

Reconceptualizing Development: The View from Philippine Churches*

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The Churches in the Philippines have taken the limelight in local and international newspapers and publications. One dramatic episode was the 1986 "people power" EDSA Revolution that brought down the Marcos regime. Previous to that the active members of the different churches participated in the 1986 presidential snap-elections poll watch. In the past two decades, church people were seen in rallies and demonstrations and leaders were heard through their pastoral statements on political and social issues.

These visible behaviors raised questions on : (1) the role of religion as a system of beliefs and values; (2) the church as a historic social institution; and (3) the continuing problem of bringing "development" to the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The discussion in this paper is focused on the efforts of selected Churches in the Philippines to define and contextualize the notion of "development" in Philippine conditions. This process is herein called

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a "reconceptualization" in relation to: (1) the historic traditions of church socio-economic-political-cultural involvement; (2) the directions of government development planning and administration; and (3) the mainstreams of academic social science literature on development, modernization, and social change.

The selected churches covered in this paper are: the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines and the member-churches of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines. Other Protestant churches could have been covered but research time had to be limited. These churches were chosen because of their high visibility in terms of articulation of concerns.

The notion of religion pertains to the beliefs, values and rituals related to man's understanding of the divine, spiritual, or supernatural. Church is limited to the indicators of: (1) the body of believers and (2) the hierarchy of decision-making structures in the organizational framework.

It should be noted that the process of reconceptualization within the churches was interactive of various sectors within the membership and leadership. However, what will be presented here are the outcomes of official decision-making and policy-making processes within the churches' structure.

Traditional Framework Of Church Role in Philippine Society

The Catholic Church in the Philippines established the so-called "principle" of church-state unity. This began with church-state colonial government in 1521 until challenged by the 1896 Philippine Revolution and ended by American colonization.¹

The Catholic Church settled into a secular principle of separation of church and state under American colonization and tutelage in democracy. Upon transition to the 1935 Philippine Constitution, the Catholic Church took a new role in Philippine society.² As in a framework of democratic pluralism, the church could express its concerns and interests. It continued its voice in setting the religious principles and norms for citizens' choice of candidates during elections, and for legislators when voting on bills.³

The traditional role and image of the Catholic Church on socio-economic issues had been mainly as providers of services as

orphanages, hospitals, relief and rehabilitation. Educational institutions constituted the principal achievement and contribution of the Catholic Church in Philippine society.⁴

On the other hand, Protestant denominations arrived in the Philippines with American colonization.⁵ Most missionaries concentrated on more spiritual and religious type of concerns. Indirectly or directly, the Protestant churches contributed politically by their transmission of democratic ideals, values and practices. The few who were keen about the relevance of the Christian Gospel to the realities of life observed the contradictions in the landlord-tenant relationship, the poverty of the majority of the people, and the consequences of capitalism in the Philippines.⁶

The Protestant churches prior to the establishment of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) in 1963 had been concerned about issues of unity and comity among the various independent denominations. Their major social involvement were in works of relief and rehabilitation for the poor, the sick, the disabled, the unemployed.⁷

Initial Stage of Concept Formation

The Philippine post-war scenario and the directions taken by the Catholic Church in Rome set the stage for the initial attempts at concept formation. The paper encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Arcano Dei* (1922) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) represented the Catholic Church response to the issues of capitalism and industrialization in Western Europe, and to the threats of Marxism-Communism. But these became relevant to the Philippines as peasants in the rural countryside and laborers in the urban industries organized around Marxist-Communist thinking. The iniquitous landlord-tenant system and the tensions between capital and labor were identified as the basic social issues.⁸

Hence, the concept *Catholic Action* meant the participation of the lay or non-clergy members of the church in the mission of the hierarchy or clergy and leaders of the church in bringing the Gospel to real-life situations. The essential element of Catholic Action is the concept of *social justice*. But this initial formulation used spiritual, religious, and moral values to solve human problems of agrarian peasant and industrial labor unrest. This called for the processes of

education and training in the formation of men's consciences that would make the landlord care for the welfare of the peasants, and for capitalists to care for the welfare of the laborers.⁹ The thrust led to the activities of organizing rural farmers and urban laborers on the concept of social justice. Such organizing would bring the tillers and the workers to a leverage in behalf of their human needs.¹⁰

Confronting Development and Underdevelopment

The international scenario changed by the 1960s. The United Nations launched its First Development Decade; Pope John XXIII released two new encyclicals, which are *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem en Terris* (1963). Vatican II shared its document *Gaudium et Spes* (1965) and the bishops and church people in Latin America aired their notion of the terms "development" and "underdevelopment." Pope Paul VI confirmed the plight of the poor by visits to the nations in the so-called Third World and with the encyclical *Populorum Progressio*.¹¹

The Catholic Church hierarchy sponsored a National Congress for Rural Development (1967) which brought a new thrust to social involvement. Thus "development" and "underdevelopment" entered the vocabulary of the church leaders. Generally, the idea centers around social change, particularly in the sphere of economic distributive structures and systems and the renewal of cultural and spiritual life in Philippine society.

Social Action became the second stage in the conceptualization of development taking into account the teachings of the church as applied to the perceived socio-economic conditions of the times. It was a shift in orientation because it accepted the harsh economic realities in which the people lived and situated church action in the concrete issues of material, economic, and physical well-being. It accepted the need for church people to move beyond the exclusive realm of the spiritual into actions that liberate those that are in a state of servitude and material deprivation.¹²

This approach to the prevailing issue of development can be appreciated in comparison to the economic development models that predominated the directions of academic western social science and political decision-making in the Third World nations. Such economic routes were reviewed in the 1970s as inadequate in bringing progress

and material upliftment to the poor sectors in the population.¹³ The Catholic Church provided the contrast by elevating man rather than social structures as the goal of development.¹⁴

Social Action as the approach to development and social justice as its goal and content showed itself in concrete socio-economic projects to improve the conditions of the poor without challenging the existing systems of relationship in economic production and the political power of those who owned capital and wealth.¹⁵

The type of projects engaged in with approval and encouragement from the church hierarchy were as follows: agricultural projects, cottage industries, credit unions, piggery and poultry, health and sanitation, housing, social action seminars, vocational training, consumers cooperatives, local rural congresses, roads and bridges, adult education, and farmers association.¹⁶

In the case of the Protestant churches, the 1960s stimulated a renewed interest in the Bible, in the system of beliefs and values, with which to view and respond to the times. The Protestant member-churches of the National Council of Churches, established in 1963, started a process of assessing the traditional welfare programs they were accustomed to.¹⁷ The communication linkages with the World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia (formerly the East-Asia Christian Conference) placed the Philippine Protestant NCCP member-churches in the line of the economic trickle-down theories and the contrasting viewpoints in Latin America on the matter of development.¹⁸

Radical Transformation: Liberation-Development

The close of the 1960s saw the churches as the target of change.¹⁹ The Catholic Church first received blows from the Laymen's Association for Post-Vatican II Reforms.²⁰ It is important to take note of the charges against the Church at this point in time to appreciate the radical position that it took later on.²¹ The Church as a social institution was charged with possession of wealth that made it a part of the rich, the wealthy, the elite and set it apart from the poor and the oppressed.²² The influx of Marxist class analysis and revolutionary option to social change and the Theology of Liberation from Latin America account for the radicalization of members of the clergy, of the ranks of church people, and among student organizations.²³

Two important time-periods influenced the directions of thought in both the Catholic Church, and the Protestant NCCP member-churches individually, and collectively as a federation. These are the point of declaration of martial law in 1972, and from 1974 onward, till the 1986 EDSA revolution.

Church Position on Martial Law

The Catholic Church declared that under the rule of martial law and the avowed aim of the government to create a new society, the service of the Church would be to support all that is genuinely good in the new directions on development. The government's program of land reform, peace and order, good government, equitable distribution of wealth are all worthwhile and anticipate the total human development of the people.²⁴

The elements of development at this point in time for the Catholic Church were: justice, truth, charity, meaningful participation through free speech, assembly and the media. The processes for these were education and solidarity for justice—solidarity meaning the formation of groups, movements and associations. The operationalization of these terms took place in concrete cases of abuse of human and political rights, in the rural and urban sectors and even abuse of the environment.²⁵

At the start of martial law, the Protestant members of NCCP saw reasons to say that martial law had not been imposed in a harsh and inhuman manner. There were statements of expectation that the development plan launched by the Marcos government would bring the desired indicators of development such as: peace and order, health, social welfare and well-being.²⁶

However, the United Church of Christ of the Philippines articulated its concern over the setting described as oppressive, exploitative, feudal and fascistic, with a bedrock of imperialism. It said that the church had been accused of silence, apathy and alliance with the perpetuators of a corrupt and unjust order.²⁷ The United Methodist Church warned that man should be the true object of both government and church efforts in development. Martial law had potential as a temporary intervention.²⁸

Shifts in Church Orientation on Development

By 1974, the churches took off from the stated directions of the Philippine government. To the leaders of the churches, the government's massive program of economic development did not correct the problems of poverty and on the contrary, the poor continued to increase in number and their destitution even more acute. The church leaders from both the Catholic and Protestant sectors took note of the heavy reliance on multinationals, favoring foreign interests instead of the underprivileged Filipino people. Government attention were on tourist facilities, lavish film festivals and services instead of social services for the rural and urban poor. Economic corruption in public administration and private business prevailed. From the church leaders' perspective, there was growing poverty and misery, deprivation and injustices. Military power had been used in the suppression of rights of the underprivileged and preservation of the privileges of the wealthy and powerful. The churches denounced the arbitrary arrests and detention by the Marcos government and the increasing militarization for enforcing socio-economic projects. The language of both Catholic and Protestant church pronouncements revealed the theme that the people are in bondage to poverty and unjust social structures.²⁹

Preferential Option for the Poor: Liberation

The Catholic Bishops applied the full force of its views on human development by declaring a "preferential option for the poor." This is in solidarity with the Asian Bishops who declared in 1975 that the churches in Asia be the church of the poor as did the Bishops of Latin America.³⁰

For the Protestant NCCP member-churches, two documents laid down the conceptual framework of development in Philippine setting. These are the documents from the First Consultations on Development in Angono, May 1974, and from the Consultations on Development in Tagaytay City, July 1985.

The Catholic Perspective

For the Catholic Church, development is liberation of the poor—that is, the economically poor, the oppressed the disadvantaged, the weak, the marginalized. It is an option for the poor which means looking at reality from the eyes of the poor; but this refers to the poor who have become aware of their human dignity and destiny and are prepared to do something about their plight. Liberation does not mean working for the poor in a traditional and paternalistic way. But this means working with them, learning from them, sharing their needs and struggles, and enabling them to participate and shape their history.³¹

The “option for the poor” and “liberation” as development explains the work of the church people among the grassroots. The central theme of change is the human person as the source of the problem and at the same time as the solution to the problem. At the base of the change processes are human social values that need transformation to new commitments toward the common good.³²

Change must however be accomplished non-violently. This was first applied in the presidential snap-elections where vigilance by Christian groups indicated a non-violent and peaceful way of bringing about people’s participation and political change. Non-violent struggle for justice by people in solidarity with one another was a type of active resistance of evil by peaceful means.³³

The Protestant Perspective

In actualizing the liberation viewpoint of the meaning of development, the NCCP specifically identified indicators: guarantee of right to life and sovereignty; provisions for basic human needs as food, clothing, health, shelter, employment; land reform to benefit peasants; Filipino nationalist entrepreneurship; regulated participation of foreign capital; genuine participation of the people in decision-making; sectoral representation; freedom from repression; and new democratic church polity.³⁴

Summary Elements of the Liberational Perspective

The chart below summarizes the essential features of development as liberation and in the context of the conditions of the poor in the Philippines. This puts together the commonalities between the Catholic and the Protestant NCCP churches.³⁵

Chart I. Elements of Liberation

I. Socio-Cultural Development

1. values formation

- self reliance
- human dignity
- participation
- people empowerment
- nationalism
- dignity of labor
- respect for human rights
- stewardship of use of resources
- fraternal charity

2. processes for change: by people empowerment

- conscientization
- education
- people organization
- people participation
- sectoral representation
- community building

3. social welfare

- health services
- skills training
- relief and rehabilitation
- family welfare

4. target clientele—poorest of the poor

- urban migrants
- cultural minorities
- internal refugees
- political prisoners
- peasants
- laborers

II. Political Development

1. state-government guarantee of:
 - basic human rights to life, security, freedom from arrest and torture
 - rights and freedoms of speech, press, public opinion, suffrage and right to strike
2. political sovereignty:
 - abrogation of unequal treaties; nationalist, anti-imperialist foreign policy
3. democracy:
 - suffrage
 - public opinion
 - free, honest, clean elections
 - constitutionalism
 - political participation
 - people power
 - consent of the governed
 - political legitimacy
 - political accountability
 - sectoral representation
 - separation of church and state
4. processes to political development
 - democracy
 - solidarity
 - participation

II. Economic Development

1. agricultural development
 - social justice
 - agrarian reform
 - agricultural logistic and support
 - peasant organizations
2. industrial development: social justice
 - wages and compensation
 - labor unions and organizations
 - redistribution
 - employment generation

pro-Filipino industrialization
nationalist economic policies

The terms used in this conceptual chart require analysis in definition and clarification. The terms socio-cultural, political and economic development are definitely terms from western social science literature but these appear in the discourse of the church leaders. For the purposes of this paper, these terms are the elements of the concept national development. The term national development, in turn, has been used by the government in its national development plan, as well as by the social scientists. However, national development from the church viewpoint means those features that constitute the very nature of development particularly in the Philippines.

Socio-cultural development refers to the formation of values as those listed in the chart. The theme is the cultivation of individual and collective traits of self-reliance, respect for human rights and the dignity of human labor, a sense of nationalism, participation of the people in efforts toward their common good, particularly in the utilization of indigenous resources.

Socio-cultural development can only be achieved by empowering the people by education, by a process of conscientization or stimulation of social awareness and social involvement, by organizing themselves toward activities for community welfare.

The priority areas for action are health services, skills training, relief and rehabilitation, and support for family welfare among the poorest of the poor. The poor consists of urban migrants, cultural minorities, the refugees from the provincial countryside fleeing communist-military encounters, the peasants and laborers.

Political development from the church viewpoint consists of state protection of fundamental human rights to life, security, freedom from arrests and torture and political rights of freedom of speech and press, suffrage, and right to strike.

In the Philippine context, the church leaders policy and decision-making processes resulted in a stand on the abrogation of unequal treaties and a posturing on nationalist-anti-imperialist foreign policy. Furthermore, the developed Philippine polity is one that adheres to and practices the principle and instruments of democracy. It is in the stipulation of the features of democracy that the church view is

apparently Western, Anglo-American in orientation. Constitutionalism, legitimacy, accountability—or the obligation of the government to the people—are important cornerstones. Democracy can be further manifested by “people power” which denotes the participation of the various sectors of the population particularly those in the poor social categories. The people, not just those in the elite class, are participants in the process of directing the destiny of the nation. It is in this context that the church advocates the concept of solidarity—which is the act of organizing among the poor and the oppressed to counterbalance the domination of the few wealthy and powerful.

Political development as indicated by the church leaders’ statements consists of a secularized state, that is the church and state are separate. The church takes its place outside of the framework of the state apparatus; hence it is non-public; it falls within the private sector. The church leaders, in this sense, fully agree with the secularization of both the church and the state.

The third component or dimension of Philippine national development is economic development. The emphasis is on agricultural and industrial change on the theme of social justice. The church decision-makers encouraged the formation of peasant organizations toward building a balance of power that can lead to changes in the landlord-tenant relationship, going to the root problem of land distribution and ownership. In the industrial sector, the position of the church is in favor of labor unionism in the struggle for just wages and more equitable relationship between labor and management. Their position on pro-Filipino industrialization and nationalist economic policies challenged the government directions toward multi-national corporations and foreign investments.

Implications of the Liberation-Development Perspective

The formulation of the liberation-development perspective according to the decision-making processes within the church organization produced tensions between and among groups in the leadership levels and in the rank-and-file membership. There were varying positions of arguments for or against the decision-outcomes of meetings and forms of deliberations. Nonetheless, the framework of development shown in the chart became the basis for the programs

and projects of the churches. The implementation of their development perspective required changes in the organization of structures within the church that were designated for implementation. The resources of the churches were tapped to carry out development work and the churches eventually became involved in what the western literature call development administration. However, the churches engaged in their own brand of development programs and development implementation.³⁶

Development Praxis

The forms of carrying out the various elements of their development perspective were by policy advocacy and by program implementation.³⁷ Policy advocacy meant articulation of the institutional church position and support for groups that dared the restrictions on speech and assembly under the Marcos regime. This type of activity was carried on under the Aquino government particularly during the drafting of the new 1987 Constitution. Programs for development were of the following types:

1. conscientization: activities to stimulate social awareness and social consciousness; teachings on social justice and peace;
2. community organizing: sectoral organizing at the grassroots level for self-reliant and participative efforts for improving conditions of life; for leadership training; and for group formation as interest or pressure groups in the struggle for justice and peace;
3. community mobilization: activities that initiated and/or supported sectoral groups in policy advocacy and pressure group action;
4. basic/ecclesiastical community building: organizing and building communities around Christian spiritual formation and development-orientedness;
5. funding-financial assistance from local and international sources: activities as networking sources of development funds, project proposal processing for funding activities of sectoral groups.³⁸

The Catholic Church organized a nationwide regional network of activities implemented by social action centers. The Protestant

National Council of Churches set up programs from their national office and each of the member-churches did their own work depending on their level of commitment and availability of resources.³⁹

The Role of Religion and Church

The visible involvement of these selected churches in socio-economic and political domains stir consciousness of the continuing impact of religion and church in Philippine society. The significance of religious beliefs can be seen from the premises of their development thinking. The Bible remains as the source for the value given to social justice, human rights, provision for basic needs, and participation in the politics of interest articulation.⁴⁰

Biblical premises were also used to justify their breakaway from traditional confinement in purely spiritual and religious concerns. Their development-oriented activities toward the upliftment of the poor and the prophetic denunciation of injustice were rationalized as a process of living out the teachings of God, of Jesus Christ, as written in the Old and New Testaments.

On the other hand, the various churches are organizations, with their respective structures and system of governance over membership and operations. Such organizational character place the churches in a position capable of mobilizing resources. There are central, regional and local units that could channel development ideas and programs through different parts of the country.⁴¹

The experiences of these selected Philippine Churches have not been isolated from a worldwide network of churches concerned over the issue of development. The Philippine Catholic Church has been in contact with the Asian Bishops Conference, the Latin American Bishops Conference, and with the Vatican. The Philippine Protestant churches have been affiliated with the World Council of Churches. This international linkage has implications in terms of resources and other capabilities for the churches in the Philippines in their development work.⁴²

Tensions in the Reconceptualization Process

In accommodating development ideas into the interpretive framework of the religious belief systems, and in engaging the church into the liberation type of social involvement, those who were capable of theological analysis struggled with the issues of ideology. The encounter of theology with ideology, particularly with Marxism, stimulated a search for a church position that would be consistent with basic, fundamental religious principles, and at the same time would be relevant to existing realities.⁴³

The process of reconceptualization drew out insights from the experiences in Catholic action and in social action. This proceeded to the formulation of a liberation stance with the use of class-social analysis and with the influences of liberation theology from Latin America.⁴⁴

Inevitably, the process entailed tensions within the organization, between individuals and groups pursuing different views. A Catholic priest, Fr. Edicio de la Torre was among those who first stirred political awareness on the harsh realities of social inequalities and the inadequacies of the earlier directions of social reform. De la Torre tried to reconcile his Biblical perspective with the alternative of national democratic struggle using revolutionary means. Other Catholic theologians entered into the discussion over social change in the Philippines, touching the critical issues of violence versus non-violence, reform and revolution.⁴⁵

Protestant theologians also explained religious faith in relation to Marxism and the implications for their role in Philippine development or underdevelopment. The process of decision-making for a church stance required reflections on the level of the spiritual and the level of the social.⁴⁶

The tensions within the churches were indicated by the formation of articulate groups. One of these was the Theologians for Renewal, Unity and Social Transformation. There was the Protestants for People's Enlightenment and Liberation. Within the Catholic Church, the Associations of Major Religious Superiors took the frontline on issues of human rights violations.⁴⁷

Among the high-ranking leaders who had official positions of authority, and/or who were members of the decision-making structures, there were also differences in orientations. This gave an

opportunity for labeling and categorizing church leaders as Left or Right or Center, or for terms as Progressive, Moderate, Conservative, Radical.⁴⁸

The tensions in defining development, particularly in purposively selecting the constructs or concepts to indicate development, stimulated concern over the contemporary role of churches in Philippine society. Despite the framework that has been presented here, the development debate is far from over. The change from the Marcos regime to the Aquino regime generated a new wave of critical analysis of the role of the churches. The observation is that the churches seem to have withdrawn from militant street protests, and that the Catholic Church supportively stands by the Aquino administration.

Summary and Conclusions

The concept of development as defined in official church pronouncements passed through crucial stages of reconceptualization marked by strains among individuals and groups with contending viewpoints. Essentially, the framework presented here is called a decision outcome in the sense that this resulted from legitimated organizational processes involving persons placed in authority to make and carry out decisions.

The contention that the framework is a reconceptualization derives from three distinct stages of deliberately selecting the elements constituting the notion of development. These are Catholic Action (post World War II), social action (1960s), and liberation-development (1970s), for the Catholic Church in the Philippines. On the other hand, the Protestant churches as members of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines collegially passed through the stages of social concern, socio-political awareness, and to liberation, from the time of the birth of the organization in 1963. The experience can summarily be identified as (a) initial concept formation, (b) confrontation with underdevelopment and development, and (c) radical transformation to liberation-development, taking the "option for the poor".

The reconceptualization of development further means the departure from traditional and historic roles of the churches in the Philippines from the time of their institution to the first stage of

concept formation. This refers to the attempt to move away from the image of the church as a dole-out institution, as a relief-giver, to the image of the church as the catalyst or agent of social change given the context of social injustice.

The framework of development from these selected churches came out of the disenchantment with the development goals and strategies pursued by the Marcos administration. Initially, there was a common trend to view martial law and directions of the Marcos regime as a way to Philippine development. But from 1972 to as early as 1974, the churches sensed the stirrings of political motivations among those in government. It was time for the churches to look into alternatives toward development.

The concepts indicating the phenomenon of development in the specific context of the Philippines critiqued the western economic model that emphasized capitalist industrialization and optimistically anticipated the trickling down of progress. While the churches' viewpoint accepted the notion of quality of life and basic needs as goals, they argued that the basic contradictions between social classes must be resolved. In this sense, the people are seen as self-reliant and capable of engaging in their own progress and that of their community, rather than as oppressors and oppressed.

Significantly, the churches converge in their views on democracy as a manifestation of political development. There appears to be a strong tendency to favor the Anglo-American notion of democracy as consent of the governed, participation in free and honest elections, exercise of civil liberties, and accountability of those in office. The contribution of the churches in the listing of values or indicators representing political development lies in the emphasis on people empowerment. With people empowerment, the various sectors in Philippine society will break down the barriers to equitable sharing of progress.

In closing, the presentation of the process and substance of reconceptualizing development as undertaken by selected sample Philippine churches contributes to the study of the contemporary significance of religion and church. This is particularly related to the continuing concern for social change and development, to the search for alternative paradigms coming from the culture and historical experience of the society rather than from the West. In a practical

sense, the churches' framework for development as presented in this paper may provide inputs of ideas to the practice of designing and implementing development programs.

ENDNOTES

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5. A.L. Tuggy and R. Toliver, *Seeing the Church in the Philippines* (Manila: OMF Publisher), pp. 17, 26-28, 40-43; Douglas Elwood, *Churches and Sects in the Philippines* (Dumaguete, Silliman University, 1968).

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12. Asian Social Institute, "A Compilation and Evaluation of the Social Action Activities by the Church Through the National Secretariat of Social Action" (Manila: Pastoral Methods and Research Center, June 1974).

13. W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Hamid Mowlana and Laurie J. Wilson, *The Passing of Modernity: Communication and the Transformation of Society* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1990), pp. 1-35, 43-49. See the following: Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966); Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *Civic Culture* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963); Lucien Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* (Boston: Little Brown, 1966); David L. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1961). Studies on development particularly in the so-called Third World nations were undertaken by members of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association and by public administrationists of the Comparative Administration Group.

The Philippines pursued development through national development planning. See the National Economic Council, *Four Year Development Plan FY 1972-75*; National Economic and Development Authority's development plans during the Aquino administration covering the years 1988 to 1992. See also *The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines 1986* ratified in 1987; and, Ma. Lourdes Genato-Rebullida, "Notions of Social Development in Philippine National Development Plan," *Development Forum* 4:2-3 (1987), pp. 61-79.

14. Survey and content analysis of pastoral letters, policy pronouncements; minutes and proceedings of meetings, conferences, consultations of the selected churches from the period 1970-1990.

15. Asian Social Institute, A Compilation and Evaluation of the Social Action Activities; Fabros, *The Church and Its Social Involvement in the Philippines*; Edicio de la Torre, "The Priest and Social Reform," *Impact* 5:3 (March 1970), pp. 6-12, 27; "Christians in the Struggle for National Liberation," *Impact* 6:9 (September 1971), pp. 29-32.

16. Taken from the listing of various types of projects undertaken by parishes and organizations within the Catholic Church as presented in the survey of the Asian Social Institute.

17. See Ma. Lourdes G. Genato, "Perceptions of the Religious Elites of the Development Goals of the Government 1974-77," (University of the Philippines, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1976).

18. The World Council of Churches prepares the yearly agenda for action of the organization itself, which provides a common framework for the activities of the individual church members. An example of the internationally linked work program is the World Council of Churches, *Workbook Vancouver 1983*; also the World Council of Churches 1985 Resource Sharing Book.

19. The 1960s was a decade of student activism, as well as labor and peasant militancy. The patterns of behavior of student activism within the churches' educational institutions, particularly in relation to the social issues involving the churches, are discussed in Yu and Bolasco's *Church and State Relations*.

20. Laymen for Post Vatican II Reforms, 1969 Demonstration against Cardinal Santos in Manila pertaining to the inability of the church to help the poor.

21. The student activists raised the issue of the pro-elite stance of the church in Philippine society; in contrast, the churches declared the "preferential option for the poor" as the way by which the institutional church can break away from the elitist image. See Bishop Julio Labayan, "Option for the Poor-What Does It Mean?" in the Socio-Pastoral Institute Series on Theology in the Philippines.

22. Alfredo Cuenca, "The Recalcitrant Church," *Government Report*, November 2, 1970; Ernesto Macatuno, "The Church and Its Properties," *Sunday Times Magazine*, November 15, 1970, pp. 20-23.

23. Edicio de la Torre, "Christians in the Struggle for National Liberation"; Rodrigo Tano, *Theology in Philippine Setting: A Case Study in the Contextualization of Theology* (New Day Publishers: Quezon City,

1981); Carlos Abesamis, "Immersion in the Life and Struggle of the Poor (Paper for the Asian Partnership for Human Development); Pedro Salgado, *Christianity is Revolutionary* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 9176); Levi Oracion, "A Theological Reflection on National Development" (Paper for the NCCP Conference); Feliciano Carino, *The Sacrifice of the Innocent* (Hongkong World Student Christian Federation, 1984).

24. Pastoral letters of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines from the period 1970-1990 particularly: Evangelism and Development (1973), Education for Justice, A Dialogue for Peace (1983), Post Election Statement (1986).

25. Survey of the minutes of the meetings of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines from 1970-1974; proceedings of annual conferences of the National Secretariat for Social Action from 1970-1990.

26. Ma. Lourdes G. Genato, "Perceptions of the Religious Elites of the Development Goals of Government 1974-77"; survey and content analysis of minutes of meetings and proceedings of conference; NCCP Statement of Concern on Evangelism and Development (1973).

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*; See National Council of Churches in the Philippines Commission on Development and Social Concerns, Issues and Concerns (March 1989).

30. Labayen, "Option for the Poor—What Does It Mean?"; also, resolutions from the conventions and conferences of the National Secretariat for Social Action of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines from 1978-1990.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Catholic Bishops Conference Post-Election Statement, 1986.

34. Based on the First Consultation on Development in Angono, May 1974; and, the Consultation on Development in Tagaytay City, July 1985. The listing is also culled from the NCCP Resource Materials

on Development, 1988; and from the NCCP Issues and Concerns, 1989.

35. The Framework was put together from the results of the content analysis of documents from the Catholic Church, the NCCP and the NCCP member-churches. The sources are pastoral letters, statements of concern, resolutions, programs and project plans and reports.

36. Ma. Lourdes G. Genato-Rebullida, "Church Development Perspective: Policy Formulation and Implementation," (University of the Philippines College of Public Administration, unpublished dissertation, 1990).

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*; based on reports of the Catholic Church's Catholic Bishops Conference-National Secretariat for Social Action, Mindanao-Sulu Secretariat for Social Action, Visayas Secretariat for Social Action, and the Luzon Secretariat for Social Action; see also, Liberato Bautista, "All About the Regional Ecumenical Committee," *Tugon* 5:3 (1985), pp. 70-80.

40. Ma. Lourdes G. Genato-Rebullida, "Church Development Perspective: Policy Formulation and Implementation," Chapter III; based on the discourse in the pastoral statements or statements of concern of the respective churches; see also materials as Levi Oracion, "Theological Dimensions of our Ecumenical Task," *Tugon* 1:1 (November 1979); and, Pedro Salgado, *Christianity is Revolutionary*.

41. Rebullida, "Church Development Perspective: Policy Formulation and Implementation," Chapters IV, V, VI.

42. See World Council of Churches Resource Sharing Book.

43. Ma. Lourdes G. Genato-Rebullida, "Spectrum of Political Thinking: The Search for Alternatives Among Church People," Professorial Chair Lecture, University of the Philippines Manila, February 20, 1986.

44. Genato-Rebullida, "Church Development Perspective: Policy Formulation and Implementation"; based on the content analysis of program plans and evaluation reports.

45. Edicio de la Torre, "The Priest and Social Reform"; Fr. Ben Carreon, "The Philippine Priests" First National Convention," *Homelife* 17:2 (February 1970), pp. 10-13; Fr. Arevalo, "On the Theology of the Signs of the Times," *Philippine Priest Forum*, 1972; Fr. Lambino, "Theology in the Philippine Context: Two Views of the People," *Tugon* vol. 2 (1981), pp. 31.-38.

46. Levi Oracion, "Theological Reflection on National Development"; Feliciano Carino, "Christian Ethics and Political Witness," *Tugon* vol. 2 (1981) p. 43.

47. Leaflets distributed during rallies and demonstrations; Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, Task Force Detainees.

48. See the Symposium on Religion and Politics in the Philippines in *Pilipinas, A Journal of Philippine Studies*, Issue No. 13, Fall 1989. The articles include: Gretchen Casper, "The Changing Politicization of the Philippine Roman Catholic Church, 1972-1988," pp. 43-56; Robert I. Youngblood, "Aquino and the Churches: A 'Constructive Critical Solidarity'?", pp. 57-72.