, n.d. in Atienza 2006). There are four major forms of decentralization:

1. *Deconcentration* – It involves the redistribution of administrative responsibilities within the central government. An example of this is the shifting of workload from the central government agency to its own field staff outside the national capital.
2. *Delegation to semi-autonomous or parastatal organizations* – It involves the delegation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to bodies that are not under the direct control of the central government. Examples of these bodies are public corporations, and regional planning and area development authorities.
3. *Devolution* – It involves the process by which the central government relinquishes certain functions to local government units. It thus seeks to strengthen or to create independent levels or units of government. It is an arrangement where there are reciprocal, mutually beneficial, and coordinated relationships between central and local governments.
4. *Transfer of functions from government to nongovernment institutions* – It involves the transfer of planning and administrative powers or functions to voluntary, private, or nongovernmental institutions.

Decentralization and democratization reinforce each other. Decentralization enhances local participation and therefore strengthens democracy. Decentralization can only take place within democratic processes and it requires for local government systems to have good management and democratic accountability. Under the 1987 Constitution, the structure and role of the Philippine government is guided by the principle of decentralization.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What is decentralization for?

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2. Why is decentralization the trend among governments, not only in the Philippines, but also in other countries?

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## Reflect Upon

1. Will local government units be able to think of and address their own issues instead of the national government?

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2. Is more autonomy synonymous to better governance? Explain your answer.

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## Local Government Units in the Philippines

### Historical Overview

Devolution is not new to the Philippines. Even before the coming of the Spaniards, almost everything was localized. The barangay, the most basic unit, was comprised of about 30 to 100 households. The datu rules the barangay and exercised governmental powers as discussed in the previous modules. The barangays would later on be incorporated into the Spanish colonial regime. These indigenous and autonomous political institutions have not attained a level of organization beyond the kinship principle.



### Big Idea

The different periods in Philippine political history show the country's experimentation on varying levels of centralization and decentralization.

It was during the time of the Spaniards that a centralized system of governance was introduced. The barangay or the barrio was retained as the most basic administrative unit while other tiers were created: *pueblos* (municipalities), *cabildos/ayuntamiento* (cities), and *provincias* (provinces). The governor-general was supreme over all affairs including local ones. While the Maura Law of 1893 gave greater autonomy to towns and provinces in Luzon and Visayas, its effects were not felt because of the Revolution that broke in 1896. Nonetheless, the Spanish occupation had its influence on the development of local governments—the most important of which was the high degree of centralization in Manila, which thereafter characterized central-local relations. During the Malolos Republic, local governments were also created under the Malolos Constitution. Among the important provisions of the said constitution were the

creation of municipal and provincial assemblies, autonomous local units, and popular and direct elections. However, these did not function as expected due to the continuing revolution.

The coming of the Americans saw changes in the structure of local governance. The Americans promulgated a number of policies recognizing local autonomy, emphasized local self-government with the objective of building democracy from below, and introduced municipal and provincial elections. The new colonizers, however, moved toward greater centralization to prevent the negative effects of unrestricted Filipino rule by maintaining a highly centralized politico-administrative structure.

Thus, Manila became not just the political, but the economic and cultural center as well. However, the bureaucracy created by the Americans was weak, which reinforced the decentralized nature of the Philippines. After all, the American rule focused more on the creation of representative institutions rather than on the creation of a central bureaucracy. It was only during the 1934–1935 constitutional convention that centralization became a key governmental policy. Formal centralization continued during the Japanese occupation and an even greater degree of central control on local governments was imposed. The Japanese collaborators imposed authority on the local governments.

The postwar period (1946–1972) saw a trend on decentralization. Significant legislations were passed including Republic Act (RA) 2264 (Local Autonomy Act), RA 2370 (The Barrio Charter), and RA 5185 (The Decentralization Act of 1967), among many others. While instances of decentralization existed in the Martial Law period, these were mere extensions of central governmental power. Martial Law and the strength of the military paved the way for a centralized system under a dictatorship.

The post-1986 period saw the move toward greater decentralization. The 1987 Constitution (Article II, Section 25) provided that “the state shall ensure the autonomy of local government.”

Article X of the present constitution is devoted to the general provisions of local governments in the Philippines. It provided for the creation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). Moreover, LGUs were given the power to create their own sources of revenue and to levy taxes and charges (Section 5). LGUs shall also be provided with a just share from the national taxes



The 1987 Constitution and the Local Government Code of 1991 (RA 7160) provide for decentralization and local autonomy. Whether these goals have been achieved in the country remains a question.

(Section 6) and shall have an equitable share in the proceeds of the utilization and development of national wealth within their respective areas (Section 7). The provisions in the constitution gave rise to the enactment of RA 6766 and RA 6734, which created the CAR and the ARMM, respectively; and RA 7160 or the Local Government Code of 1991.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

How did the past experiences of the country influence the course of decentralization in the Philippines at present?

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### Reflect Upon

1. How important is history in shaping the political landscape of a country, with reference to the structure of local governments?

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2. Do you think your own local government is a product of the evolution of our society? Explain your answer.

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## The Structure of Local Government

The Local Government Code of 1991 brought about significant changes, among which are the devolution of basic services, facilities, and regulatory powers; and the enhancement of governmental and corporate powers. The provinces, cities, municipalities, and barangays enjoy autonomy—specifically on local affairs—but the president of the country exercises general supervision over these local government units (Article X, Section 4). The structure of local government is illustrated below.

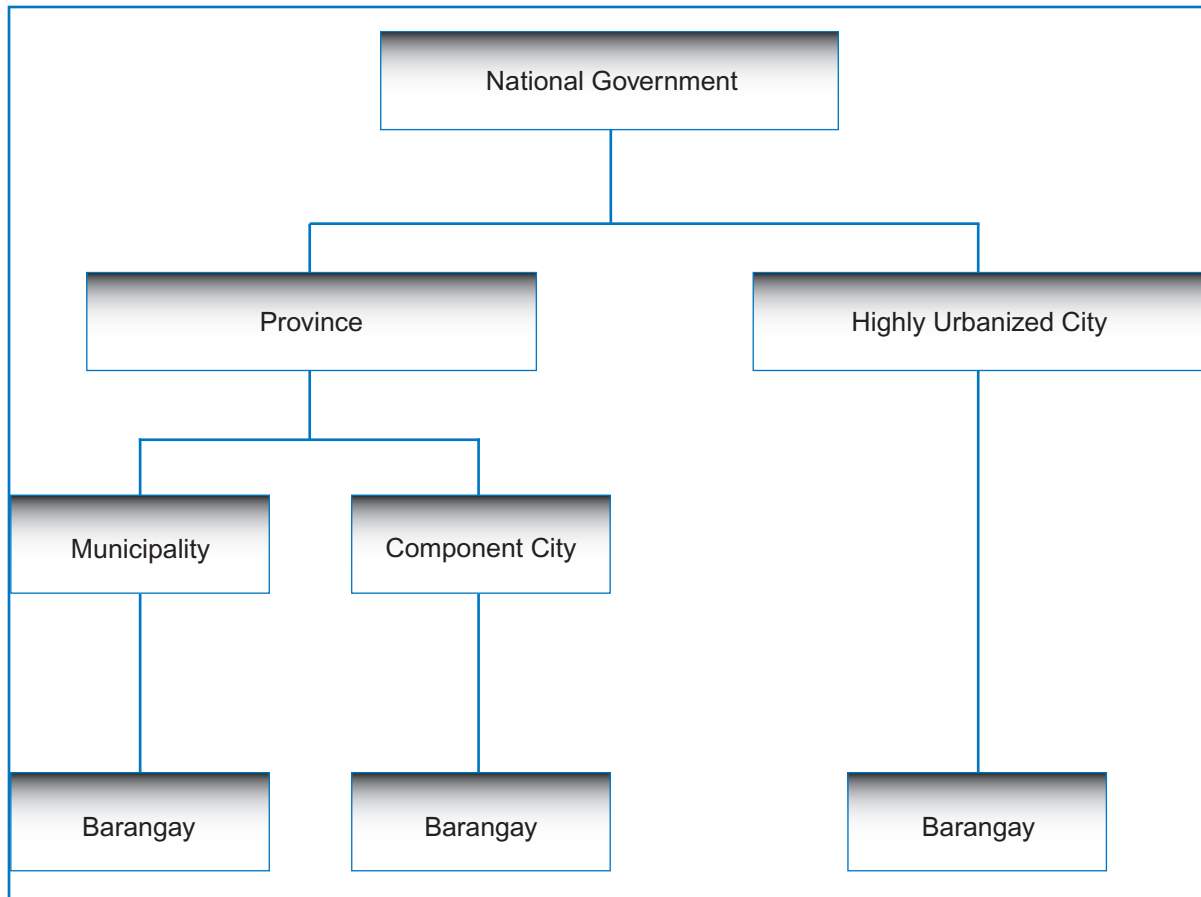


Fig. 9.1 The structure of local government (Atienza 2006)

The 1991 Local Government Code decentralized functions and responsibilities to local government units. The four major roles are:

1. Efficient service delivery
2. Management of the environment
3. Economic development
4. Poverty alleviation



## Reflect Upon

1. How well does your local government unit perform in terms of the major functions cited previously?

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2. What can you do to help your LGU in these respects?

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## BEYOND WALLS 9.1

### Apply It in Real Life

You are a journalist working for the country's leading TV network and you will be hosting a segment titled "The State of the Philippine Government: How's My Local Community Doing?" The segment intends to present the condition of the people in their local governments based on the basic roles of the LGUs as presented in the discussion. You are asked to do a three- to five-minute documentary featuring how your local government performed in one of the four functions listed and how it could improve in these areas. An interview with barangay officials and constituents is therefore necessary. Your segment producer will rate you based on: content (clarity of points, production/discussion of evidence) and technical and artistic considerations (video clarity, basic editing, etc.). Your outputs must include:

1. Script/outline of the presentation
2. Video/documentary

The top three documentaries will be presented during the culminating/integration activity of the Politics and Governance course.

### Criteria for the Creation of LGU

Article X, Section 10 of the present constitution specifically provides that “no province, city, municipality, or barangay may be created, divided, merged, abolished, or its boundary substantially altered, except in accordance with the criteria established in the local government code and subject to approval by a majority of the votes cast in a plebiscite in the political units directly affected.” Under the Local Government Code of 1991, the following are the criteria for LGU creation.

Table 9.1 Criteria for the Creation of Local Government Units

LGU	Income	Population	Land Area
Barangay		2 000 5 000 for Metro Manila and other metropolitan political subdivisions	
Municipality	₱2.5 million	25 000	50 sq. km
City	₱20 million	150 000	100 sq. km
Highly Urbanized City	₱50 million	200 000	
Province	₱20 million	250 000	2 000 sq. km

Sources: Local Government Code of 1991; Atienza (2006)

### *Impacts of Devolution*

According to Atienza (2006), devolution paved the way to further democratization and had important impacts on the way politics is practiced in the country. She contended that democratization and the progress made by the civil society became a counterweight to traditional Philippine politics. She noted the following observations:

- Some LGUs have become entrepreneurial.
- LGUs have become sources of innovations in local governance.
- E-governance has brought opportunities for improved welfare delivery and development.
- LGUs have become more assertive.
- LGU-NGO partnerships have become stronger.



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What are the characteristics of LGUs in the Philippines?

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2. How did decentralization and devolution change the landscape of local governance?

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## BEYOND WALLS 9.2

### Read and Answer

Read the article on the implications of decentralization on reproductive health in the Philippines through the following link: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRH/Resources/PhilippinesRHMarticle.pdf>. Answer the following questions:

1. What are the intended and unintended consequences of decentralization to reproductive health in the country?
2. How important is central-local relations in the welfare and development of local governments, particularly in the health sector?
3. Do you think the findings also reflect the condition of decentralization in the education sector? How about in environment protection or in disaster and risk reduction management?

## Issues and Challenges

Several years after the Local Government Code of 1991 devolved powers and services from the national to the local governments, the law has yet to accomplish its purpose of building self-reliant communities that shall contribute to national welfare and development (The Asia Foundation, n.d.). The Asia Foundation observed that several LGUs still fail to address the most basic needs of their constituents, still lack mechanisms for transparency and accountability, and have yet to exercise autonomy from the national government.

Atienza (2006) noted that parts of the country are still governed by *traditional politicians* who use coercion and patronage rather than platforms-based stance to encourage local participation. While decentralization aimed toward democratization, such rule by traditional politicians goes against what the 1987 Constitution and 1991 Local Government Code aimed in the first place. Decentralization may have triggered more participatory and development-oriented LGUs, but not all LGUs have become more democratic or economically developed as a result of decentralization. Apart from this, Atienza (2006) held that some national government officials and agencies still have centralist tendencies that prevented successful decentralization efforts. There still prevails an unequal distribution of financial resources and this raises questions as to whether or not national agencies are more favored than local governments. There are also problems regarding personnel and human resource that persist in local government; this points to problems on training and doubts on the competency to govern and provide welfare to the people.

So you may ask—what is the future of decentralization in the Philippines? The answer to this question relies on a number of factors. First, you may look at the impact of the international arena; after all, globalization (as discussed in module 4) has an effect on the course of local governance. Second, you may want to observe the state of civil society in the Philippines. A vibrant civil society that pressures or influences local governments to serve well may define the future of how LGUs provide services to their constituents. Finally, you may try to assess the degree through which people participate in local affairs.

Perhaps you are wondering how ordinary citizens could take part in affairs of decentralization. The logic is simple: good governance (as presented in module 1) has something to do with the inclusion of the people in the process of development. There might be mechanisms that encourage popular participation but if individuals do not engage themselves in such efforts, then such attempts of inclusiveness become futile. After all, welfare projects are for the people.

There are still other determinants that will decide the success of decentralization in the country. You have learned that decentralization and democratization reinforce each other; thus, one thing is for sure—the dynamic relationship between the citizens and their local governments is significant in the prospect of development.

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

For a discussion on the relationship between decentralization and quality of local governance, you may visit <http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/46627/1/494483288.pdf>.

For a presentation of the impacts of devolution on several issues, check the following Web sites:

- [http://environmentalhistory.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/6-2\\_Magno.pdf](http://environmentalhistory.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/6-2_Magno.pdf)
- [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PNACM559.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACM559.pdf)
- <http://www.rrh.org.au/Articles/subviewnew.asp?ArticleID=220>
- <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/eropa/unpan014257.pdf>

For a list LGU officials and their contact details, you may go to <http://www.gov.ph/directory/local-government-units/>.

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

The national government consists of the machinery of the central government (as discussed in the previous modules), as differentiated from the local governments, which are political subdivisions that have substantial control over local affairs. Each local government unit has a set of locally elected and appointed officers, their functions being mandated by the 1991 Local Government Code. The post-1986 period aimed at strengthening local governments for self-governance and sufficiency given the fact that people are closer to their local governments than to the central government. The idea of decentralization lies in the simple logic that local governments are expected to better address issues since they can easily determine the problems of their constituents. However, decentralization—specifically devolution—has its fair share of successes and failures. While it has led to significant improvements, the prospect of decentralization in the country is still confronted with issues and challenges. Local governments may be able to identify problems instantly, but they are not equipped with both expertise and resources to these problems. Nonetheless, the future of decentralization is determined by a number of factors including, but not limited to, the context of globalization, civil society, popular participation, and central-local relations.

## Culminating Output

You are a photojournalist working at one of the country's major broadsheets. You are asked by your editor to work with a team of individuals in the same field to put up a photo exhibit in a school. With the aim of raising awareness among the students and the youth about the current state of the Philippine society, the exhibit will focus on the socioeconomic or political conditions brought about by problems in governance (whether in the central or local government level). Your photos and the entire exhibit will be evaluated based on content (relevance to the theme) and visual impact (artistry and editing). A group of students will evaluate your work and the results of which will be sent to your editor.

### Outputs:

1. Photos (8R size) with captions
2. Exhibit

### Reminders:

1. The team should be comprised of at least five photojournalists.
2. There should only be one title for the entire exhibit. Good titles are often catchy and inviting.
3. Secure permit from school authorities in putting up the exhibit. It is ideal that the exhibit runs for at least a week.
4. Advertise your upcoming exhibit. You may distribute flyers and invitations, send messages via SMS or social network, or contact your local radio.
5. Safety must be observed in the installation of the exhibit. Ask help from someone who has technical expertise in putting up boards, lights, and even sounds.
6. Open your exhibit with a short program.
7. Do not forget to distribute evaluation forms after the exhibit. Do a postmortem. What should be continued? What should be improved?

## Rubric for the Photo Exhibit

Criteria	Indicators for the Level of Performance				Score
	4	3	2	1	
Organization, Relevance, and Thematic Accuracy	The exhibit is very well organized. All the photos are accurate and relevant to the exhibit theme.	The exhibit is somehow well organized. Majority of the photos are accurate and relevant to the exhibit theme.	The exhibit is poorly organized. Most of the photos are inaccurate and irrelevant to the exhibit theme.	The exhibit is not organized. The photos are inaccurate and irrelevant to the exhibit theme.	
Visual Appeal	The photos show the subjects clearly because of excellent contrast of light and colors.	The photos somehow show the subjects clearly but the contrast of light and colors needs to improve.	The photos poorly show the subjects because the contrast of light and colors is done ineffectively.	The photos do not show the subjects clearly because there is no contrast of light and colors.	
Overall Impact of Exhibit	The exhibit is very organized, and photos were positioned or laid out well.	The exhibit is quite organized, and photos were positioned or laid out quite well.	The exhibit is a bit disorganized and photos were not properly positioned or laid out.	The exhibit is disorganized and photos were not properly positioned or laid out.	
Total:					

## Quarter Challenge

- I. Circle the letter of the correct answer.
1. It refers to the people's perception that their government rules rightfully, and must thus be obeyed.
    - a. power
    - b. legitimacy
    - c. sovereignty
    - d. coercion
  2. tradition: conservatism :: individualism: \_\_\_\_\_
    - a. liberalism
    - b. conservatism
    - c. socialism
    - d. Marxism
  3. Which of the following is considered as the most basic political unit in the country?
    - a. barangay
    - b. municipality
    - c. city
    - d. province
  4. Philippine Executive Commission: Japanese Period :: Commonwealth Government: \_\_\_\_\_
    - a. Spanish period
    - b. American period
    - c. Revolutionary period
    - d. Post-1986 period
  5. Which of the following views consider politics as an attempt to resolve conflict through bargaining?
    - a. Politics as art of government
    - b. Politics as public affairs
    - c. Politics as compromise and consensus
    - d. Politics as power and the distribution of resources
  6. one: monarchy :: few: \_\_\_\_\_
    - a. aristocracy
    - b. oligarchy
    - c. polity
    - d. democracy

7. The Kataastaasang Kagalanggalangang Katipunan (KKK) was comprised of the following bodies, except \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Supreme Council
  - b. Provincial Council
  - c. Popular Council
  - d. Barangay Council
  
8. It is a coherent set of ideas that can direct or organize a specific political action.
  - a. worldview
  - b. belief system
  - c. value system
  - d. ideology
  
9. This refers to the principle that provides for the exercise of powers of one branch of the government without restraint from or influence of the other.
  - a. separation of powers
  - b. checks and balances
  - c. coordinate powers
  - d. interdependence
  
10. importance of traditions: traditional authority :: impersonal rules: \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. rational-legal authority
  - b. charismatic authority
  - c. traditional authority
  - d. personal authority
  
11. What dimension of power is involved in ideological indoctrination or psychological control?
  - a. Power as decision-making
  - b. Power as agenda setting
  - c. Power as thought control
  - d. Power as influence
  
12. This refers to a political community of individuals residing in a definite territory, possesses sovereignty, and has a government.
  - a. state
  - b. nation
  - c. government
  - d. territory

13. cultural: nation :: political: \_\_\_\_\_
- state
  - government
  - nation-state
  - territory
14. no national government: failed state :: minor corruption: \_\_\_\_\_
- effective state
  - weak state
  - failed state
  - ineffective state
15. Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany subscribed to this political ideology.
- anarchism
  - fascism
  - Marxism
  - socialism
16. What is the term of office of the Philippine President?
- six years per term, maximum of two terms
  - six years per term, not eligible for reelection
  - six years per term, maximum of two consecutive terms
  - six years per term, maximum of two successive terms
17. creation of laws: legislative :: interpretation of laws: \_\_\_\_\_
- executive
  - judiciary
  - Congress
  - Supreme Court
18. Which of the following has the power to review declarations of martial law and suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus by the President?
- Congress
  - Supreme Court
  - Executive Department
  - National Bureau of Investigation
19. The members of the Philippine House of Representatives may be elected by means of district proportional representation system and \_\_\_\_\_.
- plurality
  - party-list
  - people
  - nationwide

20. In whom is judicial power vested?
- Supreme Court and Court of Appeals
  - Supreme Court and lower courts
  - Court of Appeals and lower courts
  - President and Supreme Court

II. Match the items in column A with the most related choice in column B. Write the letter of the correct answer on the space provided.

A	B
_____ 1. The president as the commander in chief of the Armed Forces	a. Marxism
_____ 2. Society is characterized by sexual or gender inequality.	b. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo
_____ 3. The president known for the narrative of “ <i>Daang Matuwid</i> ”	c. Politics as power
_____ 4. Ten-year transition period for self-governance	d. Supreme Court
_____ 5. Greater interconnectedness of societies	e. military power
_____ 6. Power to appropriate money for governmental use	f. local governments
_____ 7. The court of last resort or the highest court of the land	g. Feminism
_____ 8. “Man is by nature a political animal.”	h. devolution
_____ 9. Lowest level of elected territorial organization	i. globalization
_____ 10. The ability to achieve a desired outcome	j. governor
_____ 11. Transfer of some powers and functions to local government units	k. <i>Sangguniang Panlalawigan</i>
_____ 12. Head of provinces	l. Aristotle
_____ 13. Politics involves exercise of authority.	m. Tydings-McDuffie Act
_____ 14. The president credited for the vision of a Strong Republic	n. legislative power
_____ 15. Historical materialism, dialectic, class consciousness	o. power
	p. Benigno S. Aquino III



## UNIT II

# State-Society Interaction and Citizenship-in-Practice in the Philippines

Knowledge and awareness of the basics of a country's governmental system and political landscape are requisites of active citizenship and political participation. These you have already learned in unit 1. The next set of modules now pertains to political interaction.

Students of politics often ask how individuals become integrated in governance and in the larger political system. How can individuals contribute in the political development of their countries? Up to what extent is participation encouraged or curtailed, and what are its effects on the governing process? As citizens of this nation, we are faced with the challenge of participation in political and societal affairs. After all, active citizenship is an endeavor that fosters individual interaction with state institutions. In democracies like the Philippines, the system of governance is assessed on how well the government or the state listens to its citizens and how well it encourages popular participation. This unit thus intends to discuss the importance and implications of state-society interaction and active citizenship in the Philippines.

The first module of this unit introduces you to the concepts of elections and political parties, while the second module presents civil society and social movements. The third module explores citizenship, including the basic rights of individuals as enrichment. The last module integrates all that you have learned in this course, and this is where your part in governance is explored. Hence, this unit becomes an undertaking that is geared toward your active participation in the state's affairs, in hopes of fostering your role in the country's development.

## Learning Outcomes for the Unit

- Demonstrate an understanding of elections and political parties, and civil society and social movements.
- Analyze the interactions between state and society.
- Demonstrate an understanding of citizenship.
- Propose a project on political engagement and youth empowerment.

## Module 10: Elections and Political Parties

In this module, you will be able to:

- describe the nature of elections and political parties in the Philippines;
- identify the types of electoral systems;
- assess the implications of the type of electoral systems on politics and governance;
- analyze the nature of elections and political parties in the Philippines; and
- conduct a seminar on voters' awareness (*enrichment*).

How do we select and on what bases do we choose our leaders? Perhaps these are among the most crucial questions a student of politics may ask. Truly, elections are at the core of the political process. In the previous modules, you have already learned the framework of the government. This time, you will learn how to become part of governance. Your interaction with the state is as crucial as the framework of government itself because without support from the citizens, any undertaking will hardly materialize.

One of the many ways by which you can participate in governmental affairs is through elections. The leaders you elect are reflective of the type of policies you wish to be crafted and implemented. You can definitely control your government by selecting the right people who will occupy seats in public office. Ultimately, you also have the power to punish erring politicians by not choosing them. To put simply, politicians are servants of the people who elect them. But how exactly are politicians chosen and what do election results actually mean in a democracy like the Philippines? These questions and more are addressed in this module.



**Big  
Idea**

People choose their leaders through elections. Chosen leaders are expected to serve the people who elected them.

## What Are Elections?

**Elections** are a device for filling a governmental office through choices made by the *electorate*, a designated body of qualified people. While elections are by themselves not a sufficient condition for the existence of political representation, they are a necessary condition because the representative process is intrinsically linked to elections and voting (Heywood 2013). Elections have a variety of roles and functions. The following, however, are the central ones (Heywood 2013).



### Big Idea

Elections in democratic systems like the Philippines are characterized by universal suffrage, the secret ballot, and electoral competition.

#### 1. Recruiting political leaders

- Through elections, *politicians*—people who possess talents and skills relevant to electioneering—are chosen. These skills may not be necessarily related to what politicians are required in accomplishing their functions. Nonetheless, individuals who possess such “skills” are enlisted at the roster of leaders through elections.
- In the Philippines, as in any other democracy that holds elections, government officials are recruited by means of elections. Apart from those who serve in the government under the civil service, politicians are chosen to work in and for the government by means of elections.

#### 2. Making governments

- In countries where the executive is elected, elections directly make the government (i.e., the administration, a group of leaders vested with power and authority for the time being). In parliamentary governments, elections are an avenue in the formation of these governments.
- In the Philippines, elections do not only create the government (in this context, the group of individuals responsible and accountable in policy-making), but the opposition as well.

#### 3. Providing representation

- In fair and competitive systems, elections become the means through which people’s demands are channeled to the government.
- Elected officials are considered the link between the government and the people. In the Philippines, for example, the members of the House of Representatives are elected to represent their constituents in the halls of the government. Such is true for those elected by the district proportional system or by the party-list system.

#### 4. Influencing policy

- Elections may hinder the government from pursuing unpopular policies. At times when a single issue dominates the electoral campaign, elections may directly influence policy.
- Elections are considered as a venue by which people can choose officials based on policy choices. However, the Philippine political system is considered as personality-based more than program- or policy-oriented.

#### 5. Educating voters

- Elections provide the electorate with abundant information during the campaign period and voting process. The information may be about the candidates, parties, policies, and the like. Elections can possibly influence or encourage citizens' participation, or the "civic culture" as termed by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963).
- The utilization of a wide array of campaign strategies, including the use of social media, has propelled elections to new heights. In the country, the campaign season becomes the people's source of information regarding the candidate (even their personal and familial matters) and the timely issues that are to be addressed.

#### 6. Building legitimacy

- Elections provide justification for a system of rule and thus help in fostering legitimacy. Elections also mobilize active consent by encouraging citizens to participate in politics through elections.
- In the Philippines, as in elsewhere, officials who are given seats in the government are considered holders of legitimate power as the people elected them.

#### 7. Strengthening elites

- While elections can encourage people to participate in politics and link people to the government, elections can also be a vehicle through which the political elites can manipulate and control the masses.
- This function is very much evident in the Philippines. Since the reestablishment of democratic institutions after 1986 (and even the periods before that), the economically and politically powerful elites occupied the halls of government, displacing the ordinary people from participating as candidates in elections. Such circumstances can be attributed to the fact that elections are a costly undertaking. Given this, public offices seem to have been reserved to those who have economic power.

Look at the pictures. What do they say about the Philippines in general and elections in particular? Share your thoughts with the class.



Illustration 1

Adapted from: <http://www.cagle.com/r-j-matson/2012/11/undecided-voter-is-still-undecided-after-voting>



Illustration 2

Adapted from: <http://namre.deviantart.com/art/Rampage-Philippine-Politics-46346490>



Illustration 3  
Adapted from: <https://jesuspaez74.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/political-race.jpg>



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What is an election for?

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2. What functions do elections serve in political systems?

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3. Do you think the functions of elections are reflected in the case of the Philippines? Explain your answer.

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## Reflect Upon

1. What will people get in casting their votes during elections?

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2. Do you think you can change the course of the Philippine political and economic landscape through elections? Explain your answer.

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### Electoral Systems

Elections can take many different forms. One may ask what posts or offices are filled through elections? Who is entitled to vote? How are votes cast? Are elections competitive or noncompetitive? How are elections conducted? These questions lead to a variety of electoral systems, which point to varying constitutional and political implications.

An **electoral system** is a set of rules that governs the conduct of elections (Heywood 2013). From questions pertaining to how elections should be conducted to how a candidate wins, elections are guided by an electoral system. To put it simply, electoral systems are the ways by which votes are translated into seats in the legislature or in any other areas such as the presidency.

In general, electoral systems can be categorized into two types depending on how they convert votes into seats. In a *majoritarian electoral system*, larger political parties win a higher proportion of seats than the proportion of votes they gain in the election. In a *proportional system*, there is a guarantee of an equal, or at least more equal, relationship between the seats won by a party and the votes gained in the election. Thus, electoral systems range from the most majoritarian to the purest type of proportional system. Different electoral systems may be found in different countries, in different regions, and at different levels of government (King, 2000). Some of the electoral systems in the world are presented in table 10.1.

Majoritarian electoral systems usually offer the voters a clear choice of potential administration, invest winning parties with a policy mandate, and help promote a strong and stable government. On the other hand, proportional electoral systems usually give the government a broader electoral base, promote consensus and cooperation among a number of parties, and establish a healthy balance between the executive and the legislature (Heywood 2013). Regardless of their differences, electoral systems are designed to carry out three main functions (Reilly 2003):

1. translate the votes cast into seats won in a legislature;
2. act as conduit through which the people can hold their elected representatives accountable; and
3. give incentives for those competing for power to couch their appeals to the electorate in distinct ways.

Table 10.1 Electoral Systems (Heywood 2013)

Electoral System	Type	Features	Some Advantages	Some Disadvantages	Examples
Single-member plurality system (“first-past-the-post”)	Majoritarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The country is divided into single-member constituencies (or legislative districts) usually of equal size. One district has one representative.</li> <li>Voters select a single candidate.</li> <li>The winning candidate needs only to gain a plurality of votes (first-past-the-post system).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It establishes a clear link between representatives and their constituents.</li> <li>It offers the people (the voters) a clear choice of potential parties in the government.</li> <li>It allows the formation of governments that have a clear mandate from the electorate.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It distorts electoral preferences by “under-representing” small parties.</li> <li>It undermines legitimacy of the government because often, the created governments enjoy only minority support.</li> </ul>	United Kingdom (House of Commons), United States of America, Philippines (House of Representatives)

Second ballot system	Majoritarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Single-candidate constituencies are created and single-choice voting is observed as in the first-past-the-post system.</li> <li>A candidate needs an overall majority of the votes cast to win on the first ballot.</li> <li>A second runoff ballot is held between the top two candidates when no candidate gains a first-ballot majority.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It broadens electoral choice.</li> <li>Because candidates can only win through a majority of votes, they have to make their appeal as broad as possible.</li> <li>A strong and stable government is possible as in the first-past-the-post system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It distorts preferences, as it is little more proportional than the first-past-the-post system.</li> <li>Runoff candidates may abandon their principles in exchange for short-term popularity to get elected.</li> <li>The runoff may strain the voters' patience and political interest.</li> </ul>	Traditionally in France
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Electoral System	Type	Features	Some Advantages	Some Disadvantages	Examples
<p>Alternative vote (AV) system; supplementary vote (SV) system</p>	<p>Majoritarian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are single-member constituencies.</li> <li>• Preferential voting is done. In the AV system, the electorate ranks candidates in order of preference: 1 for first preference, 2 for second, and so on. In the SV system, there is only a single supplementary vote.</li> <li>• A candidate must win 50% of all the votes cast preferences.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fewer votes are wasted unlike in the first-past-the-post system.</li> <li>• Unlike in the second ballot system, outcomes cannot be influenced by deals made between candidates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is not much more proportional than the first-past-the-post system and is biased in favor of larger parties.</li> <li>• Those who support small, and possibly, extremist parties, may determine the outcome of the elections.</li> <li>• The winning candidates may enjoy little first-preference support, that is, they were not the first option of the voter.</li> </ul>	<p>Australia (House of Representatives – AV) and the United Kingdom (London mayor – SV)</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votes are counted according to the first preference. If not, a candidate gains 50%, the bottom candidate is eliminated, and his or her votes are redistributed according to the second (or subsequent).</li> </ul>			
Additional member system	Proportional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A proportion of seats are filled by the first-past-the-post system through single member constituencies.</li> <li>The remaining seats are filled using a party-list system.</li> <li>The electorate casts two votes: one for the constituency and the other for the party.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The hybrid nature of the additional member system balances the need for constituency representation against the need for electoral fairness through the party-list system. This makes for a proportionally representative assembly.</li> <li>While it is a proportional system, it makes a single-party government possible.</li> <li>This system gives the electorate more choices. The people can possibly choose a constituency representative from one party and then support another party-list to form a government.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The single-member constituencies in this system prevent the achievement of high levels of proportionality.</li> <li>Constituency representation suffers because of the size of constituencies, which are generally twice as large as the first-past-the-post system.</li> </ul>	Germany, Italy, and Russia (State Duma)

Electoral System	Type	Features	Some Advantages	Some Disadvantages	Examples
Single-transferable-vote system	Proportional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There are multimember constituencies, each electing up to five members.</li> <li>Parties may field as many candidates as there are seats to be filled.</li> <li>Voters elect preferentially as in the AV system.</li> <li>Candidates are elected if they achieve a quota, the minimum number of voted needed to elect the required number of candidates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The system is capable of achieving highly proportional outcomes.</li> <li>Candidates from the same party compete, which means they can be assessed based on their records and stance on issues.</li> <li>There are several members and this gives the constituents quite a lot of options on who to take their grievances to.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The degree of proportionality varies based on the party system.</li> <li>There is unlikely a possibility for strong and stable single-party government.</li> <li>Intraparty competition may be divisive. This may allow members to disregard their responsibility toward their constituents, given the excessive focus on competition driven by personal interest.</li> </ul>	The Republic of Ireland and the UK (Northern Ireland Assembly)

Party-list system	Proportional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votes are counted according to first preferences. If not all seats are filled, the bottom candidate is eliminated, and his or her votes are redistributed according to second preferences and so on, until all seats are filled.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The party-list system is the only potentially pure system of proportional representation, and is therefore fair to all parties.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The existence of many small parties can lead to a weak and unstable government.</li> </ul>	Countries throughout Europe, the European Parliament, Philippines (House of Representatives)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The entire country is treated as a single constituency. In the case of regional parties, there are multimember constituencies.</li> <li>Parties compile list of candidates to place before the electorate, in descending preferential order.</li> </ul>			

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Electorate vote for parties and not candidates.</li> <li>• Parties are given seats in direct proportion to the votes they gained in the election.</li> <li>• A threshold may be imposed to exclude small, and possibly extremist, parties from representation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It may promote unity as candidates identify with their nation or region rather than with their constituency. This also stresses the importance of policies and programs offered by the parties as it veers away from the possibility of personality-based politics, which arises when individuals' names are voted rather than the parties.</li> <li>• This system makes it easier for minorities and the disadvantaged to get elected.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The link between the representatives and their constituencies is broken, that is, the party is made accountable instead of the individual representative (as in the case of district proportional systems).</li> <li>• Unpopular candidates who are placed on a party-list cannot be removed.</li> </ul>	



## What Have I Learned So Far?

How do you think can a specific electoral system affect politics and governance in a country?

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### Political Parties and Party Systems

A **political party** is a group of people that is formally organized for the purpose of winning government power through electoral or other means. The political party is the major organizing principle of modern politics. It links the state and civil society, the institutions of the government, and the groups and interests that operate within society (Heywood 2013). The following are characteristics of parties that distinguish them from other groups (e.g., interest groups, civil society organizations, and social movements):

1. They aim to exercise government power by winning seats in the government.
2. They are formally organized bodies with “card carrying” membership. Membership involves taking of formal oath.
3. They adopt a broad issue focus and address major areas of government policy.
4. They are united by shared political preferences and ideological identity to varying degrees.



### Big Idea

Political parties serve numerous functions, but central to these is the fact that they serve as a link between the people and the government and the state.

## Functions of Political Parties

While you have learned that the central functions of political parties include filling of political offices and exercising governmental power, a number of other functions can also be identified (Heywood 2013). These are:

### 1. Representation

- Political parties are vehicles through which the interests of the people are carried out in the government. Representation refers to the ability of the parties to respond to and articulate the views of members and the voters.
- Political parties are expected to represent the causes of the people they claim to be supportive of. In the Philippines, since most parties are catch-all parties, they represent as many as causes possible to get much support across the social strata. Catch-all parties dispense specific ideologies and programs because they intend to get as many supporters from different sectors of the society as possible.

### 2. Elite formation and recruitment

- Political parties provide a training ground for politicians. It is through these groups that politicians become equipped with skills, knowledge, and experience needed in carrying out their functions. Parties then provide leaders for the state.
- In the Philippines, as in elsewhere, these political parties train their members to become future presidents, if not to occupy high positions in the government.

### 3. Goal formulation

- Political parties are seen as means through which societies set collective goals. They formulate governmental programs in the process of seeking governmental power. Political parties, thus, become a source of policy initiation and provide the electorate a choice of realistic and achievable goals.
- Whatever policies are carried out in the Philippines are a product of these parties. It is thus important for a democracy, like in the country, to have a healthy opposition that provides policy alternatives to those carried out by the dominant party.

### 4. Interest articulation and aggregation

- Political parties help articulate various interests in a society by developing collective goals. These interests are then aggregated into a coherent whole, balancing competing interests against each other.

- As with the previous example, political parties in the Philippines are expected to be the voice of the people who supported them. In the House of Representatives or in the Senate, officials who are members of different political parties engage in discussions to aggregate the varying interests of people.

#### 5. Socialization and mobilization

- Political parties serve as agents of political education and socialization through a series of internal debates and discussions, and through campaigning and electoral competition. The issues focused on by political parties set the political agenda, while the values and attitudes they emphasize become part of the larger political culture.
- The type of agenda carried out is reflected on the beliefs and values that political parties adhere to. Apparently, political parties in the Philippines are criticized to be all the same, such that most of them support the liberal democratic agenda. Because of this, one may think that such is a general characteristic of parties in the Philippines.

#### 6. Organization of government

- Political parties help in the formation of governments. Parties also give governments a degree of stability and coherence. Similarly, they are a vital source of opposition and criticism, both inside and outside the government. They likewise facilitate cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of the government.
- As in the discussion of the functions of elections, political parties in the Philippines are instrumental in the creation of an administration. The creation of majority or dominant parties after the election period (for instance, when most parties in the Philippines transfer to the political party of the winning president after elections) highlights the creation of an administration. Whatever is not part of the administration usually becomes the opposition.



### Big Idea

The ability of political parties to create coherent policies for welfare is definitely a test of their strength and their promise to represent and aggregate people's interest in the halls of the government.



## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. How do political parties differ from other groups (e.g., interest groups, civil society organizations, and social movements)?

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2. What are some of the functions of political parties?

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## Reflect Upon

What do you think did Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (1835) mean when he said, “In politics, shared hatreds are almost always the basis of friendships”? How does this apply in Philippine politics?

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Political parties are important not only because of their functions that were mentioned. More importantly, the complex relationship between parties helps in the structuring of the political system. This network of relationship is commonly referred to as **party system**. There are several ways of distinguishing the type of party system that exists in a certain country. One is based on the number of parties competing for political power. Another is depending on the size of parties relative to their electoral and legislative strength. The last one has something to do with how parties relate to each other, that is, whether there is cooperation, consensus, or conflict among them (Heywood 2013). The major types of party systems include the following:

1. *One-party system* – Only one party dominates and there is no political competition between parties. Single-party systems are characterized by the oppression of democratic freedom.
2. *Two-party system* – Two parties primarily dominate the political landscape and smaller parties only play a subordinate role.
3. *Dominant party systems* – Other parties are present but only one party dominates and enjoys prolonged periods in power.
4. *Multiparty system* – More than two parties compete for power over time. It reduces the likelihood of a single-party government and increases chances of coalition formation.



## Big Idea

The entire group of parties in a country and the pattern of relationships between and/or among them form the political party system.



## Big Idea

The Philippines has a multiparty system at present and this is manifested as well in the 1987 constitution.

## Elections and Political Parties in the Philippines

### Brief Historical Development

Democratic institutions, including elections, were imported to the Philippines from Western models. In the country, American colonialism was instrumental in the rise of constitutional law, the secret ballot, political parties, and legislature, among many others. The following provides a time line of the development of elections and political parties in the country.

Table 10.2 The Development of Elections and Political Parties in the Philippines

Time/Period	Events
<b>Spanish Period</b>	Limited form of suffrage was observed. Only the <i>principales</i> were allowed to vote and were eligible to run as <i>gobernadorcillo</i> .
<b>American Period</b>	Americans initially conducted municipal elections in pacified areas under military rule.
May 1898	First election was held in Baliwag, Bulacan under American supervision, followed by four municipalities in Cavite through General Order No. 40.
December 1900	The <i>Federalist Party</i> (FP) was established by upper-class Filipinos led by Trinidad Pardo de Tavera. Its platform was anchored on the entry of the Philippines to the United States.
1901	Civilian government was established. Under Act No. 60, the Philippine Commission listed property and educational qualifications for voters.
November 1901	The <i>Anti-Sedition Law</i> was passed. It punished those that advocated independence.
1902	Philippine Bill of 1902 was passed, which created the Philippine Assembly.
12 March 1907	The <i>Nacionalista Party</i> (NP) was formed as a merger of several nationalist movements that pushed for Philippine independence. It came under the leadership of notable personalities like Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña.
30 June 1907	The first legislative election was held under the first General Election Law of the Philippines (Act No. 1532). Through a direct vote of qualified voters, elective provincial and municipal posts were filled aside from those of the unicameral Philippine Assembly.
1916	The <i>Jones Law</i> of 1916 transformed the unicameral Philippine Legislature into bicameral, comprised of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

1917	The Progresista Party (formerly the FP) merged with the Partido Democrata Nacional (National Democratic Party), an offshoot of the NP. They formed the Partido Democrata (Democratic Party). Meanwhile, the NP still dominated electoral politics throughout the prewar period. This continued in the inauguration of the Commonwealth government until the establishment of the Third Philippine Republic.
1922	<p>A power struggle between Quezon and Osmeña of the NP led the former to organize the <i>Partido Nacionalista-Colectivista</i>. This marked the dispute between the Colectivistas (those who favored collective leadership) and the Unipersonalistas (those who believed in “personal” leadership).</p> <p>The 1922 elections was thus a three-party contest between the Colectivista, Unipersonalista, and Democratic parties. The power struggle within the NP resulted in Osmeña’s loss of power and Quezon’s prominence.</p>
April 1924	The two factions of the Nacionalista reunited under the <i>Partido Nacionalista Consolidado</i> (Consolidated Nationalist Party). In the 1931 elections, the reunited party won overwhelmingly against the Partido Democrata, which was dissolved in 1932.
1934	The Tydings-McDuffie Law (Philippine Independence Act) was passed. The Philippine legislature convened a Constitutional Convention to draft a government for the Philippine Commonwealth.
Commonwealth	The 1935 Constitution established the Philippine Commonwealth. It established a presidential form of government and a unicameral National Assembly. However, a 1940 amendment reestablished the bicameral legislature. The right of suffrage was granted to all Filipinos who were qualified. Extension to women of the right of suffrage was also provided. Under Commonwealth Act No. 357, the Election Code consolidated all existing election laws. An independent Commission on Elections (COMELEC) was created through a constitutional amendment.
<b>Japanese Occupation</b>	The war overshadowed the constitutional amendments of 1940 and the reelection of Quezon as Commonwealth president and Osmeña as vice president. The Commonwealth government went into exile in the United States, with Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos appointed by Quezon as president of the Commonwealth government in the Philippines.

1942	By December, the Japanese Military Administration announced the voluntary dissolution of all political parties. These were replaced by the Association for Service to the New Philippines or the Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas (KALIBAPI) with Benigno S. Aquino as its first director general.
1944	The American forces were able to reestablish their presence in the Philippines. The Commonwealth was reestablished under Osmeña. Pre-World War II parties were restored.
<b>Postwar/ Independence Period</b>	From 1946 to 1971, 16 national and local elections were conducted. Postwar war politics was defined by an indistinct two-party system, with NP and Liberal Party (LP) competing. Both took terms to lead the presidency and both chambers of Congress.
1946	The Liberal Wing among the Nacionalistas became the <i>Liberal Party</i> . The 1946 elections saw Manuel Roxas from the LP win as president of the country against Sergio Osmeña.
1947	A constitutional amendment extended the House of Representatives' term to four years and the senate to six years.
1949	A convention of the Elpidio Quirino wing of the Liberal Party was held. Quirino won as president in the 1949 elections.
1953	Ramon Magsaysay of the NP won against Quirino of the LP in the 1953 elections. Magsaysay died in 1957 and was succeeded by Vice President Carlos Garcia.
1957	Carlos Garcia of the NP won as president and Diosdado Macapagal of the LP won as vice president.
1961	Diosdado Macapagal won as president in the 1961 elections.
1964–65	The then-LP president Ferdinand Marcos defected from the party and joined the NP. Marcos emerged victorious as president in the 1965 elections against incumbent President Macapagal.
1969	The elections in 1969 were a two-party contest between LP and NP. Marcos won a second term against Sergio Osmeña Jr.

1971	The midterm senatorial election of 1971 was the last free elections, after Marcos declared Martial Law the following year and abolished Congress.
<b>Martial Law Period</b>	The start of martial rule signaled an end to the country's long experiment with Western-style democracy.
21 September 1972	Martial Law was declared and this ended all forms of open party and competitive elections.
January 1973	Marcos called a special referendum to ratify the 1973 Constitution by means of citizen assemblies.
7 April 1978	First elections under martial law were held for the members of the interim National Assembly. The <i>Kilusang Bagong Lipunan</i> (KBL) or New Society Movement was established as an umbrella organization of Marcos' supporters. <i>Lakas ng Bayan</i> (LABAN) or People's Power was organized as a new opposition group led by Benigno Aquino Jr., an LP member.
1979	Salvador Laurel reestablished the Nacionalista Party and began to challenge the KBL in the 1980 local elections in Batangas. However, the NP was divided between Marcos and Laurel supporters.
August 1980	The <i>United Nationalist Democratic Opposition</i> (UNIDO) was established by the Laurel faction of the NP and members of the elite pre-martial law and the anti-Marcos opposition.
March 1981	Marcos called for another referendum with the intention of restraining the viable sections of the opposition from participating in the June elections. Marcos won in the said electoral contest.
21 August 1983	Benigno Aquino Jr. was assassinated. This political incident led to the consolidation of the anti-Marcos opposition.

January 1984	The COMPACT was created, which led the boycott of the opposition against the regime's initiatives for legitimization through the ballot. The COMPACT was comprised of Kilusan sa Kapangyarihan at Karapatan ng Bayan (KAAKBAY), the LP, the Pilipino Democratic Party (PDP), and the Nationalist Alliance (NA). But there were members of the opposition who prepared for the elections in 1984, including the Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL) and to some extent UNIDO. Both COMPACT and KOMPIL set out conditions for Marcos to allow the opposition to participate in the elections, including the implementation of specific electoral procedural reforms.
14 May 1984	Elections for members of the National Assembly took place. The position of those who participated in the electoral contest was bolstered with the revival of the National Movement for Free and Fair Elections (NAMFREL), which became the accredited election watchdog in the May 1984 and February 1986 Elections.
7 February 1986	Corazon Aquino, Benigno Aquino's widow, ran as President against Marcos. The elections were marred by widespread fraud and violence, but NAMFREL's quick count operation made it difficult for Marcos to manipulate election results. He, however, doubled his efforts to alter election results, which led to calls for massive civil disobedience.
25 February 1986	The EDSA People Power broke out and it succeeded in ousting Marcos. This marked the return to constitutionalism and democracy as the 1987 Philippine Constitution was later ratified.

Sources: Teehankee 2002, Tigno 2006, Velasco 2006



## BEYOND WALLS 10.1 Go Online

Download an article written by Julio Teehankee (2002) regarding electoral politics in the Philippines through this link: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/01361006.pdf>. Read the section on historical development and answer the following questions afterward.

1. How has the current electoral and party system developed?
2. What can be considered as important driving factors behind the development of the current systems?
3. Has the Philippine party system always been multiparty? What are the changes in the Philippine party system, if there are any? What factors can be accountable for the move toward a multiparty system?

## Current Structure of the Electoral System

The structure of the current electoral system is provided in the 1987 Constitution and the Omnibus Election Code. The COMELEC is given the task to enforce election laws and exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the qualifications of candidates, accreditation of political parties, and canvassing of votes.



### Big Idea

The current constitutional structure, electoral system, and type of parties that we have are products of the country's historical developments.

The 1987 Constitution provides that the three branches of the government are separate and equal. The president and the vice president are elected separately by a direct vote of the people. Under the simple plurality method, the candidates with the highest number of votes will be proclaimed winners (first-past-the-post system). Both officials are to serve for a term of six years. The maximum terms, the qualifications, and functions were already discussed in module 6.

The Transitory Provisions of the 1987 Constitution says that “of the senators elected in the election of 1992, the first 12 obtaining the highest number of votes shall serve for six years (full) and the remaining 12 for three years.” In 1995, elected senators were then given six-year term. Thus, 12 senators are elected every three years. This scheme of concurrent six-year terms was formulated so that the Senate would not be vacated and continue with their law- and policy-making functions. Remember that under a bicameral system, the bills submitted by the House of Representatives are still to be considered by the Senate. It is thus important that there are senators who could deal with the bill; otherwise, no laws will be created.

Of the 250 members of the House of Representatives, 200 are elected through district proportional representation, while 50 are elected from party-lists on a proportional basis. Party-lists are closed list (meaning, the people vote for the political party as a whole) and election of the representative is based on the candidates' placement in the party slate (Velasco 2006). Under the Party-List Act (RA 7941), seats are allocated at one seat per 2% of the votes obtained. Only a maximum of three seats are allowed per party. Unallocated seats shall be distributed among the other parties that have not yet obtained the maximum of three seats (provided that they have reached 2% of votes).

At present, there are almost 300 representatives in the Philippines. While the 1987 Constitution only provides for 250 members of the House of Representatives, Article VI, Section 5 states that “each legislative district shall comprise, as far as practicable, contiguous,

compact and adjacent territory. Each city with a population of at least 250 000, or each province, shall have at least one representative.” Within three years following the return of every census, the Congress shall make a reapportionment of legislative districts based on the standards provided in Article VI, Section 5. Population growth is thus a factor in such increase in the number of representatives. Apart from population growth, another reason for the increase of seats is due to several contestations on the Party-List Act. In 2009, while the Supreme Court upheld the three-seat cap, it ruled that the 2% election threshold was unconstitutional and stipulated that for every five legislative districts created, one seat for sectoral representatives should also be created. This increased the sectoral seats in the 14th Congress from 22 to 55.

The current constitution encourages a free and open party system. This led to the rise of several political parties in the post-1986 period and the setting up of a multiparty system. The introduction of the party-list system furthered this.

Meanwhile, the 1991 Local Government Code governs elections for local government officials. The *punong barangay*, vice mayor, mayor, vice governor, and governor are elected in their respective localities through a plurality vote (first-past-the-post system). The members of the local assemblies (e.g., city and municipal councils and the provincial board) are elected by district and through a plurality vote. Members of the barangay or village assembly are elected at large in their areas. The local government officials are to serve a maximum of three consecutive three-year terms (Teehankee 2002).



### What Have I Learned So Far?

What are the events and possible factors that have led to the current electoral and party system in the Philippines? Why do you think these events are important catalysts in this respect?

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### Reflect Upon

What do you think would have it been like to be a politician and a citizen during the Martial Law years?

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### Major Political Parties during the Post-EDSA Period

Velasco (2006) noted that three main parties emerged in the country during the post-1986 period and these are the Lakas, the Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino (LAMMP), and the Liberal Party.

The **Lakas-NUCD-UMDP (Lakas)** became the largest party after Fidel Ramos was elected into presidency in 1992. Former members of the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) established this political party in 1992 and became Ramos's vehicle for the presidential election. The Lakas was a product of the merger between the newly formed The Lakas ng EDSA and the older National Union of Christian Democrats-Union of Muslim Democrats of the Philippines (NUCD-UMDP) founded in 1984 (Teehankee 2002). In 1994, Lakas formed a coalition with the LDP for the 1995 congressional elections, known as the Lakas-Laban coalition. In 2004, it changed its name to Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats (Lakas-CMD) and became part of the Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan sa Kinabukasan (K-4 coalition), which supported the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. In 2008, it merged with Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (Kampi), the political party of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, to form the Lakas-Kampi-CMD, which became the ruling party in the 2010 elections. The political base of Lakas is in large provinces (like Pangasinan and Cebu), which are considered to be strongholds of its top leaders. It also had strong linkages with the big businesses because of its pro-business policies under Ramos and Arroyo.

The **Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino (LAMMP)**, on the other hand, was a coalition of two major and one minor opposition parties. These were the LDP, the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC), and the Partido ng Masang Pilipino (PMP). The LAMMP was organized in October 1997 to consolidate the opposition against Lakas. The LAMMP was led by then Senator Edgardo Angara (former head of the LDP) and its secretary-general was former Senator Orlando Mercado (former PMP president). It became the ruling coalition following the victory of its presidential bet, Joseph Ejercito Estrada, in the May 1998 elections. The LDP was the largest opposition party before its merger with NPC and PMP to form the LAMMP. It was set up in 1988 by anti-Marcos politicians led by former senate president Neptali Gonzales, then speaker of the House of Representatives Ramon Mitra, and former congressman Jose Cojuangco. It was the ruling party during the Corazon Aquino Administration. On the other hand, the NPC was the second biggest opposition party before it merged with LDP and PMP. It was established to support the presidential campaign of Eduardo Cojuangco Jr. in 1992, who lost. After the election, the NPC formed a coalition in the House with the ruling Lakas-NUCD-UMDP to support Speaker de Venecia. However, the party's strength was reduced following the victory of the Lakas-led coalition in 1995 midterm elections. In 1998, the NPC was dissolved as a party and its members forged an alliance with the LAMMP, which became the ruling party.

The **Liberal Party** is the only pre-1972 political party in the country that remains in existence today. Manuel Roxas founded the political party on 19 January 1946, from what was once the Liberal wing of the Nacionalista Party. The party controlled the Senate and had influence in the House during Corazon Aquino's presidency. However, like the LDP, it suffered during the 1992 presidential and congressional elections. In 2009, the Liberal Party mounted a campaign for Senator Benigno S. Aquino III, who won the presidency in the May 2010 national elections. For the 2013 midterm elections, it formed a coalition of Liberal party-led groups and other parties, which became known as the Team PNoy.

### **Issues, Prospects and Challenges**

Elections and political parties in the Philippines are observed to be problematic. Teehankee (2000) noted that the conduct of elections in the Philippines has failed to fully achieve two central functions of electoral systems—representation and integration.

As to representation, major institutions in the national and local political landscape are still dominated by the economic and political elites, including political dynasties and clans. Thus, the interests of the marginalized sectors are hardly recognized or addressed in the legislature. As to integration, it was contended that Philippine elections still lack real

political alternatives or competitive candidates, despite being open to anyone qualified to run. Concerning the electoral process, it is still riddled with opportunities for electoral fraud and wholesale cheating. Nonetheless, there is now a high hope of preventing such instances following the automation of elections in the country.

Meanwhile, Velasco (2006) observed that political parties in the country are similar, such that they subscribe to the liberal principles of free enterprise, limited government, and protection of civil rights and liberties. He noted that while these similarities resolved conflicts between the executive and legislative and hastened policy making, supporting similar standpoints has serious drawbacks, too. First, only mainstream policies are accommodated at the expense of alternative positions and interests; second, party loyalty and ideology bear little weight; and third, similar standpoints increase the likelihood of party transfers, or *political turncoatism*, hence the rebirth of “political butterflies.” These drawbacks now point to an important question: “Have political parties in the Philippines evolved into ‘real’ political parties or are they a mere grouping of politicians who are loosely organized around temporary interests?”

Similarly, the same observations were noticed by Teehankee (2002) when he pointed out that the weakness of party system results in the emergence of dominant ad hoc coalitions. Political parties in the country tend not to play a leading role in policy making, given that they are “parties of notables,” whose support is drawn from political elites. Thus, the social base becomes limited by ethnic groupings and bailiwicks of party leaders. Teehankee further observed that the weak organization of parties resulted from the constraints set by the electoral system, its being young, and having a personalistic leadership. The mass media also poses a challenge in the party’s ability to articulate and aggregate interest. Finally, he posited that the legal-institutional context within which parties operate must be improved to strengthen parties and party politics.

Teehankee (2002) suggests that a more incremental approach to electoral reforms and legislative development may speak volumes in solving the aforementioned problems, and definitely define the future of Philippine electoral and party politics—if not democracy at large.

Look at the illustrations on the next pages. What issues regarding Philippine elections are they very critical about? What are your views or thoughts? Share them with the class.

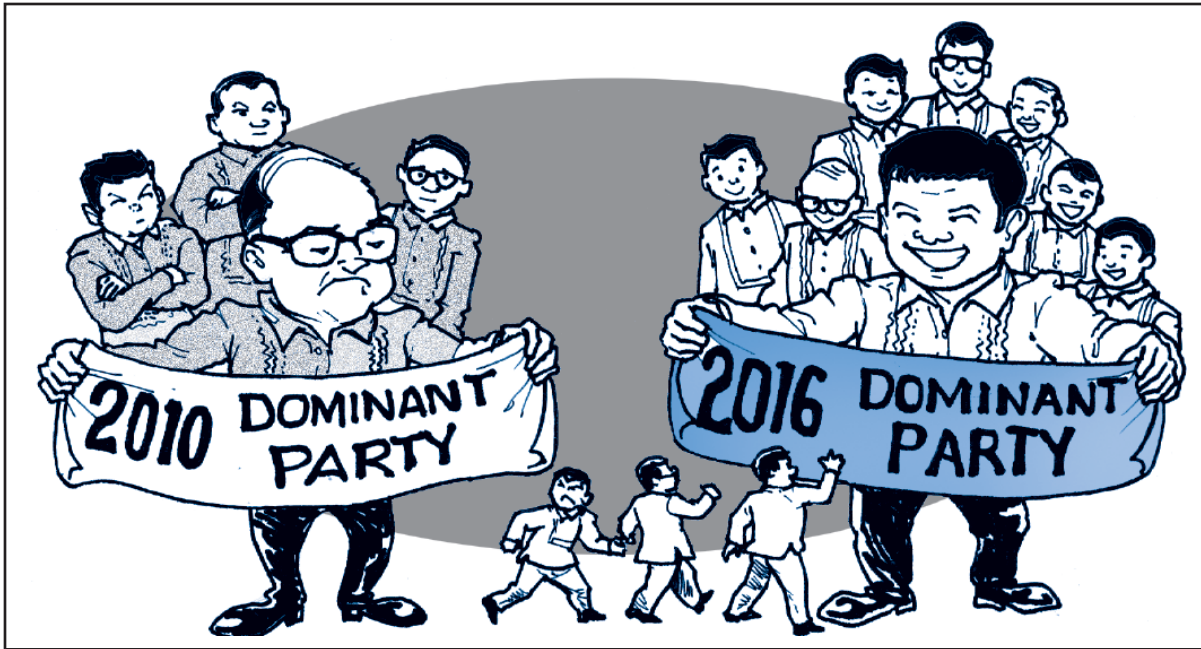


Illustration 4

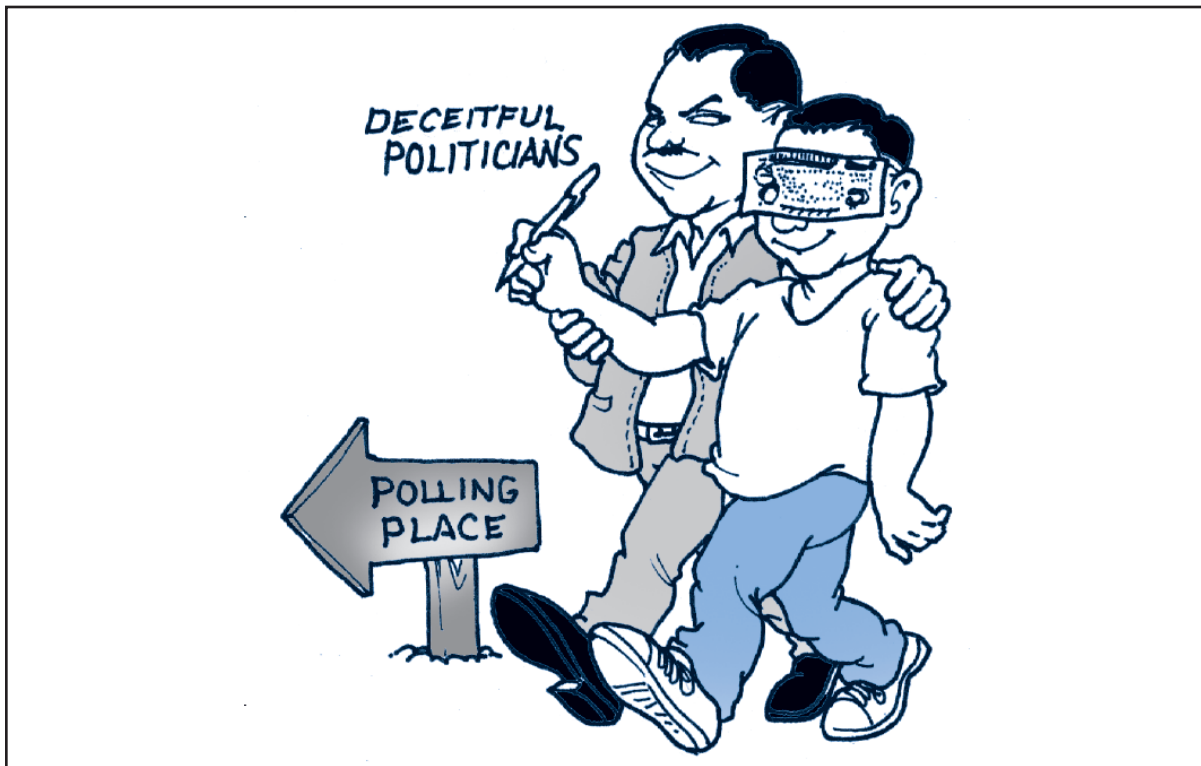


Illustration 5

Adapted from: <https://news.abrenian.com/2016/05/01/elections-2016-vote-buying-is-out-in-the-open-in-abra-comelec-joking-about-it/comment-page-1/>

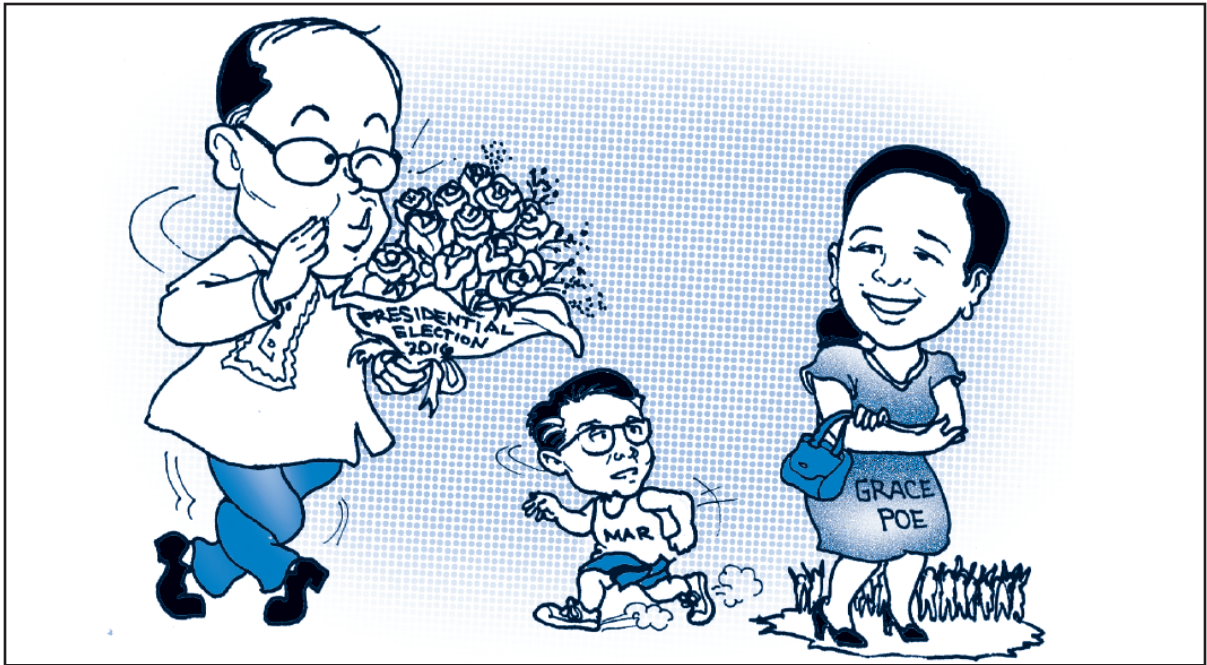


Illustration 6

Adapted from: <http://opinion.inquirer.net/files/2015/05/editorial-cartoon-05182015.jpg>



Illustration 7

Source: <http://primer.com.ph/tips-guides/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2016/02/gastos.jpg>



Download the article written by Julio Teehankee (2002) about electoral politics in the Philippines through this link: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/01361006.pdf>. For this activity, read the section “Proposals for Institutional Reforms” and answer the following questions:

1. What laws or institutions govern the conduct of elections in the Philippines?

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2. What institutional reforms have been done to solve or address the issues in Philippine elections and party politics? Are these sufficient? What else should be done?

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3. What is the future of elections and party politics in the Philippines given the problems and prospect of institutional reform?

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You are the vice president for external affairs of an election- and cause-oriented nongovernmental organization (NGO) in the Philippines. One of the functions of the NGO is to carry out seminars or workshops related to the conduct of elections in the country. You were asked to prepare a plan for and conduct a voters' awareness seminar. The director of the organization will evaluate your work plan and seminar based on content and relevance.

Outputs needed:

1. Seminar proposal or plan
2. Execution of the seminar

A few reminders:

1. Seminar proposal or plan
  - a. Determine the tentative or working title for the seminar.
  - b. Provide the rationale for the seminar.
  - c. Determine the intended audience or participants.
  - d. Identify when and where the seminar will be held.
  - e. Prepare a tentative list of activities and possible speakers based on the rationale and the topic.
  - f. Discuss technical details and logistics.
  - g. Present a sample seminar invitation and program.
2. Execution of the seminar
  - a. Present a final seminar invitation and program.
  - b. Advertise your seminar. You may use several means to reach your desired audience.
  - c. Finalize technical details and logistic concerns.
  - d. Execute the seminar.
  - e. Evaluate the seminar using an evaluation tool.
3. You may schedule the seminar as part of the culmination/integration project and organize a "Politics Week."

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

You may check the following articles which comprehensively discuss elections and political parties in the Philippines:

- Teehankee, J. “Electoral Politics in the Philippines” at <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/01361006.pdf>.
- Rocamora, J. “Philippine Political Parties, Electoral System and Political Reform” at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/apcity/unpan006915.pdf>.

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

Elections are an important device in filling seats in the government. Elections serve a number of functions, the most important of which are representation and integration. Open, competitive, free, and fair elections are important manifestations of the quality of democracy in a particular state. Similarly, political parties are important mechanisms that are expected to link the people with their governments. In a healthy democracy, a strong party system is as important as open elections. The conduct of elections and the organization of parties in the Philippines are guided by the 1987 Constitution, among others. The return of the Philippines to democracy and constitutionalism after 1986 speaks volumes on the characteristics of elections and parties in the period after. However, elections and parties remain to be problematic in the country. Several reforms have been provided, including institutional and structural ones, but the challenges and issues remain to be prevalent. A more incremental approach to electoral reform is thus expected if the country’s quality of democracy is to be improved.

## Module 11: Civil Society and Social Movements

In this module, you will be able to:

- discuss the concepts of civil society and social movements;
- explain the contributions of civil society organizations and social movements to Philippine democracy;
- evaluate the role of civil society organizations and social movements; and
- present challenges to civil society and social movements in the country (*enrichment*).

If political parties in the Philippines have failed to realize their primary goal of articulating and aggregating interests given the problems presented in the previous module, it is material to ask—have civil society and social movements taken the place of political parties in the prospect of development and governance? You have learned in the previous module that political parties serve as links between individuals and the government. Are civil society organizations and interest groups and movements now in the process of replacing political parties as crucial links between the government and society?

As part of the discussion on political interaction, this section presents yet another manifestation of state-society interaction, that is, the relationship between civil society and social movements, and the Philippine state. This section thus highlights another aspect of group politics, but its focus is on actors outside the government. This part assesses the roles taken by the civil society in Philippine governance and development.

### Defining Civil Society

The United Nations refers to civil society as the “third sector” of the society, along with government and business. The **civil society** is considered a social sphere independent from both the state and the market. It comprises of civil society organizations and nongovernmental organizations.

The term *civil society organizations* (CSOs) refers to those nonstate, nonprofit, voluntary organizations in this social sphere. Thus, CSOs include a wide array of organizations, networks, associations, groups, and movements that sometimes come together to push for the advancement of their common interests by means of collection action (WHO 2015).

*Nongovernmental organizations*, on the other hand, are nonprofit and voluntary citizens groups, which are organized on a local, national, or international level. They perform service and humanitarian roles, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies, and encourage participation through information dissemination. Similarly, they provide analysis and expertise on specific issues on the environment, health, and human rights (NGO Global Network 2016).



### Big Idea

The term *civil society* covers a wide range of activities. Nonetheless, it involves any voluntary collective activity which people come up with to pursue their interests given a particular issue.

The following are considered key characteristics of successful civil societies (Ghaus-Pasha 2004):

- Separated from the state and the market
- Formed by people who have common needs, interests, and values
- Developed through a fundamentally endogenous and autonomous process that is not easily controlled from the outside

The civil society can have a positive influence on both the state and the market. The civil society has become increasingly important in the promotion of good governance, effectiveness, and accountability. Ghaus-Pasha (2004) highlights the ways by which the civil society can further good governance.

#### Role of Civil Society in Good Governance

- Key agent in policy analysis and advocacy
- Regulates and monitors state performance and behavior of policy officials
- Builds social capital and enables citizens to identify and articulate their beliefs, values, and ideas
- Mobilizes particular constituencies—especially the marginalized sectors of the masses—to participate in public and political affairs
- Participates in development work to improve the well-being of its own and of other communities



#### Reflect Upon

Why do you think people join voluntary organizations or movements? What do people get from these organizations?

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CSOs take a variety of forms. Nonetheless, the AUGUR project, a research project co-funded by the European Commission, lists five main types of CSOs and two *hybrid organizations* (civil organizations but are not completely separated from states or business firms, such as business CSOs and government-oriented CSOs). While not all inclusive, the list presents a good categorization of CSOs.

Table 11.1 Types of CSOs

Types of CSOs	Characteristics
Religious CSOs	These CSOs do not necessarily promote worship of a religion, but they are more or less linked to a given religion and they act following a religious precept. Their fields of intervention include education, health, emergency relief, and basic needs assistance (e.g., Red Cross).
Community-based CSOs	These are, most of the time, local CSOs based on solidarity, resource sharing, and community building. They are primarily focused on development (e.g., Grameen Bank), housing (e.g., the Urban Land Reform Task Force in the Philippines), social services, civil and legal assistance, and culture and recreation.
Philanthropic CSOs	These are organizations that serve a cause without any religious affiliation. They are based on values such as generosity and humanism. They include private and business foundations and independent NGOs (e.g., Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation).
Expert CSOs	They act in new fields that require some scientific knowledge (e.g., environment, finance). They are not exclusively composed of experts and scientists but they claim to have an expertise unit and they publish some technical reports (e.g., Greenpeace International).
Trade Unions	These are labor and worker associations which promote workers' interests. The Philippines is also home to trade unions. The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines is the biggest confederation of labor federations in the country, with almost 30 federations representative of sectors and industries from agriculture to manufacturing to services ( <a href="http://www.tucp.org.ph">www.tucp.org.ph</a> ).

Business CSOs	These include business and industry NGOs (BINGOs) which defend a given firm's or industry's interests. These developed in Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly the United States. They are different from <i>business lobby/interest groups</i> , which generally promote employer or corporate interests. Larger corporations often have lobbyists who will monitor and promote various laws and programs for the specific interests of the corporation. Companies and organizations also come together in larger groups to work for general business interests (Boundless Political Science 2016). There are also business lobby groups in the Philippines such as those in the sugar and tobacco industries.
Government-oriented CSOs	Government-oriented NGOs (GONGOs) are independent civil organizations, which are more or less influenced and controlled by national authorities. These developed in industrialized Asian countries, particularly in China.

Source: AUGUR European Commission-European Research Area, Seventh Framework Programme, available at [http://www.augurproject.eu/IMG/pdf/cso\\_note\\_provisional\\_draft5\\_june\\_2012.pdf](http://www.augurproject.eu/IMG/pdf/cso_note_provisional_draft5_june_2012.pdf)

Civil society organizations also employ a number of tactics and strategies in the pursuit of their interests and goals. To influence national policy formulation, CSOs use education, persuasion, collaboration, litigation, and confrontation (Covey 1994 in Ghaus-Pasha 2004). The following table summarizes the tactics and skills required in the realization of these strategies.

Table 11.2 Some of CSO's Strategies and Tactics

Strategies	Tactics	Skills
Education	Meetings, media, workshops, conferences, commissions	Research, information, analysis, dissemination, communication, and articulation
Collaboration	Building relationships, links, and cooperation with government and other CSOs	Communication, organization, mobilization, networking technical capability, transparency, openness, and effectiveness

Persuasion	Meetings, workshops, coalition, lobbying, media, demonstration	Organizing, communication, motivation, negotiation, commitment, and vision
Litigation	Use of courts	Legislation and communication
Confrontation	Demonstration, public gatherings, speeches	Mobilizing, communication, motivation, and leadership

Source: Ghaus-Pasha (2004), available at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan019594.pdf>



### Reflect Upon

1. Can the rise of civil society organizations be attributed to the failure of governmental institutions and political parties? Explain.

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2. How can students like you help improve education and living standards in the Philippines? Would joining CSOs help in any way? How?

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### What Are Social Movements?

A **social movement** is a collective body that has a high level of commitment and political activism, and is not necessarily based on formal organization (Heywood 2013). Social movements are attempts to change society through collective action. They transpire when large groups of individuals or organizations work for or against change in specific political or social contexts. They are non-institutionalized, because just like CSOs,

they occur outside of governmental institutions. On the other hand, *new social movements* (sometimes referred to as “new politics”) are those that attract the young, better-educated, and relatively affluent individuals, including the post-material orientation and commitment of



### Big Idea

Social movements are considered as a major vehicle for people's participation in public and political affairs.

these individuals to new forms of political activism (Heywood 2013). A distinction must also be made between social movements and *social movement organizations* (SMOs). An SMO is an organization that is or has been associated with a social movement, and which carries out the tasks necessary for any social movement to survive and be successful (Christiansen, n.d).

Aberle (1966) describes four types of social movements based on two important questions: (1) Who is the movement attempting to change? (2) How much change is being advocated? The figure below summarizes how a social movement may either be alternative, redemptive, reformative, or revolutionary based on these questions.

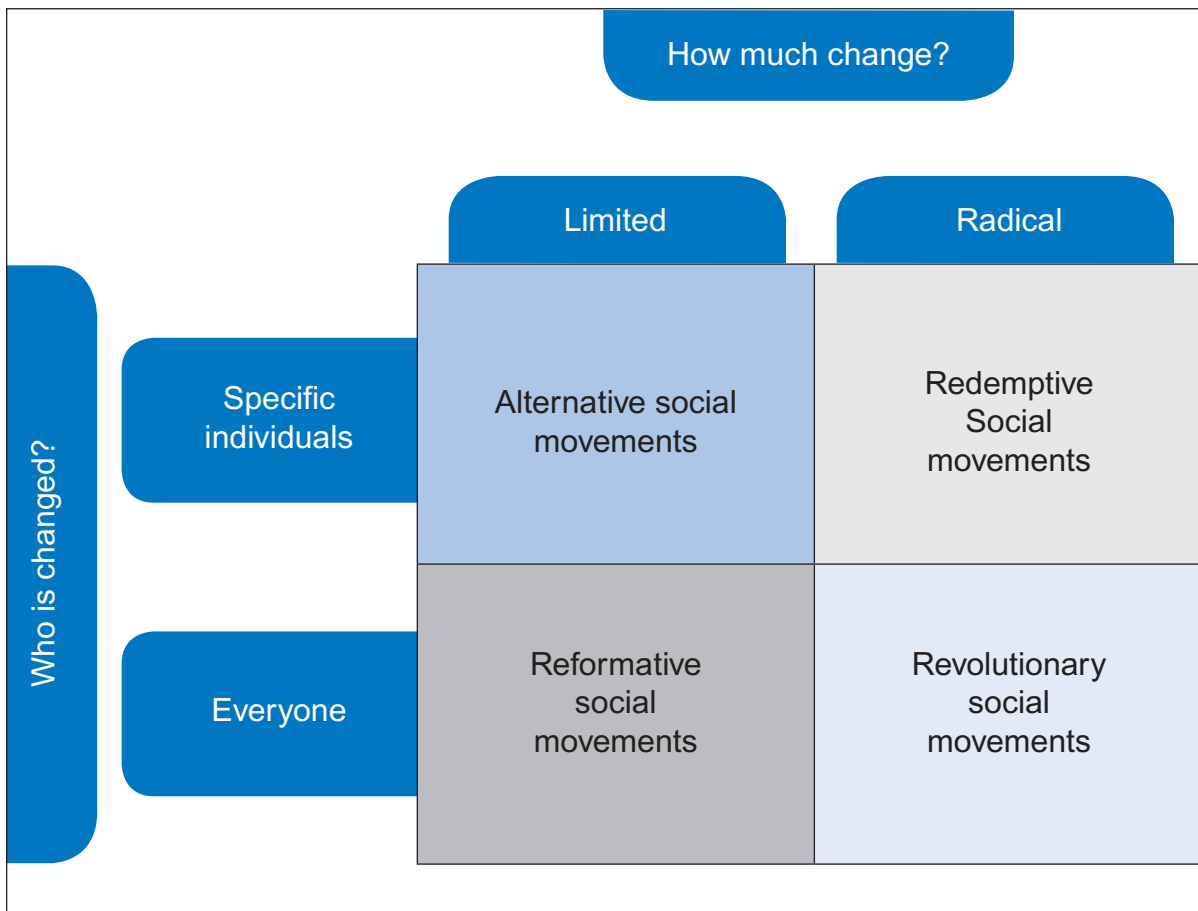


Fig. 11.1 Types of social movements according to Aberle (1966)

Source: <https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks/boundless-sociology-textbook/social-change-21/social-movements-140/types-of-social-movements-768-4965/>

Social movements follow a process by which they emerge, coalesce, and bureaucratize. Such process leads to either the success or failure of the social movement. The stages of social movements are presented in the figure below.

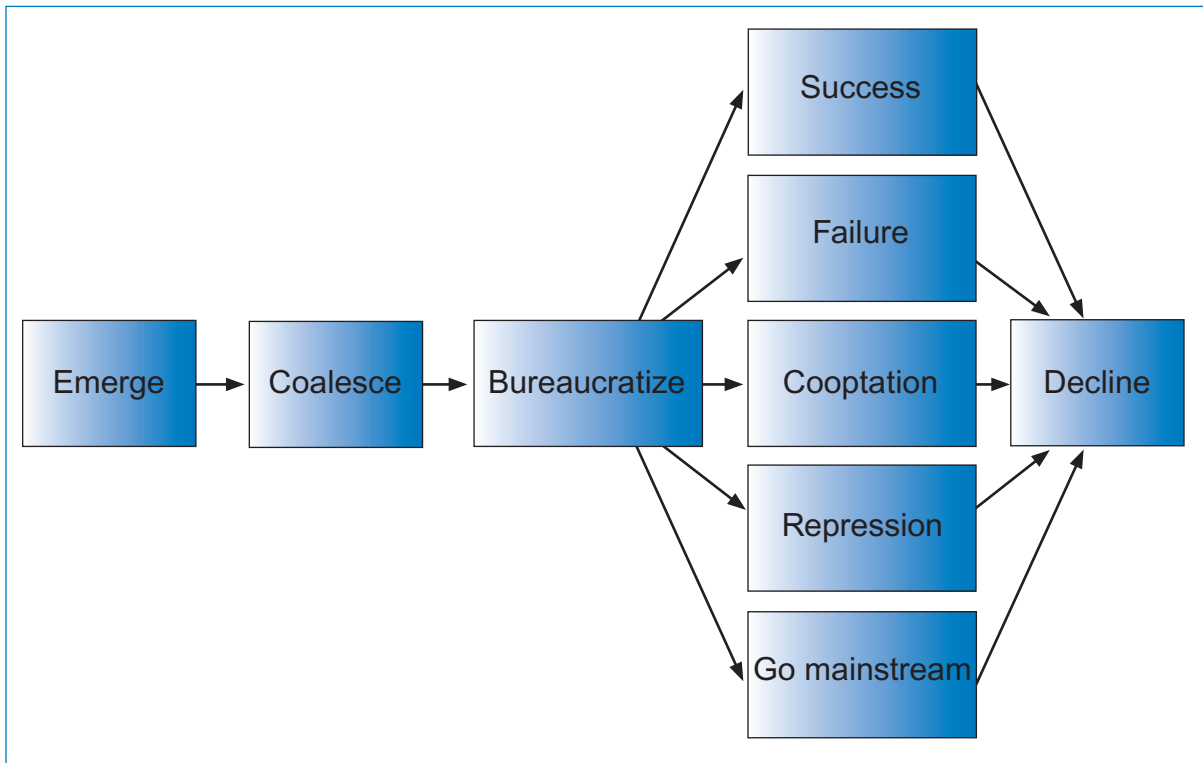


Fig. 11.2 Stages of social movements

Adapted from Blummer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

Source: <https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks/boundless-sociology-textbook/social-change-21/social-movements-140/the-stages-of-social-movements-770-7710/>



### What Have I Learned So Far?

How do social movements become a vehicle of political participation for an ordinary individual?

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## Civil Society in the Philippines

According to the Asian Development Bank (2007), civil society organizations in the Philippines are seen as among the most vibrant and advanced in the world. The country has the largest number of NGOs per capita in Asia, and several key international NGOs and networks are based in the Philippines and are headed by Filipinos.

There are several types of CSOs that exist in the country, but three types are considered more important ones. The first are *people's organizations*, which represent marginalized groups and are often organized based on sector, issue, or geographical area. The second are *development NGOs*, which are intermediate agencies that operate with a full-time staff and provide a wide array of services to primary organizations, communities, and individuals. Finally, *cooperatives* are an association of persons who voluntarily joined to make equitable contributions to the capital required, patronize their products and services, and accept fair share in risks and benefits of the project (ADB 2007). CSOs in the Philippines are involved in a broad range of activities, including:

1. Education, training, and human resource development
2. Community development
3. Enterprise development and employment generation
4. Health and nutrition
5. Law, advocacy, and politics
6. Sustainable development

The legal framework for civil society in the Philippines is provided in the 1987 Philippine Constitution, including, but not limited to:

**Article II, Section 23:** “The State shall encourage non-governmental, community-based, or sector organizations that promote the welfare of the nation.”

**Article XIII, Section 15:** “The State shall respect the role of independent people’s organizations to enable the people to pursue and protect, within the democratic framework, their legitimate and collective interests and aspirations through peaceful and lawful means. [...]”

**Article XIII, Section 16:** “The right of the people and their organizations to effective and reasonable participation at all levels of social, political and economic decision-making shall not be abridged. The State shall, by law, facilitate the establishment of adequate consultation mechanisms.”



The soundness of the legal framework and institutions in a country determines the emergence and growth of the civil society organizations.

Apart from the constitution, the 1991 Local Government Code also provides for the importance of CSOs in local development. The code specifies the participation of CSOs in local government planning, policy making, and delivery of social services. Specifically, the code allows CSOs to participate and or be represented in various local development councils. There are various umbrella groups of CSOs in the country, but the more established networks include the following.



Table 11.3 Some CSOs in the Philippines

CSOs	Year Founded	Focus
Association of Foundations (AF)	1972	It advocates education, culture, science and technology, governance, social development, environment, and sustainable development.
Affiliated Network for Social Accountability in East Asia and the Pacific (ANSA-EAP)	2008	It promotes the practice of social accountability that capitalizes on existing in-country networks working in governance reform.
Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC)	1979	It is focused on food security, agrarian reform, sustainable agriculture, participatory governance, and rural development.
Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (Bayan)	1985	It fights for national and social liberation against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism. Bayan advocates for the nationalistic and democratic needs of the people through legal and militant forms of struggle.
Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODE-NGO)	1991	It represents more than 1 600 development NGOs, people's organizations, and cooperatives nationwide.
National Confederation of Cooperatives (NATCCO)	1977	It is composed of around 1.6 million individual members coming from several cooperative federations and around 406 rural- and urban-based cooperatives.

National Council of Social Development (NCSD)	1949	It was the first NGO network given license and accreditation by the government for community-based programs for children and families.
National Secretariat of Social Action-Justice and Peace (NASSA)	1966	Created by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP), it focuses on poverty alleviation, democratic governance, ecology and integrity of creation, peace, and development.
NGO Forum on ADB	1991	Its goal is to make the ADB responsible and accountable for the impacts of its own projects and policies.
Philippine NGO Council on Population, Health and Welfare (PNGOC)	1987	It promotes reproductive health, gender equity and equality, women's rights and development, nonformal education, sustainable development, and HIV/AIDS prevention and care.
Philippine Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (PHILDHRRA)	1983	It is involved in community organization and the provision of health, education, and livelihood services to marginalized groups in the countryside.

Source: ADB Civil Society Briefs: Philippines (2007), available at <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/30174/csb-phi.pdf>



## BEYOND WALLS 11.1

## Read and Answer

According to the ADB's Civil Society Brief (2007) on the Philippines, "The basis for civil society in the Philippines comes from the Filipino concepts of *pakikipagkapwa* (holistic interaction with others) and *kapwa* (shared inner self). Voluntary assistance or charity connotes for Filipinos an equal status between the provider of assistance and the recipient, which is embodied in the terms *damayan* (assistance of peers in periods of crisis) and *pagtutulungan* (mutual self-help)."

Questions:

1. How important is Philippine political culture in the rise of CSOs and their eventual development as an organization?
2. In what specific instances in your community are the Filipino values mentioned by ADB manifested?
3. Do you think it is possible for a CSO to thrive in your community? Why or why not?



Go to <http://www.aensiweb.net/AENSIWEB/rjss/rjss/2015/July%202015/141-151.pdf> and read an article by Villanueva, P.G. and M. Tobias titled “State–Society Nexus and the Politics of Gender: Exploring Gender Policy in Quezon City, Philippines” [*Research Journal of Social Sciences* 8, no. 4 (2015) 141–151]. The article explores the role of civil society in policy making. Specifically, read the Theoretical Framework (p. 142) and the Results and Analysis (pp. 145–149). Answer the following questions afterward:

1. What were the main CSOs that the study looked at? What are the contributions of these CSOs to Philippine democracy at large?
2. How did CSOs push for their advocacies? What were the strategies adopted by these CSOs and what were the processes involved?
3. Would you say that the role of civil society in policy making is indispensable? Assess their impact on Philippine sociopolitical development.
4. How does the state, through the LGU, relate to CSOs? Given this relationship, what do you think is the future of CSOs in the country?

### Social Movements in the Philippines

Colas (2002, as cited in Tadem 2006) defined *social movements* as a “sustained and purposeful collective mobilized by an identifiable, self-organized group in confrontation with specific power structures and in the pursuit of socio-economic and political change.” This section presents the emergence of social movements during the colonial, the Martial Law, and the post-1986 periods—with emphasis on their goals, strategies, and factors that either facilitated or hindered the achievement of their objectives within the context of democratization and development.

The social movements in the country best reflect the characteristics of Philippine politics and the Filipinos’ struggle for democratization and development (Tadem 2006). These social movements can be traced as far back as the colonial period.

### From Spanish Period to the 1896 Philippine Revolution

The Spanish occupation of the Philippines saw the aggravation of the socioeconomic inequalities that existed between the landed and the landless during the pre-Spanish Philippine society. Peasant agitation emerged because of the arrangements and policies of the Spaniards, which benefited a few native landed aristocracies, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Spanish nobility (Tadem 2006). The situation produced early revolts in the 16th and 17th centuries. Several more revolts would reemerge throughout history.

Halfway the Spanish colonial era, during the 18th century, came a new type of resistance. The struggle during this period was in the form of priest-led revolts and millenarian movements,

which addressed the people's problems including tribute exaction, forced labor, and friar and military abuses. Unlike the previous revolts, the resistance during the 18th century framed its issues within the context of the Catholic faith. It must be noted, however, that issues during this period were not purely religious.

There was also political resistance that emerged through the *principalia* class. Unlike the priest-led revolts and the millenarian movements, the *principalia* demanded for greater social recognition. While they were Filipino in racial origins, they were intensely colonial in thinking. Their ascendant status and the racism of Spanish feudal ideology led them to demand for greater social recognition, which also meant more political power (Tadem 2006). Unlike the previous movements, the *principalia* had economic and political resources that enabled them to carry out an organized resistance against the Spaniards.

Aside from these, there also was resistance through the Propaganda Movement. The *ilustrados*—which include the entrepreneurial class and the landed elites—framed their issues within the context of a nation and the creation of a Filipino identity. The *ilustrados* articulated their demands (e.g., Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes, democratic political system) through the Propaganda Movement. Their writings later guided and inspired the Katipunan to raise arms against the Spaniards. An underground movement, the Katipunan was revolutionary, mass-based, and armed unlike the Propaganda Movement. The culmination of the 19th century movements became what was known as the 1896 Philippine Revolution, which signaled the end of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines (Tadem 2006).

### **The American Occupation**

The American rule worsened the socioeconomic inequalities in the Philippines. The United States was not able to institute an effective land reform program that could have addressed the wide disparity between the rich and the poor. Because of the failure to address popular economic grievance, especially those of the masses, there transpired popular resistances to the American rule that were similar to those which took place during the Spanish period.

Popular movements during this time were framed in the context of socialism. It was epitomized after the emergence of Pedro Abad Santos's Socialist Party in 1929. His party attracted tenant farmers, farmer laborers, and urban workers. The discrediting of the poor and the blatant support to the elites led to the emergence of several organizations with socialist/communist intent. Some of these were:

- Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (Farmers Organization of the Philippines)
- Aguman ding Maldang Talapagobra (League of the Poor Laborers)
- Union Obrera Democratica (Union of Democratic Workers)
- Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (Congress of Filipino Workers)
- Sakdalistas
- Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (Communist Party of the Philippines)

## The Japanese Occupation and Post-independence Period

The strength of the socialist/communist movements led to the establishment of the Hukbalahap (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon) in March 1942. It was established by leftwing labor and peasant leaders and intellectuals. The Hukbalahap and the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas worked closely together. The Hukbalahap had been attempting to address social issues confronting Philippines society even before Japanese occupation (Tadem 2006).

The failure to address socioeconomic issues continued to breed inequality and injustice during the postcolonial period. This resulted in the upsurge of nationalist movements in the 1960s, which extended even during the period of Martial Law.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What roles did the movements in the colonial period play? On what bases did they frame their issues?

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2. What are the common/unifying grounds for these movements in the said period?

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## The Martial Law Period

President Ferdinand Marcos would later on use the continuing upheavals and resistance movements as a basis for the declaration of martial law, which particularly put a temporary halt to student and other forms of activism.

Military and political measures were used to crush movements similar to those used in the previous eras. The national democratic movement, the mass movement of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), and anti-Marcos politicians were hardest hit by these measures (Tadem 2006). The only manifestation of strong resistance came from the broad anti-regime alliance of Muslim groups known as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) founded in 1974. The group's issues on ethnicity and religion served as bases for their mobilization.

The inability of the Marcos regime to deliver its promises of social welfare—aside from the military repression and restriction of political and civil rights—furthered the democratic struggle. Such circumstances led not only to the consolidation of social movements, but also to the growth of their mass base. For instance, the CPP and its armed group, the New People’s Army (NPA) propagated further the armed struggle. Among those groups that were created or that emerged, aside from those that expanded, were the following:

- Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), a national peasant union
- People’s Liberation Movement
- Khi Rho Movement, the youth arm of the Federation of Free Farmers, which the KMP replaced
- Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, which worked closely with the peasants and workers in their struggle, and instrumental in the creation of the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines
- Free Legal Assistance Group (FLAG), which defended political detainees
- The “Marcos Resign Movement,” which was comprised of the following, among many others:
  - o Justice for Aquino, Justice for All, which used mass actions and peaceful protests
  - o United Democratic Opposition, a moderate opposition
  - o Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, a radical opposition
  - o Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL or Congress of the Filipino People)
- Sectoral groups also emerged:
  - o Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott (WOMB)
  - o General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action (GABRIELA)



### What Have I Learned So Far?

What factors led to the emergence and perpetuation of social movements during the Martial Law period?

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### Reflect Upon

What propels an individual to join a social movement against a powerful dictator?

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### Post-1986 Period

Issues of poverty, underdevelopment, social injustice, and socioeconomic inequalities justified the persistence of social movements in the Philippines after the end of Marcos' dictatorship. This time, the issues were framed in the context of democratization and return to constitutionalism.

This period saw the rise of the independent left (leftist forces that were not part of the CPP–NPA–NDF). These include social democrats, democratic socialists, environmentalists, left-leaning nationalists, and religious activists. The independent left was comprised of the middle class and some labor leaders (Tadem and Tigno 2006).

For the first time since 1946, this period also witnessed the participation of the left in electoral politics. Among those that joined in the electoral contest was the Alliance for New Politics (an umbrella organization for the Partido ng Bayan, which was created by the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan or Bayan) and was joined by the Volunteers for Popular Democracy (a group of popular democrats). Thus, electoral politics was seen as an avenue for the participation, if not intervention, of social movements in governmental policy making.

The social movements that emerged after Martial Law advocated reform, and some of them would later on become part of mainstream politics. Nonetheless, these movements targeted as beneficiaries the vulnerable and marginalized groups in the Philippine society, including, but not limited to, women, peasants, and workers (Tadem and Tigno 2006).



Read the following excerpt from an article that explores the role of civil society in policy making. Then answer the questions that follow.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on political opportunity structures. These opportunities are exogenous factors, which border or empower combined actors, in this case, the social movements (Meyer, 2004). Political opportunity structures explain how the political context affects the social movements' development and influence in a number of respects. They refer to the nature of resources and constraints outside of the challenging group (see Tilly 1978; McAdams 1982; Kitschelt 1986; Tarrow 1998). These factors either enhance or inhibit visions for mobilization, advancement of claims and exercise of strategies to influence and affect politics and policy (Gamson, 1996; Meyer, 1996). According to Kitschelt (1986) political opportunity structures function as “filters” between how the movement mobilizes and how it chooses strategies to effect change in the sociopolitical environment. The structure of political opportunity has two underlying premises: (1) Resource mobilization and (2) political state opportunities. Resources are assets considered to be the key ingredient of a successful movement and they are at the core of the birth, development and success of social movements. Resources may take a variety of forms including but not limited to knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal support from powerful elite. On the other hand, resource mobilization stresses that social movements are formed when people who share grievances are able to mobilize these resources and take action from there. Some vital components for movement formation are: organizational strength, similar to the main argument of the resource mobilization theory, emphasizing that the social movement must have strong and efficient leadership and sufficient resources (Kurzman, 1996). Political state opportunities on the other hand question how the state accommodates this particular movement. It asks questions like “Does the state open on the forces of social movements? Or does the state accommodate the interests of the movements? It thus refers to the vulnerability of governmental institutions in the locus of the social movements.

In relation to this, Tarrow (1994) identified contingent circumstances in which political opportunities may arise: (1) the opening up of access to the polity to new challengers; (2) elite realignments; (3) elite divisions; and (4) changes in the capacity and propensity to use repression against challengers. Moreover, Tarrow and Tilly (2009) provided six properties of political regimes that shape this political opportunity structure: (1) multiplicity of independent centers of power within the regime; (2) relative closure or openness to new actors; (3) instability or stability of current political alignments; (4) availability of influential allies or supporters; (5) extent to which the regime represses and facilitates collective claim making; and (6) decisive changes in these properties.

This paper uses these structures of political opportunity. First, it basically identifies the resources mobilized by the National Alliance of Indigenous People Movement or *Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas* (KAMP) on their anti-mining campaign in Nueva Vizcaya (a province in Northern Philippines) and determines how the movement mobilized these. Second, it presents the political state opportunities specifically on how open the state is on the claims and agenda of the said movement. Given these, the paper explores on the relationship between the state and the movement in the context of mining. We assume then that the strength of the National Alliance of Indigenous people's organization of the Philippines is a function of (a) internal factor – the resource mobilization of the movement, using the protests and rallies, network of indigenous peoples' movements, and strength of organizational structure as their resources for their goal on Nueva Vizcaya anti-mining campaign, and (b) external factor – the openness of the state in accommodating the interests of the movements. As such, whether they are successful in mobilizing their claims is contingent on the dynamic interaction of the mobilizing structures that the social movements have at their disposal and the political opportunity structure in which they are embedded.

### **Results and Analysis**

The state is significant to the resources mobilized and outcomes of communal action of a social movement. According to Rootes (1999), the crucial dimensions of these political opportunity structures are the openness or closeness of states to inputs from non-established actors. These measure the strength or weakness of capacities to deliver the effective implementation of policies once they are decided. In this paper, the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples and the

agency focusing on mining issues, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) Mines and Geosciences Bureau, represent the state. How the state accommodated these resources and actions of the KAMP against large-scale mining industry in Nueva Vizcaya is discussed in this section. It was found that the concerns of the indigenous peoples existed against the backdrop of a centralist Philippine state pushing the movement at the periphery.

#### THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' CONCERNS IN A CENTRALIST STATE

It is evident that the DENR and NCIP work hand in hand for the mining cases faced by the tribal minorities given their joint provisions and programs. However, in the pursuit of the interests of the indigenous communities, these agencies have conflicting perspectives of the nature of the problem and the laws created to solve them. This is also exacerbated by the lack of organizational support to address the concerns of the indigenous communities.

As an official noted:

*“The IPRA was promulgated in late 1997. The Mining Act of 1995 was there in 1995. These two laws have opposing principles.” “We, the NCIP, are only composed of 1058 staff all over the country.”*

*“The problem is this. When we approved and assured mining corporations to operate – that have complied through process, here comes the protests. This implies that our process is not effective, and then we fail.”*

Notably, in the four years stay of President Benigno S. Aquino III, he did not tackle any single matter about the indigenous peoples in his State of the Nation Address—an unimpressive record. The president however announced the operation of some big mining projects that surprised the indigenous population. During the time of Ferdinand Marcos, the Commission on National Integration (CNI) followed by Presidential Assistance on National Minority (PANAMIN) was created to attend to the concerns of indigenous communities. Corazon Aquino for her part created the offices of Northern Cultural Communities, Southern Cultural Communities and Moro Cultural Communities. Given that these were insufficient, and their implementation ineffective, the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) was created through the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997. Under the law, it is “mandated to protect and promote the interest and well-being of the indigenous peoples with due regard to their beliefs, customs, traditions and

institutions. As such, it shall serve as the primary government agency responsible for the formulation and implementation of pertinent and appropriate policies and programs to carry out the policies set forth in the new law.”

According to Kakay Tolentino, founding member of KAMP:

*“The government agencies for Indigenous Peoples are based on the perspective of the President and not from the Indigenous people themselves.”*

Statements coming from the IPs also corroborate this. Regardless of the provisions of the laws to address the state of the IPs and the institutions created to implement them, the indigenous peoples are yet to be included in mainstream Philippine problems.

As the indigenous peoples expressly stated:

*“Right after the promulgation of IPRA, we criticized it for it is not pro-IP, and it is obviously not visible nowadays.”*

*“The government laws and customary laws are different. Instead of these agencies guiding us, they serve as the dealer (broker) of our ancestral domains for mining projects.”*

*“We see them as a tool of the government to support its state’s economic priority (mining industry) which falls against the rights of the Indigenous Peoples.”*

*“We are even blamed for the destruction of mountains. How can we do that if we do not even have tools to do so (as compared to the mining corporations)?”*

#### THE KAMP AS A PERIPHERAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The KAMP has emerged and flourished in the recent decade as a societal response to worsening aggression against the environment and the rights of the indigenous peoples. The functions and contributions of tribal and indigenous communities in Philippine governance and politics are inevitable as seen on the government’s recognition of their issues through consultations with the KAMP.

Despite of the opportunity to participate in policy making processes through state consultations and dialogues, it is evident through the implementation process that the state does not fully recognize the force from outside political actors, making KAMP as one of those in the periphery.

As the members of the KAMP opined:

*“Yes they recognize us now. As an enemy.”*

*“We don’t engage with them nowadays. They just present the agenda. We participate as an audience but in forming national plans, not anymore.”*

*“The NCIP and DENR invites us, but that is because of past experiences. Like for example in mining, we do not engage with them anymore. They are facilitating free prior informed consent for indigenous peoples but they always favor the mining corporations.”*

These statements support those of the NCIP and the DENR. These institutions indeed support the very idea that KAMP is a part of their considerations but not essential because of contradicting principles.

As they respectively stated:

*“They need to be with the stakeholders’ team of the mining corporations, with that their problems can be solved.”*

*“They should engage to the congressman of their district to have a pressure and count on congress.”*

*“How come that we are opposing them? They are the one who’s deciding on mining operations through Free Prior Informed Consent.”*

The opportunity structure of state and movement partnership for solving mining cases remains uncertain, conditional and precarious. The pattern of approaching societal reforms for mining problems has evolved into a more restrained and untrustworthy actions of this social movement to the government.

## **Discussion**

Despite concerted efforts exerted by the government, in partnership with various movements like the KAMP, still our indigenous peoples remain a marginalized sector of our society. According to Molintas (2004), basic services

remain wanting in most of these geographically isolated and disadvantaged areas. Furthermore, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples reported that serious human rights violations, displacement from ancestral domain and destruction of natural environment and cultural values are still among their long-standing serious concerns. It is for these reasons as well that the KAMP continues to fight for policies and programs that would give our IPs the recognition and opportunities due them.

The paper thus reflects the findings that indigenous social movements play an important role in the process of contesting foremost concerns including the right to land and ancestral domains (Wilde, 2010), the protection of the environment and the fight for survival of their communities and ways of life (Clark, 2002) and the creation of policies that pursue indigenous and peasant rights (Miller, 2006). This paper has shown that indigenous social movements not only contribute to the activation of the focused and concentrated campaigns of the sector particularly against large-scale mining of corporations, similar to the case of indigenous environmental movements in the United States (Clark, 2002) and the indigenous peoples at the Yanacocha mine in Peru (Laudardale, 2009), but also to highlight the struggle to maintain traditional practices that have served these groups and the rest of nature and their sacred places, as was the case of the indigenous struggles by the Mapuche in Argentina due to oil contamination, those in Brazil due to the plight of their rubber workers, those in India due to the uranium poisoning in the Jharkand Belt and those in Marinduque, Philippines due to copper mining spills, among many others (Laudardale, 2009).

Nonetheless, guided by their opportunity structures, the KAMP's organizational structure, campaign advocacy and political assaults were significant but insufficient resources given the strength and power of the state through the DENR and NCIP that forced them to the periphery. The concerns of the indigenous peoples, as represented by the KAMP, are still yet to enter the mainstream and thus await consideration as a national political concern. The KAMP may have been a solid, consistent and legitimate social movement for those they represent, but the enormous hand of the state and its say in the

operation of foreign mining corporations amidst protests manifest the lack of concern on issues that pertain to the rights of the IPs. Specifically, the KAMP's transformation into a mere audience instead as a participant in the formulation of policies that pertain to both mining and protection of the IPs' rights reflects the state's centralist tendency. This is perhaps where the formal institutional or legal structure of a political system and the more informal structure of power relations, both emphasized in the conceptualization of political opportunity structures in the extant literature, meet. While it is true that there is a greater chance for social movements in general to gain access to the political system in the Philippines in periods after the return to democracy in 1986, the elites' strategy of repression (exclusion), which is an aspect of the informal structure of power relations, become all the more important in the consideration of the indigenous peoples' concerns through the KAMP.

The consideration of the state of several stakeholders in the policy formulation process will definitely structure the future of the indigenous peoples in the Philippines. The extent to which they are consulted and involved in framing policies that concern them and their land, their culture and their environment, shall shape the future of these communities. After all, the question of whether the state's power is eroded when these groups are considered does not matter so much when participative governance and development are at the core of the government's principles. The ability of the Philippine government to strike the balance between development and indigenous peoples' rights protection shall remain to be a defining feature if not a challenge to the quality of democracy and governance in our land.

Excerpt from Villanueva, P.G. and A. Ruanto. "Mobilizing Resources but Still Mining for Opportunities? Indigenous Peoples, Their Land and the Philippine State." *Journal of Government and Politics*, 7, no. 2 (2016).

#### Questions:

1. How does the state, as represented by its entities, deal with the issue of the indigenous peoples as presented in the case study? What does this say about the Philippine sociopolitical landscape?
2. How important is a social movement (such as the KAMP) in the pursuit of the welfare of indigenous peoples from all over the Philippines? Given its relationship with the state, what kind of future do such movements have?

## Issues, Prospects, and Challenges

According to ADB (2007), the strength of CSOs in the Philippines is based on their number, their extensive networking, the experience and skills from development work, the dedication and creativity of leaders and workers, and the flexibility linked to the small size of most CSOs. The coalition-building capacity of the CSOs and the formation of links with the allies in the government contributed to the success of their advocacies. The success of CSOs also allowed for the legislation of social reform policies, including the Anti-Violence against Women and Children Act, the more recent Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms Act, the Urban Development and Housing Act, and the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, among many others.

However, many CSOs (specifically NGOs) are dependent on external funding and are affected by the lack of staff and weak internal governance. While CSOs rely on volunteerism for operation, the more stable and more capable CSOs are those with paid full-time staff who can be tapped to deliver programs and services.

While the increasing number of CSOs manifests the willingness of the public to engage in development endeavors, the capacity of CSOs to deliver such must also be improved. For instance, CSOs must be trained for technical knowledge on government processes and management of funds so that they will not miss opportunities that are being offered by the government and other agencies.

As to social movements, Philippine politics after the Martial Law period remains to be characterized by a bourgeois democracy. Radicals were slowly replaced by more conservative officials, while peace talks with the leftist rebels remain a problem. Elite domination of Philippine economy still persists, which brings serious implications on agrarian reform (Tadem and Tigno 2006). Confronting poverty and socioeconomic inequalities remain to be the most formidable of challenges facing social movements.

In this context, social movements' strategies and available resources speak volumes about their success. Today, these movements have decided to pursue development work through NGOs and POs (Tadem and Tigno 2006). Apart from this, social movements (e.g., Bayan Muna, AKBAYAN, SANLAKAS) have involved themselves in electoral politics. Acceptance of governmental positions, say in the Cabinet, has also been among the strategies, but this has depleted the source of leadership in these movements. Meanwhile, extra-constitutional means (protest politics and armed struggles) remain to be a venue for change considered by social movements.

While it is true that the challenges to social movements are defined by socioeconomic inequalities and poverty, the barriers they faced—and continue to face—do not disappoint them in their struggle toward the establishment of a Philippine society founded on social justice and equality (Tadem and Tigno 2006).



#### BEYOND WALLS 11.4 Read and Answer

Download the ADB (2007) Civil Society Briefs: Philippines at <http://www.adb.org/publications/civil-society-briefs-philippines>. Read the section on Government-Civil Society Relations and answer the following questions afterward.

Questions:

1. What events led to the rise and development of CSOs in the Philippines starting from 1986? How did these events affect the growth of CSOs?
2. What particular laws or policies have been created to foster the development of these CSOs?
3. What events or issues have had a negative impact on CSOs in the country?
4. What can you say about the future of CSOs in the Philippines based from these series of events?



#### BEYOND WALLS 11.5 Apply It in Real Life

You belong to a group of leaders from different CSOs/Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) working together to create a coalition that will strengthen your groups' call for change (particularly on poverty alleviation and promotion of social equality). Given this, an increase in mass membership is also necessary for the coalition to succeed.

With the use of information and communications technology on the rise, you are tasked to create a social media account for the coalition. This will allow you to reinforce your appeal to the people and increase your support base. Your social media account will be evaluated based on its audience engagement and its content (creativity and relevance). A number of students in the school—the first of the several institutions you will be asking for support—will evaluate your work. Will you be able to convince people to join your organization?

Output: A social media account

Some reminders:

This is an activity that is meant only to simulate how CSOs/SMOs utilize social media in their calls for change and in increasing their membership base. Be responsible

enough in using social media. Your social media should present your:

- Group's Name
- Vision/Mission
- Membership
- Project proposals
- Future goals

The three best social media accounts will be part of the exhibit (as is the case with your activity in *Beyond Walls 9.1*) in your Politics and Governance course, particularly in the culmination/integration project.

### Extend Your Knowledge

- The article at [http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/5683/Civil\\_Society\\_Krishna.htm](http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/5683/Civil_Society_Krishna.htm) explores civil society organizations and their role in development.
- For a comprehensive discussion of social movements, check <https://www.ebscohost.com/uploads/imported/thisTopic-dbTopic-1248.pdf>.
- A critical analysis of civil society and democratization in the Philippines is presented at [http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance\\_files/Pub\\_Growth%20Governance/Pub\\_GrowthGovernancech17.pdf](http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech17.pdf).
- You may also want to look at a comprehensive historical discussion of Philippine social movements by reading pages 1–62 of Tadem and Morada's (eds.) *Philippine Politics and Governance: Challenges to Democratization and Development* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman, 2006).

### ESSENTIAL LEARNING

Venues for expanded political participation and interaction were made possible following the country's redemocratization and return to constitutionalism after 1986. The civil society and social movements are by themselves venues for state-society interaction, whether the relationship is conflictual or cooperative in character. What this module presents is that popular participation in political and public affairs are not only limited to projects or goals within governmental institutions; in fact, activities outside the government halls are also material in calling for change. Civil society organizations and social movements employ a wide array of strategies and tactics in the pursuit of change and development. They have had failures and challenges but one reality remains—these organizations shall continue as formidable institutions that link the people and the government.

## Module 12: Citizenship

In this module, you will be able to:

- explain citizenship;
- assess the various avenues for citizen participation;
- present the basic rights of an individual (*enrichment*); and
- illustrate the value of citizenship.

What relationship does the practice of citizenship and governance have? Are people and citizens merely bound to obey the state? Is the citizens' participation in governmental affairs simply limited to voting? Does democratic governance require active and responsible citizenship in various forms through civil society? In this module you will learn the answers to these essential questions.

After learning from the previous modules the different venues for participation, this module presents and evaluates the multiple expressions of citizenship in the Philippines. The module explores the relationship between citizenship and governance both in theory and in practice. As in the previous discussions, this section aims to contribute to individual and collective participation and interaction in governmental affairs, and to encourage you—the youth—to become responsible Filipino citizens.

“Where citizenship is not effective, there can be no real democracy.”

– Adam Przeworski

### What Is Citizenship?

**Citizenship** is the most basic identification of an individual with the nation. It is thus oriented toward the state and is expressed both in law and in policy. It is often characterized in terms of attributes associated with belongingness to a larger community and of processes by which citizens negotiate the nature and extent of their rights as individuals and their responsibilities to such community (Diokno 1997). Unlike nationality that is more of an ethnic or cultural concept, citizenship relates to a political one. Citizenship denotes the status of being a citizen.

An individual's citizenship entails his or her rights and privileges and his or her responsibilities to the state. As a citizen, for example, you have the right to live, vote, and



**Big  
Idea**

Citizenship involves an awareness and understanding of the self and the larger community, usually the nation.

work in a particular country. Likewise, you have the privilege to benefit from the policies or programs of the said country. On the other hand, to be a citizen of one state also means giving unrelenting loyalty and obligation to that political community. For instance, it is your responsibility to pay taxes or be deemed legally bound to protect your country in times of war.

In comparison, nationality involves an individual's ethnic origins, associated by his or her cultural and historical background, and perhaps the language he or she speaks. It is thus possible for an individual to have a nationality and at the same time possess citizenship in another country. For example, you may be of Filipino nationality but it is possible for you to possess rights and privileges granted by one state other than the Philippines.

Perhaps one might ask: What is good citizenship? Who is a good citizen? Is he or she the honest voter, the taxpaying individual, or the law-abiding one? Or perhaps good citizenship entails asserting one's rights, speaking out to defend the weak and the voiceless, caring for the environment, or treating everybody equally?

The core of citizenship lies in the process of building a sense of community with regard to both rights and obligations of individuals. Hence, citizenship is "an identity defined by a bundle of rights and duties and by an awareness of others in a similar position" (March and Olsen 1995 in Diokno 1997).



The nation is the source of a common identity and the core of citizens' loyalty.



### Reflect Upon

What social, political, economic, and environmental issues have meaning and value to you as a student and as a citizen? Why are these concerns important to you?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. How is citizenship, at least at the conceptual level, defined?

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2. In practice, when is an individual considered an active and responsible citizen?

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### Identity, the Self, and the Community

Understanding oneself in the context of the larger community is an important consideration when discussing citizenship and citizenship education. The construction of identity and a sense of belongingness are crucial in a number of views.

Diokno (1997) noted that from the standpoint of democratic governance, the identity of citizenship is by itself the very core of collective action, a shared vision, and the link to future generations. From the perspective of social psychology, an individual's citizenship reflects his or her ability to relate to others, who also see themselves in a similar way. This group identity is the basis for the elaboration of beliefs and behavior needed in the larger polity.



**Big Idea**

Citizenship provides for a strong collective action. Peoples' identification with the larger community (i.e., a nation) reflects a shared vision of change and development.

Diokno (1997) identified three concerns of identity building. Being *instrumental*, identity building allows citizens and policy officials to act in accordance with established rules, regulations, and identities that are consistent with democratic principles. As *moral* concern, identity building underscores beliefs and values that embody and reinforce democratic principles. Finally, being *transformative*, identity building necessitates the process of self-reflection and redefinition of individuals, institutions, and communities. In these concerns, several factors come into play at various levels: the individual, the institution, and the community.

As to the level of the individual, there exists a dualism among Filipinos. One may be good or clean at home, but the same may be inconsiderate outside of his or her household. Such dualism points to the contradiction of the self and the community. This is further driven by the negative Filipino traits of having an excessive desire to go along well with one's peers (*sobrang pakikisama*), and subservience and lack of concern for the public good. However, it must also be pointed out that the Filipinos' sense of community is improved by a number of positive traits including, but not limited to, caring for others (*paglingap*), sympathy in times of trouble (*damayan*), and respect for elderly and social institutions.

At the institutional level, it can be said that the process of identity building is shaped by the agencies which influenced and shaped an individual from his or her childhood through the rest of his or her life. These agents may include the family, the church, school, government, media, laws, and NGOs, among others. While children are taught the basic human values (e.g., honesty, love, discipline), Diokno (1997) pointed out that the notions of community are being confined to the family, and the concept of public good tends to be left out from family values. For instance, socialization in the family does not necessarily include the notion of community or nation. Taking into consideration the nature of kinship in the Philippines, a Filipino family is so strong that other social entities and obligations lag behind it. Meanwhile, schools are seen to teach nationalism and its associated values. Just as important in the process of identity-building are the government, the church, and other community organizations.

Finally, at the community or societal level, Diokno (1997) explained that an individual identifies himself or herself with the nation depending on the type of community he or she belongs to, and to the degree through which he or she benefits from the instrumentalities of the state. While this is true, it must also be noted that an individual's inclination or attachment to the nation is also motivated by ideological and sentimental factors. Communitarian values may prevail in matters of collective concern, but these cannot necessarily be identified with a larger context—that is, being a Filipino. This situation is further compounded by the multilayered affiliation with a clan, ethnic group, religion, political affiliation, and with the nation. Nonetheless, when the government delivers services effectively, citizens are encouraged to carry out their responsibilities to the nation. More than fulfilling the basic needs of the people, a government which exhibits care and compassion gives people a deeper sense of community. When a government fulfills its obligations, the citizens are more likely to respond positively (Diokno 1997).



## Reflect Upon

1. Who is a Filipino?

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2. What makes you a Filipino citizen?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

Why is citizenship, specifically the context of identity construction and sense of belongingness, important in nation-building?

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### Expressions of Citizenship in Democratic Governance

Citizenship and democracy may be intrinsically linked but they do not always go together. As such, one of the most important challenges faced by the Filipino nation after the fall of the Marcos regime was how to translate democracy into a more meaningful way of life and how to redefine the roles of citizens in the



## Big Idea

The success of democratic initiatives by both the citizens and the state rests on a shared understanding of concepts such as democracy and citizenship, if not at least, a mutually acceptable range of its meanings.

context of participation in policy making and access to basic social services and benefits of citizenship (Diokno 1997).

In the Philippine Democracy Agenda (1997) project, a conference and workshop that looked at perspectives on democracy and citizenship in Filipino political culture, citizenship was viewed from two perspectives. The *traditional view* of citizenship was espoused by those persons in authority (e.g., government officials) who subscribe to the importance of formal government structures and processes in the prospect of citizenship. On the other hand, the *proactive view* (the perspective which the conference adopted) viewed citizenship as a democracy of shared values and understandings that transpire in a deliberative process. The second view emphasizes the democratizing function of citizenship.

The proactive view of citizenship is further categorized into two perspectives. The first one looks at the indigenous, day-to-day practices of democracy and decision-making in communities. In this setting, formal governmental mechanisms and elected officials may or may not exist. Examples of these indigenous, day-to-day practices of democracy include the selection of leaders, the conduct of consultations with community members, and the settlement of disputes without resorting to courts, among many others. As such, some of these practices may not be democratic in the formal sense, but these are from the standpoint of popular democracy. On the other hand, the second perspective looks at those practices taken by organized groups or sectors, which engage in formal democratic processes to explore other venues of expression and alternative solutions. Among the many alternative actions include street protests or rallies done by groups who believe that legal methods and access to courts are not sufficient to win their cases.

Given all these, we can say that citizenship involves a set of obligations for both citizens and the state. Therefore, an effective citizenship is a product of the government's and the citizens' collaborative work. It is expected from the government to have public accountability, while citizens, for their part, must perform their obligations and exercise their rights in order to bring about the desired change in society. Such is considered as a deliberative process—definitely an aspect of strong democracy. This is summarized by the illustration on the next page. What do you think?



Fig. 12.1 Citizen participation in policy and governance  
Adapted from: Cover of PLA Notes 40



### Reflect Upon

What are your privileges and obligations as a member of your community? How about to the Philippine state as its citizen?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

1. What is the relationship between citizenship and democracy?

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2. How do effective citizenship and democracy reinforce each other?

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### The Value of Citizenship: Becoming a Filipino Citizen

One may wonder who a Filipino citizen is. While the earlier discussion presented citizenship as more than the possession of the legal title of a citizen, it would also be material to provide the constitutional bases for Filipino citizenship.

According to Article IV of the 1987 Constitution, the citizens of the Philippines are

1. those who are citizens of the Philippines at the time of the adoption of the 1987 Constitution;
2. those whose fathers or mothers are citizens of the Philippines;
3. those born before 17 January 1973, of Filipino mothers, who elect Philippine citizenship upon reaching the age of majority; and
4. those who are naturalized in accordance with law.

The mere possession of the title of a citizen does not automatically make one a good and effective citizen. Citizenship apparently involves a set of privileges and obligations to fulfill. What gives citizens the privileges to participate in the affairs of the government, both in policy making and in the delivery of services? The 1991 Local Government Code is a legally enabling document that supports citizen participation. Apart from this, the 1987 Constitution outlines some of the bases for popular participation in the country.

The following are some of the constitutional bases for popular participation in the Philippines.

**Article II, Section 1.** The Philippines is a democratic and republican State. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.

**Article II, Section 13.** The State recognizes the vital role of the youth in nation-building and shall promote and protect their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and social well-being. It shall inculcate in the youth patriotism and nationalism, and encourage their involvement in public and civic affairs.

**Article II, Section 20.** The State recognizes the indispensable role of the private sector, encourages private enterprise, and provides incentives to needed investments.

**Article II, Section 22.** The State recognizes and promotes the rights of indigenous cultural communities within the framework of national unity and development.

**Article II, Section 23.** The State shall encourage non-governmental, community-based, or sectoral organizations that promote the welfare of the nation.

**Article III, Section 4.** No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances.

**Article III, Section 7.** The right of the people to information on matters of public concern shall be recognized. Access to official records, and to documents and papers pertaining to official acts, transactions, or decisions, as well as to government research data used as basis for policy development, shall be afforded the citizen, subject to such limitations as may be provided by law.

**Article III, Section 8.** The right of the people, including those employed in the public and private sectors, to form unions, associations, or societies for purposes not contrary to law shall not be abridged.

**Article V, Section 1.** Suffrage may be exercised by all citizens of the Philippines, not otherwise disqualified by law, who are at least eighteen years of age, and who shall have resided in the Philippines for at least one year and in the place wherein they propose to vote, for at least six months immediately preceding the election. No literacy, property, or other substantive requirement shall be imposed on the exercise of suffrage.

**Article VI, Section 1.** The legislative power shall be vested in the Congress of the Philippines, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, except to the extent reserved to the people by the provision on initiative and referendum.

**Article VI, Section 32.** The Congress shall, as early as possible, provide for a system of initiative and referendum, and the exceptions therefrom, whereby the people can directly propose and enact laws or approve or reject any act or law or part thereof passed by the Congress or local legislative body after the registration of a petition therefor signed by at least ten per centum of the total number of registered voters, of which every legislative district must be represented by at least three per centum of the registered voters thereof.

**Article X, Section 3.** The Congress shall enact a local government code which shall provide for a more responsive and accountable local government structure instituted through a system of decentralization with effective mechanisms of recall, initiative, and referendum, allocate among the different local government units their powers, responsibilities, and resources, and provide for the qualifications, election, appointment and removal, term, salaries, powers and functions and duties of local officials, and all other matters relating to the organization and operation of the local units.

**Article XIII, Section 15.** The State shall respect the role of independent people's organizations to enable the people to pursue and protect, within the democratic framework, their legitimate and collective interests and aspirations through peaceful and lawful means.

**Article XIII, Section 16.** The right of the people and their organizations to effective and reasonable participation at all levels of social, political, and economic decision-making shall not be abridged. The State shall, by law, facilitate the establishment of adequate consultation mechanisms.

As provided above, citizenship implies a set of individual rights. More so, citizenship entails a broader set of social and civic responsibilities, which require one's participation and involvement in societal affairs. Engaging in social, economic, cultural, and political decision-making is part and parcel of basic human rights. Thus, *citizenship as participation* represents an expression of human agency in the political arena.

On the other hand, *citizenship as rights* enables people to act as agents of change (Lister 1998, in Gaventa and Valderrama 1999). Citizenship as rights is specifically important in the prospect of governance, where citizen participation is becoming more and more recognized in ensuring transparency, accountability, and efficient delivery of basic social services. The following activity presents some of the various avenues for citizen participation.



## BEYOND WALLS 12.1

## Read and Answer

Read the following articles.

- “How far can citizen participation in governance go?” at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/70604-gwatch-citizen-participation-philippines>
- “Towards an Informed Citizens’ Participation in Local Governance: Sourcebook on Local Public Finance” (specifically, Chapter 3: Let’s Get Involved! on pages 22–33) accessible at <http://www.ph.undp.org/content/dam/philippines/docs/Governance/20110510%20-%20Sourcebook%20on%20Local%20Public%20Finance.pdf>

Questions/Tasks:

1. List some of the cases for citizen participation that were presented in the two readings. What are the different avenues for citizen participation in local governance (in education, health, taxation, local legislation, among many others)?

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2. How effective are these avenues in ushering change and development in the society? What challenges lie ahead?

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Citizenship education is important in citizen empowerment. People are more likely to engage themselves in governmental and societal affairs if they are well educated about avenues for participation. Given this premise, you are to help in the empowerment of people through citizenship education.

You are a graphic artist working for a nongovernmental organization. You are asked by the organization's director to create a pamphlet (a brochure or leaflet) that presents the basics about citizen participation in the Philippines. The director will evaluate your work based on visual impact (artistry and creativity) and content.

The five best pamphlets will be displayed in the culminating exhibit of your class, similar to the previous activities.

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

The following are online sources which you can check to further your understanding of citizenship and governance. The following materials also provide specific cases in the Philippines and abroad.

- [http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme\\_b/mod07.html](http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_b/mod07.html)
- [http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/verve/\\_resources/DEEWR\\_CCE\\_PLP\\_Module\\_3.pdf](http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/verve/_resources/DEEWR_CCE_PLP_Module_3.pdf)
- <http://www.ph.undp.org/content/dam/philippines/docs/Governance/20110510%20-%20Sourcebook%20on%20Local%20Public%20Finance.pdf>
- <http://www.ombudsman.gov.ph/UNDP4/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/local-dem-case-study.pdf>

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

Citizenship pertains to an individual's membership in a political community. It indicates a person's belongingness to a larger community, which is the nation. An individual is an active citizen not only when he or she exercises privileges granted to him or her by the state. An individual also becomes an active citizen when he or she becomes a responsible person for himself or herself, for his or her family, and for his or her community. The extent to which one fulfills his or her obligation to the state is a manifestation of responsible and effective citizenship. There are various avenues through which an individual can be involved in both local and national affairs—and this goes far beyond just voting. As such, the government's ability to create venues for popular participation in development and governance reflects its commitment to creating responsible citizens. In this sense, citizenship becomes both a privilege and a basic right.

## Module 13: Integration

In this module, you will be able to:

- identify issues related to political engagement and youth empowerment;
- determine programs that address issues related to political engagement and youth empowerment;
- assess an existing program that addresses an issue related to political engagement and youth empowerment; and
- conduct a research for a draft proposal on a project on political engagement and youth empowerment.

Participation takes place in a variety of settings. In the previous modules, you have learned the various avenues of participation. Participation includes not only voting or running for a specific elective position in the government. It also involves engagement through the larger civil society.

This section explores the issues that confront a specific group of citizens—the youth. To what extent are you, the youth, encouraged to get involved in civic and political affairs? How are you included in the prospect of governance? Why should you also be consulted in matters of public concern? What must be done to address youth involvement in governance? These and more are presented in this module. As an integration of all the concepts and theories you have learned, this section will allow you to apply the knowledge you gained in the world outside the comforts of the classroom. As such, this integration module shows how and when theory meets practice.

“No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy.

“Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth. A society that cuts itself off from its youth severs its lifeline; it is condemned to bleed to death.”

– Kofi Annan, Former UN Secretary-General

### Political Engagement and the Youth

One may ask: “Who are the youth?” According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2016), *youth* is “a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood’s independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of the larger community.” While the youth is a more fluid category than a fixed-age group, age is the easiest way to define the youth in terms of education and employment.

UNESCO adds that a youth is a person who is between the age where he or she may leave compulsory education, and the age where he or she finds his or her first employment. UNESCO uses varied definitions of youth because high levels of unemployment and high cost of putting up an independent household place many young people into prolonged periods of dependency. Nonetheless, UNESCO uses the definition of UN, which specifies that youth are those persons between the ages of 15 and 24.

The youth can be a creative force and a dynamic source of innovation. They have contributed, catalyzed, and participated in political, social, and economic changes all over the world. The youth have also engaged in peace building, especially in countries characterized by conflict. The international community, through several international conventions and UN resolutions, has recognized these contributions of the youth.



The following are some of the various resolutions and statements that manifest the international community's recognition on the indispensable role of the youth.

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) affirmed everyone's "right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives" (Article 21).
- The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)—the most widely ratified international agreement—affirmed various civil and political rights for all individuals up to 18 years of age. Specifically, it provides that "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (Article 12).
- The World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1996, was primarily concerned with the "full and effective participation of the youth in the life of society and in decision-making."

- The UN A/RES/58/133 Resolution (2003) stressed the “importance of the full and effective participation of youth and youth organizations at the local, national, regional and international levels in promoting and implementing the World Programme of Action and in evaluating the progress achieved and the obstacles encountered in its implementation.”
- In 2011, several UN organizations concerned with the youth signed an inter-agency statement on the UN High-Level Meeting on Youth. Specifically, it emphasized on “full and effective youth participation in society and decision-making, in both rural and urban settings, striving to include young people with disabilities, young people living with HIV, indigenous young people, young people from minorities, young migrants, young people who are stateless, internally displaced, young refugees or those affected by humanitarian situations or armed conflict.”

*Source:* Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle (published by the United Nations Development Program, 2013) available at [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ENG\\_UN-Youth\\_Guide-LR.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ENG_UN-Youth_Guide-LR.pdf)

As mentioned in the previous modules, participation is a fundamental right. Through active participation and citizenship, the youth become empowered to play a vital role not only in their personal development, but also in the advancement of their communities. However, several issues confront the youth such as poverty, limited access to education, various forms of discrimination, and few opportunities for employment, among others. In order for the youth to actively and effectively participate, they must be informed and educated about and be given access to their civil rights (United Nations 2013).



### Reflect Upon

Have you participated in your community’s affairs? Why have you done or not done so?

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## What Have I Learned So Far?

Why is the international community's recognition on the youth's role in nation-building important in the country's policies about youth empowerment and participation?

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### Youth and Participation: A Look at Some Major Issues and Cases

The UN, through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), lists fundamental issues relevant to governance and youth participation. Among these are the following:

- Young men and women are excluded from policy development given their disillusionment with political leadership and political institutions. This situation leaves political activism of the youth as under- or unrepresented in formal groupings/organizations.
- The youth's participation in governance, including opportunities for engagement, is dependent on different political, socioeconomic, and cultural contexts.
- The participation of youth in formal and institutional processes is relatively low compared to older citizens. This could be a manifestation of the youth's disenfranchisement to the political system. Both formal and informal means of participation are beneficial for a democracy to work, and these means must be supported.
- The youth are not adequately represented in formal political institutions and processes including political parties, parliaments, elections, and public administration. It is all the more difficult for young women as they occupy mid-level positions.



### Big Idea

While the role of the youth in national and global development is widely recognized albeit just very recently, the youth face a number of issues, which hinder them from contributing further to positive social change.

- It has only just been recently, although very timely, that the youth's engagement in the political landscape has received major attention.
- Young men and women tend to feel excluded and marginalized in their communities given the limited opportunities and exposure provided for them to participate meaningfully in decision-making processes (UNDP-Focal Point on Youth UNDESA, n.d.).

The UNDP and other UN entities have a strong reference for a rights-based approach in promoting programs for youth participation. Because participation is a basic democratic right, an effective and meaningful youth political participation should have the following democratic attributes:

1. Consultative
2. Entails youth-led participation
3. Involves youth collaborative participation

In order to reach the objective of substantive inclusion of the youth in governance and in decision-making, the UNDP further claims that actions must revolve around two main commitments in political inclusion.

1. Support to young people's participation in inclusive political processes and democratic practices through the following:
  - a. Promotion of an enabling environment (legal frameworks, policies, and programs) for young people's participation in a broad range of processes and areas (electoral and parliamentary processes, public administration, local governance, peace-building arenas) at local, subnational, and national levels
  - b. Promotion of young people's skills and capacities to participate actively in democratic practices, including in local, national, and international contexts (leadership workshops, etc.)
  - c. Promotion of young women's participation and presence in political office and decision-making at all levels (both in elective and nonelective positions)
2. Support to young people's inclusion in decision-making and in all levels of development processes through the following:
  - a. Effective participation of young people and young people-led organizations in UN governance and decision-making processes
  - b. The ability of young people and young people-led organizations to contribute to the achievement of durable solutions for humanitarian and peace-building initiatives, focusing on enabling young women and men to become active leaders in global efforts to achieve sustainable human development as a long-term investment

*Adapted from:* UNDP Fact Sheet, available at <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf>



## Reflect Upon

What are the issues relevant to participation and governance that you experience as a youth? How do you work out those issues?

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## BEYOND WALLS 13.1

## Read and Answer

Read the examples that the UNDP Fact Sheet on Youth Participation listed regarding the global initiatives that support youth participation. You may obtain a copy of the document from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf>. Answer the following questions afterward.

1. What are the avenues for youth political participation reflected in the country cases?

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2. What can the Philippines learn from these avenues for youth political participation?

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### Empowering the Filipino Youth: Some Programs

There are various successful efforts in civic and political activism in the Philippines. As what you have learned from the previous modules, the Philippines has an environment that is conducive to the development of civil society organizations. Similarly, the Filipino youth are being encouraged to participate in civil and political activities, whether through formal (institutionalized mechanisms in the government) or informal (volunteerism) means (David 2013). Thus, the Filipino youth are called to participate in civil and political activities, apart from joining mass protests and rallies, and engagement through information and communications technology (ICT).

The Philippines stands out among its Asian neighbors due to the presence of a diverse set of opportunities for youth engagement. Such avenues may vary from large-scale institutionalized organizations in the government, to small faith-based ones that encourage volunteerism among high school and college students. Similarly, the government has implemented a system of representative governance for the young people including the Sangguniang Kabataan, the National Youth Commission, and several youth sectoral councils in different commissions in the government (Hutter 2008, in David 2013).


### **The Legal and Institutional Environment**

Youth participation in the Philippines is recognized in various legal frameworks including the 1987 Constitution. For instance, Article II, Section 12 provides that “...The natural and primary right and duty of parents in the rearing of the youth for civic efficiency and the development of moral character shall receive the support of the Government.” In the same article, Section 13 specifies that “the State recognizes the vital role of the youth in nation-building and shall promote and protect their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and social well-being. It shall inculcate in the youth patriotism and nationalism, and encourage their involvement in public and civic affairs.”

The youth’s participation through a party-list representative in the Congress is also stipulated in Article VI, Section 5, paragraph 2 of the constitution. As such, the youth is given a chance to be represented in the halls of the government as among the marginalized sectors in the country. The out-of-school youth are also recognized in the constitution, specifically in Article XIV, Section 2, paragraph 5: “the State shall provide adult citizens, the disabled, and out-of-school youth with training in civics, vocational efficiency, and other skills.”

Apart from these general provisions in the constitution, the Congress also ratified Republic Act No. 8044 or The Youth in Nation-building Act, which created the National Youth Commission and established a national comprehensive and coordinated program on youth development. This program is based on the following principles:

- Promotion and protection of the physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and social well-being of the youth



**Big Idea**

The legal environment is also important in the youth's civic engagement and political participation because it lays down the institutional framework within which the youth can situate themselves in the endeavors of the state.

- Instilling in the youth the values of patriotism, nationalism, belief in the sanctity of life and dignity of the human person, conviction for strength and unity of the family, adherence to truth and justice, and other desirable characteristics
- Encouragement of the youth in character-building and development activities for civic efficiency, protection of the environment, productivity and development, and participation in policy making and program implementation to reduce poverty and accelerate socioeconomic development
- Mobilization of youth’s abilities, skills, and talents for people’s freedom from fear, hunger, and injustices

There are also several institutions or agencies that deal with the issues of the youth. The Department of Social Welfare and Development is the government agency tasked to look at welfare issues of the youth. There are also other support institutions like the Youth Sectoral Council of the National Anti-Poverty Commission, the National Youth Parliament, the National Volunteer Service Coordinating Agency, and the Sangguniang Kabataan under the Office of the President.



### What Have I Learned So Far?

Why are governance, development, and youth engagement inextricably linked? Give examples relevant to Philippine politics and society.

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## Some Cases of Youth Engagement

Hutter (2008) identified a typology of youth civic engagement in her study on young people's civic engagement in East Asia and the Pacific. The youth's community service and volunteering come in a variety of ways:

1. *Formal, long-term service* – 20 hours per week of service for three months or longer
2. *Part-time volunteering* – anything less than formal, long-term service but more than two hours per week for two months
3. *Occasional volunteering* – anything less than the above
4. *Service-learning* – [is] a teaching method that enriches learning by engaging students in meaningful service to their schools and communities. Young people apply academic skills [in] solving real-world issues [and in] linking established learning objectives with community needs. This can be either school or [nonschool] based.
5. *International volunteering* – volunteers offer services to communities in countries other than their own
6. *Mutual aid* – providing assistance and support to others within the same community or social group; the distinction between the volunteer and the beneficiary may be less clear
7. *Governance* – representation to, and lobbying of, government bodies to monitor government policies, services, and programs
8. *Advocacy and campaigning* – raising public consciousness or working to change legislation
9. *Youth media* – video, radio, film, newspaper, or other [forms] of media production [being utilized] by young people; audience may be other young people or adults
10. *Social entrepreneurship* – creating innovative solutions to social problems by designing products or offering services
11. *Leadership training and practice* – mechanisms for learning and exercising leadership skills, including workshops as well as participation in volunteer activities

The youth civic participation programs in the Philippines, both at the national and the local levels, also fall within the categories in this typology. The following is a list of some of these activities (Hutter 2008, *Innovations in Civic Participation*, n.d.).

- The representation of the youth sector in the Philippine House of Representatives is a widely acknowledged form of political engagement. The Kabataan party-list is an example of youth representation in the legislative branch.
- The Sangguniang Kabataan (SK) is a youth government mechanism where young people aged 15 to 18 can be elected to the local governing SK. Together with the SK-Youth Council, it works to establish community projects and serve as an avenue through which young people gain leadership skills by serving as leaders of their communities.
- The National Youth Parliament, established in 1993, is a program created by the National Youth Commission (NYC). It meets every two years and brings together youth leaders for three days to talk about youth development issues and come up with a guide that could direct the government's policy making programs.
- The Sangguniang Kabataan Organizational Leadership and Reorientation Program (ISKOLAR) is another program of NYC, which provides a two-step training program for SK officials.
- The government also engages young people with the integration of the National Service Training Program (NSTP) in the higher education curriculum in 2001. University students are required to complete one of the three components—Civic Welfare Training Service (CWTS), Literacy Training Service (LTS), or Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC)—before graduation.

There are also several civil society and private sector initiatives, local or international, that aid in the project of youth civic engagement in the country. The following are some of them (*Innovations in Civic Participation*, n.d.):

- The Ayala Young Leaders Congress brings together university students throughout the Philippines and engages student leaders through a series of workshops, which aim to make the participants catalysts for change in the country.
- The Palawan Conservation Corps, established in 1999, focuses on environmental consciousness and community development. It empowers out-of-school youth from

rural areas to develop conservation skills, work ethic, and leadership qualities through community development efforts.

- Save the Children, an international organization, spearheaded the Adolescent Friendly Reproductive Health Services, which provides civic participation opportunities for public health and community development. The organization allows young advocates to serve as peer educators for sexual and reproductive health, and health and nutrition awareness campaigns.



### Reflect Upon

Which of the activities mentioned have you participated in? What are some of those you would like to be involved with soonest? Why?

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### What Have I Learned So Far?

1. How important are the legal and institutional frameworks in the prospect of youth political engagement and empowerment?

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2. Do you think there is a need to create more laws and institutions to improve the condition of the youth? Why?

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## Challenges and Prospects

Hutter (2008) categorized the Philippines (together with Thailand) as a country that has decentralized support for youth civic engagement, including policies, programs, and youth bodies. She also noted that youth participation in the country is integrated in the school curricula and that youth-oriented programs are run by multiple organizations, including youth-led ones.

The inclusion of the NSTP in the Philippine higher education curricula allows the youth to be educated about civic involvement. Moreover, the NSTP also instills in the youth the value of volunteerism through participation in different activities that involve community building and the like. Such involvement in civic affairs brings forth a realization among the youth that they are proactive movers of the society.

However, challenges still confront youth engagement in the Philippines, a country categorized as a “democratizing state with strong civil society.” The following table presents this.

Table 13.1 Challenges to and Supports for Youth Civic Engagement (in the Philippines and in Thailand)

Challenges for Engagement	Supports for Engagement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decreasing government funding for youth civic engagement activities (Philippines)</li> <li>• Inefficiency and corruption of National Youth Council (Philippines)</li> <li>• Weak economy (Philippines)</li> <li>• Weak education system (Philippines)</li> <li>• High levels of youth unemployment and migration (Philippines)</li> <li>• Gender inequalities</li> <li>• Difficulty for young people to balance studies, responsibilities at home, and participation in youth civic engagement activities</li> <li>• High financial cost of participating in activities</li> <li>• Distance of activities from home</li> <li>• In some cases, lack of parental support for participation</li> <li>• Lack of information about programming options</li> <li>• Negative or mixed media portrayals of young people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government decentralization allowing greater youth participation at the local level</li> <li>• Significant government support for youth civic engagement</li> <li>• Support for youth civic engagement within the formal education system</li> <li>• Adult role models and collaborative youth-adult relationships</li> <li>• Religious support for youth civic engagement</li> <li>• [Value of helping others] in local culture</li> <li>• University support for youth civic engagement</li> </ul>

Adapted from Hutter (2008)

It is also important to take note that there are other venues for youth political engagement, and some of these may be considered extreme or extra-legal, if not at all violent. For instance, the UN Security Council (2013) reported that children aged 10 to 17 years old are recruited and used by the MILF, Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters, NPA, and the Abu Sayyaf Group in armed conflicts. The participation of children ranges from support roles (as messengers or transporters of ammunitions) to combat roles. The report also mentions the Armed Forces of the Philippines' use of children as guides and informants in military operations against the NPA. Putting an end to this practice remains to be one of the challenges in integrating the youth in the country's legal, political, and social institutions.

On the other hand, student activism or street parliamentarism is a widely practiced form of participation among the youth, particularly the students. In this form of participation, the youth engage with the state and attempt to influence policy making, pressure the government for reforms, and promote youth interests at large. Previously criticized as apathetic, the Filipino youth have recently proven that they are relevant in ushering societal change, and this they have done through voting. In the May 2016 elections, the candidates intensely persuaded for the youth's vote—a proof that this sector is potent in decision- and policy making. The said elections had 82% voter turnout, with the youth (consistent with the UN's definition of any person aged between 15 and 24) comprising 20.24% of the registered voters (COMELEC 2016).

Today, the Filipino youth are considered to be highly technologically literate. Their use of social media has transformed their avenues of engagement into the online platform. The Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI) (2016) observed that “social media is a powerful catalyst for the engagement of the collective, but particularly—and critically—the young”, especially during the 2016 elections. Online platforms allowed the youth to express their political views through the Web. Similarly, online campaigns had the youth as targets by the candidates. While there is a criticism to raise the level of discourse in social media sites (Facebook, Twitter, or other platforms), the youth are, nonetheless, no longer merely occupied with leisurely affairs and hardly of political concerns (PDI 2016).

Looking at some global trends may also suggest important challenges or prospects in the status of the Filipino youth's participation in governance, either as political candidates or as voters. In a survey done by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Philippines ranked 56 out of 126 countries in terms of the number of legislators whose ages are 30 years and below and are members of the lower house of the national assembly. The country

ranks fairly compared to our Southeast Asian neighbors (except for Indonesia at rank 33 or 2.9%), but falls way behind European states such as Sweden, the world leader. At the upper house (the Senate), the Philippines ranked at the bottom (of 43 countries) as no senator aged below 30 years was elected in office. Such ranking is apparent because the constitution requires that an elected senator must be at least 35 years old. Nonetheless, several countries have recently reduced the age for candidacy requirement such as in Algeria (from 28 to 25 years old), Kenya, Morocco, and the United Kingdom (18 years old) to increase youth representation as political reform (IPU 2016). What do you think does the constitutional requirement in the Philippines say about youth participation in the Senate?

The tables below summarize the survey by the IPU.

Table 13.2 Global Ranking of Legislators Aged under 30 (in Percent) in the Lower House

Rank	Percent	Country/ies
1	12.3	Sweden
2	10.9	Ecuador
3	10.5	Finland
4	10.1	Norway
5	7.1	Andorra
6	6.6	Italy
7	6.5	the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Tunisia
9	6.1	Denmark, Ethiopia
11	5.9	Cuba, Suriname
13	5.8	Chile
14	5.6	Bhutan, Slovenia
16	5.2	Somalia
17	5.0	Latvia

18	4.8	Serbia
19	4.7	Canada
20	4.6	Austria
21	4.2	Kyrgyzstan
22	3.9	Brazil
23	3.5	Costa Rica
24	3.4	Gambia, Guatemala
26	3.3	Bulgaria, Luxembourg, San Marino
29	3.2	Iceland
30	3.1	United Kingdom
31	3.0	Uruguay, Zimbabwe
33	2.9	Indonesia, Malta
35	2.8	South Africa
36	2.7	Georgia, Netherlands
38	2.5	Germany, Paraguay, United Arab Emirates
41	2.4	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
45	2.3	Argentina
46	2.2	India, Portugal
48	2.1	Albania
49	2.0	Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Sudan
55	1.8	Niger
56	1.7	Israel, New Zealand, Philippines
59	1.6	Afghanistan, Morocco

61	1.5	Switzerland
62	1.3	Montenegro, Russian Federation, Rwanda
65	1.2	China, Ireland, Vietnam
68	1.1	Algeria, Nicaragua, Uganda
71	1.0	Equatorial Guinea, Greece
73	0.9	Burundi, Spain
75	0.8	Armenia, Japan
77	0.7	Croatia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia
81	0.6	United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia
83	0.5	Myanmar
84	0.4	Australia, Syrian Arab Republic
86	0.3	Bangladesh
87	0.2	France
88	0.0	Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dominican Republic, Gabon, Ghana, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Oman, Peru, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Thailand, Tuvalu, United States of America

*Note:* Data were not provided on the age distribution of members of parliament in Mauritius.

Table 13.3 Global Ranking of Legislators Aged under 30 (in Percent) in the Upper House

Rank	Percent	Country/ies
1	9.1	Bhutan
2	5.9	Kenya
3	3.2	Trinidad and Tobago
4	2.7	Netherlands
5	1.7	Belgium, Ireland
7	1.1	Spain
8	0.5	Myanmar
9	0.0	Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Burundi, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, France, Gabon, Germany, Haiti, India, Japan, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Namibia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Zimbabwe

*Note:* Calculations for Zimbabwe are based on responses from 38 of 80 members of parliament.

*Source:* Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016), available at <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/youthrep-e.pdf>

The World Values Survey (Wave 6: 2010–2014) (table 13.4) also presents some trends in youth political participation in the Philippines including voting; membership in political parties; joining acts of protest, demonstrations, and boycotts; and signing petitions, in comparison to world and Southeast Asia. Of the indicators of political participation in the Philippines, voting is the highest at 62.0%, way above the world average of 43.6%. This definitely is a positive aspect of youth participation in the country and this affirms the youth’s participation in elections as noted in the previous discussions. The use of other means, such as joining boycotts and active membership in political parties, is the lowest at 3.5% and 5.8%, respectively. Similarly, other aspects of participative democracy such as signing of petitions (6.8%) and participation in demonstrations (10.7%) are yet to be fully utilized by the Filipino youth.

Table 13.4 Political Participation in the Philippines in a Comparative Perspective\*

	Voting (Always Vote)	Party Membership (Active)	Joining a Boycott	Signing a Petition	Participating in a Demonstration
World Average	43.6%	4.1%	6.1%	15%	14.3%
Africa	35.4%	7%	4.9%	6.1%	7.6%
Europe	49.6%	1.8%	5.9%	32.9%	14%
South America	66.2%	1.5%	6.1%	21.1%	17.7%
Southeast Asia	42.4%	2.8%	3.8%	12.1%	5.9%
United States	35.6%	8%	9.7%	41.6%	16.7%
Philippines	62.0%	5.8%	3.5%	6.8%	10.7%

\* Age group: 18–29 years old

Source: World Values Survey (Wave 6, 2010–2014), available at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>



## BEYOND WALLS 13.2 Apply It in Real Life

You are a youth policy expert who was asked to deliver a talk on youth engagement in the Philippines. You need to prepare a speech that emphasizes your analysis or evaluation of an existing program on youth participation and empowerment in the country. You are expected to provide a thorough assessment of the said program in your speech, which must be 7 to 10 minutes long. Your audience will be senior high school students, who will also evaluate your speech and analysis based on content and depth.

Output: The draft of your speech, which includes the analysis or assessment of your chosen policy or program

Some Reminders:

1. Be very specific with the program that you will analyze or assess. The said program may be from the local or the national level.
2. Use a framework or a tool in your policy analysis or program evaluation. Identify the indicators that make a program good by doing some research. You may, for instance, use a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis or the World Bank's three lens approach to youth participation.
3. End your speech with some policy recommendations. Make sure that you have solid bases for your recommendations.



You are part of a political and development research team in an international nongovernmental organization that focuses on youth political engagement and civic empowerment. You are asked by your country director to submit a proposal or a project plan that aims to significantly contribute to the welfare of the youth, particularly in their participation in governance and development. You will be working with a team to draft the proposal. The director will assess the feasibility of your proposal based on content and relevance.

Output: Project proposal/plan for youth empowerment and political engagement

Some Reminders:

1. The project plan must have the following basic contents:
  - a. Name of the Project
    - What is the tentative name of your proposal?
    - Who is the project leader and who are the members?
  - b. Introduction
    - This must include the scope, rationale, and general objectives.
    - Why should the project be pursued?
    - What are the current problems or issues that need to be addressed, and has anything been done to address the issues?
    - What are the current statistics that will support your claims and better justify your proposal?
  - c. Description of the Project
    - What are the objectives and the deliverables or outputs of the project?
    - What are the project's organizational structure and responsibilities?
    - How is the project organized and how is it going to be managed?
    - What methods, tools, techniques, and resources will be used and needed in the project implementation?
    - What is the budget breakdown and what is the intended schedule of commencement and completion?
    - How long will the project run? (You may use a Gantt chart to present this.)
2. The above components are just a guide. You may change the content of your project proposal depending on the style and manner of writing it.

### **Extend Your Knowledge**

You may check the following online resources to further your understanding of youth civic engagement.

- Hutter, K. “Young People’s Civic Engagement in East Asia and the Pacific.” (Bangkok: UNICEF, 2008), available at [http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/cypguide/files/EAPRO\\_study\\_by\\_Innovations\\_in\\_Civic\\_Participation.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/cypguide/files/EAPRO_study_by_Innovations_in_Civic_Participation.pdf).
- Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle (UNDP) at [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ENG\\_UN-Youth\\_Guide-LR.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ENG_UN-Youth_Guide-LR.pdf).
- UNDP Fact Sheet available at <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf>.
- United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development at <http://social.un.org/youthyear/uniany.html>.
- UN Youth Social Policy and Development Division at <http://undesadspd.org/Youth.aspx>.

### **ESSENTIAL LEARNING**

The youth has an undeniable role in nation-building, governance, and development. This is recognized not only in the Philippines, but also by other states throughout the world. The very fact that the youth’s role has received recognition internationally indicates that they are a potent force in ushering social change in a massive and significant scale. In the Philippines, the constitutional and legal environments serve as the structural backbones through which the political and civil engagements of the youth are materialized. While it is true that several challenges remain, there is no doubt that the continued efforts of the government, civil society, business and private sectors, people, and youth themselves indicate a brighter future for youth engagement and empowerment. The extent to which the state concretizes its policies toward youth empowerment will test the type of democracy it intends to cultivate for the future generations. The Philippines is being challenged by this global initiative.

## Culminating Output

You are a political writer/poet who wants to contribute in the sociopolitical awareness and change in the Philippines. To do this, you will write a poem that, in your view, reflects political interaction in the country—from issues in elections and party politics, to civil society and youth participation. Your poem will be evaluated based on content, grammar, and style.

Output: A poem

Some Reminders:

1. Use your own writing style but make sure to consider the basic elements of poetry.
2. Grammar is important, regardless of the style, form, or verse. Be sure to thoroughly check your grammar.
3. The best poems may also be included in the integration or concluding exhibit.

## Rubric for the Poem

Criteria	Indicators for the Level of Performance				Score
	4	3	2	1	
Organization	The poem is very well organized. It has clear transitions, with ideas following a logical sequence.	The poem is somehow well organized. It has clear transitions, but a few ideas are quite incoherent.	The poem is a little hard to follow. The transitions are sometimes not clear.	The poem is hard to follow. The ideas have no coherence.	
Sensory details, word choice, and use of sound devices	Sensory details, figurative language, and sound devices significantly contribute to the meaning of the poem. Word choice provides vivid images to the poem.	Sensory details, figurative language, and sound devices somehow contribute to the meaning of the poem. Some words provide vivid images to the poem.	Some sensory details, figurative language, and sound devices are overused, underused, or inappropriate to the subject. Some words are vague, repetitive, or inappropriate.	Sensory details, figurative language, and sound devices are used confusingly or inappropriately. Words are misused or unclear.	
Grammar, mechanics, and spelling	There are few or no errors in mechanics, grammar, or spelling.	There are some errors in mechanics, grammar, or spelling.	The poem is somehow difficult to understand because of errors in mechanics, grammar, or spelling.	The poem is difficult to understand because of errors in mechanics, grammar, or spelling.	
Total:					

## Quarter Challenge

- I. Circle the letter of the correct answer.
1. It is the government body tasked to enforce election laws and which has jurisdiction over the qualifications of candidates and the accreditation of political parties.
    - a. Senate
    - b. COMELEC
    - c. House of Representatives
    - d. Supreme Court
  2. What do you call the civil society organizations (CSOs) that require and provide some scientific or technical knowledge to a host of organizations?
    - a. Community-based CSOs
    - b. Religious CSOs
    - c. Expert CSOs
    - d. Business CSOs
  3. Organizations such as WOMB, GABRIELA, FLAG, and KOMPIL were instituted in which period or juncture of Philippine political history?
    - a. Martial Law period
    - b. American period
    - c. Spanish period
    - d. Japanese occupation
  4. What do you call the membership of an individual to a political community?
    - a. democracy
    - b. citizenship
    - c. belongingness
    - d. association
  5. Which part of the 1987 Constitution provides that “the State recognizes the vital role of the youth in nation-building and shall promote and protect their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and social well-being. It shall inculcate in the youth patriotism and nationalism, and encourage their involvement in public and civic affairs”?
    - a. Article II, Section 1
    - b. Article II, Section 13
    - c. Article II, Section 22
    - d. Article II, Section 23

6. It is used as a mechanism to fill governmental offices by means of a choice made by the people or the electorate.
  - a. election
  - b. plebiscite
  - c. recall
  - d. initiative
  
7. This national legislation in the Philippines created the National Youth Commission and established the blueprint for youth development.
  - a. RA 8044
  - b. RA 7160
  - c. RA 7610
  - d. RA 7641
  
8. Which of the following supports youth civic engagement in the Philippines?
  - a. Decreasing government funding
  - b. Weak educational system
  - c. Government decentralization for youth participation
  - d. Inefficiency of the National Youth Council
  
9. It refers to a party system in which one party dominates and there is no political competition between parties.
  - a. one-party system
  - b. two-party system
  - c. dominant party system
  - d. multiparty system
  
10. It transformed the unicameral Philippine legislature into a bicameral one (comprised of the House of Representatives and the Senate) during the American period.
  - a. Jones Law of 1916
  - b. Philippine Bill of 1902
  - c. Act No. 1532
  - d. Commonwealth Act No. 2

11. What function of elections has something to do with the enlistment of possible leaders to serve in the bureaucracy?
  - a. Making governments
  - b. Building legitimacy
  - c. Recruiting politicians
  - d. Influencing policy
  
12. It is the political party established by upper class Filipinos led by Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, and whose platform was anchored on the entry of the Philippines to the United States.
  - a. Nacionalista Party
  - b. Federalista party
  - c. Liberal Party
  - d. Democratic Party
  
13. These social movements aspire for radical change for everybody.
  - a. alternative
  - b. redemptive
  - c. reformative
  - d. revolutionary
  
14. Established in 1987, this Philippine civil society organization promotes reproductive health, gender equity and equality, women and development, nonformal education, sustainable development, and HIV/AIDS prevention and care.
  - a. National Council of Social Development
  - b. Philippine NGO Council on Population, Health, and Welfare
  - c. Caucus of Development NGO Networks
  - d. NGO Forum on ADB
  
15. Which of the following approaches view citizenship as a democracy of shared values and understandings that transpire in a deliberative process?
  - a. deliberative
  - b. traditional
  - c. proactive
  - d. modern

16. Which of the following voting systems divide the state into single-member constituencies, usually of equal size, and where the winning candidate is elected by means of a plurality of votes?
  - a. alternative vote system
  - b. single-member plurality system
  - c. additional member system
  - d. single-transferable-vote system
  
17. Which part of the 1987 Constitution states that “the State shall encourage nongovernmental, community-based, or sector organizations that promote the welfare of the nation”?
  - a. Article II, Section 16
  - b. Article II, Section 23
  - c. Article XIII, Section 15
  - d. Article XIII, Section 16
  
18. It was a coalition of the Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino, the Nationalist People’s Coalition, and the Partido ng Masang Pilipino.
  - a. Lakas-NUCD-UMDP
  - b. LAMMP
  - c. Team PNoy
  - d. United Nationalist Alliance
  
19. Which of the following international resolutions and statements claims that “everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives”?
  - a. United Nations’ Convention on the Rights of the Child
  - b. World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond
  - c. Universal Declaration of Human Rights
  - d. UN A/RES/58/133 Resolution
  
20. This function of a political party has something to do with parties acting as agents of political education.
  - a. Goal formulation
  - b. Interest articulation and aggregation
  - c. Socialization and mobilization
  - d. Elite formation and recruitment





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