

Political Psychology in the Philippines: An Update

Cristina Jayme Montiel

and

Ma. Elizabeth J. Macapagal

Ateneo De Manila University

Filipino political psychology studies the psychological processes and behaviors of Filipinos involved in power situations. Due to its context-sensitive nature, the field of political psychology evolves in different ways, depending on the historical and political context within which it is embedded. The historical embeddedness of political psychology is thematic in this review. Philippine political psychology has been enriched by the colorful politico-historical changes in the country. Philippine research from the early 60's until the 1980's shows the close relationship between psychological processes and political situations, in studies on: kinship and political power, political socialization, social conflict, democratic transition, and public opinion surveys. As the new democracy stabilized, new fields of Philippine political psychology developed, such as: Filipino electoral behaviors, political influence of the Church, political personalities, peace psychology, ideological groups, women in politics, corruption, and people's empowerment. The future of Filipino political psychology can be strengthened by teaching more college courses related to this field, building a strong research-based body of knowledge, and mainstreaming the discipline so it becomes less marginalized in the dominant discourses of political science and psychology in the Philippines.

Political psychology examines the psychological processes and behaviors of individuals and groups engaged in power situations. This academic field acknowledges the bi-directional relation between psychological and political phenomenon (Barner-Barry &

Rosenwein, 1985; Hermann, 1986). Political situations are simultaneously causes and effects of psychological processes. Political psychology thus describes both the effect of psychological processes on the political environment, and the influence of a particular political context on the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of its members (Stone & Schaffner, 1988). For example, in understanding political traumas during the Philippines' Martial Law, a political psychological perspective would assess how the Marcosian dictatorship created traumatized individuals, and likewise, how politically traumatized social-influentials shaped the anti-Marcos circumstances that led to the People's Power Revolution of 1986.

Professional Aspects of Political Psychology

Political psychology is fundamentally multi-disciplinary. The discipline traverses units of analysis, from psychology's micro individualistic viewpoint, to political science's emphasis on macro state-level processes. Illustrative of its multidisciplinary orientation, *Political Psychology*, the journal of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), invites contributions from a wide range of disciplinary sources including cultural and psychological anthropology, cognitive psychology, clinical psychology, economics, history, international relations, philosophy, political science, political theory, personality, social psychology, and sociology.

A glance at the membership application form of the ISPP shows a wide variety of interests pursued by political psychologists worldwide. Major areas of interest form a long list of topics that include, among others: public opinion, political socialization, conflict analysis, psychobiography/psychohistory, elite decision-making, political cognition, mass media and communications, political personality types, gender politics, political violence, mass movements, generational politics, leadership and followership, and political affect.

The proliferation of US-based universities that offer degrees in political psychology indicates that the field is growing steadily. Graduate programs in political psychology are offered by the City University of New York, George Washington University, Ohio State Uni-

versity, State University of New York at Stony Brook, University of California at Irvine and Los Angeles, and the University of Minnesota.

Research Methods of Political Psychology

Political psychologists utilize a variety of research methods, ranging from systematic quantitative data to more qualitative research (Hermann, 1986). In the Philippines, influential survey outfits like the Social Weather Stations and Pulse Asia have used quantitative approaches to analyze nationwide political opinion survey data (Mangahas, 1998; Miranda, 1999). Political attitudes have likewise been measured through smaller surveys on political socialization and cynicism (Appleton, 1975; Ortega, 1984; Sicut, 1970, 1976; Youngblood, 1972). Furthermore, cluster analyses on Congressional legislative voting patterns were employed to describe political blocs in Congress right after the People's Power Revolution (Montiel, 1990).

A diverse range of qualitative methods has been employed to study Philippine political psychology. Examples of these are the use of content analysis (Silverman, 1993) to analyze pastoral letters after Edsa (Concepcion, 1992; Carroll, 1995; Montiel, 1988b); personal experience methods (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994) to explain one's own therapy for political traumas (Montiel, 1995a); film and visual analysis (Harper, 1994) for diagnosing end-game bargaining during failed coup attempts (Montiel, 1995b); and case studies (Stake, 1994) developed around in-depth interviews (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Silverman, 1993) to show local ways of political peacemaking (Briones, 1998; Montiel, 1995c, 1997; Montiel & Briones, 1995) and people participation (Zialcita, 1995).

POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE PHILIPPINES: FIRST VERSION

In 1991, an article on Political Psychology in the Philippines was published in the journal of *Political Psychology*, as part of a series of papers on Political Psychology – World Wide (Montiel &

Chiongbian, 1991). The authors surveyed the literature on Filipino psychological processes and behaviors related to local politics. The references included articles from the early 1960's to the democratic-transition era right after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship. This section summarizes the main points of this earlier overview of Political Psychology in the Philippines.

The literature review showed that Filipino scholars were preoccupied with research topics that varied as the political context changed. There were five predominant political conditions each having a corresponding focus of study. The political context and their respective predominant topics of interest were: (a) Pre-martial rule, before 1970 – Kinship system and political power (Hollnsteiner, 1962; Lande, 1968); (b) Early martial rule: 1970-1975 – Socialization; attitudes toward abstract political concepts (Appleton, 1975; Ortega, 1984; Sicat, 1970, 1976; Youngblood, 1972); (c) Middle and late martial rule: 1976-1985 – Political conflict and its effects (Acuna, 1989; Butalid, 1982; Carlos, 1985; Carroll, 1984; Claver, 1984; Decenteceo, 1989a, 1989b; Estrada-Claudio, Bartolome, Aquiling-Dalisay, 1990; Karaos, 1985; Lopez 1987, 1988; Montiel, 1984; Protacio-Marcelino, 1985); (d) People's Power Revolution of 1986 – transition from dictatorship to democracy (Abinales, 1987; Fernandez, 1987; Hernandez, 1987; Hornedo, 1987; Lagmay, 1986; Licuanan, 1987, 1989; Magno, 1986; Montiel, 1986, 1988a, 1989a; 1990; Nebres, 1988) (e) Post People's Power Revolution – Present – Nationwide public opinion surveys (Arroyo, 1989, 1990; Guidote, 1989; Mangahas, 1989; Montiel, 1988b, 1989b ; Montiel & Mendoza, 1990a; 1990b).

Kinship and Political Power

With the awakening of nationalism in the 1960's, social scientists examined how Filipino culture operated on the political level. Hollnsteiner (1962) and Lande (1968) showed that kinship ties affected political party alliances at the small-town level. The alliance system builds on a vertical patron-client relationship (Lande, 1968).

Through the social hierarchy, the politician who controls local resources distributes jobs and emergency money to one's impoverished allies. In turn, the local poor guarantee the politician their voters' loyalties during election time (Hollnsteiner, 1962).

Political Socialization

As martial law took hold of the nation in the early 1970's, social scientists looked at how the authoritarian government's policies and programs influenced the Filipino's political orientations. Researchers examined whether mass media, schools, and the peer group were socializing agents for the Filipino's political dispositions. A number of Philippine empirical investigations during the turbulent period following the First Quarter Storm¹ looked at socialization and at the attitude of cynicism (Appleton, 1975; Sicat, 1970, 1976; Youngblood, 1972). Their findings showed that school teachers provided Filipinos with the most political information (Sicat, 1976). Within the school, a second agent of political socialization was the peer group (Youngblood, 1972). The Filipino family, however, played a vital role in the socialization of political values (Ortega, 1984; Sicat, 1970; Youngblood, 1972). Adolescents saw the Filipino family structure as authoritarian. Furthermore, they did not see themselves carrying on the authoritarian style but instead transforming the family decision-making system into a more democratic system (Sicat, 1976).

Political Psychology of Social Conflict

The ruthlessness of martial law intensified from the mid-70's until the People's Power Revolution in 1986. Research related to political psychology during these years reflect social psychological processes of a society undergoing extreme duress. Social scientists studied conflict and stress at both the personal and societal levels. At the individual level, psychologists worked on stress, coping, and therapy for torture victims, political detainees and their children (Acuna, 1989; Estrada-Claudio et al., 1990; Decentecio, 1989a; Lopez 1987, 1988;

Protacio-Marcelino, 1985). Findings showed that children of political detainees faced both material and psychological problems. They were impoverished and malnourished. Psychologically, they lived in a constant state of stress, fearful of having lost their parents' security and protection. Under constant stress, children of detainees tended to be withdrawn, depressed, and irritable. Their reactions to their detained parent were ambivalent: cynical, yet clinging and over-dependent. Detainees' children found resources to cope with their situation from a variety of sources such as: a democratic lifestyle within their family, and emotional support from their extended family. Another source of healing was spontaneous and therapeutic play with peers inside the detention center (Montiel, 1984).

Through therapeutic sessions and unstructured interviews, Filipino psychologists identified personality and subculture patterns that differentiate detainees and torture victims from other types of psychological clients (Decenteceo, 1989b; Lopez, 1988). Detainees and torture victims are capable of intense social commitments. With their underground experiences, they are used to hardship and have developed their own ways for dealing with stress. Their psychological coping styles are mostly cognitive and action-oriented defenses; affective coping, however, remains undeveloped.

Researchers likewise looked into the dynamics of intra-state conflict on the national level. Such studies covered issues related to social movements and social change (Butalid, 1982; Carlos, 1985; Carroll, 1984; Claver, 1984; Karaos, 1985). Filipinos from the labor sector (Carlos, 1985) and the urban poor groups (Karaos, 1985), perceiving that they were alienated from the predominant power structure, realized that banding together could generate the social power needed for political changes. However, the middle and upper classes of Philippine society joined in transformational social movements only after the assassination of Senator Benigno Aquino in 1983 (Carroll, 1984).

Political Psychology of Democratic Transition

The successful People's Power Revolution of 1986 ushered in a new era of Philippine democracy after 14 years of authoritarian

rule. At this juncture of Philippine history, research relevant to political psychology had to do with the political psychological phenomena of (a) People's Power (Fernandez, 1987; Hornedo, 1987; Licuanan, 1987; Magno, 1986; Montiel, 1989a); (b) political leadership (Abinales, 1987; Hernandez, 1987; Montiel, 1986, 1990); and (c) democratic-authoritarian value systems (Licuanan, 1989; Nebres, 1988).

Lagmay (1986) identifies three aspects of Filipino culture that were activated during the People's Power Revolution. One is the tendency to celebrate, to *fiesta*. Another is the Filipino's ability to improvise during problematic circumstances. A third cultural aspect is the Filipino's Catholic religiosity. Statues of the Virgin Mary "watched over" the unarmed crowd, religious leaders faced the tanks, and crowds lapsed into large-scale prayerful chanting and singing during critical moments of the Revolution (Lagmay, 1986; Montiel, 1988a).

From a social psychological perspective, People's Power involves a psychological change from helpless individuals to a self-confident, empowered group (Licuanan, 1987). One is motivated to join a group of other powerless individuals because the strength in numbers compensates for the feelings of individual political inadequacies.

After the People's Power Revolution, several studies were run on Filipino democratic political leadership. One research investigated the construct of nontraditional political leadership during the Aquino administration (Montiel, 1986). Findings showed that a nontraditional leader came from a middle-class family, was a nationalist, had a democratic political style, had leftist political views, kept promises, held consistently to political views, was not supported by the business sector, was for the masses, did not lie or cheat, was not anticommunist, and was not sexist.

Political scientists likewise looked at the politicization of the military, and their tendency to intervene in the political arena. Before martial law, the military were subordinate to civilian political authority (Hernandez, 1987). However, President Marcos' iron rule

catapulted the military institutions to unprecedented positions of political power. Military officers were permitted to wield a direct yet subordinate role in governance (Abinales, 1987). In some Philippine territories, military leaders displaced the political elites and lorded over local political decision-making.

Research has been carried out on the democratic concepts of Filipinos vis-à-vis their authoritarian culture (Licuanan, 1989; Nebres, 1988). Nebres (1988) points to a mismatch between Philippine culture and the democratic forms inherited from the United States. Firstly, the American style of democracy is adversarial and conflictual, while Filipinos tend to avoid conflict and criticism. Secondly, the American democratic paradigm emphasizes the individual as a rational thinker, yet Filipinos tend to identify themselves in relation to their groups, and are emotionally predisposed. Hence, a democratic form that is rational rather than affective will fail to draw Filipinos into the participatory system (Nebres, 1988). Third, Filipinos accept democracy as a theoretical construct and a romantic ideal, but still have a fundamental cultural tendency toward authoritarianism (Licuanan, 1989).

Public Opinion Surveys

Public opinion surveys proliferated with the rebirth of a more democratic government in the Philippines. The social psychological atmosphere during the post-Marcos era was conducive to political surveys for two reasons. First, citizens were ready to give more spontaneous responses, free of the fears of political reprisal prevalent during the authoritarian regime. Second, the democratic character of the new government made public officials more sensitive to the civilian pulse; the survey outfits provided the needed feedback from the people to the government.

During the first five years after martial law, the Social Weather Stations (SWS) and the Ateneo de Manila University polled Filipinos political attitudes. Using data from their nationwide polls, the SWS published monographs summarizing empirical information on Filipinos' attitudes toward controversial social issues. For example, SWS findings described how Filipinos felt toward the US bases

(Guidote, 1989), the foreign debt problem (Arroyo, 1989), government performance in 1987 and 1988 (Mangahas, 1989), and popular democracy (Arroyo, 1990). Ateneo de Manila University likewise ran a series of nationwide polls on Filipinos' public opinions, and published issue-related findings in a monograph series called the *People's Pulse*. Political attitudes covered in these Ateneo surveys included Filipino's attitudes toward land reform (Montiel, 1988c), the legislature (Montiel, 1989b), President Corazon Aquino (Montiel & Mendoza, 1990a) and the military institutions (Montiel & Mendoza, 1990b).

RESEARCH ON FILIPINO POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE 1990'S

Filipino-style Electoral Behaviors

Research on electoral behaviors stress how political candidates are chosen and how political parties are formed. One such behavior is the "anointing" of a successor by the incumbent president. Before President Corazon Aquino peacefully ended her term in 1992, she chose Fidel V. Ramos to be the presidential candidate of the ruling party. In 1998, it was Ramos' time to anoint a candidate, Jose de Venecia, who this time lost to Joseph Estrada.

In the 1992 and 1998 elections, several candidates ran for president. This multiplicity of candidates reflects an absence of stable political parties (Lande, 1996). This went against the common practice of having only two major candidates in Philippine presidential elections. Moreover, these parties joined coalitions. Even former political enemies became political allies because of these mergers (Tura, 1995).

These electoral trends indicate the lack of focus on platform and issues and continued emphasis on personality politics.

Voting Behavior

Research on the 1992 elections focused mainly on voting behavior. Carroll's research (1994) noted that Filipinos make global judge-

ments on the political situation with little discrimination of individuals or issues. It was also revealed that regardless of socio-economic status, Filipinos tended to vote on the basis of personality and not on issues. They tend to decide early on who to vote for even without knowing the candidates' platform.

Moreover, a major factor was regionalism and language (Lande, 1996). Voters tended to vote for candidates who were similar to them in terms of province and language. This shows the importance of having shared identities with voters and candidates.

Being in showbusiness also became an important factor in the 1992 elections. Actors Joseph Estrada, Ramon Revilla, and Tito Sotto won in the national elections while numerous other actors/actresses won in the local levels (Lande, 1996). This continued to be a factor in the 1998 elections as more actors and actresses sought electoral positions (Tura, 1995).

The role of family as influencing voting behavior was also noted. Majority of families voted for the same candidates (Carroll, 1994). There were also new and unconventional means to reach the voters such as the help of non-government organizations and student volunteers (Lande, 1996; Clarke, 1993).

Continuation of Public Opinion Surveys

Because elections are now held every three years unlike in the Marcos era, this paved the way for a proliferation of public opinion polls (Tirol & Coronel, 1992). These surveys are often commissioned by the candidates themselves to evaluate their chances of winning. The Social Weather Stations (SWS), for instance, was able to successfully predict the outcomes of the 1992 and 1998 elections (Mangahas, 1998). One issue raised in relation to these surveys is whether they influence the public vote. Sandoval (1998) claims that there is no such bandwagon effect based on the data that voting scores do not change as election draws closer.

The SWS also regularly conducts surveys on topics such as self-rated poverty, quality of life, and performance ratings or public satisfaction of government officials. These surveys reported the fluctua-

tion of satisfaction ratings of Aquino and Ramos. Aquino began her term with a net performance rating of 53 % (May 1986) and ended with 7 % (April 1992). Ramos began with 66% (September 1992) and ended with 19% (April 1998). Estrada had a similar satisfaction rating of 60 % when he began his office (Mangahas, 1998).

The 1999 survey by Pulse Asia, a non-partisan and academic group, disclosed that Filipinos perceived a continued deterioration of quality of life after the first year of Estrada's administration (Miranda, 1999). Conversely, the same survey revealed that Filipinos remain optimistic about the future and have continued support for President Estrada. Furthermore, Pulse Asia reported that both former presidents Aquino and Ramos had relatively high trustworthiness ratings (Miranda, 1999).

Social Influence of the Church in Politics

The political role of the church remains a topic of interest and concern (Carroll, 1994). One such interest is whether religion is a factor to consider during elections. In 1992, it did not play a very powerful role (Lande, 1996). Although the religious group Iglesia ni Kristo voted as instructed, their small number did not influence the outcome of the elections. Moreover, Ramos, a Protestant had won in a predominantly Catholic country.

In 1998, it was the first time religious groups were involved in politics in such a blatant way (Laquian, 1998). Several Church groups openly endorsed particular candidates such as the Jesus is Lord movement (for Jose de Venecia), Jesus Miracle Crusade (for Jose de Venecia), and Iglesia ni Kristo (for Joseph Estrada). The El Shaddai movement, a group of millions of Catholics, gave its followers freedom to choose their candidate but many believed that its leader Mike Velarde preferred Joseph Estrada. It was also known that the Catholic Church was against Joseph Estrada.

However, a national exit poll conducted by SWS revealed that Estrada had won in all religious groups (Mangahas, 1998) which is evidence that religious endorsements carried insignificant effects on election outcome.

Aside from research on religion's influence on voting behavior, the Church, particularly the Catholic Church, actively resisted political attempts to amend the constitution. Together with former president Corazon Aquino, they mobilized Filipinos first on September 21, 1997 against Charter Change (Cha-cha) during the Ramos administration, then again on August 21, 1999 against Joseph Estrada's proposed Constitution Correction for Development (Concord).

Another way in which the Catholic Church in particular is said to have a role in politics is through pastoral letters. Concepcion (1992) content analyzed pastoral letters from the Catholic Bishops Conference of The Philippines (CBCP) dealing with elections and constitution. He noted that the message first addressed the politicians themselves, then later on appealed to the Filipino people. The main message of these letters was to succeed in ending old politics. Other issues included the death penalty, kidnapping, peace making, population, and election reforms (Carroll, 1995).

The Catholic Church has actively participated in political peacemaking (Briones, 1998; Montiel & Briones, 1995). The Church's concern for justice, peace, development, and active non-violence is reflected in its preferential option for the poor, involvement in Basic Ecclesiastical Communities (BECs), role as third party intervenor in peacemaking, and participation in peace zones such as in Cantomanyog, Negros Occidental.

The environment, both macro and micro, influenced the predispositions of key individuals and political actors in The Zone of Peace in Cantomanyog (Briones, 1998). The macro-environment factors include the collapse of communist movement in the late 80's and early 90's, the turbulent years of Martial Law, as well as the social teachings of the church. The factors in the microenvironment refer to the social organizational structures of and the interrelationships within the community, which were institutionalized in the Zone of Peace.

Briones' study revealed three political psychological characteristics of the Cantomanyog Peace Zone: 1) transformation of the concept of leadership; 2) new populism - constituent support of leaders

was based not so much on party ideology but on their perceived personal credibility; and 3) insistence of residents to have a key role in the cessation of hostilities by conducting strategic political negotiations with key political actors in insurgency.

Presidential Personalities

Much has been written about Corazon Aquino and the other two post-Marcos presidents, Fidel V. Ramos and Joseph E. Estrada. These include a description of their personalities, leadership styles, and how people perceive them (Abueva & Roman, 1993; Bernas, 1999; Cal, 1997; Carroll, 1994; Crisostomo, 1997; Laquian, 1998; Lobo, 1998).

Corazon C. Aquino's major accomplishment includes restoring democratic institutions after the 20-year Marcos dictatorship. She is known for her leadership in defeating seven coup attempts as well as her leadership in ensuring general, peaceful, and honest elections (Abueva, 1993). Having no political experience except for being the wife of a politician, she "had neither the psychological make-up nor the intellectual background nor the visceral temperament for such a demanding office as the presidency." (Abaya, as cited in Abueva, 1993, p.245) She was likewise criticized for being ambivalent and uneasy about asserting her leadership in partisan political affairs.

She is also described as being intelligent, decent, honest, simple, humble, selfless, sincere, democratic, hard working, religious, and punctual. Her popular leadership style was in direct contrast to the imperial style of the Marcoses. Moreover, she empowered the Filipino people to solve their problems, thus promoting self-reliance and people participation among Filipinos (Abueva, 1993).

Fidel V. Ramos won in the 1992 elections even if 75% of the Filipino electorate did not vote for him. There remained a few hard core Ramos oppositionists comprised of those who perceived him as a Martial Law oppressor and key Marcos man. But majority of the voters viewed Ramos as one of the *pwede na* (will do) among a lack-luster list of candidates (Bernas, 1999, p.5). Those who voted for him perceived him as bringing stability and continuity, as well as loyalty to democratic institutions (Carroll, 1994).

As a president, Ramos was often described as a man of vision and action, peacemaker, and statesman (Cal, 1997; Lobo, 1998). He preferred a hands-on leadership style, and was a workaholic, beginning his day at 4:00 am. He was an expert communicator, was meticulous, preferred conciliation to confrontation, exhibited grace under pressure, was assertive, and had a sense of humor. Initially, people perceived Ramos as a weak leader in the mold of Cory Aquino, but he was able to overcome this misperception (Crisostomo, 1997). In the end, there was a favorable evaluation of his presidency. A Social Weather Stations survey revealed that 65% benefited directly from the Ramos administration (Lobo, 1998) while the Pulse Asia survey disclosed a +39 net trustworthiness rating for Ramos (Miranda, 1999).

For Joseph Estrada, the "stand up and fight for the poor" and "common man" votes made him win in the vice presidential race in 1992 (Carroll, 1994). He was able to maintain this image in 1998 with 40% of the electorate voting for him. An SWS survey revealed that those who voted for him for president perceived him as pro-poor, approachable, decisive, and honest, having never been involved in corruption (Laquian, 1998).

Joseph Estrada is described as a complex person. He neatly compartmentalizes his life (i.e., his life as actor is separate from his family life and politics). He is also instinctive rather than conceptual or methodological in making decisions. He bases his judgements on personal experience. He is nationalistic, listens to advice, and is loyal. He is not openly religious but not averse to religious rituals. He is said to become very moody especially when tired, harassed or pressured (Laquian, 1998).

Filipino Peace Psychology

The Aquino, Ramos, and Estrada administrations can be considered as transition periods out of dictatorship. Being a new democracy, the Philippines continues to experience political changes and internal political conflicts.

Major political changes after the EDSA Revolution included the weakening of the Philippine Communist party due to tactical errors

and seriously destructive infighting, and a general lowering of the red scare among the citizenry (Montiel, 1997). These developments in the local arena gave rise to changes in politics such as increased democratic space for and confidence in the potency of prodemocracy movements. The military became subject to civilian rule as civilian leaders gained legitimacy.

This political context gave rise to several research studies on conflict and peacemaking in the Philippines. These studies focused on the meaning of peace (Clemena, 1995; Ferrer, 1997; Garcia, 1994), attitudes toward peace and violence (Perez, 1994), peaceful conflict resolution (Montiel, 1995a; Montiel, 1995b; Montiel 1997; Montiel & Briones, 1995), collective political violence (Gonzales-Intal, 1991), peace education (Montiel, 1996), peace organization (Ferrer, 1997; Garcia, 1994), and political trauma (Montiel, in press).

Meaning of peace. Peace is more than the absence of war. It includes justice, respect for life, equality, total well-being, and total human development (Garcia, 1994; Ferrer, 1997).

A framework for peace was developed based on a survey among Filipinos on the meaning of peace (Clemena, 1995). This framework describes the connotative meaning of peace among Filipinos – that is, the different images that are linked together and to peace. The categories of the framework include God, oneself, others, one's nation, and the world. Focusing on the national dimension of peace, Filipinos perceive peace as having an awareness of the nation's goals and working towards national development. Moreover, peace comes from service to one's country and striving for equality and justice, progress, and unity.

Attitude toward peace and violence. A factor analysis was conducted to identify underlying dimensions of attitudes toward peace and violence (Perez, 1994). The study revealed three dimensions: power factor (wealth, force, respect), recognition of other (time, patience, listening), and justice (social equity). Gender was found to be significantly related to peace and violence attitudes with women having more peaceful tendencies than men. Socio-economic status

was also a significant factor with those in the higher socio-economic status having more peaceful attitudes.

Peaceful conflict resolution. Political conflict in the Philippines is expressed in the electoral arena (election campaigns, legislative involvement, constitutional involvement, and constitutional amendments.), street politics (rallies, marches, strikes), and underground activities (armed encounters, city-based bombings, arson, coups d'etat) (Montiel, 1995c). With such a violent context, Filipinos have begun to experiment with local ways of creating political peace.

Four characteristics of peaceful conflict resolution were identified after gathering data on peace bargaining during coup attempts. These are smooth interpersonal harmony, intense emotions, personalized trustworthiness of the intermediary, and Catholic-influenced interventions.

Throughout her six-year term, Aquino faced seven military revolts. Montiel analyzed the bargaining processes of the three military uprisings that concluded with the active intervention of peace emissaries (Montiel, 1995b). These coups included the takeover of Channel 7 in 1987 (Operation Noel – no elections), the largest coup attempt in 1989 and the uprising called Codename Freedom in 1990 which took place in Northern Mindanao. The parties in the peace bargaining process involved the Aquino government on one side, and the coup leaders composed of two military blocks on the other side. The anti-state camp included the Marcos loyalists, fighting for the comeback of President Marcos, and a military rebel group known as RAM (Reform the Armed Forces Movement), who were displeased with the Aquino administration.

Three external factors were determined to push military rebels to yield through negotiation. These were the rebels' strategic military failure, depletion of internal and external rebel resources, and obvious government threat to crush the rebellion after an approaching decline.

Teams of local peace intermediaries included politically biased mediators and church representatives perceived to be neutral. Crucial to the bargaining process were the coup participants' percep-

tions of the third parties' trustworthiness and political potency. Moreover, there were several stages of bargaining for surrender, each with varying messages, affective states, and interpersonal communication processes. The stages included actions such as contact with the third party, mediators' entry into rebel territory, cathartic griping by rebels, presentation of rebel demands, response of mediators to these demands, joint acceptance of agreement, exit of rebels out of their territory, and face saving yielding to the public at large. Two characteristics marked the exchange of messages during peace bargaining. First, signals went through a combination of actions, words, and nonverbal behavior. Second, the content of messages contained a mixture of threats and promises (Montiel, 1995b).

Two case studies were conducted in Eastern Samar and North Cotabato to determine the politico-psychological dimensions of peacemaking (Montiel, 1997; Montiel & Briones, 1995). This peace process was citizen-based utilizing unarmed efforts of communities in conflict to stop armed encounters between government troops and the New People's Army within their territories. Five socio-psychological steps emerged in the peacemaking process. These were (1) experiencing a history of political violence, such as the ambush of a close friend; (2) utilizing one's position of social influence to stop the shooting; (3) drafting a peace document, in cooperation with as many key people and groups; (4) implementing the peace document; and (5) establishing efficient livelihood projects to address the problem of poverty among the community members (Montiel, 1997).

Changes in the international and local political contexts contributed to the successful outcome of province-level peacemaking. Such contextual transformations include the demise of the Cold War, the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship, the People Power revolution, and the removal of the US bases in the Philippines (Montiel, 1997; Montiel & Briones, 1995).

Research findings indicate that Philippine peacemaking can be enhanced by local creative ways of discussion and direct trial-and-error practice among political and military groups, and actively sup-

porting peace-oriented local community leaders in their political bids for electoral victory and peace efforts (Montiel & Briones, 1995).

Collective political violence. Gonzales- Intal (1991) studied collective political violence or the collective attacks by groups within a political community against a political regime. Examples of these are student activism, street demonstrations, and internal guerilla warfare during Martial law. After the People's Power Revolution, there were the labor unrest, strikes, and coup attempts.

Collective violence is a result of sharp discontinuities or changes in a political community. Relative deprivation can explain collective violence of coups during the Aquino administration. The RAM boys were discontented with the lack of power but on the other hand, popular discontent was mild. There was a misperception that the Aquino government owed her position to RAM. Moreover, Aquino was perceived to have failed to live up to her promises which resulted in this discontent.

Gonzales-Intal suggested several ways for the government to minimize collective violence such as: maintaining an equity of benefits of economic progress, not promising more than what the government can deliver, decentralization, having strong value formation, promoting military-justice and punishment, following the proper military promotion process, and avoiding media sensationalism.

Peace education. Montiel (1996) likewise studied organizations that conduct peace education. It was found that Philippine peace education focuses on intrasociety forces i.e., the haves vs. have-nots. Moreover, peace education is affected by the political environment. It is more an effect rather than a cause of contextual changes. The meaning of peace in these organizations has a strong politico-economic dimension. Social conflict is a main concern of organizations doing peace education.

Peace organizations. Several Philippine social movements fight against injustice, oppression, and senseless violence in order to restore peace (Garcia, 1994).

Ferrer (1997) studied peace organizations in the Philippines. It was noted that 59 out of the 102 groups in the study were set up during the post Marcos era, which reflects a boom in NGO peace activities after the People's Power Revolution. These organizations' activities include peace constituency building, conflict reduction, conflict settlement, peace research and training, and social development work. Moreover, it was also revealed the no new political party has peace as its platform.

Political trauma. Montiel (2000) studied political trauma. She proposed that situational issues need to be addressed because political environment and psychological well being interact. Four context-related propositions were presented. In a protracted war, a type of intrastate armed conflict that extends over long periods of time, traumas are not only highly intense and episodic, but are also prolonged and systemic. The second proposition is that political context is not only a source of trauma, but also of healing. Political transformations toward a more democratic atmosphere facilitated collective psychological healing. For instance, Filipinos now feel more open to express their views. Third, psychological recovery occurs in unsafe and impoverished contexts. In protracted conflicts, many trauma survivors are not only victims but also transformers of political context: the context-survivors causal relationship is bi-directional. **Those who experience political traumas are usually individuals with leadership skills thus, they are likewise active shapers of the political environment.**

Ideological Groups

Attitudes and values of various ideological groups were also the focus of research (Montiel, 1991; Clamor, 1991).

Values of Filipino student activists of two generations were studied (Montiel, 1991). These were the former student leaders of Martial Law and the Edsa youth protesters. The leaders of Martial Law valued daringness and excitement while Edsa leaders considered control and personal tranquility as more important. The latter reflects

the active non-violence theme of the Edsa revolution. In general, six central values were discovered: control vs. daring, attached affection vs. detached intellectualism, spiritual kindness vs. individual ambition, personal relationships vs. socio-political relationship, personal tranquility vs. exciting recognition, self-pleasure and transcendental.

Clamor (1991) sampled 95 respondents from members of the extreme left, left of center, and center of the political spectrum and noted that all have strong democratic tendencies. The left of center groups obtained the highest scores. A factor analysis also revealed three dimensions of democratic attitudes. These are conservative-progressive tensions, political participation and distribution of resources, and diversity. Ideology was found to be significantly related to conservative-progressive tensions while sector was significantly related to political participation and distribution of resources. Ideology and sector were significantly related to diversity. Moreover, gender and age were not significantly related to democratic attitudes.

Women in Politics

The rise to power of President Corazon Aquino and Vice president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo paved the way for research focusing on the role of women in politics.

Tapales (1994) reported that women continue to be a minority in the political arena. In the 1992 elections, only four out of 24 senators are women, while women held only 10% of the House of Representatives as well as local positions. Moreover, there was an observation that female politicians tended to be associated with male politicians i.e., these women are family members, either wife or daughter of politicians. For example, Corazon Aquino is the widow of Senator Benigno Aquino while Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo is the daughter of former president Diosdado Macapagal.

Despite these, women have continued to be active in other forms of political activities such as in the case of lobbying by cause-oriented

groups. A majority of these women have limited themselves to voting and joining rallies only for fear that in seeking public office, they would put themselves higher than their husbands (Tapales, 1994).

Local Governance and People Empowerment

A new politics, which is a synthesis between people power and old politics has emerged in the 1990s (Clarke, 1993). Several shifts and trends have been observed. First, the local government code gave more power to local officials, such as mayors and governors (Lacaba & Coronel, 1995; Nebres, 1995). Thus, these local positions became more lucrative maintaining the power of the warlords and local politicians. The patronage system which was very evident during the Marcos regime declined a little in the presidential and senatorial level but remained on the local level (Clarke, 1993).

Majority of the Ninth House of Representatives belong to traditional political families, are landowners, and have clear interests in large corporations (Clarke, 1993). Business and professional connections evidently arose as potential conflicts of interest (Gutierrez, 1994).

The patron-client or landlord-tenant framework has remained through the years (Lacaba & Coronel, 1995). The exchange relationship or instrumental friendship is now seen as indicative of democratization. Thus, in the 1990s studies of clans and families again became intellectually fashionable. Lacaba and Coronel (1995) conducted 5 case studies of clans, bosses, and warlords in five different areas. They noted that political violence was still evident in the 1995 elections, which reflects the continued dominance of clans at the local level. Nepotism and corruption were likewise observed.

People participation also became a trend. Political participation implies achieving social transformation through the exercise of power (Zialcita, 1995). It is a people's struggle against exploitation and oppression, requiring the redistribution of the access to economic resources as well as access to existing scientific knowledge.

Empowerment is a dynamic process of increasing the social power of a marginalized group or class. After Marcos, wider demo-

cratic space provided new opportunities for people's participation in both electoral and non-electoral arenas. Ramos ran on a platform of people empowerment. The Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs conducted four case studies of people's participation in local governance (Zialcita, 1995). The case studies revealed that variables such as the organization ability of the NGO, opportunity provided by the government, and receptiveness of the local officials affect the effective participation of the NGOs and POs.

Ortigas (1994) studied the dynamics of empowerment and the culture of poverty by analyzing the causes of poverty in Negros Occidental. She conducted an evaluation research, comparing farms with and without training. The conduct of the human development training included self-awareness, managing human relations, team building and leadership building and was given prior to technical and livelihood project development training. Research findings showed that those who received the empowerment training were significantly better in terms of productivity, social behavior, and level of community development dimensions.

Political Psychology of Corruption

Corruption in government is not just an individual act but a social act (Coronel, 1998). Social interactions in government offices are affected by corruption. Career advancement and duty-related performance depend on being "one of the boys." The low probability of being caught reinforces corrupt actions, which seem to be embedded in hierarchical structures of bureaucracy. This results in low morale and inefficiency of government workers.

Election time also gives rise to possible corruption because the need for political patronage becomes intense (Miranda, 1996).

PHILIPPINE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE NEXT MILLENIUM: AREAS OF GROWTH

Philippine political psychology describes psychological processes and behaviors associated with rapid political changes in the nation.

Explanations cover issues such as the psychological process of social conflict, democratic transitions, Filipino-style elections, political personalities, local empowerment, church and politics, women in politics, public attitudes, political trauma, and the political psychology of corruption. The field has been enriched by multidisciplinary contributions of Filipino social scientists. For example, anthropologists looked at political culture; political scientists studied mass behaviors in large-scale political events; economists ran public opinion surveys.

There are several growth areas for Filipino political psychology in the coming millenium. First, political psychologists can begin to teach courses related to this field. Because of the multidisciplinary nature of the discipline, a variety of departments may host the course, as for example, the Department(s) of Psychology, Political Science, Sociology, Public Administration. As a springboard for teaching guides, one may find useful the Political Psychology syllabi available on the home page of the International Society of Political Psychology at <http://ispp.org>. Political psychologists wanting to specialize in peace-and-conflict, may likewise want to visit the home page of the Division of Peace Psychology, of the American Psychological Association, at <http://moon.pepperdine.edu/~mstimac/Peace-Psychology.html>. Filipino teachers, however, should be prepared to adapt their courses to the politico-psychological terrain of Philippine politics.

Courses related to political psychology can likewise be housed in multidisciplinary academic institutes as well as in nonformal training centers. For example, university centers for peace and conflict, leadership, gender issues, and local governance may want to host certificate courses related to psychological processes and behaviors relevant to these social issues. Furthermore, training institutions in government, churches, and nongovernment organizations may also be interested in sponsoring seminars related to their particular areas of interest, such as the topics of political forgiveness-with-justice, social leadership, political culture and corruption, and conflict resolution.

The coming years may see Filipino political psychology grow as a research-based discipline, profiting from the rigor of international and domestic scientific methods, yet intellectually sensitive to the differences between Western and nonWestern politico-psychological phenomena. The two-way causal relation between politics and psychology is downplayed by analyses construed by American academicians. US political psychology – perhaps with a bias toward the importance of individual potency – tends to emphasize the effects of psychological processes on political circumstances, and not vice-versa (Deutsch, 1983; Stone & Schaffner, 1988). Western political psychology is heavily cognitive, emphasizes secular and individualistic behaviors in the political arena, and sees the legitimate government as the primary arena for political power. Political psychologists from the Philippines and other Third World societies as well, may want to explore the strong affective overtures of political decision-making, look into the religious tones of political action, appreciate the primacy of collective movements during transition periods, and recognize that a large amount of political powers emanate from semi or even non-legitimate groups that operate in the streets or in the underground. All of these differences, and perhaps many more, can make political psychology in the Philippines vibrant and innovative.

Cutting-edge literature in particular areas of political psychology can emanate from the Philippines and its neighboring Asian countries as well. For example, in this particular region of the world, innovations in the psycho-political field are being made on subject matters such as: the political psychology of democratic transitions; religion, spirituality and political culture; the phenomenon of people's power; political transformation from the grassroots; women leaders who successfully challenge authoritarian governments. The list of politico-psychological inventions goes on and on.

Mainstreaming, especially in the mother disciplines of political science and psychology, can be a third area of growth in the coming millenium. Mainstreaming entails political psychologists' active involvement in organizational activities of the Psychologi-

cal Association of the Philippines (PAP) and the Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA), in order to reach a larger number of Filipino professionals in these fields. Two years ago, the PAP established the political psychology committee. In the 1999 PAP annual convention, this newly-established committee presented the first symposium on political psychology with issues such as peace building (Avila-Sta. Maria, 1999); grassroots empowerment (Guanzon-Lapena, 1999), and therapy for children in war situations (Marcelino, 1999).

In summary, the coming millenium opens up much space for the growth of Filipino political psychology. Firstly, individuals are welcome to teach political-psychology related courses in academic institutions and in other nonformal training centers in the country. Teaching may help entice more individuals to participate in the building of the discipline, and may likewise develop the next generation of Filipino political psychologists. Secondly, Filipino political psychologists are encouraged to build the research-base of political psychology, especially along the cutting-edge issues arising in this region of the world. Finally, efforts may be exerted to mainstream the discipline, so that it becomes less marginalized from the dominant discourses of political science and psychology in the Philippines. Mainstreaming involves the active participation of individuals with politico-psychological orientations, in professional organizations of psychologists and political scientists.

With the strengthening of the field of political psychology, perhaps the human face in politics will gradually emerge as part of the dominant discourses of academic fields that were either insensitive to political contexts or unmindful of the human processes associated with political power.

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NOTES

1. Militant students, farmers and workers demonstrated against Marcos during the first quarter of 1971 because they perceived him as angling for a third term. They were violently dispersed by the military and this event was known as the "First Quarter Storm."

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