

The Collective Goals of Nation-Building: How Citizens must Respond

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Abstract

The absence of an authentic political party system in the Philippines has impacted its effort toward nation-building. Political players have kept on inventing and reinventing party groups while other politicians seek better opportunities by joining another party. I suggest an alternative way of looking at how nation-building can be truly achieved. I will employ the theory of Raimo Tuomela's concept of "collective goals" that could account for the actions of the citizens and political players towards nation-building. This consequently calls for an active participation of the ordinary citizens since they are part of the whole experience, which means that each citizen's attitude is critical in the development of a law governing the political party system in the country.

Keywords: Nation building; Collective Goals; Party System; Collective Group; Political Players

Introduction

Since EDSA People Power, so little progress has been realized in the lives of Filipinos. This is an indication that Philippine democracy itself has not yet come to its full realization, which is to give a better life for all Filipinos through political and economic freedom.¹ A known Filipino economist and one of the framers of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, Dr. Bernardo Villegas, once said that if it takes a hundred years or more for America to become a full-blown democracy, it might be the same for the Philippines. This waiting is echoed by Fr. Raymund Festin, SVD, in his article titled “Reality, History, and Interpretation: A Historico-Philosophical Reading.” We must expect EDSA to bear fruits only after another thirty-six years. But time is of the essence here and the matter at hand must be addressed immediately since ordinary Filipinos are struggling and are constantly dreaming of achieving justice and human well-being.

The present situation calls for a genuine change. Due to the gravity of the issue, there is a call for collective action that we must work together as one people and one nation. In other words, things are achievable only when there is participation in the same way as what Filipinos achieved at EDSA restore democracy. I will attempt to address the questions in view of the absence of a genuine political party system in the country. How must ordinary citizens respond to the goals of a political party? Was the response to President Rodrigo Duterte’s war on drugs appropriate? The answers to the questions will be interpreted from the perspective of social ontology and philosophy of mind wherein individual attitudes are aligned towards certain collective goals in politics, which is part of the social world, particularly the collective goals of nation building.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In part one, I will situate the collective goals in the context of political parties since it is from which the collective goals of the people are built. Here, I will argue that the genesis of nation building is in the platform of political parties, which is the *raison d’être* of the party. Meanwhile, there has been an attempt to pass the bill by the Congress and the Senate regarding political party system but failed. Next, by utilizing the theory

¹ Clarita R. Carlos, *et. al.*, *Democratic Deficits in the Philippines: What is to be Done*, (Makati City, Philippines: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2010), 14.

of Raimo Tuomela's collective goals, I will identify in part two the collective goals of PRRD (President Rodrigo Roa Duterte) as group reasons which is why majority of Filipinos elected him as President in 2016. I will construe in part three those goals as intending that consists of action. This intended collective goal is realized through social contract where citizens participate in the electoral process. And in part four, I will argue that through the individual attitude in two different theses mode that the fruition of PRRD goals depends. Especially in the "we-mode", political players can manipulate the Filipinos towards their political goals. Hence, this will give us a glimpse as to how individual attitude, that is, their mental disposition contributes towards the realization of nation building.

The Importance of a Political Party in Nation Building

Nation building is a task for every Filipino, whether one is a political player or an ordinary citizen. It has two sides, namely, political integration and national identification.² The former refers to unity among various sectors in the society while the latter refers to the identity of the people as one nation. To achieve the task, Wimmer says, "it is crucial to forge political ties between citizens and the state..."³ This is a hint for collective action among political players and ordinary citizens. But the burden of carrying such task rests on the shoulders of the former since they are called to serve the public with power emanated from the people to exercise on their behalf. That power puts all the country's resources at their disposal to carry out the tasks only dreamt by ordinary citizens.

The starting point of building a nation is the affiliation of political players to certain political parties with clear and doable platforms. The existence of platforms is the reason of being, which is the political party. Through integration with the affiliated party, politicians themselves become the embodiments, the representatives, and the reflections of what their party stands for. This simply means that politicians are the face of the party and the future of the party. In the history of Philippine politics, political parties had begun to form during the American regime. In his article *The Origin of the Philippine*

² See Andrea Wimmer, *Nation Building: Why some Countries come together while others fall apart*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 1.

³ Ibid.

Political Elite, Jose Arcilla records how the first two political parties began.⁴ The first party is the *Partido Federalista* whose platform's content is to make peaceful union with the United States. After a certain period of economic development, members of the said party have begun to entertain the idea of independence from America. The second party is the *Partido Nacionalista*, which had been formed with the goal of achieving immediate and absolute independence of the Philippines from America. With these developments, Arcilla observes that the primary goal of the Nationalist Party is simply to change the form of government and not for the development of the country. We may infer that the platforms' contents vary, and not always for the development and welfare of the public.

In due course, some political parties have evolved because of factions experienced from within. For instance, during the 1992 election, the Nationalist Party has broken up into three factions, while the Liberal Party allies with the PDP-Laban after suffering mass defections and financial troubles. Other factor that leads to faction is that some members of the different political groups defect from their mother parties and join the administration party. This political move of jumping from one party to another is known as party switching and political turncoatism. It has been the usual scenario up to the present that whosoever is the sitting president, the latter's party becomes dominant in the national and local levels. They simply do that to secure future political favors. This turncoatism becomes a political move which leads to the emergence of new parties, alliances, and coalitions.⁵

But there was an attempt to enact a law establishing a political party system - The Political Party Development Act of 2010 during the 15th Congress of the Aquino administration.⁶ It was a consolidated bill

⁴ José S. Arcilla, "The origin of the Philippine political elite," *Illes i imperis* (2006), 136.

⁵ Julio C. Teehankee, "Electoral politics in the Philippines," *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia* (2002): 149-202.

⁶ This bill is called "Political Party Development Act" before it became "The Political Party Development Act of 2011." The primer stated that this act was first drafted in 2002 during the first ever Philippine Political Party Conference attended by major political parties headed by the Speaker and at the same time Lakas-NUCD chairman Jose de Venecia. The latest "The Political Party Development Act of 2010" is

coming from the Congress and the Senate. The aims of the bill were to strengthen the political party systems by first upholding loyalty to the party and adherence to platforms, otherwise it will penalize those who change party affiliation; second, to regulate campaign finance through transparency, and hence reduce graft and corruption through allowable political party expenditures, campaign contributions, and audit; and third, professionalizing political parties through state subsidy. All these can be found in the "Primer on Building the Philippine Political Party System." In addition to the professionalization of political parties, state subsidy will be used for party development activities during non-election period such as education and training of members, outreach programs, research policy and development, and other political activities that will strengthen our political culture. But sadly, the passage of the bill was unsuccessful. This consequently hindered the strengthening of our democratic institutions.

What contributed to the unsuccessful passage of the bill is the lack of political will among the political players. The Primer categorically asserts that "no true democracy can exist without a working political party system that is built on valid political platforms that intend to foster progress and development." This meant that democracy must be built on policies. Arcilla also echoes that political parties are important because it is from which the improvement of public administration proceeds.⁷ If a party has its goal of administering the public, then it is a sign of good governance since they give prime importance to public service. Conversely, public service is neglected when political party focuses not on the administering the public. But the primer observes that without political party system, the political situation in the country makes political parties detrimental. This is also how Clarita Carlos and Dennis Lalata, in their work "Democratic Deficits in the Philippines: What is to be Done?"⁸ analyzed some of the deep causes of the existing problems that hinders Philippine democracy right after EDSA I of 1986.

a consolidated version from House Bill 49, 403, and 159 and Senate Bill 51 and 607. See *Primer on Building the Philippine Political Party System*.

⁷ Arcilla, "The origin of the Philippine political elite," 136.

⁸ See Clarita R. Carlos, *et. al.*, *Democratic Deficits in the Philippines: What is to be Done*.

One of the many areas where democracy has failed us is found in Philippine democratic institutions. One of these institutions is the absence of political party system, among others. The absence of political party system is considered as deficit since it hinders development of all peoples in the country. She emphasizes that political parties are “so central to the life of any democracy.”⁹ It is simply the party that articulates the interest of the Filipino people and mediates their demands. The patronage system in the country, the presence of political dynasties, and the oligarchic nature of the economy have contributed to a weak political culture.

The Theory of Collective Goals

In this section, the theory of Tuomela regarding “collective goals” will be explained vis-à-vis the goals of PRRD, namely, his war on “drugs, criminality, and corruption”. These political affairs are treated part of the social world which consists of institutional facts. These institutional facts are created out of the physical elements in the physical world through collective acceptance. And these facts belong to the field of social ontology for it studies the existence and nature of the social world. Tuomela¹⁰ is a social ontologist who explains that the elements of social entities are created through the collective acceptance of a collective group. In the case of PRRD’s political goals, they are created through the collective attitude of PRRD supporters that consequently legitimizes them. This means that the citizens are proactive in the conception of the goals for nation building since they believe that PRRD goals would greatly contribute to the general welfare and development of the Filipino people.

In making the idea of collective goals workable, Tuomela introduces three criteria for a full collective intention, namely, group reason, collectivity condition, and collective commitment.¹¹ This collective intention means that the minds of the members in the

⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹⁰ Raimo Tuomela is one of the big five in the field of social ontology. See Sarah Rachel Chant, Frank Hindriks, and Gerhard Preyer. *From individual to collective intentionality: new essays*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

¹¹ Raimo Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.

collective group are directed at their goals.¹² Through the powers of the mind, it makes things possible which is not possible when it carry out by individual mind and action. These powers of the mind are collective effort out of collective commitment of the group which is “basically a product of joint intention and the members’ group reason involved.”¹³ Under this section, the other two criteria of “full collective intention” will be discussed. The first subsection will be the contextualization of Duterte’s goals as group reasons to which the collective group is adhered, and the second subsection will be the construing of Duterte’s goals as intended collective goals in which the goals as intending consists of action and not only a mental act. Here, I argue that Duterte’s goals can be understood from the viewpoint of the theory of collective goals. This becomes the basis in which Duterte’s goals are strengthened in the absence of a political party system.

Duterte’s Goals as Group Reasons

The second criterion for full collective intention is group reason, which refers to “a unifying reason for group members to participate in group-based activities.”¹⁴ It is the “what-it-is” that appeals the people to join the group. This kind of reason is considered authoritative when group members are collectively committed to achieving the goal.¹⁵ There are various ways of achieving the goal according to one’s unique way of contribution. For instance, government employee X will exercise honesty in conducting public bidding while government employee Y will exercise punctuality in reporting to duty. This means that both X and Y have the same mental intentions of avoiding being corrupt in their own unique ways. This is the same scenario among the members of the collective group, that is, elected officials allied with PRRD’s political party, PRRD’s cabinet members, and supporters have different ways to implement the group’s goals in mind.

¹² David P. Schweikard and Hans Bernhard Schmid, “Collective Intentionality.” Edited by Edward N. Zalta. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Winter 2020 Edition); available from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/collective-intentionality/>, 25 March 2022.

¹³ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 48.

¹⁴ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, X.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

In the absence of political party system, Filipinos are getting used to the stark reality of political situation while hoping for some messianic politicians with political will to make the political party system a law. PRRD is not exempted from this situation, for he has affiliated with the PDP-Laban, or Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan. He belongs to his own local political party known as the HUGPONG NG PAGBABAGO, a regional political party based in Davao City. When he became the standard bearer of the party, he has adopted the slogan, “Change is Coming!” which is to bring “about law and order in a swift and decisive manner.”¹⁶ He has brought his experience as mayor for some decades in Davao City, which was once a place of communist-infiltrated and crime-infested.¹⁷ With his accomplishment of transforming the city into one of the livable and peaceful cities in Asia, this becomes his social capital that brought him to Malacañang Palace. This is a phenomenon in which then President Duterte had the advantage over other candidates and has garnered large support is because of his law-and-order credentials in Davao City.¹⁸ Duterte trumpeted this credential that has always resulted to big lead in the survey before and after the election.

The people have supported him because he promised to put an end to illegal drugs, crimes, and government corruption in six months. He emphasized these goals since he believes that the country is stricken with such big problems. But there are other goals that PRRD’s party dealing with such as economic governance and the peace process in Mindanao. These campaign goals have become the group reasons why Filipinos choose PRRD over other candidates. These goals as group reasons have become their ethos, a “certain constitutive

¹⁶ Imelda Deinla and Björn Dressel, "Introduction: From Aquino II to Duterte: Change, Continuity-and Rupture." Edited by Imelda Deinla and B Björn Dressel. *From Aquino II to Duterte (2010-2018): Change, Continuity-and Rupture*. (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2019) 2.

¹⁷ Julio C. Teehankee, “Was Duterte’s Rise Inevitable?” Edited by Nicole Curato. *A Duterte reader: Critical essays on Rodrigo Duterte’s early presidency*. (Cornell University Press, 2017), 50.

¹⁸ Edilberto C. de Jesus, “Documenting Duterte,” *Inquirer.Net*; [article online]; available from <https://opinion.inquirer.net/94314/documenting-duterte>; 09 April 2022.

goals, beliefs, standards, norms, etc.”¹⁹ Such would account as to why the Filipinos believe that the Philippines need to be liberated from those problems. This also becomes clear that citizens are proactive in the democratic process, as Wimmer notes, “If citizens are connected to government through relationships of authority and support, an inclusive national community emerges and nation building can be said to have succeeded.”²⁰ This inclusivity is important in making the goals more realizable.

Furthermore, the realization of the same goals is shown in the leader’s performance rating. Ronald Holmes, one of the top pollsters in the country, has presented different results of the survey coming from the Social Weather Station (SWS) and Pulse Asia Research, Inc. (Pulse Asia) that compares the net satisfaction rate of the Filipinos from the presidency of Cory Aquino up to Rodrigo Duterte. As per SWS survey, PRRD has garnered the highest performance satisfaction rate among the past presidents in the first six-month of the term with eighty-five percent.²¹ But among the classes of electorates, what composed greatly in terms of votes in choosing PRRD are the elite and the new middle classes. The elite refers to the wealthy, the newly rich and the well-off while the new middle class includes the call center workers, Uber drivers, and the overseas Filipino worker (OFW).²² The reason for this is that the previous administration has been focusing on the poor through the giving of Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program (4Ps), also known as the Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) Program, and the rich and elite by giving them private-public partnerships (PPPs). But this does not mean that the middle class needed the CCTs nor the PPPs. They just lament the lack of public service and other areas that would address their needs as well.²³

¹⁹ Raimo Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27.

²⁰ Wimmer, “Nation Building: Why some Countries come together while others fall apart,” 1.

²¹ For a comprehensive reading of the survey data on the performance and trust ratings, see Ronald Holmes, “Who Supports Rodrigo Duterte.” Edited by Nicole Curato. *A Duterte reader: Critical essays on Rodrigo Duterte's early presidency*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2017), 64.

²² Julio C. Teehankee, “Duterte's resurgent nationalism in the Philippines: a discursive institutionalist analysis.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 35, no. 3 (2016): 72-73.

²³ Julio C. Teehankee, “Was Duterte's Rise Inevitable?”, 52.

It is the group reasons that bind members of the group towards the realization of collective goals. But it is a fact that some of the supporters have drifted apart from the collective group in the middle of the term of PRRD administration since they are not pleased with how they fulfill the collective goals. Other members of PRRD's political party have begun to jump ship to other parties while some die-hard DDS have withdrawn their support and loyalty as well. This gradually led to the decreasing number of PRRD's collective group. Hence, the group reasons of stopping drugs, criminality, and corruption become contentious and open to question.

Duterte's Goals as Intending

The third criterion for full collective intention is the collectivity condition. This condition is synonymous to "necessarily in the same boat," "necessarily stand or fall together," "necessarily share a common fate," and "all for one and one for all."²⁴ This condition is shown in how the collective goal is interpreted, that is, the collective goal must be based on intending which consist of action.²⁵ Hence it is "intended collective goal."²⁶ This goal has the world-to-mind direction of fit which determines the outcome via the correlation between the world and the mental states of the individuals. It is a world-to-mind since the responsibility of the political players and the citizens must match the content of the collective group's given goals.²⁷ Hence, both they must fulfill the collective goals faithfully since it is not the content of collective goals must adjust to their beliefs and desires. That goal should remain the focus and target for each member of the group to fulfill; otherwise, the content of the collective goal changes or becomes asynchronous with what the group's belief and desire. The paradigm of collectivity condition is

²⁴ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 40.

²⁵ Tuomela distinguishes between collective goal as based on belief and desire and as based on intending. The members under the collectively intending sees to it that their intentions satisfied each other. See Raimo Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 40.

²⁶ Kaarlo Miller and Raimo Tuomela. "Collective goals analyzed." Edited by Sara Rachel Chant, Frank Hindriks, Gerhard Preyer. *From Individual to Collective Intentionality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 37.

²⁷ John R. Searle, *Mind, language and society: philosophy in the real world*. (New York: Basic Books, A Member of the Perseus Books Group, 1998), 148-149.

(CC_i) It is necessarily true (based on the group's acceptance of P as group g's goal) that P is satisfied for a member A_i of g (qua member of g) if and only if it is satisfied for every (other) member of g (qua member of g).²⁸

This collectivity condition works well with unstructured group, just like PRRD supporters residing in the country and abroad. They are categorized as "members of unstructured groups where the having and the satisfaction of the goal distributes to the members."²⁹ The paradigm of collectivity condition is written in biconditional statement in which the first statement is 'P is satisfied for a member A_i of g,' and the second statement is 'P is satisfied for every member of g'. The satisfaction of the group is not for the individual members of the group taken disjunctively, for instance, either for A_i or for A_{ii} only. The satisfaction should be for all members collectively, simultaneously, and interdependently as qua members of the group. On conceptual ground, the satisfaction of A_i entails the satisfaction of all members of the group.

To make the collectivity condition more intersubjective, Tuomela adds "mutual belief" in the collective group since voters among themselves did not meet each other to elect PRRD as the next president. PRRD supporters just exchange pleasantries and opinions through social media. Hence, the venue collective members work collectively towards the realization of the collective goals is through mutual belief – that each member believes that others would do their part in realizing those goals and that they also believe that you or I would do our part as well.³⁰ In other words, it is through the intentional state of "belief" that we carry out those goals to full realization. Hence, the new paradigm of collectivity condition is

(CC_i, mb) Based on the participants' collective acceptance of P for the group, it is necessarily true that P is satisfied for a member A_i of g (qua member of g) if

²⁸ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁰ See John R. Searle. *The Construction of Social Reality*. (New York: Free Press, 1995), 24.

and only if it is satisfied for every (other) member of g (qua member of g); and this is mutually believed in g .³¹

Unlike PRRD predecessors, his trust rating remains high despite the fact of being at the receiving end of all criticisms— the religious sectors, civil sectors, human rights groups, European Unions, among others – especially on his violent war against illegal drugs.³² While his government remains steadfast in implementing its target goals, his supporters loyally defend him as keyboard warriors through different social media platforms. From this criterion of collectivity condition, PRRD’s supporters and the government itself are considered as one collective group with common collective goals. And despite the setback of PRRD collective group, we then ask, “How can we determine whether members of the group wholeheartedly intend their collective goals?” The answer depends on the attitude of individual citizens on how they respond to the collective goals. This will lead to the analysis of two different individual attitudes in relation to the collective goal, namely, the we-mode and the I-mode.

The Citizens’ Response

Social Contract and We-Mode

Members of the collective group need to respond in a special way as part of their share in the execution of the goals. Otherwise, PRRD goals in nation building is impossible. How do they bind themselves with the goals? This relationship begins in social contract where they express their assent for the need of authority to rule over them. It simply compels them to give up some of their rights and freedom to the authority, and in turn expect from the latter to deliver the goods. This is how an agreement is being forged, and this contract can be traced in the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. He conceives the notion of social contract to justify the need and existence for a government because of the notion of state of nature which is liken to the state of war. In that state, individuals are in the state of exercising perfect private judgment “where each decides for herself how to act, and is judge, jury, and executioner in her own case

³¹ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 42.

³² Ronald Holmes, “Who Supports Rodrigo Duterte,” 58.

whenever disputes arise....”³³ Such kind of society can be turned into topsy-turvy condition due to the absence of authority to look over the states of affairs of the citizens. Hence, in such set up the importance of social contract justifies and can account the presence of government.

The notion of social contract is executed through national and local election. It is through the expression of individual vote that each citizen enter into an agreement with the collective goals of the party. If we translate the concept of Hobbes’s state of nature in the present context, it does not mean that there is the absence of government before PRRD occupied Malacañang. It only means that the previous administration has either failed to deliver their campaign promises or their goals do not meet people’s expectations. In more than literal sense, the absence of government means that the previous government does not function well in terms of public administration. This is analogous to two contexts, namely, Davao City and the Philippines as a whole.³⁴ These two contexts are symmetrical since what has made PRRD a successful government elected official in Davao is the very reason that brought him to the national limelight. In the Davao context, on the one hand, killings did not stop in the 1980s. With that historical-political climate, it has led “Dabawenyos entered into a Hobbesian social contract with Duterte, which allowed him to rule with an iron-fist exchange for social peace and personal security.”³⁵ In the Philippine context, on the other hand, Filipinos expect much from the authorities to establish social peace and personal security too, where there is rampant corruption, proliferation of drugs, and criminality abounds.

With the participation of the citizens through the electoral process, political players have the machineries at their disposals to carry the mandate of the majority. But this mandate is not limited to them since citizens are also bound to fulfill the goals as well. In view of

³³ Sharon A. Lloyd and Susanne Sreedhar, "Hobbes's Moral and Political Philosophy." Edited by Edward N. Zalta. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Fall 2020 Edition); available from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/hobbes-moral/>, 05 March 2022.

³⁴ Francis Isaac, "Making Sense of Digong Duterte," *Rappler*; [article online]; <https://www.rappler.com/voices/thought-leaders/120239-rodriigo-duterte-elections-2016/>, 14 April 2022.

³⁵ Julio C. Teehankee, 2017. "Was Duterte's Rise Inevitable?" 51.

this position, how do we determine whether citizens in the collective group respond to the goals? Prima facie, citizens have the political obligation to fulfill the collective goals. This individual capacity is reflected well by looking into one's mental state, either in the individual sense or collective sense. In the case of the collective goal, if it is realized in the collective sense, then what consists in the attitude of the group members is we-mode attitude. This we-mode attitude is distinct from the pro-group I-mode since the former is a strong form of collective intention, that is, individual is acting as a group member, while the latter is a weak form since the individual is acting as a private person.

If the collective goal is realized in the individual sense, it is expressed through the I-mode attitude. Of the two modes, it is we-mode that serves as an ideal attitude for every member of the group should have especially when in relation to the goals for nation building.³⁶ The basic differences between the two modes are found in the forms of questions and in how members function in relation to group reason. The first difference is through the questions such as "What should I do?" for the I-mode attitude while "What should we do as a group?" for the we-mode attitude.³⁷ To put into context, one can ask "What can I do for my country?" in the individual sense, while in the collective sense it is "What can we do, as pro-Duterte's goals for instance, for the good of our country?" Intuitively, it is group action and not the individual action that yields better result. As Tuomela notes in choice-theoretic context, we-mode attitude is "rationally be more rewarding in the sense of maximizing expected utility."³⁸ Hence, we-mode tends to create more social order than the I-mode.³⁹ The second difference is in how individual functions in relation to group reason. In the we-mode, one functions as group member, while in the I-mode one functions as a "private person."⁴⁰ In the we-mode one considers oneself as bound by and committed to what is collectively accepted for the group while one is not when it is in the I-mode. This

³⁶ Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ David P. Schweikard and Hans Bernhard Schmid, "Collective Intentionality."

means that in I-mode attitude one is not obliged to follow the three criteria for full collective intention.

Full Collective Intention of the “We-Mode”

The “we-mode” attitude can fully complement the intended “collective goals”. These two notions yield an ideal result since there is full cooperation among members of the collective group. This we-mode intention which is found in the individual mind is egalitarian wherein members of the group share equal status only if it satisfies the three criteria of the collective intention. The account of we-mode intention is

(WI) Member A_i of group g *we-intends* in the we-mode to perform X together as a group with the other members if and only if, given that the we-mode criteria for intending are satisfied.⁴¹

A_i above stands for any member of the collective group while X stands for group activity. The following are brief explanation of we-mode intention. First, any member has the intention to participate in doing X together and to do his or her part of X as his or her own X . Second, any member believes that each of the group collectively accept “we will do X together as a group,” and together has joint intention to do X jointly. This is the main justificatory reason for the first explanation. This is also the epistemic justification that other members comply the group activity of X . This explanation, together with the third and fourth explanations, “gives a *group(-based) reason* for the members to participate in the joint intention and thus to form their part-performance intention and normally to perform their part action.”⁴² Third, any member has a true belief that the performance of X will somehow be obtained, especially when there is a good number of members who are committed to X and to do the X . Fourth, any member believes that there exist a mutual belief among members of X with the effect that doing X will be obtained. And fifth, the first and second explanations are true because of the third and fourth

⁴¹ Raimo Tuomela, Non-reductive views of shared intention. In *The routledge handbook of collective intentionality*, ed. Maria Jankovic and Kirk Ludwig. (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2018), 25-33.

⁴² Tuomela, *Social ontology: collective intentionality and group agents*, 30.

explanations.

To further illustrate how the we-mode yields better results, Tuomela uses the Hi-Lo game. This is one of the games in casino where players have to predict whether the number that will appear is either higher or lower over the given number. He uses the Hi-Lo game to highlight that individual players using the we-mode reasoning would choose the best of all options which is the Hi-Hi over the Lo-Lo, Hi-Lo, or Lo-Hi, knowing that it will satisfy not only for member A_i but for all members of the group. It follows that it is the responsibility of the member, having the group reason in mind, to fulfill the collectivity condition. Similarly, when it comes to an ideal government, if John Dewey claims that democracy is the most desirable form of government, the best form of government in Tuomela's theory is when the government carries out the collective goals faithfully that would contribute greatly to nation building with the citizens rallying behind them with the we-mode attitude. This appeals to the notion of "in unity, there is strength."

We-Mode's Property

The we-mode intention has two levels of mental states, namely, intention on the individual-level and intention on the group level. These levels have their respective properties in which the group level mental states supervene on the individual level mental states. For instance, the mandate to serve the public by PRRD and his allies must be considered as their duty or obligation. This mandate is the property found in group level mental states. Hence, even in the midst of defection by certain members of the political alliance, the mandate remains and it does not change the fact that PRRD's goals must be pursued by all means till the end of his term in office.

The properties found in the individual level mental states are the intention to participate in doing X together, the epistemic justification that other members would comply the group activity called mutual belief, and having true belief that X will be obtained. All these properties contribute to the properties of group level mental states. This implies that group level mental states cannot exist without the individual level mental states. It also implies that group level cannot be reduced to individual level since their properties cannot be

found in the individual level such as the mandate to execute the collective goals for nation building.

However, the fact that some loyalists, be it elected officials who are PRRD allies or supporters, remain committed in complying the collective goals does not mean that they have the same we-mode attitude. Under the individual level mental states, the individual attitude is either jointly intended or non-jointly intended, that is, it is a jointly attitude when it is expressed through the we-mode while it is a not jointly when it is expressed through the pro-group I-mode.

Conclusion

This paper illustrates that the task of nation building is still at work by looking at PRRD's goals of ending "drugs, criminality, and corruption" as collective goals even in the absence of a political party system. PRRD's goals have become the objects of the citizens' collective intention after forging social contract with the government. However, the citizens' collective intentions must be qualified since some of their individual attitudes can be either acting as group members or acting as private persons. Granting that their individual attitudes are acting as group members, or in full collective intention, political players can set their sights in implementing PRRD's goals.

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