

New Frontiers for the Catholic Church: Positive and Negative Democracy in the Philippines

Christopher Ryan Maboloc, M.A., M.A.E.
Ateneo de Davao University
Davao City, Philippines

INTRODUCTION

New Frontiers for the Catholic Church: Re-examining the Case of Philippine Democracy

In *Philippine Institutions*, John Carroll (1970) writes of the Filipinos' desire for a higher standard of living. Carroll sees it as more of unmet expectations from the country's basic institutions. It has been four decades since then and yet the country is still in a decrepit condition, with the number of poor families growing exponentially, from 4,146,663 in 2000 to 4,677,305 in 2006, accounting for 26.9 percent of the population.¹ With regard to the approach of the Catholic Church in dealing with the problem of social injustice, Robert Youngblood (1993) cites the Catholic Church's call for social action. During the martial law years, the Catholic Church has been active in its protestations against the dictatorship. Youngblood notes that the reaction of the bishops against the regime comes from the unacceptability of "authoritarianism as a vehicle for political order"².

The Marcos dictatorship is long gone. But we are still poor. Have we failed our people? The inadequate provisions for quality education in the country's poorest provinces, widespread hunger incidence, and the perpetual depression of millions of Filipinos who are left with no other option but to seek employment in a hostile environment abroad, are a testament as to why the country is a failed democracy. What is wrong with the Philippines?

The forthcoming election in May 2010 is crucial not only for the national leadership but also for the Catholic Church in terms of its significance to Philippine democracy. The basic structure of Philippine society is so corrupt that bringing social change is nothing but a political illusion. Above all, there is a need for moral leadership. It is worth mentioning that we need to re-examine the sources of our lack of freedom if Filipinos are to truly emerge out of their difficult lives.

What can the Catholic Church do? What the Catholic Church should do is obvious. It must do what is right. But then again, the fact that the country's leadership has failed in delivering meaningful change to the lives of Filipinos suggests that the Catholic Church now has to confront new frontiers in helping deliver the common good for all people. Undeniably, the Catholic Bishops Conference (CBCP) hears the cry of the poor:

Poverty is a reality that pervades our beloved country. It is experienced all over the land but is especially felt in the rural sector. Poverty in the Philippines remains predominantly rural and development projects have not significantly improved the lives of the rural poor. In fact we can never solve poverty in the urban centers unless poverty in the countryside is seriously and systematically addressed...So to address poverty benefits not only the poor but the whole nation.³

The point of the matter therefore is this – can the Catholic Church and civil society do something to change the phenomenon of social and economic injustice? Is there a way to enhance the lives of people beyond the notion of protest? These are the questions that I seek to answer in this paper.

Youngblood notes that the failure of the Catholic Church in helping enhance the lives of the poor is due to its inability to consider inequities in community power structures and its lack of insight as to the reality of elitist structures.⁴ It is however inappropriate to crucify the Catholic Church for its mistakes. What is crucial here is to re-examine the problem of poverty and offer theoretical tools both for structural and policy interventions. Let us consider the problem of hunger. I will begin with the problem of starvation. Starvation, says 1998 Nobel Laureate for Economics Amartya Sen, “is the characteristic of some people not having enough food to eat”, not the fact of “there being not enough food to eat”⁵. People go hungry because their entitlement to food is not secure. It is possible that a country’s food supply problem is a result of wrong political decisions, for instance, the inadequacy of mechanisms to rid a country’s food security program from corruption and the neglect of basic water systems for farmlands by concerned authorities. Key to understanding this problem is the prevalence of price manipulation. If government people make money out of rice imports, then they would favor importing rice than providing farmers with farm inputs.

Starvation brings us to a bigger issue – poverty. Sen says that poverty is not the case of people’s “lack of income”, but rather, is “a matter of capabilities deprivation”⁶. Income and other social primary goods are only suggestive of what people have or do not have – not of who they really are or of what they are capable of doing. The basic insight here is that each person possesses a skill or capacity, but social conditions must allow him to use that capacity. The problem is not his lack of income. Income for Sen, therefore, should not be suggestive of the kind of life a person is to live. But this is not the case for Philippine policy makers. The Philippine government has been using the money from its Overseas Contract Workers to keep the economy afloat. But in terms of the human costs and the cruel choices people have to make, the government remains inutile and morally guilty of making Filipinos abroad as “mere means to an end”.

It is without doubt that social justice, which has long been the battle-cry of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, unarguably, should favor the poor for whom, John Rawls writes in *A Theory of Justice*, the mechanisms of the basic structure must respond to. Consider the fact, for instance, that there is no such thing as a basic structure of governance in the warlord-dominated provinces of the Philippine-south. Why has the

democratic ideal failed in these places? The answer to this requires, undoubtedly, an understanding of the causes of social inequality. There is inequality in the Philippine-south because some people possess the capacity to inflict violence to those who refuse to bow before them. Can the Catholic Church do something about this? In a 1951 document, the CBCP affirms the democratic rights of Filipinos:

By the grace of God we live in an independent nation and have a democratic form of government. It is the serious obligation of each and every citizen to be vigilant that these blessings be not lost or diminished, especially in these times when false ideas of the power and authority of the State are so prevalent.⁷

The Catholic Church has mobilized many poor communities to empower themselves. But such has not been enough because the difficult task of solving the problem of social inequality is not merely a pragmatic problem but an ideological one. “The poor are God’s people”. “God is with the poor”. “Blessed are the poor for theirs are the Kingdom of God”. But I think poverty is a scandal. Being human, we are left with no other tool except our capacity for reason. It is this power that makes possible whatever becomes of us in the world. Of course, we are also taught to care and to value people. But above all, caring for the poor is the morally appropriate choice because it is the reasonable moral option. In the world in which we live, we desire nothing but the well-being of men and women, especially our children.

But poverty continues to thrive in the Philippines, especially in Mindanao. It does so because there is but one line of thinking here – that it is a political problem and only political, and that unless there is a peace accord or that unless corrupt government officials are punished, there is no way to give our people security in their lives. What is lacking in our approach? I think that the spirit is there – the desire to help, but it lacks force, especially the intellectual force that has catapulted modern Europe to what it is now today. The people themselves and the value they give to their lives hold the key to the answer to this question.

Why should people value their lives? The answer may be obvious, but unless one looks at the concrete situation of poor families, the deeper the question goes. In this view, I propose Sen’s Capability Approach to take a further step in enabling the Catholic Church play a bigger role in understanding human development. The Capability Approach, a framework developed by Sen, is a good theoretical starting point in understanding the Filipino experience of democracy and how the Catholic Church can be a meaningful factor in changing the Philippine economic and social landscape. We set aside the political. Let us consider the human being in terms of who he or she is as a human being – free and able to do the things he or she desires to achieve in order to live a life that is well-lived.

A New Tool: Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

Let me describe Sen's theory. Sen says that primary social goods, which he explains are "general purpose means that help anyone to promote his or her ends"³, cannot be an adequate informational basis for evaluating well-being. He asserts that human capability or the extent of people's freedom has a direct role, the most important indeed, in the achievement of well-being. His basic argument is anchored on the idea that freedom has a foundational importance⁸ and he proposes the paradigm-shifting distinction between equality in terms of "primary social goods" and equality in terms of "capabilities". For Sen, evaluations regarding equality "should not solely be based on people's command of resources, sense of happiness or desire fulfillment, but should include features of the way people actually live"⁹, because "equal benefits to people with unequal needs will not produce equal well-being"¹⁰.

In addressing the problem of poverty, Philippine economic managers look at how economic growth alleviates the lowness of income of the poor, and thus, statistics based on aggregate national income are utilized to measure the "trickle down" effect of economic expansion. This cascading effect to the poor assumes that such will improve the poor's "standard of living". Des Gasper explains that this process, known as the "economics of welfare", follows from the fact that "economic production creates wealth which is distributed as income. Income is used for consumption which results to personal utility on the part of the earner. In economic terms, utility is judged as economic well-being".¹¹ This means that economic well-being is construed as the product of income generated from higher production inputs in the economy. Higher input to the process means more labor is needed, thus resulting to employment. People earn their income from this, enabling them to consume commodities, thereby satisfying personal utility. Tragically, the Arroyo administration does this by giving the poor billions of cash subsidies – to no effect.

Let me return to Sen's discussion. Welfare economics views poverty in a narrow way. This concept of poverty, proceeding from what is theoretically called economism, is ill-equipped as basis for knowing "why people are deprived of their well-being". It does not tell the extent or the kind of deprivation that people suffer, whether it is so grave or unimaginable, say for instance in the case of children who scavenge in the city of Manila or Davao, a result of the informal garbage economy one usually finds in the third world. Sen argues that the real extent of deprivation, as a matter of fact, may be underestimated if we concentrate only on the size of incomes¹². There are many factors to consider, including one's social and political freedoms, and civil society, notably the Catholic Church, should now be at the frontlines of battling poverty by understanding it not as income-deprivation but a situation of un-freedom.

But more needs to be done if the Catholic Church and civil society as a whole are to become real contributors to human development. The Catholic Church has to emphasize human development as reflective of what God desires for the poor. Poverty is an anomaly in any democracy. In this regard, the Catholic Church needs to explain that to free people from the bondage of sin also means primarily liberating them from the enemies of human

life – destitution, hunger, homelessness and illiteracy. In CBCP’s call for social change, it is noted:

For the past few months now, we have noted a mounting call for “moral regeneration” in our country. Not only do we welcome this; we your pastors are encouraged by the fact that this call has been coming mainly from the laity. You know that we have sounded this call too many times already in the past. Perhaps because this task is expected of us, there has been a tendency to take it for granted that we are also to carry it out by ourselves.¹³

How can people carry out social change? How can people make substantial changes in the lives they live? I would like to illustrate Sen’s theory. Sen argues that equality in the amount of income people earn or the social primary goods they possess is not a real guarantee to well-being achievement since there are difficulties that a person (i.e., an autistic person, a pregnant woman, or a person with a physical handicap), may have to hurdle owing to his or her specific condition. A person with a physical handicap may have to overcome disadvantages in living comfortably that another at the same age need not have, even when both of them exactly are allocated the same amount of primary goods. A person born in a poor province will be under the severe disadvantage of a lack of basic necessities in order to sustain life. Thus, life at the start is doomed to be diminished – poor, depressing and demeaning.

The reason why the lack of freedom diminishes human life is the correlation between functionings and capabilities. The former refers to “what a person actually does”, whereas the latter means “the ability to achieve certain things”¹⁴. Functionings correspond to “an individual’s physical state of being”, for instance, whether he or she has enough food to eat; “a mental state of being”, say whether she enjoys herself doing creative work which she finds fulfilling, or “a social state of being”, like whether for instance he or she is free to do certain things like taking part in social gatherings¹⁵. Functionings, therefore, are “the various things a person may choose to attain in his or her life and thereby value doing”¹⁶. Functionings imply the different aspects of living conditions of people and thus, in a huge way, these tell us about the kind of life people live. The concept of capability intends to “reflect the person’s freedom to lead one type of life or another”¹⁷, thus it implies the capacity to achieve real opportunities for well-being. Simply put, it means one’s “freedom to be”. In other words, capability concerns what makes a person realize what he or she can do or to put it basically, the freedom to achieve the kind of life one wants to live in and impliedly, the freedom to avoid the kind of life one does not want to be in.

To explain the above, Sen makes the example of “a destitute who is starving due to famine and an affluent person who chooses to fast”¹⁸. Although both individuals are deprived of the “the functioning of being well-nourished, the freedom they possess is crucially distinct”¹⁹. The destitute clearly lacks the capability or positive freedom to achieve nourishment whereas the affluent has that option; he has the resource to buy food but refuses to do so for a reason, i.e. to dramatize his protest.

Protests are important in securing the common good, but they are no guarantee to well-being achievement. Take for instance the case of the poor province of Samar. Many of its coastal communities have malnourished children. Their parents rely on fishing. The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (P4) of the Arroyo administration doles out monthly cash subsidy to some of these people. But after Arroyo is gone, what's next? The program does not answer the root cause of the problem. It addresses only the symptom – hunger. The root cause is people's lack of real freedom or power to enhance their lives. Money in this regard does not really make one's life better.

Some further explanation is needed. The idea of negative freedom, as opposed to the notion of capability, corresponds to what can be considered as non-intrusion rights or the freedom from abuse or coercion. For instance, a retired teacher can feel secure and contented in his simple home, with no threat of violence from anyone. It can be said that in this case, his negative freedom may not have been violated. Yet, it can also be argued that his negative freedom has no value to him. Why? Poor, and sick, it can be said that he has a life that he does not really want. Given his condition, he is not really free. He needs more, i.e. a loving family, a decent home, freedom from the burden of debt and his children need education too. These are things which one's positive freedom can only provide. From the point of view of the poor, the Catholic Church has played an important role in realizing certain aspects of their negative freedoms, i.e. freedom from human rights abuse and coercion. Youngblood writes that the support given by the Catholic Church to those who led the 1986 People Power is due to their "dissatisfaction with the Marcos regime"²⁰.

The example of the retired teacher above, however, should not be taken as something that undermines the value of negative freedom. We can say that negative freedom is also very important in securing and protecting our democratic rights which may be violated in the absence of such freedom. Our negative freedom is also of great value if seen from the context of society as a whole since without it, regimes can become abusive, as the case of the Marcos dictatorship shows. The Catholic Church in this regard has achieved relative success in terms of protecting the people from the re-emergence of dictatorships. It has not, however, done enough to lift people out of poverty. Thus, while positive freedom enhances the individual's ability to be the person he or she desires himself or herself to be, his or her negative rights protect him or her from the excesses and manipulative tendencies of those who are in power. The toppling of Marcos, of course, remains its prime example.

The Catholic Church should re-direct its compassion for the poor. Instead of being distribution centers for cheap medicines and rice, the Catholic Church should now educate the poor to become leaders themselves. It is the poor who should lead themselves out of their miserable lives. The Catholic Church teaches the poor to become good followers – to follow the example of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is humble and obedient. But the Catholic Church too has to emphasize that Jesus Christ is intelligent. If indeed many people do not find Jesus Christ amidst their miserable plight, they have to be told that their condition is not a curse from heaven but a result of the fact that some people

simply fail to do what is required of them to become better human beings, for instance by being good public servants or honest businessmen.

It is without argument that ensuring the elementary capabilities of people as a matter of public policy is to secure the very basis for their well-being. If the national government commits itself to each child born in Basilan, the poorest province in the Philippines, seeing to it that each child is well-nourished, gets provisions for health care, enjoys good education and is also given the chance to participate in the affairs of governance later in life, then there is no reason for these children to become bandits or rebels someday. In the absence of the above, it can be said, human life is hopelessly diminished. For instance, it is crucial to empower people themselves to change the course of their destiny. This will entail a huge effort for people to value their right of suffrage in order to change their kind of leaders. Thus, the power of democracy to effect change in the well-being of Filipinos depends on what they do to their lives. If democracy is to become a key to national development, then people should be an integral part to its vital existence.

We do not need any form of dictatorship. Some people cite the benevolent dictatorship of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew or China's rise. In response, noted American economist Jeffrey Sachs says that China's economy awoke after it opened its markets to the world²¹. Sen also points out that there is little evidence that it is the authoritarian style of Lee Kuan Yew that has made Singapore a prosperous state²². If any, Sen points to "helpful policies" which includes "open competition, provision for education and high literacy rates, the use of capital markets, and incentives for investments"²³, factors which can make a country globally competitive. These things should be studied seriously and must be taken advantage of by civil society if it is to adapt itself to the demands of the 21st century.

Positive and Negative Democracy in the Philippines

From the foregoing, democracy can be theoretically construed and empirically practiced as "positive" or "negative". In what follows I will try to make the distinction between positive and negative democracy. Positive democracy connotes the emphasis on people's positive capabilities, for instance, "the role of freedom concerning the way different kinds of rights, opportunities, and entitlements"²⁴, can be seen as instrumental to national development. The above includes economic opportunities, education, health, transparency in government, and protective security in terms of safety nets (i.e., farm subsidies during food or economic crises), as the things that are necessary to make democracy work. These rights can be considered as "positive entitlements" which empower people, and as such, they contribute to human well-being in the same manner as one's positive freedom does to one's life.

In arguing for people's democratic rights, Sen emphasizes the argument that no famine has ever occurred under a democratic regime. The reason for this is that any famine is unthinkable if the government provides enough provisions to farmers in terms of farm inputs. A government that is in solidarity with its people can immediately address any need for food basically because transparency in the disbursement of funds and the

participation of farmers in the planning process will help ensure food stability. The case of the 700 million fertilizer scam is a classic case on how Arroyo has ruined Philippine democracy. Here, the ideal rule is that Filipinos owe to each other the moral and political duty to articulate each one's concerns and press the government for immediate, effective and efficient action. This requires, however, the "capability" to "speak out", and the "positive empowerment" to argue for one's rights in public. For example, in a post-election statement in 1986, the CBCP said:

According to moral principles, a government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis. For such an access to power is tantamount to a forcible seizure and cannot command the allegiance of the citizenry. The most we can say then, about such a government, is that it is a government in possession of power. But admitting that, we hasten to add: Because of that very fact, that same government itself has the obligation to right the wrong it is founded on. It must respect the mandate of the people. This is precondition for any reconciliation.²⁵

Power is some form of technology. It is a means to an end. But this entails people understanding how power must be used to their positive advantage. In today's context, Sen notes that, "the people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved – given the opportunity – in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs"¹⁹. Positive democracy means people are real contributors to human well-being and not "passive recipients" of dole-outs and grants. When the political apparatus of governance is non-functioning, the Catholic Church has to lead the social apparatus, not only in terms of giving people a voice, but more importantly, by teaching people to become "fishermen" – active in the pursuit of their well-being and not mere by-standers waiting for their government to do something.

As an example of how an active and knowledgeable populace would transform society, it can be said that transparency laws, from the point of view of positive democracy, are useless if people are not knowledgeable of the mechanisms which ensure transparent government transactions. Any government can easily abuse its people if people are bereft of the tools or knowledge which will secure for them their welfare. It is no secret that a hungry man, for example, will simply say that he has no time to think about corruption in government. It can also be said that "anti-corruption drives" and the "right of suffrage" are only seen by the poor in a negative way as means of protecting one's negative freedom, and not as positive opportunities to really empower one's self in public. This has to change. Positive democracy, it should be noted, entails the active participation of people, of "people power" in a very positive way because it results to real change in the way people act in the public sphere. For Sen, "the achievement of democracy depends not only on the rules and procedures of democratic processes but also on the way certain opportunities are used by citizens"²⁰.

On the other hand, negative democracy anchors itself on the need to protect people from the excesses of those who are in power. If power is a tool, then that power can be used in exploiting the masses. Thus, it can also be argued that the importance of

democracy lies in the fact that it secures and protects the political freedoms of people. Negative freedom implies freedom from oppression. Simply put, it is the “right to protest”. We can explain this by pointing out that democracy makes, or at least puts “pressure” on government leaders, to be responsive to the needs of the people because the people hold them accountable. During the martial law years, the Catholic Church through the CBCP issued this pronouncement:

We call upon all public authorities and instrumentalities entrusted with the implementation of martial law to exercise their duties with the utmost prudence and restraint, with full respect for human dignity, and to avoid the least abuse in the discharge of their functions. Our faithful, on their part, should bring courageously to the attention of the proper authorities any instances of abuse, and we, the Bishops, in turn assure our people that we shall do all in our power to support such actions.²⁶

But the above did not in any way deter President Marcos from committing human rights crimes against the Filipino nation. People during the martial law years were simply too afraid to speak and fight for their rights. The few who voiced their protestations did not constitute the critical mass for any real threat to the dictatorship.

If indeed we want change, then the Catholic Church has to strongly empower the lay, both in theory and practice, in order to effect real change in Philippine society. For instance, the Catholic Church should look into corporate greed, not only in terms of denouncing it, but by educating the youth and young executives to be responsible businessmen and corporate technocrats. The Church should teach the poor to be entrepreneurs themselves and become self-reliant communities. The one-sided focus on anti-corruption is not adequate and suffers from some form of inconsistency. Sometimes, they get the wrong guys to become their exemplars. Thus, the weakness of this cause is something that we see in the inconsistent image of a corrupt politician who endorses an anti-corruption book.

Protests can effect some change in the public lives of people, but unless people become real contributors to their well-being, change is but a dream, difficult and impossible. For example, libraries are almost non-existent in many public schools. Negative democracy enunciates the need to pressure the government to do something about our problems. But on the other hand, the results might be in the negative. Thus, in the absence of the implements for knowledge in our public schools, this should not mean that a student mustn't read books. For a student to really learn, he or she has to find these books somewhere. It will not be enough to wait for the results of mass actions denouncing the government's neglect of education. A student needs to realize that the life he or she has to live is something that is fully and truly his or her own responsibility. Opportunities don't just come. These are things that we create. Now, what is true for our students holds true for our country as well. The reason there being is that a country is simply the kind of people it has. We are the nation we build.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, my analysis is that responsible citizens, guided by their “duty of civility”, will work to ensure that development becomes the priority of their national and local leaders. The streets can be the battle ground for such. But beyond such and in a very positive way, through the leadership of the Catholic Church, the academe, research institutions, basic ecclesiastical communities, and private corporations can contribute to advance the welfare of people more than the parliamentary of the streets. I admit that the points I enumerated above are purely theoretical insights. Of course, concrete and practical steps must be taken.

Here are some concrete things to consider. For instance, parishes and basic ecclesiastical communities can be melting pots for culture and knowledge. Parishes can support credit cooperatives and can organize scholarship funds for the poor. Moreover, the Catholic Church’s involvement in voters’ education is laudable. The emphasis on issues and the human agenda, i.e. justice and development, are concrete and bold measures to enhance the political maturity of Filipinos. Moreover, educating young corporate technocrats to become responsible is a bridge that the Catholic Church should cross, for “business without morality” is dangerous.

The Catholic Church-led EDSA People Power of 1986 is a classic case for negative democracy. After two decades, it has become apparent that the event has not translated to a “highly industrialized” Philippines, President Corazon Aquino’s goal while in office. Of course, negative democracy makes people vigilant even in intense economic situations. People value their political freedoms. But people can also resign to the fact that their kind of government is perpetually corrupt. Negative democracy does not necessarily empower them to seek real well-being, and thus, negative democracy may not place a country on the map to human development. Of course, we deserve a better government. But on the other hand, to demand such from our leaders, right now, may not be enough.

End Notes

¹ http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/2006_05mar08/table_1.asp

² Robert Youngblood, Marcos against the Church, Quezon City: New Day, 1993.

- ³ <http://www.cbcponline.net/documents/2000s/html/2009-God%20Hears%20the%20Cries%20of%20the%20Poor.html>
- ⁴ Youngblood, Marcos against the Church, 76.
- ⁵ Amartya Sen, Poverty and Famines, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981: 1.
- ⁶ Sen, Development as Freedom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 72.
- ⁷ http://www.cbcponline.net/documents/1950s/1951-electoral_right.html
- ⁸ Sabina Alkire, Valuing Freedoms, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002: 6.
- ⁹ Charles Gore, *Irreducibly Social Goods and the Informational Basis of Sen's Capability*
- ¹⁰ Des Gasper, The Ethics of Development, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2004: 107.
- ¹¹ Gasper, *Development as Freedom: Moving Economics beyond Commodities*, Journal of International Development 12 (7) 2000: 283.
- ¹² Sen, Inequality Re-examined, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992: 113.
- ¹³ <http://www.cbcponline.net/documents/2000s/html/2009-YEAR%20OF%20THE%20TWO%20HEARTS.html>
- ¹⁴ Gasper, *Is Sen's Approach an Adequate Basis for Considering Human Development?*, Review of Political Economy, 14 (4) 2002: 454.
- ¹⁵ Gore, *Irreducibly Social Goods*, 237.
- ¹⁶ Sen, Development as Freedom, 75.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.
- ¹⁹ Ingrid Robeyns, *Sen's Capability Approach Re-examined*, Discussion Paper, Center for Economic Studies, University of Louvain, 2000: 6
- ²⁰ Youngblood, Marcos against the Church, 200.
- ²¹ Jeffrey Sachs, The End of Poverty, London: Penguin, 2005.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 150.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 53.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.
- ²⁵ http://www.cbcponline.net/documents/1980s/1986-post_election.html
- ²⁶ http://www.cbcponline.net/documents/1970s/1972-martial_law.html

Bibliography

Carroll, John, 1970. *Philippine Institutions*. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House.

Cohen, Jean. 2002. "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society" in *Jurgen Habermas*, volume 3, edited by David Rasmussen and James Swindal. London: Sage Publications.

Dreze, Jean and Sen, Amartya, 1995. *The Political Economy of Hunger*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Dworkin, Ronald, 1977. *Taking Rights Seriously*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Freeman, Samuel. 2007. *Rawls*. London: Routledge.

Gasper, Des. *Is Sen's Approach an Adequate Basis for Considering Human Development?*, Review of Political Economy, 14 (4) 2002.

_____, *Development as Freedom: Moving Economics beyond Commodities*, Journal of International Development 12: (7) 2000.

Gore, Charles. *Irreducibly Social Goods and the Informational Basis of Sen's Capability Approach*, Journal of International Development 9 (2)1997.

Rawls, John. 1971. *A theory of Justice*. (Revised edition) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ingrid Robeyns, *Sen's Capability Approach Re-examined*, Discussion Paper, Center for Economic Studies, University of Louvain, 2000.

Sachs, Jeffrey. 2005. *The End of Poverty*. London: Penguin.

Sen, Amartya, 1981. *Poverty and Famines*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____, 1987. *The Standard of Living*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____, 1992. *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____, 1997. *On Economic Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____, 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Youngblood, Robert, 1993. *Marcos against the Church*. Quezon City: New Day.