VALUES AND VALUE CHANGES OF FORMER FILIPINO STUDENT ACTIVISTS

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This research attempted to find out the values of Filipino student activists in the pre-Martial Law days. Their value changes in early adulthood were also examined. 36 ex-activists participated in the study through mailed questionnaires that asked them about their demographic profile, some personal psychological situations, and value rankings. Five respondents in various life tracks agreed to have their biographies narrated in the form of case studies. The research examined value clusters among Rokeach's list of values through factor analysis. Multiple regression equations tested for main and interaction relationships among variables. As adolescents, the activists put primary importance on the values of freedom, equality, a sense of accomplishment, and being courageous. Results support the role theory model of adult political socialization: changes in role expectations brought about by marriage, work and Martial Law resulted in psychopolitical alterations. Caution, however, should be taken in generalizing the findings. Results were based on an extremely small sample size that was biased in the sense of being composed only of non-underground respondents.

History marches on, and young men grow into adults. And so it has come to pass, that the Filipino activists of the late sixties and early seventies marched on through the years. Today, most of them are in their early adulthood years. This research attempted to find out the values of our young political leaders during their student days and value changes, if any, in early adulthood. The concept of political socialization was used as the basis for understanding the psychopolitical changes in Filipino activists from adolescence to young adulthood.

Definition of Political Socialization

Socialization refers to the process by which an individual learns from others in his environment the social patterns and values of his culture. Political socialization focuses on one particular aspect of socialization — how an individual learns about the political culture from others in the environment (Langton, 1969). There are three components in this definition: (a) the individual's learning; (b) the political culture that is transmitted; and (c) the "others in the environment" usually made up of social agencies that mediate between the political culture and the learning individual. Most of the definitions of political socialization emphasize one of the three dimensions (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, as cited in Renshon, 1977; Greenstein, 1970; Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Langton, 1969; Mineque, 1975; Sicat, 1976; Sigel and Hoskin, 1977; Youngblood, 1972).

This research focused on the first dimension of the definition which considers how an individual learns his political orientations. One should note, however, that all three aspects of political socialization are not mutually exclusive. They only differ in terms of the particular aspect of the concept that is pivotal. Hence, the individual's political learning process was the take-off point. Both the political environment and relevant social agencies were also considered, but only to the extent that they influenced the person's political learning process.

Values and Political Orientation

The value approach to the study of political psychology came as a response to difficulties with traditional liberalism-conservatism attitude scales. Originally, people's political orientations were assessed according to how liberal or conservative an individual was. This kind of measurement proved defective in the following ways: it could not be used across cultures or across historical settings; there was little agreement on the exact number of dimensions of liberalism-conservatism; the liberalism-conservatism concept is vague because it mixes together political goals (ideological) and political means (stylistic); it is often confused with authoritarianism inspite of the fact that the latter is conceptually and empirically independent of liberalism-conservatism; and it is difficult to compare two political orientations that are both right or both left of the hypothetical center of the liberal-conservative continuum (Rokeach, 1973).

A number of social scientists have studied the role of values in political socialization (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). The main body of literature that relates values to political attitudes and behavior are associated with Milton Rokeach (Rokeach, 1973; Simpson, 1977).

Rokeach defined values as standards for decision-making and conflict resolution. He disaggregated values into two types: instrumental or means-oriented, and terminal or goal-oriented values. Rokeach studied how values were related to political attitudes and behavior. His findings suggest that political behavior may be predicted by one's values. He content analyzed writings associated with the four political systems of socialism, capitalism, communism and fascism. His primary finding was that the terminal values of freedom and equality sharply distinguish writings representative of political systems: socialism was high on equality and freedom; communism, high on equality but low on freedom; capitalism, high on freedom but low on equality; and fascism, low on both equality and freedom (Rokeach, 1973).

Other studies have established significant correlations between Rokeach's values and politically relevant attitudes (Christie & Merton, 1958, as cited in Simpson, 1977; Feather, 1969, as cited in Simpson, 1977; Rim, 1970, as cited in Simpson, 1977).

Causes of Psychopolitical Changes from Adolescence to Young Adulthood

There are two viewpoints about early adulthood political socialization. One perspective downplays significant psychopolitical change and claims that adult political orientations are primarily continuities from childhood. Another perspective, apparently influenced by the role theory, affirms significant changes and traces such changes to different social expectations in one's life situation (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977).

Discontinuities are caused by either changes inside the person or changes in the sociopolitical environment. Changes in the individual can be further traced to two main sources: sociobiological maturation with its accompanying status changes like marriage, and occupation-related situations. Likewise, changes in the sociopolitical environment can be further divided into the political events transpiring after childhood and personal experiences of a sociopolitical nature (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977).

A number of studies have supported the continuity model. Flacks' (1969) research showed that liberal youths came from predominantly liberal, even radical families, and felt they were translating into practice the orientations taught them by their parents. The only issue where the young activists disagreed with their parents was on how to transform these beliefs into practice.

Continuities from childhood may continue to bear weight on adult political orientations, even when the individual is apparently resocialized with the introduction of discontinuities in his life. In what manner does this occur?

Political resocialization to values and behaviors that approximate childhood norms last longer than resocialization to orientations contradicting childhood orientations (Sigel & Hoskins, 1977).

On the other hand, the discontinuity principle predicts that significant changes will occur between adolescence and adulthood. Indeed, adolescents and younger adults have been found to be more vulnerable to political attitude change than their elders; political attitudes solidify and stabilize in early middle age (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977). Much of the political resocialization occurs in the first ten years of adult life after a person turns 21 (Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

Sigel and Hoskin (1977) claim that a number of psychopolitical changes occur in a person between the ages of 25 and 30 years. It is during these years that involvement with more extreme or at least unorthodox political movements take place. On the other hand, chronological maturation may also take its toll on youthful idealism. This maybe observed in a number of activists who simmer down ideologically during their late 20's.

As one grows from adolescence to young adulthood, he undergoes role discontinuity from a protected adolescent in a nuclear family to that of an adult citizen, a single adult, a spouse and/or a parent of young children (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). A study on marital effects on individuals showed that the amount of personality change in early adulthood depended partly on the age of a couple at marriage, with those marrying early having the greatest subsequent change (Vincent, 1964).

Another major source of political socialization between adolescence and young adulthood is one's occupation. Sigel and Hoskin summarize the effects of work on adult psychopolitical orientations as: (a) the socializing effect of the workplace itself; (b) the extent to which certain occupations give rise to or are associated with specific political beliefs; (c) the socializing effect of occupational status; and (d)

the major effect of being jobless (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977).

Adult political socialization is attributed not only to changes within the individual as he takes on new social roles, but also to changes in the sociopolitical environment as the person enters adulthood. In order to understand an adult's political orientation, one must also look at the important political events and the sociopolitical atmosphere that ushered him out of childhood, through adolescence, and into adulthood (Jennings & Niemi, 1975; Sigel and Hoskin, 1977). Political attitudes are more a function of the time period in which the individual became an adult, and less a function of age (Abramson, 1974).

Sigel and Hoskin claim that environmental changes unwilled by the individual, especially if they are negativistic in nature, give the person a low sense of efficacy. An example of a traumatic socializer is a revolution, followed by a dictatorship. Personal rather than national traumatic experiences can have similar socializing effects (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977).

The success of the environment as a political socializer depends on two things: the magnitude of reinforcement for new political learning, and the extent to which norms of the changed environment are similar to norms learned in childhood. The greater the reinforcement and/or the norm similarity, the more significant is the role of environment in political socialization (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977).

Hypotheses

In order to organize conceptually the different factors affecting psychopolitical changes in the Filipino activist, this research identified the variables involved in the study and further predicted relationships among these variables.

The focal dependent variable was a person's values. Values have been established as correlates of political orientations (Simpson, 1977; Rokeach, 1973), they change from adolescence to early adulthood, they are not politically con-

troversial, and they are easy to measure. It was also possible, though not completely valid, to ask a person about what his values were ten years ago.

Below is a list of all the research variables. Values are the main dependent variable while the others are independent variables:

a. values
    a1: values during activism period (1968-1972)
    a2: values a decade after (1983)
    a3: value change – difference between a1 and a2
b. job history: past and present occupations
c. continuities from adolescence
    c1: class background – parents' occupation during the adolescent's activist days
    c2: position in the family
    c3: academic background
d. sociological maturation: marriage and its consequences
e. political environment
    e1: type of activist movement – moderate or radical
    e2: martial law effects on personal life

Two sets of relationships were examined: 1) Values during activist days *vis-a-vis* the continuities from adolescence and the political environment; and 2) value changes from adolescence to young adulthood *vis-a-vis* continuities from adolescence, sociobiological maturation, and political environment. Multiple regression techniques were used towards these goals.

METHODOLOGY

Measurement of Values and Value Changes

The research measured values of two points in time. The first point located the values of the respondent during his activist days, as recalled by him in retrospect. The second time point identified the respondent's values in his present day life. Value change, on the other hand, was conceived as any change in the standards for decision-making that occurred between the individual's adolescent activist days and his present early adulthood life.

Rokeach's instrument for value priorities was used to operationalize the focal dependent variable. It appeared in two sections of the questionnaire, to measure both the respondent's values during his student days and his current values. The respondent ranked two sets of 18 values each to elicit his instrumental and terminal value priorities. The measure of each value was equivalent to the number associated with the respondent's ranking of value priorities within each set of 18.

Value change was the difference between the value's rank during the respondent's activist period and the value's rank a decade later. The absolute value of the difference indicated the amount of change while the algebraic sign indicate the direction of change. A negative sign meant that the standard became less valuable through the years. Likewise, a positive sign indicated an increase in value.

Sampling

Current political circumstances greatly biased the research sample. Participants, in general, were not currently involved in any underground activities. Hence, the findings merely describe particular types of ex-activists – those that are working within legally acceptable institutions

The research covered male students and seminarians who were leaders of any activist group in the late 60's and early 70's. A population list of names was drawn from three sources: a previous case study on the student movement (Montiel, 1982), informal interviews with ex-activists, and *Manila Times* new reports covering student events from 1968 until 1972. This list was considered the population of student leaders during the activist period. Its members numbered 300. Out of the total population, only 73 were located. All of those located were sent questionnaires. Out of the 36 final respondents, 20 were moderates and 16 came from the ranks of the radicals. The

average age of the research respondents was 35 years old.

Five of the respondents were interviewed in-depth. The case study participants came from the following career tracks: government, big business, priesthood, social development, and legal political work.

Data Gathering Procedure

Survey questionnaires designed to elicit information on all the variables were mailed to the respondents. The researcher then called up and/or visited the respondents to follow up the questionnaires.

In addition, case studies were done to augment the quantitative information generated by the survey. Both moderates and radicals were represented in the case studies, with three respondents coming from the moderates and the two others from the radical groups. In general, the in-depth interview covered three aspects of the respondents' life, namely, the activist as a young boy, his married or priestly experiences, and his life as a Filipino citizen from the inception of his activist involvement until this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of the Activists

Activists came from a middle class family whose parents were professionals. Most of the young leaders were middle children in a family of about six children. They studied in the better-off Metro Manila universities, dropped out of school for about two years (between 1970 and 1972), and ended up taking a social science course.

As adolescents, they put a high premium on the value of freedom, equality, a sense of accomplishment, and being courageous. The students generally agreed on what they were against but disagreed quite highly with regard to their individual priority values.

Common value changes in early adulthood were a decrease in obedience and an increase in the relative importance given to family security, a comfortable life and being clean.

Central factors emerged as pivotal in affecting variation among other items in the person's value system. In adolescence, the central values were the desire for a comfortable life and the youngster's rebellion against authority. In early adulthood, the influential factors are the need for self-esteem and one's workstyle in terms of using his intelligence to attain wordly success. Value changes between adolescence and early adulthood seem to revolve around the degree to which an individual wants a contented, easy going life and works in an individualistic, competitive manner.

Inferences from Survey Results

In general, survey data supported the research hypotheses. Many value changes do occur between adolescence and early adulthood. Psychopolitical changes in an individual have two major sources of variation, namely, role continuities from adolescence and role changes that occur in early adulthood. The manner in which values change after adolescent activism may be successfully predicted by one's class background, position in the family, and academic background. These are variables already present in the adolescent.

There are some significant variables however, that occur after adolescence. These variables are also related to value changes in early adulthood. Some of the significant correlates have to do with new roles the activist leader takes on as he enters adulthood, particularly within the marriage and work institutions. His age upon marriage, the type of wife he gets, his own psychological attitude toward providing for children, the type of job he has — all these are significantly related with value changes in early adulthood.

Other significant correlates are located in the political environment and are less within the individual's control. Findings show that the declaration of Martial Law and the individual's

subsequent detention in a military camp were also related to activists' value changes in adulthood.

Common Themes from the Case Studies

Five stories of ex-activists suggest a number of patterns in their lives. Although each narration tells of a strikingly unique individual, similarities among the cases may also be noted. Below is a description of the common themes in the lives of Mario, the business executive; Emman, the government technocrat; Rey, the politician; Toto, the priest; and Edgar, the social development worker.

In general, the respondents were unusually intelligent. Even if they came from different economic backgrounds, they all belonged to their school's intellectual elite. Their academic achievements began in grade school and persisted through the high school years. College performance, however, dipped markedly with the onset of activism.

The young boys stood out among their classmates, not only in classroom academics, but also in extracurricular activities like sports, choir singing, and dancing. Leadership characteristics emerged at an early age. For example, as high schoolers, one got regular invitations to the annual YMCA leadership conferences while another was president of the Student Catholic Action.

Another common personality characteristic unfolded during activism — the rebellion factor. Protests against the political establishment seemed to be part of a wider discontent. Edgar disagreed with his seminary's orientation, Emman questioned family obedience, Mario criticized haircut requirements, and Toto threw stones at church buildings.

Presently, as young adults, the respondents assert their strong leadership in their own milieu. Most seems to be idiosyncratic within their respective institutions. They are aggressive, confident, and continue to question tradition. For example, Rey is a nontraditional politician who recognizes the necessity for people's organization; Toto's leadership in Church activities is viewed with hostility by the more conservative bishops.

Psychopolitical values in adolescence and early adulthood seem to have been strongly affected by personal traumas, campus politics, martial law, and the immediate members of their family.

Political militancy originated within the school. The school acted as the prime source of progressive intellectualism, providing debates, radical professors, and Teilhard de Chardin writings to the bright young leaders. Ideas were not enough. Aside from progressive thoughts, the campus environment also offered the individual numerous efficient organizations that transformed the intellectuals into mass action organizers, propagandists, and political educators of grassroots groups.

Martial law doused the volcanic ferment. This political national trauma succeeded, at least temporarily, in disintegrating core groups. Most of the respondents admitted to serious organizational and personal setbacks after September 1972.

At the peak of activism, the school functioned as a source of militancy while the family counteracted as the politically conservative force. Parents either did not know of their son's involvement, or tried their best to have their child stop his political activities. The family again acts as a conservative institution in the individual's early adulthood years. This time, it is the wife and children who pull him away from involvement.

The Activist's Values

Langdon's (1969) model for the political socialization process is refined by findings from this research. The causal model predicts that political orientations are affected by one's family, school, and peer group. At the height of activism, the school appears to be the primary source of socialization. The case

studies indicate that our activists were recruited into their organizations through campus politics. Furthermore, their militant orientations were maintained through progressive readings, discussions, and mass actions which were mostly campus-initiated.

Class background and parental preferences do not seem to have significantly influenced the activist's values. Regression computations did not produce any significant multiple correlations between the selected activists' values and the independent variable of class background. Case study respondents also reported that their parents were generally unsupportive of their activist involvement. The relatively low influence of the family during adolescence coincides with results of a previous research. At the height of the First Quarterstorm, Youngblood (1972) ran a survey among high schoolers. One of his findings was that the family was not too influential in relation to the high schoolers' political values.

The formation of the activist's values seem to be heavily cognitive. This is suggested by a number of factors. First, educational institutions were the prime source of political orientation. Second, when the students became more deeply involved in political work, they adjusted their educational status to fit their orientation. Many activists shifted to the more cognitively relevant courses of Social Science and Economics midway in college. Third, the instrumental cognitive values of being logical and intellectual ranked relatively high. They fell in the upper half of the 18 instrumental values for both moderate and radical activists. Fourth, case study respondents usually described their leadership roles in the activist movement as being propagandists or political educators — roles that are heavily cognitive in nature. Indeed, it is possible for cognitive political learning to shape political personalities, at least by the time individuals are adolescents (Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

Survey data suggest that Filipino activists were highly aggressive. They gave top ranks to the values of being courageous and having a sense of accomplishment. One of their consistently low values was pleasure, defined as "an enjoyable, leisurely life." These aggressive individuals were also highly intolerant and self-righteous. They gave the value of being forgiving a low score during their activist days. Even their job profiles in post-college years pointed to high aggression. Many of the activists seemed to be hard-driving adults who left their first jobs for professional advancement or because they disagreed with their supervisors. The case studies also described highly aggressive student leaders who did not hesitate to openly criticize various symbols of authority.

One characteristic pervasive in the activist's personality was the rebellion factor. A review of the respondents' value listing will show that their lowest ranking instrumental values were being polite, obedient, and clean. A rebel is usually stereotyped as being impolite, disobedient, and untidy. Even the terminal values reflected rebellious orientations. The activists disdained having a comfortable life and attaining salvation, goals respectively associated with the economic and Church Establishment. Standard deviations of value rankings showed that the activists agreed among themselves in regard to what they did not like, but had more divergent rankings in regard to the high priority values. Apparently, it was the rebellion factor that bound them together. Psychological rebelliousness is not unusual in the political world. Social movements are usually clearer on what they do not like, and less clear on what they want to work toward (Sherif, 1970) Gergen and Ullman's (1977) article also states that left wing activists were usually low in conformity measures. The nonconformity factor can be seen from two perspectives. Activists did not conform with the dominant culture, usually identified with the Establishment. However, there was a very strong tendency to conform with the deviant minority culture. From this second perspective, the activist may have been highly conforming.

Findings of this research suggest that the rebellion factor may, to a certain extent, be explained psychoanalytically. One's political personality may have been influenced by his childhood relationships with authority figures (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). If it were so, then the middle child would have more of the rebellion factor. Compared to eldest and youngest children, middle siblings have more psychological leeway to question and criticize family tradition. Research findings show that most of the activists were middle children. Birth order findings of the Philippine activists contradict Western data.

In an American study, first borns showed a greater tendency toward activism than other siblings (Gergen & Ullman, 1977). In the West, the youth leaders came from liberal, even radical, homes who thought they were putting into practice the beliefs taught them by their parents. They only disagreed with their parents on how to translate these beliefs into practice (Flacs, 1969). Some of these activists were children of socialists who had migrated from Europe during the years of repression in this continent. First borns tend to imitate their parents more than middle children do. Perhaps, the American activists participated in protest movements largely influenced by the modeling variable. If this were so, then there would be less predicted value change in the American adolescent as he grows into adulthood.

For the Filipino activists, their political behavior may have been a protest against, not an imitation of, family values. Perhaps, a generation from now, we may find a type of activism similar to the American first-borns. This generation may be led by the older children of the ex-activist Filipinos. This new generation of activists may be more influenced by the modeling variable and may have a less traumatic, rebellious psychopolitical journey into early adulthood.

Value Changes in Early Adulthood

Numerous value changes occurred within the activists as they became young adults. Eight terminal values and five instrumental values significantly changed as the activists grew from adolescence to young adulthood. (Please refer to Tables 1 and 2) Among their list of goal choices, they significantly increased their values of family security, a comfortable life, mature love, and happiness. Alongside these increases came a significant decrease in their desire to attain the following four terminal values, namely, true friendship, national security, social recognition, and an exciting life. Some instrumental values likewise changed significantly as the individuals became young adults. As years passed, the ex-activist leaders put more importance on being self-controlled and clean. On the other hand, they put less importance on the values of being obedient, helpful, imaginative and courageous. Some of these value changes are validated by the case study reports. The case participants generally told of adult lives that were indeed reflective of heightened family security, material comfort, personal self-control, with an accompanying decrease in excitement and political courage.

This section discusses reasons for the general value changes of the activist as he enters his early adulthood. There can be two general explanations for significant value changes in the activist: the first is methodological; the second is theoretical.

The data gathering, statistical processing, and analysis methods were relatively biased toward producing major value changes. In general, the methodological bias was toward a more conservative young adult. In the sampling stage, only non-underground participants responded to the questionnaire, thus increasing the likelihood of more conservative cases. There were also measurement problems. The variable of values during adolescence was operationally defined in terms of the adult respondent's recollection of what his value rankings were a dozen years ago. There may have been a tendency to romanticize one's youth and one's self-image as an adolescent. The adult value scores may have been more accurate self-assess-

TABLE 1

Terminal Value Change Scores from Activist Days
to Young Adulthood

Terminal Values	X̄ Change Score (Present Rank- Former Rank)	s.d.	t-value
1. Family security	4.05	5.59	4.41*
2. A comfortable life	2.16	4.27	3.08*
3. Mature love	1.40	3.63	2.35*
4. Happiness	1.24	3.72	2.04*
5. Wisdom	0.86	4.34	1.21
6. Salvation	0.69	3.53	1.18
7. Inner harmony	0.68	3.68	1.12
8. Self-respect	0.05	3.06	0.11
9. Pleasure	−0.16	3.10	0.32
10. Freedom	−0.56	3.76	0.89
11. A world of beauty	−0.84	3.44	1.48
12. True friendship	−0.95	2.67	2.16*
13. A sense of accomplishment	−0.97	3.74	1.58
14. Equality	−1.08	3.76	1.75
15. A world at peace	−1.14	3.95	1.75
16. National security	−1.32	3.94	2.05*
17. Social recognition	−1.84	4.40	2.54*
18. An exciting life	−2.24	4.04	3.37*

* p < .05.

ments. The exaggeration of one's activist values may have artifically increased the value change measurement, biasing it toward conservatism.

Statistical idiosyncracies may also have affected the data. Since the activists were political deviants, their extreme scores would tend to regress toward the mean, regardless of maturation or environmental influences. The regression effect was also present in the choice of statistical test. The study used the t-test for correlated means, comparing the means of adolescent values with the means of early adulthood values. In repeated testings, the value of the second measurement regresses toward a mean of the population. The results may produce a change in dependent variable scores when in fact there are none. (McGuigan, 1978).

A final methodological explanation for apparent adult change was the manner in which conservatism was operationalized. An individual's young adult values were compared to what he was as an adolescent, using a within-subject design. On the other hand, his values as an activist were seen in relation to what other youths of his time value. Conceptually, the activist's values were perceived in the context of a between-group design. If the same between-groups design had been used on the adult - i.e., if the adult sample had been compared with other adults of today, the political deviance profile may still be equal to his college days' militancy.

TABLE 2

Instrumental Value Change Scores from Activist Days
to Young Adulthood

Instrumental Values	X Change Score (Present Rank-Former Rank)	s.d.	t-value
1. Ambitious	1.44	5.92	1.46
2. Self-controlled	1.44	4.01	2.16*
3. Clean	1.39	2.77	3.01*
4. Loving	1.25	1.84	1.84
5. Broadminded	0.97	4.05	1.44
6. Logical	0.72	4.45	0.97
7. Forgiving	0.53	4.25	0.74
8. Capable	0.39	4.30	0.54
9. Responsible	0.03	2.41	0.07
10. Intellectual	−0.06	4.18	−0.08
11. Polite	−0.14	2.90	−0.29
12. Honest	−0.25	3.61	−0.42
13. Independent	−0.33	3.61	−0.55
14. Cheerful	−0.50	3.81	−0.79
15. Obedient	−1.63	3.24	−2.98*
16. Helpful	−1.64	3.88	−2.54
17. Imaginative	−1.69	3.93	−2.58*
18. Courageous	−1.83	3.61	−3.00*

*$p < .05$.

Research findings, in general, support the role theory prediction that significant changes in early adulthood occur due to different social expectations in a person's life situation (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977). A number of activists' value changes were significantly related to their marriage patterns and job histories during their initial decade after college. Indeed, a large amount of political resocialization occurs in the first ten years of adult life. Changes may be attributed to the role shift from a protected adolescent to a married working adult citizen (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). The study design, however, cannot establish causality between the dependent variable of value change and the predictors of marriage and job. The independent variables may have occurred simultaneously or even after value changes. This difficulty in isolating causal direction in relationships among variables is not uncommon in political socialization research (Gergen & Ullman, 1977). Case studies trends, however, suggested that marriage changes the individual's values. The causal relationship between values and job did not come out clearly, even in the case studies. The establishment of causality is nonproblematic in regard to the relationship between sociopolitical events and value change. Logically, the latter could not have caused the sociopolitical event of Martial Law. It is safer to establish a causal relationship beween the environmental variable of Martial Law and the value changes that varied significantly in relation to this political event.

Regression results show that some marriage variables were significantly related to a number of values that changed in early adult life. For example, the young adults who married at a later age tended to seek more excitement, valued being courageous, and desired to be more helpful than those who married early. This particular finding supports a past research that previously confirmed the relationship between one's age at marriage and personality changes (Vincent, 1964). Taking on new responsibilities as a husband and father may make an activist seek a less exciting life and behave less courageously in the political arena.

Marital dynamics are crucial in the psychosocial development of a young adult. Erickson (1963) described what happens to an adolescent as he moves from his late teenage years into the thirties. In adolescence, the individual undergoes a psychosocial crisis of identity. One response to role confusion is an overidentification, to the point of loss of personal identity, with the heroes of cliques and crowds. It was at this stage of their psychological development that most of the Filipino young joined the activist movement. As they moved into early adulthood, they entered a developmental stage whose main concern was the crisis beween intimacy and isolation (Erickson, 1963). Successfully integrating ideological beliefs and marital experiences is crucial for both the political and psychological "health" of the growing activist.

From Levinson's (1979) viewpoint, a young man passes through a psychological phase where both his dreams and his love relationships are decisive elements of growth. The transition period from childhood to adulthood, roughly between the ages of 17 and 33 years, is labeled the Novice Phase. At this stage of a man's life, he is faced with some major developmental tasks. Two of these tasks are: (a) forming a Dream and giving it a place in the life structure; and (b) forming love relationships, including marriage and family. For the young activist, his Dream consisted of significantly overhauling the oppressive structures in our country. All other dreams were subservient to nationalism and socialism. Unfortunately, the activist's Dream sharply contradicted the need to nurture a family. It is difficult for a revolutionary to be preoccupied with the daily requirements of having a wife and small children.

One can envision the changing individual, as his ideological passions are confronted with a new need for personal intimacy. In this transition change, an ideology that had required complete surrender to its goals has to integrate (or disintegrate) itself with the intimate love relationships within marriage.

Some interesting results may be gleaned from the regression computations that evaluated job history. Findings showed that the more an individual's job history contributed to national development, the less this adult valued an exciting life, social recognition, being ambitious, and being courageous. On the other hand, this same adult valued self-control more. The more a person's job contributed to national development, the more, it is assumed, this individual was able to carry his activist dreams into adulthood. It seems that this is the activist who grows into being less courageous, but self-controlled enough to delay immediate gratification. He does not seek to gratify himself with excitement, recognition, or ambition in the work world.

Sigel and Hoskin (1977) state that one way in which work socializes is when an occupation assumes certain political orientations. Survey results could not confirm whether the individual's job caused him to change some of his values. Emman's case study as a government worker may suggest that a job can indeed influence one's orientations. The respondent's actuations on his philosophy toward self-reliance is similar to other government statements. The study, however, cannot conclude whether Emman thinks this way because of his job or whether he chose the government job because he thinks this way.

Martial Law was a traumatic sociopolitica'

event that altered the political orientations of the militant student leaders. Both survey data and the case studies confirm this statement. The academic profiles of the respondents show that most of the activist dropouts stayed out of college for two years. These years were between the 1970 First Quarterstorm and the 1972 declaration of Martial Law. Returning to academic life meant a consequential cutting down of time previously dedicated to political organization. This, in itself, reduced political militance. Survey data produced serendipitous information regarding the respondent's direct reactions to Martial Law. This event helped form politically disonant activists who were militant intellectually but were conservative in behavior.

Personal experiences narrated in the case studies depict even more picturesquely the personal and organizational traumas inflicted by Martial Law on the activists. Edgar, the propagandist of a moderate organization, likened the shock of Martial Law to "the unexpected death of a loved one." Mario, who had been a political detainee since 1971, said that Martial Law successfully silenced the media that used to give him hope inside prison. Most of the case study respondents also mentioned that their core groups on campus were temporarily disbanded.

Twelve years after the declaration of Martial Law, the activists had significant changes in their value priorities. These value changes may be partly explained by the role theory perspective of adult political socialization (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977). A change in the power arrangement in society resulted in an alteration of the student leaders' role. Before 1972, the relatively powerless sectors enjoyed the role of organized dissenters. The environment did not punish individuals who played out such roles. With the declaration of Martial Law, the dynamics changed. The political environment introduced severe punishments like detentions and other forms of harrassments for people who continued to play the role of activists. Certain values associated with activism were punished.

Martial Law contributed to resocializing the

activist into new values. It provided strong punishments for behaviors it wanted stopped immediately. Since the success of environment as socializer depends on the magnitude of reinforcement for new learning (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977), Martial Law seemed relatively successful in affecting certain activist-related values. There were significant decreases in adult values that were punished by the new political environment. The activist-turned-adult sharply lowered his desire for national security, an exciting life, and being courageous. The unwillingness of the individual to risk being victimized by punishments in the new political environment was reflected by the data. Among all the 18 terminal values, the rank of an exciting life had the highest negative change value. Among all the instrumental items, the value of being courageous underwent the largest decrease from adolescence to young adulthood. If Martial Law had not occurred, these same values would have decreased through the years, but not, perhaps, with the same magnitude as reflected in the study data. Indeed, political orientations are strongly affected by the time period in which the person becomes an adult (Abramson, 1974).

The study predicted that value changes in early adulthood could be attributed to role changes brought about by marriage, jobs, and the political environment. In general, the prediction was supported by the research findings. However, if class background, position in the family, and academic background were relative constants between adolescence and early adulthood, then why were value changes between the two developmental stages significantly related to the constant predictors? The discussion of this theoretical issue follows.

A possible explanation for the above problem is that what was apparently value change was merely a return to the initial childhood values of the activist. Perhaps, as students, the more powerful socializer was the school. That is why class background did not produce significant relationships in the activists' value profile. After graduation, the family renews its

influence over the activists. Hence, early adulthood value changes have numerous significant relationships with the continuity variables of class background, position in the family, and academic background. It is not possible to check on this explanation from the data on hand.

However, regression results showed that class background was significantly related to three value changes from adolescence to adulthood. Respondents with a relatively higher status decreased their values of being courageous and helpful but increased their desire to be self-controlled in early adulthood. Class background was not significantly related to these three values during the activist days. It is perhaps in adulthood that family orientation again becomes influential. The better-off families may have avoided risk-taking, been less concerned with helping others, but were more disciplined in lifestyle. Such an orientation may have socialized the ex-activist into being significantly less courageous, helpful, and more self-controlled in his adult years. This may explain why significant differences occur between adolescence and adulthood.

Thus, it seems that the three components of family, school, and peer group affect political orientations. However, these three influences become dominant in various phases of the individual's life. During childhood, it is the family; in adolescence, it is the school; in adulthood, the family of origin and of entry again become dominant. The peer group is a secondary influence in the different levels of development.

On the other hand, this particular interpretation of the Langton model may only be true in the Philippine situation. Our country's history was marked by a political trauma at the height of the activist movement. The development of individuals into adulthood coincided with the establishment of Martial Law. Perhaps, the politically conservative family became more influential in adulthood because its values were reinforced by the environment. Furthermore, if there had been no Martial Law, perhaps the values learned in school could have been carried over more effectively into adulthood. One problem with studies that use historical events as independent variables is that the researcher cannot produce an equivalent control group.

Research findings show that both marriage and Martial Law helped produce dissonance between political behavior and political analysis. Many survey respondents admitted that their ideological thinking had remained relatively progressive, whereas their political behavior had become conservative. Case study participants related similar experiences. It is possible that the school, as socializer, provided the adolescent with politically progressive ideas which he continues to articulate even as an adult. The family of origin which is usually highly middle class — was a behavior model for low risk and security-seeking adult practices. The two socializers produced a young adult who thinks progressively but acts conservatively. This finding supports a previous experiment on children which showed that youngsters who learned by their being preached upon preached so; and those who learned by modeling behavior also behaved so (Bryan & Walbek, 1970).

Differences between Moderates and Radicals

Political socialization maintains specific common values among groups of people (Simpson, 1977). Research data supported the general predictions of this statement. The between group variation across political affiliation was relatively high for a number of values and value changes. Moderates and radicals exhibited significantly different value patterns. Again, however, the problem of causality emerges. Did the political groups cause values or did the values cause the political affiliation? What might have happened was perhaps a cyclic relationship where both were simultaneously causes and effects of each other.

During their activist days, the moderates had

a significantly higher priority for salvation. Their radical counterparts put a significantly greater importance on family security and being logical. The value change patterns of moderates and radicals were also different from each other. As they entered into early adulthood, the moderates increased their value of inner harmony, mature love, and being logical. They had significant decreases in the values of an exciting life, social recognition, and being helpful. The other political group had different value changes as they became young adults. These radicals increased their value ranking for happiness and being ambitious. Their data also show significant decreases in the values of national security, equality, a world of peace, being courageous, and being imaginative.

Two general concepts may help explain some moderate-radical differences. The first is the ideological basis for the political groupings. The second is the difference in class background of the organization members.

The philosophical basis of some moderate groups was strongly influenced by Christianity and subjectivism. This may have been why the moderates put a high value on salvation. Even at the peak of their activist days, the moderates put the value of being honest on their top list, second only to being courageous. The radicals ranked being honest as their eighth value. Apparently, the moderates valued the individual's inner, subjective life. As the moderate activist entered into adulthood, the inner life seemed to grow deeper. He significantly increased his rankings for inner harmony and nature love. Inner growth, however, was not a monopoly of

TABLE 3

Value Increases in Early Adulthood:
Moderates vs. Radicals

Moderates' Values	$\overline{X}$ Change	t-test	Radicals' Values	$\overline{X}$ Change	t-test
Terminal Values					
Family security	4.45	3.46	Family security	3.59	2.67
A comfortable life	1.70	2.08	A comfortable life	2.71	2.25
Inner harmony	1.30	1.83	Happiness	1.76	1.90
Mature love	1.15	1.75			
Instrumental Values					
Logical	1.95	1.87	Ambitious	3.56	2.52
Clean	1.35	2.22	Clean	1.44	1.97

the moderates. Radicals significantly increased their desire for happiness as adults.

A glance at the radicals' value priorities suggest that they were probably influenced by the materialist philosophical foundation of Marxism. They gave importance to being logical. The instrumental value of being intellectual was always relatively high among the radicals. They gave intellectual the fourth place among the 18 values, while the moderates put the value of intellectual in the relatively low eighth slot. The reason for the difference perhaps stemmed from a relatively solid ideological foundation of the radical organization. They also claimed to have a scientific analysis of historical developments.

Another possible source of difference may have been class background. Many moderates came from private Catholic schools with more expensive tuition fees than the non-sectarian universities. Research findings also show that, on an eight-point scale for socio-economic status, the moderates were slightly better off than the radicals. Perhaps, the moderates did not value family security too highly because they came from relatively more affluent families that did not need economic support. If the moderates had easier access into good jobs as adults, this may partly explain why they significantly lessened their desire for an exciting life, social recognition, and being helpful to others in their later years.

TABLE 4

Value Decreases in Early Adulthood:
Moderates vs. Radicals

Moderates' Values	$\overline{X}$ Change	t-test	Radicals' Values	$\overline{X}$ Change	t-test
Terminal Values					
An exciting life	−2.95	−3.13	National security	−2.00	−1.96
Social recognition	−2.40	−2.59	Equality	−1.88	−1.99
			A world at peace	−1.88	−1.85
Instrumental Values					
Obedient	−2.75	−2.26	Couragious	−3.27	−2.99
Helpful	−1.45	−2.64	Imaginative	−1.62	−1.92
			Obedient	−1.25	−1.97

Other value decreases among the radicals may be attributed to the negative effects associated with some of these values during Martial Law. Perhaps the political environment punished radicals more than moderates. Hence, there were marked decreases in such values like national security, equality, and being courageous among the radicals. There may have been another possible reason why the moderates did not significantly change in regard to these politically risky values. Perhaps, their efforts toward inner harmony helped them internalize the values inspite of external threats.

Some findings on the moderate-radical differences do not support Rokeach's values study (1973). In his research, he established a negative relationship between the value of freedom and the Communist political system. He also mentioned that Communists did not put too much importance on being intellectual. These patterns were not supported by the data associated with radical respondents. Even if these respondents were assumed to sympathize with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought, their values were different from the ones claimed by the European data. Survey respondents showed an unusually marked preference for individual freedom and for intellectual activity. The findings suggest that an identical ideology can produce heterogeneous effects across cultures and across historical contexts. It may be difficult to apply Communist-associated stereotypes to the group of local radicals.

When Rokeach (1973) studied the relationship of values to political system, he also found out that terminal values produced more differences than instrumental values. Findings of this research support the discriminating capacity of terminal values. Moderates and radicals were significantly different from each other on a relatively large number of terminal values. Instrumental values less effectively discriminated moderates from radicals. One methodological implication of this finding is that a future psychopolitical study which wishes to be

parsimonious may focus only on the terminal values instrument and drop instrumental values altogether.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although political socialization is usually described as a learning process, most of the past studies had been on current attitudes and behavior. There is a dearth of literature on the antecedents of political orientations or the actual process by which political orientations are internalized (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977). Most researches are one-shot cross-sectional designs and not cut across time points (Renshon, 1977). This research treated political socialization as a learning process occurring between adolescence and late adulthood. Although measurements were taken at one point in time, the respondent also reported his value system of a decade ago in retrospect. This was an attempt to catch dependent variable measures across two time points.

Another limitation of political socialization research is that most of the studies disregarded the socio-political context within which the learning process took place (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977). There seems to be a research preference for establishing uniformities and not differences across culture and historical settings (Renshon, 1977). The historical context can be treated as a variable, not a constant, because a given political movement and its consequential effect on people change in character through history (Gergen & Ullman, 1977). The study considered political environment as one of its main variables, hypothesizing and eventually affirming its significant influence on psycho-political change.

Other political socialization researches have also been limited in terms of their sample selection. Children and "normal" American adults are the usual respondents in political socialization research. Childhood literature are limited in their usefulness in explaining adult political behavior because of the many discontinuities that occur between childhood and adulthood.

studying "normal" American adults leaves out important political subgroups such as political elites, political deviants (Renshon, 1977), and adults from the politically volatile Third World countries. Elites are important since they have more impact on the political system than the ordinary citizens. Covering deviants moves political socialization theory from its conservative focus on stability to an emphasis on sociopolitical change. Finally, adults from the Third World are undergoing political experiences significantly different from their First World counterparts. The study on Filipino activists hits three sampling problems in one sweep since these activists were deviant elites from a Third World country.

This study also contributed to the state of methodology in political socialization research. Past studies replies heavily on the survey questionnaire for two reasons. First, it permitted an assessment of many respondents to a wide range of "constant stimuli." Second, the forced-choice alternatives made data analysis convenient.

However, because the field of political socialization is not yet well travelled, there are a number of validity issues that remain unanswered (Renshon, 1977). This study used Rokeach's value instrument as the main measurement for the focal dependent variable. This instrument, like other political attitude scales, can claim data analysis convenience and constancy of stimuli across respondents. The problem regarding validity was dealt with when the study used case studies as a behavioral check for value change. Thus, it helped assess the construct validity of Rokeach's value instrument. The case study process also helped describe more deeply, beyond survey statistical figures, the qualitative changes that occurred within young student leaders as they grew into adulthood.

The significance of this study lies not only in its research contributions but also in its pragmatic value to certain sectors of our present Philippine society. The new Filipino youth, most of whom were born into a country already ruled by President Marcos, may learn about a point in recent Philippine history when the young were effective agents of political change. The adult political and technocrat world will also benefit from a deeper understanding of the ex-activists. Inspite of their young age, many of the latter are presently holding pivotal positions in government, business, and "subversive" movements. For into the present Philippine politico-technocrat world enter our ex-activists.

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