ISSN 0115-3153

Volume 44
Issue No. 1
June 2011

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

In this issue

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY Volume 44, Issue No. 1 June 2011

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

Aims and Scope

The *Philippine Journal of Psychology* (*PJP*) is an international refereed journal published biannually by the Psychological Association of the Philippines. It is the flagship journal of psychology in the Philippines, and its principal aim is to promote psychological studies in the Philippines and psychological studies of the Filipino people. The *PJP* publishes articles representing scholarly works of Philippine psychologists, articles on psychological studies conducted with Filipino participants and/or conducted in Philippine society, cross-cultural studies including a Philippine sample, and articles of general interest to psychologists studying and working with Filipino people.

The cover of the *Philippine Journal of Psychology* was designed by Vanessa Laura S. Arcilla.

Subscriber Information

Philippine Journal of Psychology is published twice a year (June and December) and is available for subscription on a calendar-year basis only. Individual issues may also be purchased. All subscriptions and purchase orders should be sent to The Secretariat of the Psychological Association of the Philippines via email to pap_1962_08@yahoo.com or by post to Psychological Association of the Philippines, 2/F Philippine Social Science Center, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City 1101 Philippines.

Philippine Journal of Psychology

Volume 44, Number 1
June 2011

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 2011, 44 (1), 1-22

Social Representations of Mining Conflict in Davao Oriental

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This study looked at how mining conflict was socially represented in Davao Oriental using the lens of Social Representation Theory. Thematic analysis was used to examine 111 articles published in print and on the internet over nine years from 2001 to 2009, and transcripts of interviews with key players of the mining conflict. Social representations of the conflict centered on three disputes—conflict between pro and anti mining viewpoints, conflict between two mining firms, and conflict among indigenous peoples living in the mining area—which were all embedded on one huge mining conflict. Key players used protector metaphors to objectify and symbolize their understanding of the conflict. Narratives about the mining discord evolved across time.

Keywords: social representation, mining conflict, polemic representation, hegemonic representation, symbolic coping

> *In today's commercialized culture, love is often expressed through gifts of 18-karat gold rings, pendants or necklaces. The means employed in the extraction of the gem, however, are far from romantic (Mercurio, 2004, par 1).*

Mining or the extraction of minerals from the earth plays a significant role in societies (Ballesteros, 1997). Minerals provide people with some of life's necessities such as farm tools, communication devices, and means of transportation (*Mining Revisited*, 1999). While the mining industry is commended for the vital role it plays in a country's economy (Colley, 2002; Cruz, 1999), it is also the recipient of a storm of protests from different social groups because of its impacts on the economy (Evans, Goodman, &

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Lansbury, 2002), the environment (Ballesteros, 1997), and the affected communities (Peeters, 1999). Indeed, mining has elicited opposing views and actions from different groups of people. Clearly, there is conflict in mining.

An innovative way of investigating social issues such as mining conflict is by using the lens of Social Representation Theory (SRT). This theory provides access to public minds as it focuses on shared cognitive understanding about matters that are important to members of society (Moscovici, 1988). Thus, its approach is different from social psychology's mainstream thinking (Duveen, 2000; Semin, 1995) whose emphasis is on individual cognition (Wagner & Mecha, 2003). With Moscovici rejecting the individualistic versions of cognition (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005), the theory's line of attack swings the theoretical spotlight from formal properties of the mental representation of an individual to the properties of the immediate social context (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2001). The theory is most efficient in studying social issues because of its attendance to dynamic and collective social knowledge (Lahlou, 2001). Hence, this study used the theory as a lens in looking at people's shared understanding of one social issue that is relevant to Philippine society today – mining conflict.

Mining Conflict in Davao Oriental: A Brief Overview

The Philippines has rich natural resources (Cruz, 1999) that remain largely untapped (Peeters, 1999). One of its mining sites is the Pujada Nickel Mining Project located in Mati, Davao Oriental. It is one of the Philippine government's priority mining projects.

Contentious positions. Opposition to mining in the Philippines is strong (Catipay, 2008) because of the tradeoffs involved in mineral extraction (Martin, 1994). Unsurprisingly, Pujada Nickel Mining Project also faces strong opposition from several social groups in the community, causing conflict in the area. The conflict led to the attack of the mining site by some unidentified gun men and torching of some of the mining equipment (Tesiorna, 2008). Several people also went out to the streets to protest against the project. And a non-government organization had withdrawn from the area because their employees' lives have been threatened.

Key players. The key actors of the mining conflict are the government, the mining companies, the nongovernment organizations, the academe, and the members of the community where Pujada Nickel Project is located. The government here refers to the different government agencies like the national and local government, the Department of Environment and Natural

Resources, the Mines and Geosciences Bureau, and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. The mining companies involved are the Filipino mining company, Asiaticus Management Corporation or Amcor, and the Australia-based BHP Billiton. Nongovernment organizations are those groups that are actively doing antimining advocacy in the area. Academe refers to educational institutions that are involved in research and extension activities in the area and in educating the community members about the realities of mining. And the people in the community are those living around and within the mining area that may or may not belong to any indigenous or *lumad* group.

Social Representation Theory and Mining Conflict

The theory of social representation proves useful when framing and understanding issues that society finds relevant, such as mining conflict. We now sketch five points that show the value of Social Representation Theory in understanding mining conflict.

Plurality of meaning. Of late, there has been a growing interest on how different social groups view the consequences of large scale mining. This shows that various segments in society may have a range of representations of any social issue (Howarth, Foster, & Dorrer, 2004; Joffe, 1995). As Moscovici (1988) has stressed, societies do not have a uniform representation but that there are a multiplicity of representations and diversity within a group. SRT is flexible enough to accommodate variances in groups, culture, and information spreading in a particular society.

Moscovici (1988) elaborated three types of social representations: hegemonic, emancipated, and polemical. *Hegemonic* representations are representations shared by all members of a group, reflecting their agreement on the object of representation. *Emancipated* representations are representations of different subgroups that vary yet complement one another (Moscovici, 1988). *Polemical* representations are antagonistic representations that are usually spawned in the course of social discord. They convey incompatibility (Ben-Asher, 2003). While hegemonic representations infiltrate the prevailing social construction of reality, polemical representations, on the other hand, challenge these constructions (Howarth, 2006).

Group interactions and representations. A tailings spill which damages the environment and the livelihood of the people in an area could create a stir, causing the emergence of public and private discourses. The incident can be picked up by media, community members may protest against the company, or several blogs may come out on the internet about it. Here,

we can see that society is a public field of tensions and differences where social groups struggle to propose their views (Jovchelovitch, 2001). Through their debates, people deliberate and interpret a social issue (Wagner, 1998) and make sense of the current problem (Philogene & Deaux, 2001). It is through this process of social elaboration and collective sharing that social representations are hatched and developed (Duveen, 2000; Wagner, 1998).

On threat and coping. Social issues usually emerge when an unexpected event happens. For instance, a tailings spill from a large mining company raises issues concerning the environment, the people's livelihood, and the viability of large scale mining. This incident may upset the life-course of social groups. Any event that interrupts their normal way of life is something unfamiliar, and can be considered threatening (Ben Asher, Wagner, & Orr, 2006), thus has to be coped with symbolically (Wagner et al., 1999).

Symbolic coping is any activity of a social group that endeavors to make sense of any new phenomenon in order to preserve the integrity of their worldview (Wagner, Kronberger, & Seifert, 2002). This process is in the heart of SRT for this shared coping is what the framework aims to describe and explain (Wagner et al., 1999). The theory is concerned with burrowing for explanations in the advent of the occurrence of a novel experience (Hewstone & Augostinos, 1998). Symbolic coping involves two processes: anchoring and objectification (Jodelet, 2006).

Anchoring accounts for the "integration of new information to the system of knowledge and meaning that have been present before" (Jodelet, 2006, p. 7). This process transforms the group's representation of an object and makes it a category of conversation (Gaskell, 2001). Objectification, on the other hand, is constructing an icon, metaphor, or trope that will symbolize the new phenomenon or idea (Wagner et al., 1999). It is the process of turning the abstract into something that is concrete or tangible (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

On social construction. People's knowledge about a social issue is socially derived through their communication (Moloney, Hall, & Walker, 2005). However, social representations are not just shared knowledge about events; they are also the process by which reality is constructed by a social group (Philogene & Deaux, 2001). When people make sense of their world together, the meaning they come up with may not be right or wrong relative to any given reality, but rather it is what is real to them. The same social object may obtain divergent meanings to different social groups in different settings and periods (Jovchelovitch, 2001). For instance, the very same human rights case in a mining area in Romania may obtain a completely different meaning when understood by Filipinos or by Peruvians. Or the

same tailings spill incident which occurred in the '80s may be understood or responded to very differently today.

People collectively construct meaning of any social object. They attach traits and significance to an object which, then, makes the object a part of their social world. The interpretation that people make about a social object is distinct to their group (Wagner et al., 1999). In this respect, SRT is adopting a constructivist perspective (Moscovici, 1988). It allows groups to come up with "intersubjectively shared means for understanding and communicating" (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990, p. 2), granting them their own code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying objects (Moscovici, 1973, as cited in Duveen & Lloyd, 1990). Using the theory will thus allow a researcher to capture the complexity of a social groups' meaning-making or world-making (Joffe, 2003).

Contexts and representations. Closely related to the notion presented earlier is the idea of representation as culture-embedded. Knowledge about social objects is formed by a collective group in such a way that if circumstances were different, their representations may also be different (Duveen, 2000). Representations can be explicated only in the surrounding conditions of a social event (Levin-Rozalis, 2000) and are embedded in a group's cultural fabric (Philogene, 2001). For instance, the meanings a certain group collectively creates about the entry of a large mining company to the community would depend on their shared beliefs, values, customs, and practices.

SRT proposes that frequent social interactions serve as a background in which understanding about a social object is constructed. The explanations used to apprehend a social object are anchored on a gamut of factors relating to the culture of the group. People's thoughts, feelings, and perceptions are shaped by their culture and tradition. They are intricately linked (Moscovici, 2001). Using Social Representation Theory, then, allows for examination of knowledge in its own conditions and contexts (Howarth et al., 2004).

METHODS

Having discussed the usefulness of the theory in understanding social issues, we now use the same theoretical lens to explore the issue of mining conflict. We seek to capture the social meanings of mining conflict in Davao Oriental. To attain our goal, we used two strategies: media analysis and interviews.

Study 1: Media Analysis of Mining Conflict in Davao Oriental

Study 1 examined social representations found in the media. We collected articles published in print and on the worldwide web and analyzed the data using thematic analysis.

Sample

One hundred eleven articles were taken from three daily newspapers and from the websites of three of the key players of the mining conflict—government, nongovernment organizations, and mining company (i.e., BHP Billiton)—published between 2001 and 2009. It was in 2001 that Amcor and BHP Billiton signed a memorandum of understanding; and as of 2009, when the study was conducted, conflict was still going on in the area. The articles were news, features, columns, reports, letters, and blogs. Of the 111, 45% were from the local newspaper, 32% from the national newspaper, 11% from the government websites, 10% from the nongovernment organization websites and 2% from the mining company. Most of these articles were published in 2008 (54%) and 2009 (23%).

Data Analysis

Following our theoretical framework, our analysis involved identifying cognitive social representations as well as the process through which social meanings were formed (e.g., symbolic coping, communication process, ways of meaning-making, and context). From the news and column articles, we only included in the analysis statements uttered by persons belonging to groups that were identified as key players of the conflict. These uttered statements may be quoted statements or statements that the media specifically indicated that came from the source (e.g., "The court declared...," "In a public statement..."). Opinions of the writers were excluded from the analysis. Articles that came from websites of specific groups were taken as the group's utterance about the issue (e.g., CAFOD letter for BHP Billiton, government press release).

Study 2: Interviews: An In-depth Picture

Study 2 examined social representations in the individual minds of the key players of the mining conflict. We employed interview as method of

collecting our data and used the interview transcripts as the texts for our thematic analysis.

Participants

We conducted 10 interviews with residents of Davao Oriental who came from the academe, government, mining corporations, mining community, and nongovernment organizations. We chose as respondents those who were familiar with the mining circumstance in the province and/or had direct involvement with the mining industry by virtue of their work, place of residence, and/or their advocacy. This was to ensure that the selected interviewees were ones who could give the most information needed in the study.

Data Analysis

We only had one main question during the interviews: *What is the story of mining conflict in Mati, Davao Oriental?* All interviews were audio-recorded. Using multilingual approach in collecting data, all participants were allowed to talk freely in English or the local language to encourage them to communicate in whichever language they were most comfortable with. As in Study 1, our analysis involved identifying cognitive social representations as well as the process through which social meanings were formed (e.g., symbolic coping, communication process, ways of meaning-making, and context).

RESULTS

Findings of our study showed that social meanings that people construct about mining conflict in Davao Oriental center on three kinds of dispute. The first conflict centered on the contentious views about local mining—one view favored mining whereas the other was opposed to it. The second was the conflict between the two mining companies operating in the area. The third conflict was about the dispute among different *lumad* groups in the community.

The results of the study also showed that social representations found in both the media and in the individual minds were similar. We found the same themes in the interviews, as well as in the articles published both on the internet and in print. We initially planned to present the results of each

of our two studies separately; but because both generated the same information, we decided to just combine and analyze them as a single text. This section of our paper focuses on the three aforementioned themes. In the last part of this section, we discuss the development of the three discords across time.

Table 1 presents the summary of social representations of mining conflict in Davao Oriental. The columns of Table 1 display the three disputes, whereas the rows show the representations. Thus, for each cell, one can see the social representations (content and process) for each of the three disputes.

Contentious Viewpoints: Pro Versus Antimining

The first of the three disputes contained in the social representation of the mining conflict in Davao Oriental was the contentious viewpoints about local mining. One viewpoint approved of mining and the other resisted it.

Development versus destruction. The promining perspective was of the opinion that the entry of the mining industry would provide economic development, thus saving the people from poverty. The antimining perspective, on the other hand, showed that mining would only bring destruction: destroy the forest, cause pollution, and damage the coastal resources. The harm it brings is irreversible and irreparable.

The promining view presented the environment as that which can be protected through government regulation and through the company's responsible mining practices. The antiming view, however, showed that there is no such thing as responsible mining and that mining is ultimately a threat to the people's lives.

The promining view was in the opinion that people in the community approved of mining, and thus gave their free, prior, and informed consent. However, the antimining side showed that majority of the people in the community were really opposed to the project. This view argued that the consent process was seriously flawed because the authority of the indigenous leader who gave the consent was questionable and the members of the community who were identified as antimining were either excluded from consultations. People were not properly informed about the potential impacts of nickel mining. Antimining view contended that people in the community were offered bribes to support the mining project. However, the promining side denied this saying that what the mining company gave the people in the area was actually a part of the company's corporate social responsibility.

The way to a discourse: From rural tigum-tigum to the cyber highway. Since mining discord was a social issue that affected the members

Table 1
Social Representations of Mining Conflict in Davao Oriental

	Contentious viewpoints: Pro versus antimining	Intracorporate Conflict: Amcor versus BHP Billiton	Intergroup dispute: *Lumad* versus *Lumad*
Cognitive representations	Development versus Destruction	Rift between two mining firms	A fight for one's rights
Group interactions	The way to a discourse: from rural *tigum-tigum* to the cyber highway	The way to a discourse: court hearings and corporate meetings	The way to a discourse: traditional rural public discourses
Symbolic coping	Anchoring on past events and objectification by metaphors	Faceoff: David versus Goliath	Foreigners are "intruders"
Context, meaning-making	Conflict over differing values and perceptions	Corporate legal battle with a political twist	Tribal dispute

CONTENT

PROCESS

of the community, several public and private discourses had transpired. People in the community came together for *tigum-tigum* or informal meetings to discuss the issue. There were also dialogues, consultations, and fora to discuss the pros and cons of mining in the area.

Other avenues in which the people were able to express their views and elaborate on the issue were through electronic mails, petitions, protest actions, campaigns, and lobbying in the Congress for an alternative mining bill. There were also media-mediated conversations in which different social groups exchanged opinions in print, on television, and on the internet. Other conversations were done through mobile phones.

Anchoring on past events and objectification by metaphors. To help manage the unfamiliar, the people used anchoring by trying to make sense of their present dilemma based on their knowledge about experiences of people in other places who were in the same situation as they were. For instance, the antimining perspective articulated a possible future similar to other areas where natural resources were greatly damaged because of mining incidents. Those who were antimining believed that they would endure similar misfortune if mineral extraction in the province would push through.

The actors of the mining conflict also employed objectification to comprehend their current circumstance by using figures of speech. For instance, some antimining groups claimed they were being "kept in the dark" by the mining companies by not being transparent about the potential impacts of the project. They believed that they were only given hope but were not provided with sufficient information about the long-term effects of mining.

The situation of the people in the community was described by those opposed to mining as *"kapit sa patalim"* (clutching a knifeblade). The people were seen as supporting the mining industry because they needed money to buy food though they already knew that mining was harmful to the environment.

Major players of the mining conflict also employed a protector metaphor in trying to understand the dispute. They used words such as "warriors" and "police" to refer to their being defenders of the environment and of the people. "Warriors" were people who were willing to die for their land; and the community people believed they should act as "police" to monitor the activities of the mining companies.

Conflict over differing values and perceptions. The discord between the pro and antimining points of view was a dispute over divergent values and perceptions. For one group, mineral extraction was advantageous

because it could alleviate people's poverty. However, for another group, mining could only bring environmental devastation and social discord. For both perspectives, the conflict was about a choice between development and destruction. The dispute between the pro and antimining viewpoints lay within the context of waging war for a cause: a cause to save the environment versus a cause to uplift the economic condition of the people. And the stand that the different key players of the conflict took was reflective of where their interests lie and what they value most.

Intracorporate Conflict: Asiaticus Management Corporation Versus BHP Billiton

The second dispute contained in the social representation of the mining conflict in Davao Oriental was the rift between the two mining companies involved in Pujada Nickel Mining Project: Amcor and BHP Billiton. Their conflict revolved around the souring of their partnership due to promises perceived to be broken.

Rift between two mining firms. The social meanings constructed by the key players of the conflict between Amcor and BHP Billiton were both hegemonic and polemical. There was agreement that the Filipino mining company, Amcor, entered into a joint venture contract with the Australian mining company, BHP Billiton in 2002. Together, they started exploration activities at the project site. After several years, however, Amcor decided to rescind its partnership with BHP Billiton, accusing its partner of just laying claim on as many mining sites as possible without any definite plan or schedule of developing them.

No one disputed that there was a legal battle between Amcor and BHP Billiton. The two were hurling charges and counter-charges against each other before the local, national, and international courts. Even while the case was on-going, however, both companies continued their corporate social responsibility activities in the community.

Even though there was an agreement on the existence of a conflict and on what the conflict was about, there were also views that bifurcate. BHP Billiton contested in court Amcor's contention that it failed to comply with their joint venture agreement. For the Australian company, pulling out of the project was out of the question; it just needed more time because the nickel in the area was low grade and required special technology.

The Regional Trial Court concluded that the move of Amcor to rescind its partnership with BHP Billiton was legal. However, a Singapore-based arbitral tribunal upheld the validity of the joint venture. The Court of Appeals

also declared "null and void" (Tesiorna 05/13/09 *Sunstar Davao*) the decision of the Regional Trial Court and ordered the two parties to proceed with arbitration proceedings.

The way to a discourse: Court hearings and corporate meetings. Since the conflict between Amcor and Billiton was in litigation, their means of communication was via court proceedings. Through hearings, filing of motions, charges, and counter-charges, and giving and receiving of court orders, the different parties were able to express themselves and to articulate their side of the story.

To help settle their differences outside of the courts, the government set up a meeting between Amcor and BHP Billiton. A business group in Davao Oriental also conducted a mining summit to deliberate on the concerns of the two companies and the other sectors in the community. There were also media-mediated communications—key players' views were aired over the radio or printed on the newspapers. For more than a year, the media closely followed the saga of the Amcor-Billiton row. The government and the two mining corporations also came out with public announcements of their official statements on the issue.

Local BHP Billiton officials would hold teleconference with their principals every now and then. It is to be noted, however, that except for its participation in the court proceedings, BHP Billiton did not air its side of the story to the media.

Faceoff: David Versus Goliath. The two feuding companies were often labeled by the key players of the conflict as "warring" companies, with BHP Billiton often illustrated as a global mining "giant" because it was considered as the world's biggest miner. The Philippines being in a Christian community, was once tagged by a local newspaper as "David versus Goliath" in referring to the conflicts between local and foreign mining companies.

Amcor charged BHP Billiton of keeping Amcor "in the dark" when it did not reveal its real plan to start full operation in 2019. Amcor also claimed BHP Billiton was gathering additional data that it kept from its partner. "A bag of hot air in action" was a phrase used by Amcor in referring to the promise of BHP Billiton to carry out their agreement. For Amcor, BHP Billiton was not fulfilling its promise to start mineral extraction in 2010.

Corporate legal battle with a political twist. The conflict between Amcor and Billiton was a story of a promising partnership that had gone sour caused by what was perceived as a broken promise by one party. The dispute lay within corporate, political, and legal contexts. Amcor and BHP Billiton were entangled in a web of a legal battle caused by their

misunderstanding. As such, the setting, the actors involved, the means of communication, and the way the conflict was dealt with were all legally corporate—with a political twist. The political twist here was the intervention of the Philippine government to help the two companies settle their differences. The setting was mostly done in court, with judging bodies conducting hearings; judges giving injunctions, and orders; and government officials negotiating from outside the legal courts. Solution to their conflict was based on what the law says.

Intergroup Dispute: Lumad Versus Lumad

The last conflict contained in the social representation of the mining conflict in Davao Oriental was the row among the different *lumad* groups in the area, which was an offshoot of the conflict between Amcor and BHP Billiton. Theirs was a fight for their rights—the right to their ancestral land, the right to participate in the decision-making process, and the right to be recognized.

A fight for one's right. The social understanding of the major players on the conflict among *lumads* was highly polemical. Originally, three *lumad* groups—*Manobo-Mandaya* Tribal Council of Cabuaya (MMTCC), Magum-Macambol Tribal Council (MMTC), and *Mandaya* Tribal Council (MTC)—forged an agreement to give their free, prior, and informed consent to Amcor. However, when Amcor and BHP Billiton got locked in a legal battle, these *lumad* groups also got themselves ensnared in a conflict. They were divided as to which mining company to support. For MTC, it was right to give support to Amcor. However, MMTC and MMTCC believed that support should be given to the Australian-based mining company for it had shown "environmental consciousness and protection efforts during...its exploration phase" (Mallo 07/31/08 *Sunstar Davao*). According to them, many of the *lumads* had also enjoyed the benefits given by BHP Billiton through its corporate social responsibility program.

There were also contentious views about their process of decision-making. MTC drafted a resolution which expressed support for Amcor and opposition to the entry of BHP Billiton to their ancestral domain. This move caused MMTC and MMTCC to react vehemently for they believed they were not consulted about whatever was stipulated in the resolution of support.

Both groups were in the opinion that they were "maliciously excluded" (Mallo 08/01/08 *Sunstar Davao*) from the decision making. They also claimed that the National Commission of Indigenous Peoples' (NCIP) and

the local government's favorable endorsement of the said resolution to the national office were done without the conduct of public consultation.

There was also polemical understanding of who was the rightful group to make decisions for their ancestral domain. For MMTC and MMTCC, as *lumad* residents of the area, they had a rightful claim over their ancestral land and NCIP had the responsibility to protect, not just one, but all indigenous groups. However, NCIP asserted that only MTC had the right to decide for the ancestral domain because it was the sole tribal group in the area. Its office does not recognize the other groups as they were "not endemic in the place... not part of the ancestral domain" (Francisco 07/28/08 *BusinessWorld*).

The way to a discourse: Traditional rural public discourses. The means of communication engaged by the key players of the conflict between *lumads* were of the more traditional type—meetings, rallies, and passing of resolutions. MTC passed a resolution conveying support for Amcor, which in turn was endorsed by two local government offices to a national office.

During the height of their disagreement, different tribal groups in the community convened to try to settle the issues hounding them. Bearing placards, about 50 *lumads* picketed outside a government official's office to express their concerns and to negotiate with the said official.

Foreigners are "intruders." BHP Billiton was labeled as "intruder", being seen and accused by some *lumads* in the community as disrespectful for coming in and out of their ancestral domain "without proper consultation and consent" (Mallo 05/16/08 *Sunstar Davao*). Thus, they organized tribal guards to ascertain that no BHP Billiton personnel could go inside their ancestral land.

Tribal dispute. The conflict among *lumads* was a story of marginalized groups made to feel more marginalized by one of their own. Their understanding of the whole situation was that they were deliberately bypassed and stripped of something that were rightfully theirs—their right to take part in the decision making and their right to be recognized.

The dispute among *lumads* lay within the fabric of indigenous culture. The indigenous groups were caught in a tribal disagreement about what they considered of value. Their love for the collective provided a backdrop for their moves and actions. At the height of the dispute, council elders came together to discuss how they could probably solve their internal conflict. Solution to their discord was anchored on their knowledge on how tribal communities customarily deal with disputes.

Conflicts Across Time

Across time, as the mining conflict in Davao Oriental evolved and got more complicated, the content of the key players' discourses also changed. At first, people were divided into pro and antimining groups. The promining stance focused on economic benefits while the antimining view addressed the potential impacts of mining. The pro-anti mining conflict stretched out for several years until the internal conflict between Amcor and BHP Billiton emerged in 2007. With this, the narratives about the conflict also changed. Speculations about the dispute of the two mining firms interspersed with the pro and anti mining storylines.

The narratives and the situation got compounded when, as an offshoot to the Amcor-Billiton row, *lumad* groups in the area got entangled in another dispute in 2008. Accounts about this dispute intermingled with the pro-antimining-and-Amcor-versus-Billiton discourse. In the middle part of 2009, the Philippine and International courts handed their respective decisions, bringing closure to the Amcor-Billiton row. The narratives about the conflict among *lumads* soon waned. However, talks about the disagreement between the two warring companies and the destruction-versus-development storylines were still very much salient in the discourses among the key players of the conflict.

DISCUSSION

In this section, we discuss the findings of our study in relation to SRT. Our discussion focuses on social representations of mining conflict and the processes involved in the creation of those representations.

Mining Conflict: The Representation

The social representations of mining conflict in Davao Oriental are both hegemonic and polemical. There are no arguments that there are three different disputes that are taking place, what each conflict is about, or what triggered each discord. However, there are contentious viewpoints about the different issues hounding each conflict. For instance, there are differing opinions about the impacts of mining and the different courts fail to agree on the legality of the agreement of the two mining firms. The hegemonic narratives reflect the homogeneity of what is in the minds (Moscovici, 1988) of the different key players of the conflict. The conflicting storylines, on

the other hand, illustrate the diversity of voices (Wagner et al., 1999) which was produced in the course of the discord (Moscovici, 1988). We can see here that different divisions of society may have varied representations of any social issue (Howarth, Foster, & Dorrer et al., 2004). Societies do not have a uniform representation but there are multiplicity of representations and diversity within a group (Moscovici, 1988). This plurality and tension within their representation cast possibilities for more communication, negotiation, and even opposition (Howarth, 2006) which could lead to transformation of the representation.

Mining Conflict: The Making of a Representation

One of the strengths of SRT is that it encourages an investigation of how society members integrate a novel phenomenon into their general everyday knowledge. When people have difficulty comprehending something that is new, they try to make sense of it by anchoring the new information into something that they are familiar with. In the case of the mining conflict in Davao Oriental, the actors try to understand the enormity of the potential threat of mining by anchoring it to their knowledge of situations similar to theirs. This way, they are able to easily picture their possible circumstance in case mineral extraction occurs in their place.

The key players also construct figurative languages to symbolize the new phenomenon (e.g., warrior, giant). By comparing the protectors of environment to warriors and police and the world's biggest mining firm to a giant, the mining conflict becomes more understandable and concrete. The mental concepts of defenders and big and powerful enemy have become tangible and existing beings with particular qualities and characteristics. Through objectification, they are able to capture the very essence of the new concept, make it easier to grasp, and integrate it into their common sense (Wagner et al., 1999). Through the use of images and metaphors, abstract ideas become more imaginable and comprehensible (Wagner, Elejabarrieta, & Lahnsteiner, 1995).

SRT may also tell us where the representations of mining conflict in Davao Oriental come from and how they thrive in the people's daily lives. The key players may pick up stories through word of mouth in a nearby store or in meetings, read them in the newspapers, see them on television; they may come across the information while surfing the internet. It is from these different public fields that they are able to grab their representations of the social object, because these are the vehicles by which they obtain

information, propose their views, hear the ideas of others, and deliberate about the issue with other society members. Through the *tigum-tigum* of the people in Mati, through the corporate meetings of the mining companies, through summits, key players of the conflict are able to interact and make sense of their current problem (Philogene & Deaux, 2001). It is through this process of social elaboration then that their social representations of the conflict are created and developed (Duveen, 2000; Wagner, 1998).

SRT also advances the scrutiny of how a society understands any social issue that is plaguing it. One can look into the process that lead people to comprehend the issue or how they construct their reality about that issue collectively. Our study reports of data that show how the key players of the conflict break down the whole dispute into three: conflict over their collective values, misunderstanding of the two mining firms, and the discord among different *lumad* groups in the community.

The ways in which the key players of the mining conflict construct their representations demonstrate their shared attitudes, beliefs, and practices. For instance, to other groups, the *lumads'* making a big issue out of their being excluded from the making of just one document may sound petty; however, since pride is something that they hold dear, they are willing to really fight for it. Other mining conflicts in other parts of the world may not have the same issues to tackle. Or had the problem arisen 30 years ago, people in Davao Oriental might have a different point of view about the tribal issue. As Jovchelovitch (2001) puts it, the same social object may attain contradictory meanings to social groups in different settings and periods.

The metaphors that the key players use reflect how they make sense of the social issue that they are facing. The use of words such as "warriors," "police," "intruders," and "outsiders" illustrates a protector storyline. With this storyline, one can see that these key players portray themselves as actors of problem-solving efforts rather than victims of the situation. These very clearly point to social knowledge as not "discovered' but as socially constructed (Howarth, 2006). One can also see here that the construction of the social representations of mining conflict cannot be taken away from the social and cultural circumstances which shape the dispute at a particular moment in time. The norms and values of the people provide a backdrop against which their understanding of the conflict takes place. This goes to show how valuable SRT is in looking at locally-embedded phenomena. Using the theory allows a researcher to investigate knowledge in its own conditions and contexts (Howarth et al., 2004).

Mining Conflict: Transformation of a Representation

Our study shows that social representations of mining conflict are not static. Rather, they have developed from a simple pro-anti mining disagreement to a more complex mélange of disputes through the years. People's narratives about the conflict evolved. This points to social representation as ever-changing and that shifts across time (Montiel, 2010). Representations are created in a dynamic communication process (Ben-Asher, 2003) thus, they tend to change across time as people continue to discuss about them in their everyday talk. This illustrates that social representations are indeed "alive and dynamic" (Howarth, 2006, p. 68), are "always in the making" (Moscovici, 1988, p. 219), and are "constantly in the process of innovation" (Valsiner, 2003, p. 7.2)

Three- in-One Mining Conflict

Findings of this study showed three different discords surrounding the whole mining conflict in Davao Oriental. This begs the question of whether there are really three representations (three conflicts) of one social object (mining conflict) or are these conflicts three different social objects. We would like to argue about the former as giving a more truthful representation in this case than the latter. The interviews showed these three disputes are almost always enumerated as part of the whole picture. We saw the same pattern in the media articles. It is like the whole fabric of the mining conflict is made up of three different kinds of threads. This illustrates that the three disputes are all embedded in the mining conflict in the province. As mining conflict is a complex phenomenon, it affords an elaborate understanding among its key players that includes the interweaving of three different disagreements into one big mining conflict. The multiplicity of representations and diversity within the group (Moscovici, 1988) add to the multifariousness of the total understanding of mining conflict in Davao Oriental.

Mining Conflict Investigation: Contributions and Limitations

Of late, there has been a growing interest on how different social groups view the consequences of large scale mining and how this difference in opinions and positions affects the manner by which the set of circumstances is handled. There is sufficient evidence showing this diversity of views. We believe that directing the spotlight on this plurality is essential if the pattern of communication of the different social groups is to be understood.

Social Representation Theory aims to generate potent ideas that apply to important societal dilemmas. We hope to reinforce the potential of this theory in addressing social problems, particularly, the mining conflict in Davao Oriental. By using the theory as a lens in looking into the mining conflict in Davao Oriental, we can now clearly see where and how the different key players agree, and disagree. For instance, they are in agreement that a consent process was really done; however, they are in disagreement as to the way the consent process was obtained. One view says it was seriously flawed but the other vehemently denies that claim. We also noticed that to some social groups, one dispute is more salient than the others. For instance, the nongovernment organizations and antimining people in the community talked more extensively about the pro-anti mining conflict; whereas the mining companies focused their narratives mainly on the Amcor-Billiton row. It is, then, possible that if these key players meet to address the conflict, they would have different agenda. With their discursive wires crossed, they might find it hard to meet halfway. So where does the study of social representation come in? We believe that research studies on social representations of a contentious issue can help clarify various meanings among conflicting groups. They would be able to better understand each group's position on the issue and why the social meanings they create markedly differ. Having seen this, it would be easier to address and eventually resolve problems brought about by the social issue.

We used the Social Representation Theory as our lens to capture how the key players of the mining conflict in Davao Oriental collectively create their understanding of the conflict. The theory, however, does not claim to find who among the actors is more correct, nor does it claim to provide explanation of the conflict. Rather, it shows different versions of the different groups of the conflict. That is because the theory's main goal is to look at how groups of people create a reality together through their interactions or their everyday talk. Thus, this study must also be seen as such.

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PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 2010, 44 (1), 23-49

Shared and Contested Meanings in the Mindanao Conflict: Exploring People's Understanding of Bangsamoro

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This research focused on the meanings of Bangsamoro ("Muslim nation"), a concept that lies at the heart of the Mindanao conflict in Southern Philippines. Discourse analysis, particularly Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, was used as an alternative social psychological approach to understand people's discourses about Bangsamoro and the implications of these discourses on action orientation, social practices, and subjectivities. The qualitative responses of 300 Christian and Muslims students in three Mindanao localities to open-ended questions about Bangsamoro served as the text for discourse analysis. Findings showed four wider discourses about Bangsamoro: (1) Bangsamoro as religion, (2) Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive and violent struggle, (3) Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, self-determination and peace, and (4) Bangsamoro as members of common humanity. Findings also showed that discourses about Bangsamoro were both shared and contested between social groups. The findings are discussed in relation to power, social change, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding.

Keywords: Mindanao conflict, discourse analysis, Bangsamoro, peace-building, meaning-making

The present research seeks to explore meaning-making in the context of the Mindanao conflict, particularly in relation to the concept of Bangsamoro. Following the controversy over the Bangsamoro Juridical Entities proposed by the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) in 2008, the concept of Bangsamoro has once again figured prominently in the Philippine political sphere. Specifically, the MOA-AD put forth the establishment of a Bangsamoro homeland to enable the

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Bangsamoro people to exercise control over their ancestral domains and manage the natural resources found within these domains. In addition, the MOA-AD also proposed the creation of Bangsamoro Juridical Entities, which would enable the Bangsamoro people to develop their own legal, administrative, financial, education and security systems ("GRP-MILF draft pact on Bangsamoro homeland", 2008).

Literally, Bangsamoro means Muslim (Moro) nation (*bangsa*). The concept initially emerged in the 1960s during the early phases of Muslim rebellion against the Philippine state. Over the years, the concept of Bangsamoro has been used to signify various meanings – nation, identity, homeland, people – all of which have served to express the Muslim people's pursuit for self-determination after centuries of colonization and minoritization (Buendia, 2005; Ferrer, 2005; Jubair, 1999; Kamlian, 1999). On the other hand, the concept of Bangsamoro has been identified with violence and chaos, particularly as an artifact of foreign colonization (Angeles, 2010), and has also been linked to terroristic activities (San Juan, 2006). As such, the meanings of Bangsamoro appear to be multiple, diverse, and contested.

It is this multiple, diverse, and contested nature of the meanings ascribed to the concept of Bangsamoro that the present research seeks to study. Indeed, as Moghaddam, Harre and Lee (2008) argued, how people create and understand meaning lies at the core of most conflicts. As such, how people create and negotiate the meanings of Bangsamoro also has important implications on how people think, speak, and act in the wider context of the Mindanao conflict. Thus, how people make sense of important concepts, such as Bangsamoro, is understood as imbued with social and political consequences. This research examines how people made sense of the concept of Bangsamoro, with the argument that perhaps in understanding the meaning-making undertaken by people regarding the Mindanao conflict, we can be in a better position to contribute to conflict-resolution and peace-building efforts in the region. To be able to examine the multiplicity of the meanings of Bangsamoro and the social and political implications of these meanings, we utilized discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodological framework for analyzing the meanings of Bangsamoro.

Discourse Analysis as an Alternative Social Psychological Approach to Understanding the Meanings of Bangsamoro

Within psychology, the "turn to language" gave rise to discursive approaches to social psychology that put forth the assertion that language

must not be seen as reflecting underlying cognitive structures and processes; rather language should be understood as constructing versions of social reality and achieving certain social objectives (Willig, 2001, p. 160). In contrast to traditional conceptualizations of knowledge and meaning as emanating from internal psychological processes, discursive approaches to social psychology represent an alternative paradigm that highlights the social construction of knowledge and meaning – that is, how knowledge and meaning are constructed in social interaction and communication, particularly through language (Burr, 2002). Thus, with language, people create knowledge and meaning that are never mere reflections of objective reality but actually contribute to constructing this "reality" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Among discursive approaches to social psychology, discourse analysis represents one important methodology that enables us to understand how people know and make sense of their social world (Burr, 1995; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Willig, 2001). Intrinsic to discourse analysis is an understanding of discourse as "a system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 2002 p. 5). Discourse also refers to "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events" (Burr, 1995, p. 48). Discourse also spans "all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 7). Applied to the social object of Bangsamoro, discourse pertains to the metaphors, representations, images, stories and statements, both spoken and written, that construct or represent Bangsamoro in particular ways.

To introduce discourse analysis as a discursive approach to social psychology, we discuss three main characteristics of discourse, namely: (1) the constructed and constructive nature of discourse, (2) the historical and cultural situatedness of discourse, and (3) the action orientation of discourse (Wiggins & Potter, 2008).

Discourse as Constructed and Constructive

Discourse represents ways by which people construct particular versions of the world, specifically through language (Potter & Edwards, 2001). A basic premise of social constructionism is that it is in the nature of language, organized through discourse, that multiple and diverse constructions of the social world are always possible (Burr, 1995). As such, discourses correspond to the manifold and varied ways through which a particular social object can be known and understood (Burr, 1995). For instance, the research undertaken by Montiel and de Guzman (2011) on intergroup

positioning in the MOA-AD debate showed how a single peace agreement, such as the MOA-AD, can evoke different and opposing meanings among various groups of people. On the one hand, MOA-AD supporters constructed the said agreement as a key to lasting peace and development in the Mindanao region. On the other hand, those who opposed the said peace agreement represented the MOA-AD as a threat to the Filipino nation because it violated the people's rights, the Philippine Constitution, and the state's integrity.

Apart from being constructed, discourses are also constructive in that the versions of the world that are represented through them come to be known as reality (Potter & Edwards, 2001). Discourses come to constitute what is true for people and define reality for them (Burr, 1995). As such, discourses make available certain ways-of-seeing and ways-of-being in the world (Willig, 2001). Thus, how people understand and talk about social objects such as Bangsamoro have powerful implications on what constitutes reality for them.

Discourse as Historically and Culturally Situated

Discourses are also situated within particular historical and cultural contexts (Potter & Edwards, 2001). To analyze discourse is to locate them in history, taking into account that discourses are products of the historical interactions of people (Parker, 2002). Also, to examine discourse is to look at the social, economic and political conditions that prevail in a particular culture (Burr, 1995). Therefore, discourses about Bangsamoro should be understood as situated within the historical and cultural context of the Mindanao conflict. Specifically, the present research identifies Bangsamoro as a core concept in the Mindanao conflict, which involves the Muslim struggle for freedom and self-determination (Buendia, 2005; Jubair, 1999; Kamlian, 1999). Over the last 40 years, the struggle has taken on both armed and peaceful forms, as Muslim liberation groups have engaged in armed fighting and peaceful negotiations with the Philippine government. Within the Mindanao conflict, Muslims stand as the political and economic underdog in relation to Christians (Montiel & Macapagal, 2006). For instance, Muslims comprise only around 20 percent of the population in Mindanao while Christians represent 70 percent of the region's inhabitants (National Statistics Office, 2005). Christians also comprise the majority of Philippine national government officials (Inzon, 2007; Montiel & Macapagal, 2006). In addition, majority of Muslims experience poverty and deprivation as five out of the 10 Philippine provinces with the lowest levels of human development are populated mainly by Muslims (Human Development

Network, 2005). Thus, it is within this social context that the present research situates its analysis of people's discourses about Bangsamoro.

Discourse as Action-oriented

Discourse should be understood as action-oriented, that is, as achieving certain social goals (Burr, 1995; Potter & Edwards, 2001). How people speak or write about particular social objects accomplishes particular social functions, such as justifying, questioning, accusing or blaming (Coyle, 2007). Even when people appear to be merely describing a social object, the description plays a part in legitimizing or challenging, supporting or subverting that social object (Parker, 2002). Thus, the discourses that people construct about social objects do not just describe or communicate (Potter, Wetherell, Gill & Edwards, 2002); these must be seen as achieving certain social objectives, such as the legitimization or delegitimization of these social objects. To illustrate, Inzon (2007) showed that the discourses that Christian, Muslim and Lumad leaders constructed about the history of the Mindanao conflict served to legitimize and support the claims of one's own group while delegitimizing and questioning the claims of other groups. Similarly, the discourses that were constructed by competing groups about the MOA-AD also served to either elicit or diminish public support for the said peace agreement (Montiel & de Guzman, 2011).

As such, discourse analysis represents an approach to social psychological inquiry that looks at how meanings are constructed through language and social interaction, and how meanings about a single social object can be multiple, varied and at times, contested. Discourse analysis also seeks to surface how people's constructions about the social world come to represent and reinforce what is reality for them. Discourse analysis attends to the historical and cultural context from which meanings and knowledge – discourse – arise. It strives to be sensitive to the historical, cultural, political and economic assumptions that frame reality in a particular society. However, discourse analysis does not only aim to highlight the multiplicity and variety of meanings that people create and understand about a particular social object in a specific historical and cultural context. Rather, discourse analysis seeks to understand how the discourses that people construct about the social world accomplish important social objectives of legitimization, delegitimization, marginalization, and resistance. We now turn to explain a particular type of discourse analysis that seeks to understand the implications of discourse on action orientation, positioning and subjectivities, social practices and power – Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) represents a specific type of discourse analysis that focuses on how language, organized through discourse, constructs social and psychological realities and thus provides particular ways of seeing and experiencing the world (Willig, 2001). More importantly, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis also focuses on the implications of discourse on positioning and subjectivities, social practices, power relations and institutions, and social change (Burr, 1995; Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2001).

Positioning and Subjectivities

FDA puts forth the assertion that discourses do not only construct the social object but also accord particular subject positions to social actors within particular discourses (Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2001). Subject positions refer to discursive locations with corresponding rights and duties for social actors who occupy them (Walton, 2007). Positions are intimately tied to subjectivities, such that the subject positions that are ascribed to or taken up by social actors within specific discourses have important implications on the subjective experiences of these social actors (Willig, 2001). Thus, discourses about Bangsamoro should be understood as providing subject positions to social actors in the Mindanao conflict, which when taken up, have implications on what these social actors may think and feel.

Social Practice

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) also explores the relationship between discourse and social practice – that is, how people's ways of seeing and being make available or block certain possibilities for action (Coyle, 2007). Any version of reality brings with it the potential for social practices, for privileging one way of acting and marginalizing alternative ways of acting (Burr, 1995). Thus, discourses are not simply meanings that float across society; rather, discourses are strongly linked to how people talk and act and therefore reproduce the social world (Burr, 1995; Willig, 2001). For instance, Bangsamoro discourses may either serve to support or oppose particular social and political initiatives undertaken by the Philippine government to address the Mindanao conflict.

Power and Institutions

Within Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), discourses are understood as embedded in power relations (Burr, 1995). Discourses are seen as contributing to existing power relations (Willig, 2001), as they come to construct reality for a particular society. Discourses are also intricately intertwined with institutions – how people organize, control, and manage social life (Willig, 2001). In particular, discourses serve to establish particular institutions and institutions serve to reinforce particular discourses. As such, discourses should be understood as strongly implicated in the legitimization and maintenance of power. Dominant discourses function to legitimize and maintain particular versions of reality that support the status quo, justify existing power inequalities, and oppose any challenges to the existing power relations in society (Burr, 1995; Willig, 2001). As mentioned earlier, it is imperative to analyze Bangsamoro discourses as embedded in power relations, where Christians represent the high-power group and Muslims represent the low-power group in the context of the Mindanao conflict.

Social Change

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) puts forward the assertion that discourses have social and political consequences – such as the legitimization of particular realities over other realities, the strengthening of institutional practices that support these realities, the production of power, the privileging of some social practices, and the suppression of other social practices (Burr, 1995; Willig, 2001). In relation to these social and political consequences, discourse analysis may be seen as linked to social and political change. In particular, Willig (1999) argued that discourse analysis can serve as a social critique aimed towards analyzing how discourses justify and perpetuate unequal power relations, as an empowering tool aimed towards identifying and promoting counter-discourses for resistance, and as a guide to reform aimed towards altering institutional practices. As such, Bangsamoro discourses must be understood as having social and political consequences that are essential to initiatives geared towards social change in the Mindanao region.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis: Stages of analysis. Central to discourse analysis is an examination of texts (Coyle, 2007). Anything that can be read for meaning can be considered as a manifestation of discourse and can therefore be conceptualized as text and subjected to discourse

analysis (Burr, 1995). In this research, we utilized qualitative responses to open-ended questions gathered through survey questionnaires as the text for analysis. Whereas traditional social psychology has largely conceptualized data gathered through interviews and questionnaires as personal accounts that reflect underlying cognitive structures and processes, alternative discursive approaches to psychology, such as discourse analysis, enable us to read these personal accounts as a social text that is socially constructed and socially constructing through language (Schou & Hewison, 1998).

Other social psychological researches have also used Foucauldian Discourse Analysis to examine controversial social issues, such as the history of the Mindanao conflict (Inzon, 2007) and the construction of Muslims in Australian print media (Quayle & Sonn, 2009). Both researches also followed Willig's (2001) six stages of analysis. The questions that are addressed at each stage of analysis are outlined below:

Stage 1: Discursive constructions. How is the social object constructed or referred to in the texts? How is the social object talked about in the text?

Stage 2: Wider discourses. What are the wider discourses that encompass these constructions and references?

Stage 3: Action orientation. What is achieved from constructing the social object in this particular way? What function does this construction serve and how does it relate to the other constructions in the text?

Stage 4: Positioning. How are different social actors positioned in the text? What are the rights and duties ascribed to them within particular discourses?

Stage 5: Social practice. What social practices or courses of action are undertaken by the social actors or made possible for the social actors within particular discourses?

Stage 6: Subjectivity. What can be felt, thought and experienced by the social actors within particular discourses and ascribed subject positions?

Following the six stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis proposed by Willig (2001), Quayle and Sonn (2009) showed how Australian print media constructed Muslims as the "inassimilable, misogynist and criminal other" (p. 8) while representing Australians as fair, just and tolerant. Thus, such discourses served to morally exclude Muslims in Australia and justify everyday actions that make them feel unwelcome, illegitimate and distressing. As Quayle and Sonn (2009) further argued, such discourses

also function to legitimize and obscure both individual and institutional acts of racism committed against minority groups, such as Muslims. Given their findings, Quayle and Sonn (2009) argued that discourse analysis can be useful in tracing the dominant discourses that pervade in a society and consequently, challenging the ascendancy of these discourses.

Research Goals

Using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as proposed by Willig (2001), this research looked into the multiple and diverse meanings that Christian and Muslim students from three localities in Mindanao constructed about Bangsamoro. This analysis located Bangsamoro discourses within the wider historical, cultural, social, economic and political context of the Mindanao conflict. This research also focused on the action-orientation of discourses about Bangsamoro, particularly in what social objectives are achieved through these discourses. Moreover, we also looked at how social actors in the Mindanao conflict are positioned within these discourses and postulated the subjective experiences that were tied to these positions. In line with the idea that the meanings of Bangsamoro have important implications on how people think, speak, and act in the wider context of the Mindanao conflict, the social practices – possibilities for action – that were made available or excluded within particular Bangsamoro discourses were also analyzed. Finally, this research also sought to understand how Bangsamoro discourses legitimize existing power relations in Mindanao as well as how discourses about Bangsamoro can serve as paths to social change in the region.

METHOD

This research examined the meanings that people constructed in relation to the concept of Bangsamoro. Specifically, we looked at how Christian and Muslims students from three localities in Mindanao made sense of the concept of Bangsamoro. This research utilized a qualitative research design, with open-ended survey questionnaires as the strategy for data collection and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as the framework for data analysis.

Data collection

Sample. A total of 300 respondents were included in this research. The respondents were college students from the Notre Dame University in

Cotabato City (n=120), Ateneo de Davao University (n=120) in Davao City, and Notre Dame of Jolo College (n=60) in Jolo, Sulu. Respondents' ages ranged from 17 to 25 years old. The Cotabato sample was composed of 60 Muslims and 60 Christians; the Davao sample consisted of 60 Muslims and 60 Christians; and the Jolo sample comprised of 30 Muslims and 30 Christians.

Instrument. A survey questionnaire was created to examine people's attitudes towards the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) and the Bangsamoro among Christians and Muslims in the aforementioned localities. The survey questionnaire comprised of semantic differential scales and open-ended questions about the MOA-AD and Bangsamoro. The text for this analysis came from two open-ended items about Bangsamoro. The first item asked the participant to complete the following statement: *Ang Bangsamoro ay...* (Bangsamoro is...). In the second item, the following question was posed to the participant: *Kayo po ba ay sumusuporta sa Bangsamoro? Bakit po? Bakit hindi?* (Do you support the Bangsamoro? Why? Why not?). In addition, items to elicit demographic information were also included in the survey questionnaire.

Data analysis

Our reading and analysis of the data followed the methodological framework of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. We adopted the procedural guidelines for Foucauldian Discourse Analysis set forth by Willig (2001).

In this research, the encoded responses of the respondents to the two items on Bangsamoro served as the text for analysis. We started the analysis by reading and re-reading the entire text without any initial attempts at analysis. This was done to help us get familiarized with the text. After the second reading, we then proceeded to conduct Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. We now turn to a discussion of the six stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis that we conducted, as proposed by Willig (2001).

Identifying discursive constructions. This stage involved identifying the ways in which the respondents talked about or referred to Bangsamoro. In line with this, we conducted a third reading of the text. While reading, we highlighted all instances in which Bangsamoro was talked about or referred to by the respondents. This stage also included creating initial categories of discursive constructions based on similar or related keywords about Bangsamoro.

Proposing wider discourses. In this stage, we then went on to look at how the numerous discursive constructions of Bangsamoro were clustered

into wider discourses, which provided particular ways-of-seeing and ways-of-being in the world. Within this stage, we also looked for differences in the ways-of-seeing and ways-of-being offered by various wider discourses. Our initial analysis gave rise to ten discourses (e.g., self-determination discourse, division discourse, character discourse, oppression discourse); however, as we continued to read and re-read the text, we came to realize that some discourses were actually intertwined with other discourses and thus should comprise one wider discourse.

Analyzing action orientation. The third stage in this analysis involved an examination of the social objectives that were achieved when respondents take on particular discourses in relation to Bangsamoro. These social objectives may include legitimization and delegitimization, among others. Other social goals that can be achieved through the use of particular discourses also include eliciting or diminishing public support for Bangsamoro. Furthermore, we also looked at what was gained when respondents constructed Bangsamoro in particular ways. An additional guideline in this stage was to discover the function and relation of particular Bangsamoro discourses that emerged from the text.

Distinguishing positions. At this point, we then distinguished the different subject positions that were offered within the various discourses about Bangsamoro. Subject positions identify a discursive location for social actors from which they possess certain rights and duties to perform particular actions with certain social meanings (Willig, 2001). Thus, in addition to identifying the different subject positions in the Bangsamoro discourses, we also put forth clusters of discursive rights and duties that were related to these positions. For instance, subject positions within a discourse on the history of the Mindanao conflict as a history of land possession and dispossession (Inzon, 2007) may position certain social groups as legitimate land owners while positioning other social groups as land grabbers. Similarly, we identified subject positions for the various social actors who were implicated in the Bangsamoro discourses that we identified.

Examining social practices. The fifth stage of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis entailed an examination of the social practices that were produced and reproduced within particular Bangsamoro discourses. In addition, we also examined social practices in relation to the positioning of social actors within discourses about the Bangsamoro; thus, we looked at what social actors can say and do based on particular discourses. For instance, positioned as legitimate land owners, members of one social group may undertake social practices geared toward defending their land through armed or peaceful means. In this research, we explored how Bangsamoro discourses

gave rise to possibilities for action related to Bangsamoro and the Mindanao conflict in general.

Postulating subjectivities. Finally, the sixth stage involved postulating subjectivities in relation to Bangsamoro discourses. Subjectivity refers to what can be felt, thought, and experienced from within various subject positions. As an example, members of social groups who are negatively represented in particular discourses may experience feelings of shame, guilt or anger at having been constructed as such. Similarly, at this stage, we looked at the possible subjective experiences of particular social actors as they were positioned within certain Bangsamoro discourses.

RESULTS

Research findings showed that the meanings that respondents constructed about the concept of Bangsamoro clustered around four wider discourses. Specifically, these were: (1) Bangsamoro as religion, (2) Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive and violent struggle, (3) Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, peace, and self-determination, and (4) Bangsamoro as members of common humanity. We now turn to an in-depth discussion of these Bangsamoro discourses and the key elements of each discourse.

Bangsamoro as Religion

The first wider discourse about the meaning of Bangsamoro pertained to religion, as understood by both Christian and Muslim respondents. Within this discourse, Bangsamoro referred to a group of people who share a common faith as Muslims and a common history as people who fought for Islam against foreign colonization. This discourse was made apparent in the following discursive constructions:

> *"Ang Bangsamoro ay ang tawag sa taong naniniwala na walang ibang diyos maliban kay Allah at si Propeta Mohammad ay ang kanyang sugo."*
> ("Bangsamoro is what you call a person who believes that there is no God other than Allah and that the Prophet Mohammad is his messenger.")

> *"Ang Bangsamoro ay mga Muslim na nakipaglaban sa mga dayuhang mananakop para maitaguyod ang Islam."*
> ("The Bangsamoro are Muslims who fought against foreign colonizers to support Islam.")

The Bangsamoro as religion discourse achieved the action orientation of recognizing Muslims as members of Bangsamoro. This discourse also accomplished the social goal of excluding non-Muslims from Bangsamoro. Consequently, Muslims were positioned as legitimate members of Bangsamoro, as well as defenders of Islam. Positioned as such, Muslims may feel a sense of pride and belongingness whenever the Bangsamoro is positively recognized in public contexts. Conversely, in instances when Bangsamoro is negatively recognized in public contexts, Muslims may feel shame and guilt.

On the other hand, non-Muslims were positioned as non-Bangsamoro, as well as people who were subjected to foreign colonization. Positioned as such, non-Muslims may have feelings of shame and exclusion on occasions when the Bangsamoro is positively acknowledged in certain social and political contexts. The recognition of Muslims as Bangsamoro and the exclusion of non-Muslims as non-Bangsamoro are reflected in the celebration of Muslim religious practices and events, such as Ramadan and Eid-al-Fitr. However, what seems to be problematic in this understanding of Bangsamoro linked to religion involves the declaration of Bangsamoro proponents, such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), that Bangsamoro includes all Muslim, Lumad and Christian people in Mindanao who share a desire for peace in the region. As such, based on these research findings, declarations of Mindanao as "Bangsamoro homeland" may serve to develop feelings of exclusion and threat among non-Muslims in Mindanao. Table 1 summarizes the key elements of this Bangsamoro as religion discourse.

Bangsamoro as an Oppressive, Destructive and Violent Struggle

The second discourse centered on the meaning of Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive and violent struggle, according to Christian respondents. Within this discourse, Bangsamoro is a struggle that aims to marginalize and subjugate non-Muslims in Mindanao. Thus, Christian respondents constructed the Bangsamoro as a struggle aimed towards seizing the land of Christians and bringing disorder to the region. Indeed, as can be seen in the following discursive constructions, Christian respondents represented the aspirations of the Bangsamoro as wrong and oppressive:

> *"Ang Bangsamoro ay may pagnanasang angkinin ang mga lupain ng mga kababayang Kristiyano, nagdadala ng kaguluhan at may hindi maintindihan na motibo."*

Table 1
Key Elements of *Bangsamoro as Religion* Discourse

Action orientation	Positioning	Social practices	Subjectivities
Recognize Muslims as members of Bangsamoro	Muslims as Bangsamoro belongingness	Muslim religious practices, such as Ramadan and Eid-al-Fitr	Feelings of pride and belonging-ness among Muslims when Bangsamoro is positively acknowledged
Exclude non-Muslims from Bangsamoro	Non-Muslims (Christians and Lumad) as non-Bangsamoro		Feelings of shame and guilt among Muslims when Bangsamoro is negatively acknowledged
			Feelings of exclusion and threat among non-Muslims

("Bangsamoro desires to seize the land of Christians, brings chaos, and has motives that cannot be understood.")

"Isang grupo ng mga kababayan nating Muslim na may ipinaglalaban pero ito ay hindi tama. Itong ninanais nila ay mapang-api sa mga hindi Moro."
("A group of our countrymen who are Muslims, who are fighting for something that is not right. What they want is oppressive to non-Muslims.")

Within this discourse on Bangsamoro, Christian respondents also constructed Bangsamoro as the reason why Mindanao remains to be entrenched in conflict, poverty and underdevelopment. As Christian respondents explained, the Bangsamoro struggle has resulted in the loss of livelihood, the emergence of discord and the lack of development in Mindanao. As can be gleaned from the following discursive constructions, the Bangsamoro struggle is represented as a problem to the country:

"Ang kanilang ipinaglalaban ang siyang dahilan kung bakit ang Mindanao ay hindi maayos ang kabuhayan at paglilingkod sa bayan."

("What they are fighting for is the reason why the livelihood and service of Mindanao to the country is problematic.")

"May ipinaglalaban ngunit dahil dito ay nawawala ang pagkakaisa at pag-unlad, siyang pinag-uugatan ng gulo sa Mindanao."
("They are fighting for something which is the reason why unity and development cannot be achieved, and this is the root of conflict in Mindanao.")

Indeed, within this discourse, the Bangsamoro struggle for a territory of their own was constructed as a threat to the integrity of the Filipino nation. For Christian respondents, the aspirations of the Bangsamoro for their own territory would lead to confusion and division in the country. As some Christian respondents explained, the Bangsamoro demand for their own territory may even endanger the Filipino nation. The meanings of Bangsamoro as divisive and harmful are presented in the following discursive constructions:

"Gusto nilang gawing separate state ang Mindanao sa Pilipinas, siyang magdadala ng pagkawatak-watak sa bansa."
("They want to make Mindanao a separate state from the Philippines, which will bring division in the country.")

"Ang kanilang paghangad ng sariling teritoryo ay salungat sa layunin ng isang tunay na Pilipinas na nagkakaisa."
("Their aspirations for a territory of their own goes against the goal of a Philippines that is truly united.")

"Makasasarili at hindi iniisip ang nakakabuti para sa buong bansa, ipapahamak ang Pilipinas sa pilit na pag-angkin ng sariling teritoryo."
("Selfish and does not take into account the good of the whole country, their stubborn demand to have their own territory will put the country in danger.")

Given the construction of the Bangsamoro struggle as oppressive, divisive and detrimental, members and supporters of Bangsamoro were represented as morally deficient. In relation to the struggle, some Christian respondents constructed the Bangsamoro people as selfish, proud, and violent. The following discursive constructions reflect this representation of the Bangsamoro struggle as supported by people who are morally deficient:

"Iniisip lamang nila kung ano ang mas nakakabuti para sa kanila hindi para sa pangkalahatan kasi nga naniniwala sila na sila ang dapat na manatili dito."
("They only think of what is good for them and not what is good for everyone, because they believe that they should be the only ones who must stay here.")

"Masyadong mapagmataas sa kapwa nila."
("Thinks very highly of themselves in relation to others.")

"Mga salot sa lipunan, masama, marahas, terorista at sesesyonista."
("Pests in society, evil, violent, terrorist and secessionists.")

In summary, within this discourse, the Bangsamoro was constructed as a struggle that aims to oppress non-Muslims in Mindanao, a struggle that is detrimental to the Filipino nation as it leads to division and underdevelopment, and a struggle that is carried out and supported by people who are morally deficient. As such, this discourse achieved the social objective of delegitimizing the Bangsamoro struggle. Furthermore, the discourse also accomplished the action orientation of diminishing and eradicating public support for the Bangsamoro struggle.

Within this discourse, members and supporters of Bangsamoro were positioned as aggressors who oppress non-Bangsamoro people. They were also positioned as a menace to society as well as extremely flawed in character. Positioned as such, the Bangsamoro people were ascribed the duty to discontinue their struggle and reform their ways. On the other hand, non-Bangsamoro people were positioned as victims of the Bangsamoro struggle. Positioned as such, they have the right to demand for an end to the Bangsamoro struggle as well as to express their aggravation over the effects of the struggle on them.

This discourse on Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive, and violent struggle appears to reinforce media portrayals of Bangsamoro people as terrorists. This discourse also supported socio-political initiatives aimed towards blocking members of the Bangsamoro from advancing their claims. For instance, in the recent MOA-AD controversy, these initiatives were reflected in petitions and rallies that served to oppose the said peace agreement. In essence, this discourse made available social practices that serve to oppose the Bangsamoro struggle and deterred social practices that serve to support the Bangsamoro struggle.

Finally, positioned as oppressive, destructive and morally-deficient, members and supporters of the Bangsamoro may experience feelings of rejection and defensiveness. On the other hand, positioned as victims, non-

Bangsamoro people may experience feelings of fear and helplessness in the face of the Bangsamoro struggle. Table 2 summarizes the key elements of this discourse on Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive and violent struggle.

Table 2
Key Elements of Bangsamoro as an Oppressive, Destructive and Violent Struggle Discourse

Action orientation	Positioning	Social practices	Subjectivities
Delegitimize Bangsamoro struggle Diminish and eradicate public support for Bangsamoro struggle	Members and supporters of Bangsamoro as oppressors, menaces to society and morally deficient Non-Bangsamoro people as victims of Bangsamoro struggle	Reinforce media portrayals of Bangsamoro as menaces to society and characterio-logically flawed Support socio-political initiatives that oppose Bangsamoro struggle, such as rallies and petitions against MOA-AD	Feelings of rejection and defensiveness among Bangsamoro Feelings of fear and helplessness among non-Bangsamoro

Bangsamoro as a Struggle for Rights, Self-Determination and Peace

The third wider discourse on Bangsamoro, as advanced by Muslim respondents, focused on the meaning of Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, self-determination and peace. Thus, for Muslim respondents, Bangsamoro represented the Muslim people's fight for justice, equality, and freedom. This discourse also further represented the Bangsamoro struggle as a defense against the violent and oppressive Philippine government. This discourse was observed from the following discursive constructions:

> *"Isang grupo ng mga Muslim na mayroong ipinaglalaban at hinihingi na katarungan para sa kanilang lipunan."*
> ("A group of Muslims that fights for something and asks for justice for their society.")

"Ipinaglalaban ang katarungan at karapatang maging pantay ang katayuan nila sa lipunan."
("Fights for justice and their right to have an equal status in society.")

"Kinabibilangan ng mga Muslim sa Mindanao na nagnanais magkaroon ng kalayaan mula sa gobyerno ng Pilipinas."
("Composed of Muslims in Mindanao who aspires for freedom from the Philippine government.")

"Nagtatanggol sa mga Moro mula sa gobyernong marahas."
("Defends the Muslims from a violent government.")

Within this discourse, the Bangsamoro struggle was also constructed as geared towards addressing the Muslim people's aspirations for self-determination. As Muslim respondents explained, the Bangsamoro struggle envisions Muslims as having their own territory where they can practice their own systems of faith and governance. The Bangsamoro struggle was further understood as aimed towards preserving the identity and community of Muslims. The following discursive constructions illustrate the meanings of the Bangsamoro struggle as aimed towards self-rule:

"Isang pagsulong ng mga kababayan nating Muslim na magkaroon ng sariling teritoryo para sa sariling pamahalaan."
("A movement of our Muslim countrymen to have their own territory for their own government.")

"Isang grupo ng mga Muslim na naglalayong bumuo ng estado sa loob ng Pilipinas batay sa kanilang sariling kaalaman at kakayahan sa pagpapatakbo ng pamahalaan."
("A group of Muslims that aims to build their own state within the Philippines, based on their own knowledge and abilities in governance.")

"May sariling identidad at prinsipyo na dahilan para sa paghingi ng sariling teritoryo."
("Have their own identity and principles which are their reasons for asking for a territory of their own.")

"May dakilang layunin para sa pagkakaroon ng sariling teritoryo, sa ikakaunlad ng kanilang pamayanan, pagkatao at sa kanilang paniniwala bilang isang Muslim."
("With a great purpose to have their own territory, for the development of their community, their identity and their faith as Muslims.")

In addition, within this discourse, the Bangsamoro struggle was also construed as a search for peace, not only in Mindanao, but also in other countries where there are Muslims. What is striking in these constructions

of Bangsamoro as a search for peace was how respondents represented the meanings of peace as tied to the concepts of rights, justice and freedom. Thus, as seen in the following discursive constructions, the Bangsamoro struggle is a struggle for peace that can only be achieved through the attainment of rights, justice, and freedom:

"Ang Bangsamoro ay may paninindigang magkaroon ng kapayapaan ang Mindanao, hindi lang ang Mindanao kundi pati sa mga bansang may mga Muslim."
("Bangsamoro has a commitment to achieve peace in Mindanao, not only in Mindanao but also in other countries where there are Muslims.")

"Ang Bangsamoro ay ipinaglalaban ang kanilang karapatan upang makamit ang kapayapaan dito sa ating lipunan."
("Bangsamoro fights for their rights to attain peace in our society.")

"Mga katipunan ng Muslim na ipinaglalaban ang katarungan at kalayaan para makamit ang kapayapaan."
("An assembly of Muslims who fights for justice and freedom to attain peace.")

Finally, given the construction of Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, self-determination and peace, members and supporters of Bangsamoro were represented as morally upright. Specifically, the Bangsamoro people were characterized as brave and principled. Also, Muslim respondents portrayed members and supporters of the Bangsamoro as disciplined, God-fearing and respectful of others. The following discursive constructions demonstrate these depictions of Bangsamoro members and supporters as morally righteous:

"Matapang kung may karapatan at dapat ipaglaban."
("They are brave if they have a right and they have something to fight for.")

"Matapang, may paninindigan, may ipaglalaban, may respeto sa bawat isa at sa kapwa niya."
("Brave, principled, fights for something, has respect for every person and his/her fellowmen.")

"Grupo or samahan ng mga babae at lalaking Muslim na may mabuting paninindigan at may takot sa Diyos."
("A group or organization of Muslim women and men who are committed to a good cause and who are God-fearing.")

"Isang katangian ng isang taong may sariling paniniwala at prinsipyo."
("A quality of a person who has his/her own beliefs and principles.")

"Ang Bangsamoro ay may disiplina at paninindigan, may tiwala sa iisang Diyos, ang Allah."
("Bangsamoro has discipline and commitment, has faith in one God, Allah.")

In summary, within this discourse, the Bangsamoro was constructed as a struggle aimed towards the attainment of Muslim people's rights, a struggle that fights for freedom and self-determination, a struggle that is undertaken in pursuit of peace, and a struggle that is carried out and supported by people who are morally righteous. As such, this discourse achieved the social goal of legitimizing the Bangsamoro struggle. In addition, this discourse also accomplished the social objective of strengthening public support for the Bangsamoro struggle.

Within this discourse, members and supporters of the Bangsamoro were positioned as freedom fighters who struggle for rights and freedom. They were also positioned as peace advocates who work for the realization of peace in Mindanao and in the country. Positioned as such, they were ascribed the right to continue their struggle. On the other hand, the Philippine government was positioned as a tyrant. Positioned as such, Philippine government officials were ascribed the duty to respect the rights of Bangsamoro people, particularly their right to freedom, self-determination, and equality.

This discourse on Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, peace and self-determination was manifested in both armed and peaceful initiatives of the Bangsamoro to demand justice and liberation from the Philippine government. Specifically, these initiatives were embodied in the rise of Muslim political and ideological groups such as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). In essence, this discourse encouraged social practices that serve to support the Bangsamoro struggle and dissuades social practices that serve to oppose the Bangsamoro struggle.

Finally, positioned as freedom fighter and peace advocates, members and supporters of Bangsamoro may experience feelings of hope, pride, empowerment and optimism in their struggle. Conversely, positioned as a tyrant, Philippine government officials may experience feelings of shame and guilt. Table 3 summarizes the key elements of this discourse on Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, peace and self-determination.

Table 3
Key Elements of *Bangsamoro as a Struggle for Rights, Self-Determination and Peace* Discourse

Action orientation	Positioning	Social practices	Subjectivities
Legitimize Bangsamoro struggle Strengthen public support for Bangsamoro	Members and supporters of Bangsamoro as freedom fighters and peace advocates Philippine government as tyrant	Armed and peaceful initiatives of Bangsamoro to demand justice and liberation from the Philippine government Rise of Muslim political and ideological groups such as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)	Feelings of hope, pride, empowerment and optimism among Bangasamoro Feelings of shame and and guilt among Philippine government officials

Bangsamoro as Members of Common Humanity

Finally, the last discourse that surfaced from both Christian and Muslim respondents' discursive constructions about Bangsamoro represented Bangsamoro as people who share a common humanity with other people. Inherent in this discourse was the view that because the Bangsamoro people are just the same as other people, they therefore also need to be treated with compassion and dignity as other human beings. Also implicit in this discourse was the understanding that the Bangsamoro people are oftentimes misjudged by other people. The following discursive constructions present this view of the Bangsamoro people as sharing a common humanity with other people:

> *"Mga tao ring kagaya ng karamihan, kailangang igalang ang kanilang paniniwala tungo sa pakikipagkapwa-tao."*
> ("People who are just like others, their beliefs have to be respected in view of fellowship.")

"Mga tao rin na kailangang irespeto at bigyang pansin gaya ng ibang tao."
("People who also need to be respected and given attention just like other people.")

"Isa lamang sa mga lahi ng mga Pilipino na hindi dapat i-discriminate dahil sila ay mga tao din. Anak ng Diyos at hindi lahat sila ay tulad ng kung ano man ang iniisip ng maraming tao."
("One of the many races in the Philippines that should not be discriminated because they are also persons. Sons and daughters of God and not all of them are like what most people think they are.")

"Mga tao din na kailangang intindihin at pagpakitahan ng kabutihan at pagkakapantay-pantay."
("People who also need to be understood and shown goodness and equality.")

This discourse on Bangsamoro as people who share a common humanity with other people achieved the action orientation of humanizing the Bangsamoro people by depicting them as persons. Furthermore, the discourse also appeared to acknowledge the common humanity shared by the Bangsamoro people with other social groups as a basis of respect and understanding for Bangsamoro. Within this discourse, the Bangsamoro people, as well as non-Bangsamoro people, were positioned as persons who need compassion and dignity. They were ascribed the right to exercise their rights and the duty to respect the rights of other people. This common humanity discourse can be seen as manifested in peace-building initiatives such as inter-faith dialogues, inter-religious peace camps, and culture of peace seminars and trainings. Thus, this discourse supported social practices that highlight the common humanity shared by Bangsamoro and non-Bangsamoro people and opposed social practices that tend to emphasize the differences between Bangsamoro and non-Bangsamoro people. Finally, positioned as members of a common humanity, Bangsamoro and non-Bangsamoro people may experience feelings of trust, respect, understanding and solidarity with each other. Table 4 summarizes the key elements of this discourse on Bangsamoro as members of a common humanity.

Table 4
Key Elements of *Bangsamoro* as Members of Common Humanity Discourse

Action orientation	Positioning	Social practices	Subjectivities
Humanize Bangsamoro people by depicting them as persons Acknowledge common humanity as basis of respect and understanding for Bangsamoro people	Bangsamoro and non-Bangsamoro people as members of a common humanity	Peacebuilding initiatives such as inter-faith dialogues, inter-faith dialogues, inter-religious peace camps, and culture of peace and seminars and trainings	Feelings of trust, respect, understanding and solidarity among Bangsamoro and non-Bangsamoro people

DISCUSSION

Bangsamoro: Shared and contested meanings

The results of this research showed both shared and contested meanings of Bangsamoro among Christian and Muslim respondents in the context of the Mindanao conflict. Shared meanings of Bangsamoro were reflected in discourses on Bangsamoro as religion and Bangsamoro as sharing a common humanity with other people. Specifically, both Christian and Muslim respondents constructed Bangsamoro as people who share a common faith in Allah, a common history of non-colonization, and a common humanity with other people. Contested meanings of Bangsamoro focused on discourses that represented Bangsamoro as a struggle. On the one hand, Christian respondents put forth the discourse on Bangsamoro as an oppressive, destructive and violent struggle. On the other hand, Muslim respondents advanced the discourse on Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, self-determination and peace. Thus, findings showed that at the heart of the Mindanao conflict lies a contest to define the nature of the Bangsamoro struggle as oppressive/rightful, destructive/self-determining, and violent/peaceful.

On power and social change

The findings from this research may also be analyzed from the vantage view of power relations and social change. In taking into account the power configuration of Christians and Muslims in the Mindanao conflict, discourse analysis can allow us to see how the meanings of important concepts, such as Bangsamoro, may be influenced by the location of social actors in the social structure. To illustrate, Muslims, who represent the low-power group in the Mindanao conflict, advanced discourses focused on the social structural basis of the struggle, such as rights, freedom and justice. In contrast, Christians, who represent the high-power group in the Mindanao conflict, put forth discourses that highlighted the effects of the struggle on the region, such as violence and destruction. Thus, whereas low-power groups highlighted the structural roots of the Bangsamoro struggle, high-power groups underscored the negative outcomes of the Bangsamoro struggle. Based on these observations, we put forth the assertion that discourses that focus on conflict outcomes, rather than on the structural roots of conflict, may serve to block the low-power group's attempts to address the structural aspects of the conflict, and thus maintain the existing power inequalities in a society.

In addition to providing an approach to understanding how discourses justify and perpetuate unequal power relation in society, discourse analysis may also serve as an empowering tool geared towards identifying and promoting counter-discourses for resistance (Willig, 1999). In the case of the Mindanao conflict, discourse analysis would allow us to recognize alternative discourses put forth by Muslims, who occupy the low-power position in the conflict. Thus, discourses on Bangsamoro as a struggle for rights, self-determination, and peace may be promoted as a form of resistance against discourses of high-power groups that serve to represent the Bangsamoro struggle as oppressive, destructive, and violent.

On conflict resolution and peacebuilding

Recently, the Philippines saw the revival of the Mindanao peace process under the leadership of newly-elected President Benigno Simeon Aquino III. The resumption of the Mindanao peace process involved the appointment of a new chair for the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) in the person of Secretary Teresita Deles as well as the creation of a new government panel for peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) under the leadership of Mr. Marvic Leonen.

In line with these developments, this research aims to contribute to the renewed efforts for peace by highlighting the centrality of meaning-making in conflicts (Moghaddam et al., 2008), as well as in conflict-resolution and peacebuilding efforts. Thus, we believe that it is imperative for proponents of the Mindanao peace process to look at the discourses that are constructed by the social actors implicated in the Mindanao conflict, particularly in relation to critical social objects such as the Bangsamoro. Discourse analysis can enable us to see the multiplicity of meanings that conflicting groups ascribe to the specific issues in the Mindanao conflict. In addition, discourse analysis can also enable the proponents of the Mindanao peace process to understand the social objectives that are achieved when social actors locate themselves within particular discourses. More importantly, discourse analysis may also shed light on how certain discourses reinforce particular social practices and impinge on people's subjective experiences. In the end, an understanding of the meaning-making process involved in the Mindanao peace process enables us to see Bangsamoro discourses as possible spaces for intergroup dialogues for peace. For instance, the discourse on Bangsamoro as members of a common humanity may serve as a starting point for intergroup conversations about solidarity and peace. However, it is also important to continue the intergroup conversation to include dialogues on other important issues that Christians and Muslims deem as essential to the conflict-resolution and peacebuilding process in Mindanao and in the country – issues related to the Bangsamoro struggle for rights, freedom, peace and non-violence.

Reflexivity

As part and parcel of the entire research process, we acknowledge our position as Christian peace researchers and advocates and the possibility that such a position might have colored our reading and analysis of the text in this research. We also recognize that the findings from this research represent only one interpretation among the multitude of other interpretations. Thus, the meanings – discourses – that emerged from this research are based on our own reading of the text and should be understood as linked to our personal stance as Christian peace advocates. However, as researchers, we also had to be sensitive to the mandate to exercise reliability and validity in the research process. To follow this mandate, we conducted multiple readings of the text before proceeding to undertake the six stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. Furthermore, we also tried to continuously engage in a process of revising the Bangsamoro discourses that we

identified, based on succeeding and more meaningful readings of the text. For instance, from ten discourses about Bangsamoro, additional reading and analysis showed that some discourses were actually related to others and thus should be taken as one. This process of continuously engaging with the text resulted in the four discourses that we presented in this research. These steps were undertaken to ensure that the findings were trustworthy and meaningful. In the end, it can be argued that our experiences with peace advocacy interacted with our training as researchers and resulted in this research which we hope will contribute, in its own humble way, to building a more peaceful and more just society for all.

AUTHOR NOTES

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Philippine Journal of Psychology, 2011, 44 (1), 50-75

Exploring the Role of Organizational Power Distance as a Moderator of Managerial Influence Tactics and Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

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This study explored the relationship of influence tactics used by managers and the resulting degree of commitment that they saw in their subordinates as moderated by organizational power distance. There are 260 Filipino middle and upper level managers working in industries in the Philippines who participated in the study. Ingratiation and consultation were found to be positive predictors of subordinates' degree of commitment. The results using multiple regression analyses provided evidence that when managers engage in consultation practices, subordinates' degree of commitment becomes low when power distance is high. Implications of these findings, limitations, and future research directions were provided.

Keywords: influence tactics, degree of commitment, organizational power distance, ingratiation, consultation

The Use and Effectiveness of Influence Tactics among Managers

One of the primary responsibilities of managers is to persuade employees to direct their efforts to group and organizational goals (Cyert & March, 1963). It is especially significant in times when difficult organizational directives need to be cascaded from upper management to the middle and lower levels of the company. Thus, a manager's skillfulness in choosing influence tactics that are effective in eliciting subordinates' commitment is typically rewarded with job and career success (Ferris & Judge, 1991). What makes influence tactics more challenging is how leaders balance between concerns for productivity and for maintaining quality relationship with subordinates. How does a manager get what he or she wants without hurting the interpersonal relationship he or she has with subordinates? A

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study by Furst and Cable (2008) showed that the nature of the relationship between manager and subordinate, as well as the type of influence tactic a manager uses, is a decisive factor in determining whether a subordinate will perform the request or resist it. Previous studies (Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Van Klippenberg & Steensma, 2003) have attempted to differentiate between soft, rational, and hard tactics. Arguably, soft and rational tactics have lesser chances of hurting the existing interpersonal relationship between the agent and the target of influence attempts. The "softness" or "hardness" of an influence tactic is based on how much latitude it provides the target of influence to either perform or turn it down. Examples of hard influence tactics include pressure, legitimizing, and coalition. On the other hand, rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, collaboration, ingratiation, and apprising are classified as soft and rational tactics. Rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and consultation were found to be the most effective and frequently used influence tactics (Bennebroek Gravenhorst, & Boonstra, 1998; Steensma, 2007; Yukl & Tracey, 1992) while pressure, coalition, and legitimizing were least effective (Yukl & Tracey, 1992).

It was also found out that inspirational appeal, ingratiation, and pressure were the more frequently used influence tactics in a downward direction (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). A recent meta-analytic study by Higgins, Judge, and Ferris (2003) discovered that ingratiation and rationality had positive effects on work related outcomes. This study focused on soft and rational influence tactics that are used in downward direction of influence since what was examined is the manager's use of influence tactics with subordinates. Further, the nature and quality of tasks that are explored in this study are not the easy, mundane everyday jobs but rather those involving considerable amount of difficulty, unpleasantness, and inconvenience for subordinates to perform.

The Possible Moderating Role of Organizational Power Distance

There are some cross-cultural studies that yielded conflicting results about which influence tactics are widely used and effective in eliciting subordinates' commitment. In some of these earlier studies, the researchers often attributed the discrepancy to possible moderating variables such as Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions of power distance, individualism-collectivism, and uncertainty avoidance. For instance, Schermerhorn and Bond (1991) found that Hong Kong Chinese participants preferred pressure better than their American counterparts. They contended that the reason why American participants favored pressure less is because the use of

pressure may provoke resentment in a low power distance society such as in the U.S. In another cross-cultural study comparing U.S. managers with Chinese managers, Fu and Yukl (2000) found that Chinese managers rated hard influence tactics such as coalition, upward appeals, and gifts more effective. On the other hand, U.S. managers favored soft influence tactics like rational persuasion and exchange as compared to their Chinese counterparts.

It is important to point out, however, that cross-cultural variation about influence tactics' use and effectiveness is not consistently supported by empirical findings. For instance, Tjosvold and Sun's (2001) experimental study involving Chinese participants yielded results similar with a North American study favoring persuasion over hard influence tactics involving control. Kennedy, Fu, and Yukl's (2003) cross-cultural study involving twelve countries (China, France, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and the United States) attempted to answer the question, *"Are there influence tactics that are universally accepted as effective?"* They found out that rational persuasion, consultation, collaboration, and apprising were identified as effective tactics in all of the countries studied. On the other hand, giving gifts, socializing with the target, and pressure were rated low in effectiveness.

Considering the contradictions in the empirical data, the present study aimed to investigate the applicability of power distance as a moderator of the manager's choice of influence tactics and the effectiveness of such tactics in the Philippine setting. Among the 58 countries surveyed by Hofstede (1980) for Power Distance Index (PDI), the Philippines ranked among those with the highest PDI score (94) which indicate that this country is indeed a large power distance society. Erez and Earley (1993) observed that in high power distance societies, employees pay strong respect to their superiors and avoid criticizing them. According to these authors, the power differential that exists between managers and subordinates in high power distance societies are often reflected in compensation, status symbol, and quality of work life. Earley and Erez (1997) noted that, in contrast to egalitarian cultures like Israel and Denmark, organizational hierarchy is tolerated in high power distance cultures like the Philippines, Brazil, and France.

In organizational contexts, power distance can be best understood as the perceptions and expectations of how much power should be afforded to those who occupy higher positions in the formal hierarchy, and how much they expect lower level employees to respect that gap in power. For example, a manager who scores high in a measure of organizational power

distance is someone who feels that he or she should be respected and shown deference by others (Yang, Mossholder & Peng, 2007). This sense of entitlement to power differentials is crucial when managers make decisions about which influence tactics to use. It is important to note that organizational power distance may be a product of the national culture where a company is present, or of the organizational culture itself. But since organizational culture can enhance or reduce the effect of national culture (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002), organizational culture is given more emphasis in the present study.

PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY AND HYPOTHESES

The present study aims to investigate the applicability of influence tactics in the Philippine setting by looking at power distance as a possible moderator. The research goals also include finding out what influence tactics are frequently used by Filipino managers, and which of these tactics lead to higher degree of commitment among the subordinates. To answer the research problems, three (3) main hypotheses were formulated. Figure 1 provides an illustration of how the relationships of these variables are examined in the present study.

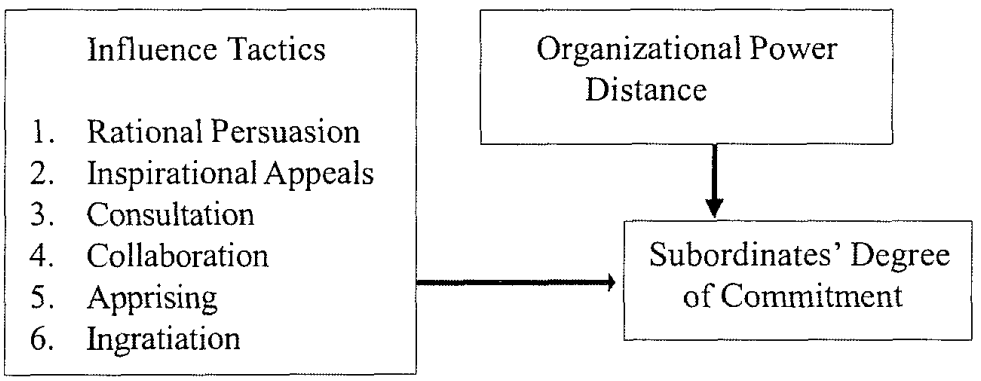

Figure 1. Research Model

This study investigated three (3) main hypotheses based on the research problems stated earlier. The direction of the prediction for Hypotheses 1 and 2 was based on earlier studies that established soft and rational tactics as widely favored and highly effective influence strategies (Bennebroek Gravenhorst & Boonstra, 1998; Jensen, 2007; Kennedy et al., 2003; Steensma, 2007; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). On the other hand, the negative

prediction for the moderating role of organizational power distance was taken from the assumption that in a high power distance country like the Philippines where managers accept that power is unequally distributed, organizational power distance can negatively affect the relationship between managerial influence tactics and the resulting commitment shown by subordinates. This study argued that when managers expect their subordinates to show them deference by virtue of their position, the positive effect of soft and rational tactics to the dyadic manager-subordinate relationship can be diminished. This argument was influenced by the findings of some studies (Fu & Yukl, 2000; Schermerhorn & Bond, 1991) that reported discrepancies in the effectiveness of certain influence tactics in both high and low power distance societies. The answers to the study questions were drawn from the test of the hypothesized relationships of the variables, as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Filipino managers favor the use of rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, collaboration, apprising, and ingratiation in influencing their subordinates.

Hypothesis 2: Rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, collaboration, apprising, and ingratiation positively predict subordinates' degree of commitment.

Hypothesis 3: Organizational power distance moderates the relationship between the managers' influence tactics and subordinates' degree of commitment. The negative relationship between influence tactics and subordinates' degree of commitment is strongest when organizational power distance is high.

METHOD

Sample

The managers who participated in this study were employed in different companies and organizations inside and outside Metro Manila. Their positions in their companies of employment ranged from supervisory to top-management levels. The sampling technique used was convenience sampling. This technique was favored on the bases of participant availability, willingness, and accessibility given the fact that there are no subject companies for this study. The objective of having a widely-represented sample was met because participants came from different types of industries

and sectors of the Philippine society and from different management levels. The sample size for the study was initially targeted at 380 participants. However, after excluding questionnaires due to a substantially large number of missing data and non-satisfaction of the inclusion criteria, a total of 260 managers were included. Table 1 presents the salient demographics of the participants. The age range was 20 to 74 (M = 42.54). There were more participants in the 40 to 49 age-bracket (34%) than the other age brackets. Out of 260 participants, only 28 belonged to the 20 to 29 age bracket which shows that managers are mostly in their middle age already. In terms of educational attainment, 71.53% (n = 186) reported having received college education. The fact that many (n = 71) attended graduate school gives an insight about the increasing competitiveness in educational requirement in order to land a managerial post. Most of the managers who participated in this study have already worked for more than 16 years (n = 160). Thirty-five percent have more than 16 years of experience in managerial capacities. More than 48% (n = 127) indicated that they belong to the upper management level of the company they are working with, and 46% (n = 120) have more than ten direct reports.

Measures

This study employed instruments that are both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Critical incident report is a qualitative research technique that allows content analysis. This technique was used to obtain direct experiences of influence attempts from the participants. On the other hand, quantitative measures were utilized to assess the favored influence tactics among the managers and scores on organizational power distance.

Participant Information Form. This demographic data form was used to obtain demographic data of the participants and was also used in deciding whether they meet the inclusion criteria. Most of the information was supplied by checking appropriate boxes. Specifically, the information required in the Participant-Information Form include: age, gender, nationality, years of education received, years of work experience, present working situation, position in the management hierarchy, years of experience as a supervisor/ manager, number of direct reports, and the ownership of the company they are working for, i.e., whether Filipino owned, foreign owned, or both.

Power Differential Questionnaire. In measuring organizational power distance, the Power Differential Questionnaire was adapted from Earley and Erez (1997). This instrument used a five-point Likert scale allowing the participant varying degrees of agreement. The degrees of agreement for

answering were: strongly disagree (1), slightly disagree (2), neither disagree nor agree (3), slightly agree (4), and strongly agree (5). Sample items included *"In work-related matters, managers have a right to expect obedience from their subordinates"*; and *"Employees should not express disagreements with their managers"*. Nearness to the highest possible score (40) means that the participant accepts and expects that the distribution of power between a subordinate and a manager should be wide and clearly defined. Even after excluding one item, the obtained Cronbach alpha (α = .28) for the Power Differential Scale was much lower than what was originally reported (.73) by the authors of this scale.

Critical Incident Report Form. This study made use of a critical incident report form in asking managers to provide actual and recent experiences of influence attempts. It was explained in the form that the influence attempt they are going to report should meet four important criteria which includes: (1) should have happened within the last six months; (2) should have been done out of the manager's official capacity; (3) the concerned subordinate was his/her direct report or someone who occupies a lower position in the organizational hierarchy than the manager, and (4) should have involved considerable amount of difficulty, complexity, and inconvenience for the subordinate to implement. This incident report form contains two boxes. Box 1 is the space allocated for narrations of an actual experience when they tried to influence a subordinate. Box 2 is for describing the reactions of their subordinate and the final result of their influence attempt.

Influence Behavior Questionnaire (IBQ) Self-Report. Participants were asked to refer back to the critical incident report of a recent influence attempt and try to recall how often they used each of the influence behaviors described in a modified version of the Influence Behavior Questionnaire (referred to in this study as the IBQ Self-Report). The items are taken from the extended version of the IBQ (Yukl, Seifert, & Chavez, 2008). The validation study of Yukl et al. established strong psychometric properties for this questionnaire. IBQ was originally designed as a target questionnaire, i.e., a respondent rates how often a designated agent uses examples of the influence tactics. For the purposes of this research, the items were converted to past tense so that the ratings provided by the participants are specifically intended for the influence attempt they described in the incident report forms. The observed reliability estimates of the scales for influence tactics were sufficiently high (Rational Persuasion, α = .71; Inspirational Appeals, α = .78; Apprising, α = .88; Collaboration, α = .81; Ingratiation, α = .83; Consultation, α = .90). Using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1

(*"I can't remember ever using this tactic with my subordinate"*) to 5 (*"I used this tactic very often with my subordinate"*), the participants were asked to describe how much they used each behaviors with their subordinates for an influence attempt that happened within the last six (6) months. Each tactic scale has four items.

Degree of Commitment Scale. Part of the letter of instruction provided to the independent raters is the degree of commitment scale. In this letter, raters were provided with a theoretical foundation about what behaviors should be classified as exhibiting high degree of commitment based on Gary Yukl's (2006) text book *Leadership in Organizations*. The raters were instructed to thoroughly read each critical incident reports provided by the managers and rate the degree of commitment exhibited by the concerned subordinate based on a six-point Likert scale ranging from *"very committed"* to *"very uncommitted"*. The raters are both masteral level Psychology professors in De La Salle University with solid experiences in Human Resource Management and corporate consulting. A moderately high correlation coefficient of 0.52 ($p < .01$) was obtained after checking for inter-rater reliability.

Procedure

Participants were informed, through the cover letter accompanying the forms, that the data from this study will be used to determine factors that lead to managerial effectiveness, and that answering the forms constitutes their consent to participate. The instruments were administered in the following order: Participant Information Questionnaire, Power Differential Questionnaire, Critical Incident Report Form, and the Influence Behavior Questionnaire. Answering the forms was estimated to be between 30 minutes to an hour, depending on the pace of the respondent.

After the forms were returned, each was counter-checked if suitably acceptable and valid for analysis. This was done by checking if the questionnaires are properly filled out and there are no missing data. Based on the inclusion criteria, forms were discarded for any of the following reasons: (1) The respondent indicated that he/she is not a Filipino national, with the exception of Filipino-Chinese, (2) He/she does not have at least three direct reports, and (3) He/she does not have at least one year of experience in a supervisory/managerial capacity. The latter criterion meets the conceptual definition of the term "manager" as it is used in this research. The forms were then coded for later tracking. While the data were being encoded in a Microsoft™ Excel workbook, the independent raters were

simultaneously rating the forms. Because the forms were split 50-50, it only took the raters one week to finish rating. The ratings were then added to the same MS Excel file.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were used to determine the distribution of the participants according to varying levels of the demographic data. Correlations coefficients were reported to know the inter-relationships of the control, predictor, and criterion variables. Multiple hierarchical regressions were used to test the relationships of the study variables. The software package IBM™ SPSS Statistics™ 19.0.0 was used to perform these statistical analyses. A three step regression analysis was followed. In step 1, each outcome variable was regressed on three control variables (age, gender, and company ownership). Step 2 was done to test the main effects of the influence tactics on subordinates' degree of commitment. Step 3 examined the interaction term of influence tactics × organizational power distance. Following the procedures prescribed by Aiken and West (1991) in interpreting two-way interaction effects, McKimmie's method of plotting two-way interactions was utilized to know under which level of organizational power distance (i.e., high and low) is the relationship of the independent variables (influence tactics) and the dependent variable (subordinates' degree of commitment) stronger or weaker. Plotting the slopes was done only for the influence tactic where organizational power distance was found to significantly moderate between the influence tactics and degree of commitment.

Inter-Correlations Among the Study Variables

Means and standard deviations of the study variables are shown in Table 3. Scores for the influence tactics were averaged so that these will relate well with the five-point Likert scale used in the instrument. The results suggested that Filipino managers rely heavily on rational persuasion (M = 4.44), but this tactic does not necessarily lead to high degree of commitment among subordinates because there was no significant positive correlation between the two variables. The dependent variable also had no positive correlations for inspirational appeals, collaboration, and apprising. Apprising (M = 3.70) was the least used tactic, although the mean is still close to the highest possible score in the scale. To differentiate between

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age 1.80	0.97	__											
2. Gender	0.46	.050	-.046	__									
3. Comp.Own.	1.51	0.78	.102	.060	__								
4. Rat.Per.	4.44	0.55	-.050	.033	.103	__							
5. Ins.Ap.	3.78	0.84.	-.067	.048	-.089	.472**	__						
6. Apprising	3.70	1.04	-.148*	.096	-.048	.311**	.624**	__					
7. Collaboration	3.75	0.85	-.080	.069	.009	.335**	.508**	.408**	__				
8. Ingratiation	3.83	0.87	-.052	.026	.070	.282**	.448**	.417**	.434**	__			
9. Consultation	3.86	0.96	-.068	.104	-.136*	.353**	.409**	.363**	.379**	.368**	__		
10. OPD	20.60	3.57	-.003	-.035	.014	-.076	-.108	-.102	-.122	.041	-.042	__	
11. Deg.Com.	3.94	1.23	-.090	.075	.045	.061	.091	.080	.084	.198**	.178**	-.026	__

Note. $N = 260$. Comp.Own. = company ownership, Rat.Per. = rational persuasion, Ins.Ap. = inspirational appeal, OPD = organizational power distance, Deg.Com. = degree of commitment. Tests for correlations are two-tailed.
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

the means, one-way ANOVA was done by substituting numerical values of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 to rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, apprising, collaboration, ingratiation, and consultation, respectively. The post-hoc analysis, particularly Duncan's test of means, revealed no significant differences between the six means. This signifies that the influence tactics included in this study were equally used to a high extent by the respondents, supporting Hypothesis 2.

Table 1 also reveals that the six influence tactics are related with each other ($p < .01$), but the correlation coefficients are not high enough to cause concerns about multicollinearity. Ingratiation ($r = .198, p < .01$) and consultation ($r = .178, p < .01$) positively correlated with the criterion variable, subordinates' degree of commitment. None of the influence tactics correlated with organizational power distance, the moderator variable. When it comes to the control variables, apprising ($r = -.148, p < .05$) negatively correlated with age, and consultation ($r = -.136, p < .05$) negatively correlated with company ownership.

Table 2
Summary Table of the Influence Tactics' Regression Coefficients

Predictors	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Rational Persuasion	.061	.137	.136	.989
Inspirational Appeals	.091	.090	.131	1.460
Apprising	.080	.073	.094	1.289
Collaboration	.084	.090	.121	1.348
Ingratiation	.198	.086	.278	3.246***
Consultation	.178	.079	.228	2.898*

Note. Rational persuasion – $F(1, 258) = .977$; inspirational appeals – $F(1,258) = 2.131$; apprising – $F(1,258) = 1.662$; collaboration – $F(1,258) = 1.817$; ingratiation – $F(1,258) = 10.536$; consultation – $F(1,258) = 8.399$

***$p < .001$ *$p < .05$

Table 2 reveals that of the six influence tactics, ingratiation ($\beta = .198$, $p < .001$) and consultation ($\beta = .178, p < .05$) were the positive predictors of subordinates' degree of commitment. Since only two out of six influence tactics predicted degree of commitment, Hypothesis 2 is only partially accepted.

Hypothesis 3 was tested using multiple regression analysis. In order to maximize statistical power given a limited sample size ($n = 260$), separate regression equations were done for each of the six tactics. Gender, age, and company ownership were entered in the regression equations to take into account demographic differences between the participants and cultural differences between foreign, Filipino, and mixed owned companies. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the relationship between degree of commitment and consultation will be moderated by organizational power distance.

Table 3 shows that consultation positively predicted subordinates' degree of commitment ($t = 2.845, p < .01$) when tested independently (Model 2) from the moderator. For the main effect of the moderator variable (Model 4), organizational power distance negatively related with degree of commitment ($t = -2.841, p < .01$). For the interaction effect (Model 4), organizational power distance significantly moderated between the relationship of consultation and degree of commitment ($t = 2.884, p < .01$). Results also showed that the addition of the interaction terms added a low but significant increase ($\Delta R^2 = .030$) in the model.

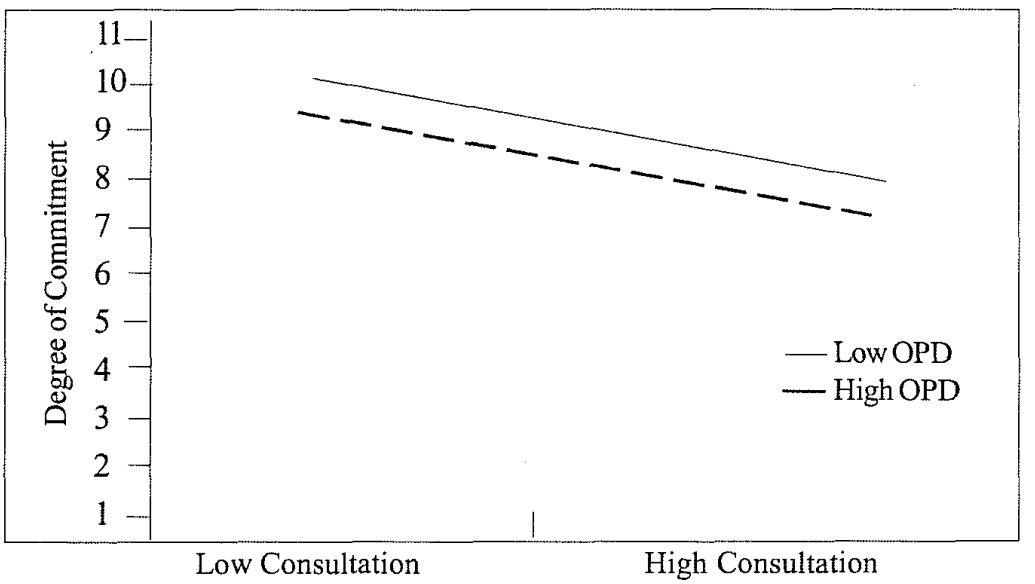

Figure 2. The Relationship between degree of commitment and consultation under high and low power distance

Following the procedures prescribed by Aiken and West (1991) in interpreting interactions, Figure 2 was done to show the interaction slopes of consultation and organizational power distance. With conditions of low organizational power distance, high consultation leads to low degree of

commitment. But with the use of consultation, subordinates' degree of commitment is even lower when organizational power distance is high. This finding partially supports Hypothesis 3.

Table 3
The Main and Interactive Effects of Consultation and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted $R^2 = .004$		$\Delta R^2 = .016$	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.105
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted $R^2 = .031$		$\Delta R^2 = .030$	
Intercept		*.392*	*3.030*	*7.732*
Age	-.084	.078	-.106	-1.356
Gender	.048	.152	.119	.782
Company Ownership	.075	.097	.117	1.199
Consultation	.177	.080	.227	2.845**
Model 3	Adjusted $R^2 = .028$		$\Delta R^2 = .000$	
Intercept		*.595*	*3.161*	*5.312*
Age	-.084	.078	-.106	-1.356
Gender	.048	.152	.117	.772
Company Ownership	.075	.098	.117	1.200
Consultation	.176	.080	.226	2.827**
Organizational Power Distance	-.018	.021	-.006	-.293
Model 4	Adjusted $R^2 = .054$		$\Delta R^2 = .030$	
Intercept		2.007	8.621	4.295
Age	-.090	.077	-.114	-1.481
Gender	.039	.150	.096	.642
Company Ownership	.059	.097	.093	.964
Consultation	-.870	.478	-1.115	-2.332
Organizational Power Distance	-.796	.096	-.273	-2.841**
OPD × Consultation	1.288	.023	.066	2.844**

Note. OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = 8.093, p < .01$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .086$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = 8.089, p < .01$
** $p < .01$

Table 4
The Main and Interactive Effects of Ingratiation and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .016	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.105
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted R^2 = .036		ΔR^2 = .036	
Intercept		*.389*	*2.956*	*7.590*
Age	-.081	.078	-.103	-1.320
Gender	.064	.150	.158	1.053
Company Ownership	.036	.096	.056	.582
Ingratiation	.190	.086	.266	3.097**
Model 3	Adjusted R^2 = .034		ΔR^2 = .001	
Intercept		*.574*	*3.176*	*5.535*
Age	-.081	.078	-.103	-1.320
Gender	.063	.151	.155	1.032
Company Ownership	.036	.097	.057	.588
Ingratiation	.191	.086	.268	3.111
Organizational Power Distance	-.032	.021	-.011	-.523
Model 4	Adjusted R^2 = .032		ΔR^2 = .002	
Intercept		2.156	4.763	2.209
Age	-.083	.078	-.104	-1.340
Gender	.058	.152	.144	.948
Company Ownership	.039	.097	.061	.633
Ingratiation	-.097	.536	-.136	-.254
Organizational Power Distance	-.256	.103	-.088	-.854
OPD × Ingratiation	.375	.026	.020	.764

Note. OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = 9.590, p < .01$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .274$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = .583$
** $p < .01$

Table 5
The Main and Interactive Effects of Rational Persuasion and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .016	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.185
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted R^2 = .003		ΔR^2 = .002	
Intercept		*.642*	*3.479*	*5.415*
Age	-.089	.079	-.113	-1.427
Gender	.067	.153	.164	1.070
Company Ownership	.045	.098	.070	.712
Rational Persuasion (Rat.Per.)	.050	.138	.111	.803
Model 3	Adjusted R^2 = -.001		ΔR^2 = .000	
Intercept		*.808*	*3.638*	*4.500*
Age	-.090	.079	-.113	-1.428
Gender	.066	.153	.162	1.057
Company Ownership	.045	.099	.071	.719
Rational Persuasion (Rat.Per.)	.049	.139	.107	.773
Organizational Power Distance	-.021	.021	-.007	-.330
Model 4	Adjusted R^2 = -.004		ΔR^2 = .000	
Intercept		4.498	5.146	1.144
Age	-.091	.080	-.115	-1.448
Gender	.064	.155	.156	1.011
Company Ownership	.045	.099	.070	.706
Rational Persuasion (Rat.Per.)	-.101	.980	-.224	-.228
Organizational Power Distance	-.229	.211	-.079	-.373
OPD × Rat.Per.	.248	.046	.016	.341

Note. Rat. Per. = rational persuasion, OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = .423$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .109$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = .116$

As shown in Model 2 in Table 4, testing for ingratiation independently of organizational power distance yielded significant results. Ingratiatory behaviors positively predicted subordinates' degree of commitment ($t = 3.097$, $p < .01$). For this particular influence tactic, however, Hypothesis 3 was also not proven. This finding suggested that ingratiation is effective regardless of the effect of power distance as a cultural variable.

Although rational persuasion was the most favored influence strategy by the respondents, it did not positively predict subordinates' degree of commitment. This goes to show that what is commonly used does not necessarily translate to effectiveness. There were no significant main and interaction effects of organizational power distance for this tactic.

As shown in Table 6, inspirational appeals did not positively predict subordinates' degree of commitment and had no significant relationships with organizational power distance. The role of organizational power distance as a moderator was also not proven for this tactic.

Table 7 illustrates that the degree of commitment by subordinates was not predicted by apprising. The moderation hypothesis was also not proven for this tactic because there was no significant result for the interaction term.

Collaboration did not positively predict subordinates' degree of commitment and had no significant relationship with organizational power distance. The test for organizational power distance as a moderator obtained no significant result for this tactic.

DISCUSSION

The present study aims to identify the influence tactics that are frequently used by Filipino managers and which of these tactics lead to high degree of commitment of their subordinates. Results suggest that Filipino managers highly favor the use of the soft and rational influence tactics (rational persuasion, consultation, ingratiation, inspirational appeals, collaboration and apprising) that were included in the study. When tested independently from the moderator, ingratiation and consultation were proven to predict high degree of commitment among subordinates. Such results are consistent with the findings of earlier studies (Bennebroek Gravenhorst & Boonstra, 1998; Jensen, 2007; Kennedy et al., 2003; Steensma, 2007; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Another objective of the study is to examine the role of power distance as a possible moderator between managerial influence tactics and their perception of the degree of commitment shown by their subordinates. Except for consultation, organizational power distance did not play a moderating

Table 6
The Main and Interactive Effects of Inspirational Appeals and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .016	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.105
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted R^2 = .008		ΔR^2 = .007	
Intercept		*.420*	*3.461*	*8.237*
Age	-.087	.079	-.111	-1.402
Gender	.063	.153	.156	1.020
Company Ownership	.058	.098	.090	.921
Inspirational Appeals (Ins.Ap.)	.087	.090	.126	1.392
Model 3	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .000	
Intercept		*.639*	*3.579*	*5.598*
Age	-.088	.079	-.111	-1.402
Gender	.063	.153	.155	1.010
Company Ownership	.058	.098	.090	.921
Inspirational Appeals (Ins.Ap.)	.085	.091	.124	1.355
Organizational Power Distance	-.015	.021	-.005	-.245
Model 4	Adjusted R^2 = .001		ΔR^2 = .001	
Intercept		2.626	2.203	.839
Age	-.085	.079	-.107	-1.350
Gender	.063	.153	.156	1.017
Company Ownership	.056	.098	.088	.891
Inspirational Appeals (Ins.Ap.)	.328	.658	.476	.723
Organizational Power Distance	.174	.122	.060	.489
OPD × Ins.Ap.	-.293	.031	-.017	-.540

Note. Ins.Ap. = inspirational appeals, OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = 1.937$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .061$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = .292$

Table 7
The Main and Interactive Effects of Apprising and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .016	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.105
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .004	
Intercept	*.367*	*3.661*	*9.978*	
Age	-.083	.080	-.105	-1.322
Gender	.062	.154	.152	.991
Company Ownership	.053	.098	.082	.843
Apprising	.064	.074	.076	1.019
Model 3	Adjusted R^2 = .001		ΔR^2 = .000	
Intercept	*.599*	*3.798*	*6.340*	
Age	-.084	.080	-.106	-1.325
Gender	.061	.154	.151	.981
Company Ownership	.053	.098	.083	.845
Apprising	.062	.075	.074	.983
Organizational Power Distance	-.018	.021	-.006	-.291
Model 4	Adjusted R^2 = -.003		ΔR^2 = -.000	
Intercept		1.925	3.734	1.940
Age	-.084	.080	-.106	-1.321
Gender	.061	.154	.151	.980
Company Ownership	.053	.098	.083	.844
Apprising	.076	.481	.090	1.88
Organizational Power Distance	-.009	.089	-.003	-.037
OPD × Apprising	-.016	.023	-.001	-.035

Note. OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = 1.038$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .085$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = .001$

Table 8
The Main and Interactive Effects of Collaboration and Organizational Power Distance on Subordinates' Degree of Commitment

Influence Tactic	β	*SE*	*B*	*t*
Model 1	Adjusted R^2 = .004		ΔR^2 = .016	
Intercept		.219	3.961	18.105
Age	-.092	.079	-.117	-1.479
Gender	.068	.153	.167	1.090
Company Ownership	.050	.098	.079	.803
Model 2	Adjusted R^2 = .005		ΔR^2 = .005	
Intercept		*.405*	*3.567*	*8.797*
Age	-.087	.079	-.109	*-1.385*
Gender	.063	.153	.155	1.014
Company Ownership	.049	.098	.077	.788
Collaboration	.072	.090	.104	1.153
Model 3	Adjusted R^2 = .002		ΔR^2 = .000	
Intercept	*.633*	*3.691*	*5.831*	
Age	-.087	.079	-.110	-1.386
Gender	.063	.153	.154	1.005
Company Ownership	.049	.098	.077	.791
Collaboration	.070	.091	.101	1.112
Organizational Power Distance	-.016	.021	-.005	-.225
Model 4	Adjusted R^2 = -.001		ΔR^2 = .001	
Intercept		2.191	2.522	1.151
Age	-.085	.079	-.108	-1.356
Gender	.066	.154	.163	1.055
Company Ownership	.047	.098	.073	.740
Collaboration	.280	.551	.404	.733
Organizational Power Distance	.150	.104	.051	.493
OPD × Collaboration	-.253	.027	-.015	-.556

Note. OPD = organizational power distance. Model 1 $F(3, 256) = 1.359$; Model 2 $F(1, 255) = 1.329$; Model 3 $F(1, 254) = .065$; Model 4 $F(1, 253) = .310$

role for the rest of these tactics. The interaction terms reveal that high consultation leads to low degree of commitment when organizational power distance is low. Further, when organizational power distance is high, the managers' use of high consultation results to even lower degree of commitment as observed among the subordinates.

Most Commonly Used Influence Tactics by Filipino Managers

The downward influence tactics selected for the present study are classified as "soft" and "rational" (Yukl & Falbe, 1990). In contrast to "hard" influence tactics that provide little latitude for the target of the influence attempt to carry out the request, soft and rational tactics have lower chances of straining the manager-subordinate relationship because they give subordinates more freedom to decide. The present results support earlier studies that soft and rational influence tactics are indeed widely used in different countries, regardless of culture.

Current findings can also be interpreted in terms of its implications to the leadership styles of Filipino managers because leadership itself has often been construed as a process of social influence (Chemers, 2000; Vroom & Jago, 2007). According to Clarke and Ward (2006), persuading others on the basis of logical arguments and factual evidence (rational persuasion) is closely aligned with transactional leadership. On the other hand, the use of tactics that aim to transform employee values by involving them in the decision-making process (consultation) and using emotional language to arouse enthusiasm (inspirational appeals) are aligned with transformational leadership. Current findings showed equally high means for all of these tactics. This gives an indication that the Filipino manager is someone who is capable of both transactional and transformational leadership.

In relation to leadership styles, influence tactic choice may also reflect managers' expectations of what will work with subordinates. This idea is parallel with the findings of a study (Cable & Judge, 2003) that managers used consultation and inspirational appeal more when the targets of their influence are capable of transformational leadership. When interpreted in a downward direction of influence, deciding on what tactic to use probably involves a process of calculation. Before making a request, managers estimate first a combination of situational and dispositional variables such as subordinate's mood and readiness level to respond positively. The finding on ingratiation supports this line of thinking.

Ingratiation as an Effective Downward Influence Tactic

Another significant contribution of this study is the understanding of managerial ingratiatory behaviors. In view of current findings, ingratiation is a highly used tactic and a strong predictor of high degree of commitment among subordinates. This confirms the widely accepted notion that Filipinos possess what seems to be natural adroitness with how well they use praise, flattery, and other friendly behaviors in getting what they want. In the Filipino language, ingratiation is also known as *"sipsip"* especially when used in an upward direction of influence. This finding supports one of the earliest studies on influence tactics (Yukl & Tracey, 1992) which found that ingratiation is moderately effective when used with peers and subordinates. A meta-analytic study (Higgins et al., 2003) also pointed out that individuals who highly use ingratiatory behaviors achieved greater career success than those who used it to a lesser extent. This simply means that it is not only subordinates who use ingratiation towards their bosses. It also works the other way around: even managers use praise, flattery, and other forms of friendly behaviors with their subordinates before asking them to do something. The objective of using ingratiation is possibly to ensure that before the managers discuss the content of their requests, they ensure first that the concerned subordinate is positively disposed to receive it. This would be especially helpful if the requests are difficult to carry out. Further, the predictive value of ingratiation signifies that the managers also believe in the effectiveness of this influence strategy. It can be recalled that degree of commitment was measured using the reports provided by managers.

The effectiveness of ingratiation is supported by the scientific literature, although there were more studies that approached it from an upward direction of influence. For instance, it was found that ingratiatory behaviors have a positive impact on selection decisions during job applications (Varma, Toh, & Pichler, 2006). On a similar end, Gordon's (1996) meta-analytic study found that by increasing likability, ingratiation positively affected performance evaluations. A recent study by Stern and Westphal (2010) made use of surveys from the CEOs of some Forbes 500 companies. The result indicated that using ingratiation with CEOs led to more board appointments for managers and directors. This finding led the authors to call ingratiation a *"sophisticated"* interpersonal influence tactic. Calling ingratiation a sophisticated tactic appeals to intuitive sense because the use of subtle flattery and opinion conformity that will not be seen as manipulative and containing ulterior motives require more experience, creativity and perhaps, even political skills (Treadway, Ferris, Duke, Adams, & Thatcher,

2007). Experience and political skills are qualities that the participants of this study are equipped because most of them belong to upper management level and have more than sixteen years of experience in managerial positions.

The Moderating Role of Organizational Power Distance

The present findings suggest that subordinates are less committed to enthusiastically act on the requests of their managers if the influence attempt was done through consultation when organizational power distance is high. Although the interaction effect was low, it was significant. This gives an indication that organizational power distance has the potential to provide the theoretical context in understanding consultation's effectiveness as an influence tactic. Organizational power distance can serve as the source of leverage for managers when they act on their felt sense of entitlement. Conversely, it can also serve as the "lens" by which employees interpret their latitude to decide. This is an interesting finding because it challenges the traditional assumption that consultation necessarily increases degree of commitment.

At this juncture, a theoretical review is necessary in order to explain why consultation failed to elicit high degree of commitment among subordinates when organizational power distance is high. Yukl (2006) considered consultation a form of participative leadership because it happens when managers asks their subordinates for inputs in the decision-making process. Similarly, Leana (1987) contended that consultation engenders democratic processes like interaction and power equalization. But it is precisely power sharing that is difficult to happen in organizations where there is high power distance. This idea is sharply pointed out by Khatri (2009). According to this author, power distance serves as a barrier in attaining real consultation because in high power distance organizations, there is a large communication gap that exists between superiors and their subordinates. One manifestation of this is when managers see no need to justify and defend their decisions to lower level employees. As a result, subordinates learn that they are expected to follow so they just become content with the decisions of their superiors and rarely participate in decision-making processes.

In addition, the way Filipino managers practice consultation may be different from the way it is defined in Western studies. Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958, as cited in Yukl, 2006) distinguished three varieties of consultation: (1) the leader presents a decision made without consultation, but is willing to modify it in the face of strong objections and concerns;

(2) the leader presents a tentative proposal and actively encourages people to suggest ways to improve it; (3) the leader presents a problem and asks others to participate in diagnosing it and developing solutions, but then makes the decision alone. Along this line, one likely reason why consultation negatively affects subordinates' degree of commitment is this: in high power distance organizations, consultation falls mostly under the first variety described by Tannenbaum and Schmidt. It may be that in practice, when managers "consult" they are actually just informing the subordinates of decisions that have already been made. Yukl (2006) observed that "Sometimes, participation is just pretense. For example, a manager may solicit ideas and suggestions from others but ignore them when making the decision" (p. 85).

Authentic consultation is supposed to be a two-way relation in which subordinates can clarify and provide feedback before being expected to follow. Within the Filipino culture, however, what may be happening is just a one-way relation in which the manager only provides information and expects the concerned subordinate to follow. This observation is shared by the raters of this study. Although a content analysis of the critical incident reports is not included in the methodology, the raters commented that they observed many reports where the managers just provided the subordinates with the *"what to do"* and *"how to do"* and expected the subordinates to carry it out. The implication of this to managerial effectiveness and organizational practices is profound because in high power distance organizations, poor quality of consultation may not only lead to low commitment levels by subordinates, but can possibly lead to poor organizational decisions. Yukl (2006) pointed out that the benefits of participative management practices such as consultation include better quality of decisions because the knowledge and problem-solving skills of the subordinates were factored in, increased buy-in or sense of ownership on the decisions made, satisfaction with the decision-making processes, and the enhancement of employees' skills. Without the participation of low level employees, higher management levels are deprived of the opportunity to get the "whole picture" of an issue or problem. This is an interesting direction that future studies can explore.

CONCLUSION

This study extends existing research by demonstrating that certain influence tactics are universally accepted (rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, collaboration, apprising, and ingratiation), i.e., organizational power

distance does not play a moderating role for these tactics. As a local validation study, present findings point out that the Filipino managers' reliance on ingratiation increases their subordinates' degree of commitment. When tested independently, consultation likewise proved a positive predictor of degree of commitment. Testing for organizational power distance as a moderator gave a slight indication that the use of consultation negatively affected subordinates' degree of commitment. Current findings imply that organizational power distance has the potential to weaken the supposedly positive effects of consultation on degree of commitment.

Recommendations for future studies

The main recommendation of this study is for future researches to explore further the nature and levels of consultation practiced by Filipino managers. In terms of the nature and levels of consultation, future studies can verify whether the intent of most managers in Filipino companies is to involve the participants in decision-making processes or just to inform them of decisions that have already been made. Future investigations can also verify whether the presence of high power distance in an organization actually leads the subordinates to be doubtful of the underlying intent of their bosses and thus become less committed in performing the tasks given to them. There is a need to validate this finding in future local studies because in the present investigation, organizational power distance only added a minimal change in the moderational model ($\Delta R^2 = .030$).

To allow comparison of data, future studies can also improve the way power distance will be measured by choosing subject companies where high and low power distance have earlier been demonstrated. It is important to stress that power distance needs to be measured in an organizational level and not on the national level because organizational culture can enhance or reduce the effect of national culture (House et al., 2002). Further, improvements can be made to the way the predictor variables were measured in the present study. For instance, power distance can be measured from the perspective of both managers and subordinates, and influence tactics can be measured from the point of view of the subordinates. On the other hand, the accuracy of degree of commitment can be increased by asking the subordinates directly because they may be in the best position to know whether they were both overtly and internally disposed to follow the requests of their managers. Future studies should also make a distinction between influence attempts towards individuals and towards groups.

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PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 2011, 44 (1), 76-89

Deconstructing Emotional Labor

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The study examines emotional labor in the Philippine call center industry. Surveys were administered to 507 Filipino call center agents to test the relationship of the two facets of emotional labor—surface acting and deep acting—with turnover intent. Using the theories of emotional and contextual dissonance, it was hypothesized that the mechanisms underlying the two facets of emotional labor are different. Support was found for the hypotheses that burnout mediates the relationship between surface acting and turnover intent whereas job satisfaction mediates the relationship between deep acting and turnover intent. Based on role identity theory, it was hypothesized that those with greater career commitment would utilize deep more than surface acting. This was supported by the findings. However, results also suggest a direct relationship between career commitment, job satisfaction, and burnout.

Key words: Emotional labor, organization commitment, turnover intent, call centers, Philippine culture

Many jobs require workers to manage their emotions. Salesclerks are expected to be friendly; comedians, jovial; and therapists, empathetic. The need to display appropriate emotions is likewise a must in the call center industry. In fact, a study found that call center agents are required to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions more compared to other service workers (Zapf, Isic, Bechtoldt, & Blau, 2003). Despite a constant barrage of sometimes unpleasant customers, Customer Service Representatives (CSRs) are expected to be cheerful, courteous and glad to serve their customers.

The effort of CSRs to manage and display certain emotions that they may not necessarily really feel is the crux of emotional labor. Hoschild (1983) likened emotional labor to a drama with the customer as the audience, the CSR as the actor, and emotional labor as a performance. Hoschild (1983) described emotional labor in terms of two strategies: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting involves suppressing, intensifying, or faking

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emotions that one does not actually feel. Policemen, for example, need to display calmness and collectedness even though inwardly, they may be afraid. In contrast to the pretense required in surface acting, deep acting entails actively attempting to actually experience or feel the emotions that one wishes to display. For example, a counselor is expected to authentically feel the emotions of their counselee. Regardless of approach, managing one's emotions can be tiring and there is evidence of the negative impact of emotional labor. For example, a study by Zapf and Holz (2006) found that the requirement to show positive emotions leads to emotional exhaustion.

Unfortunately, the literature on emotional labor has come from the West and there is a dearth of research on emotional labor in Asia. This is unfortunate because much of the growth in call centers is happening in this part of the world. In particular, the Philippines is now said to be the call center capital of the world (Macaraig, 2010). An often-cited reason for the growth of this industry is the reputation of Filipinos as being warm and hospitable. Ironically, despite attractive wages and performance incentives, the call center industry has one of the highest turnover rates in the Philippines (Casiraya, 2008). Thus, this study seeks to examine the antecedents of emotional labor and the process by which it may affect the turnover intent of Filipino call center agents.

Outcomes of Emotional Labor

One of the most-cited models of emotional labor is that of Grandey (2000) who posits that emotional labor leads to both individual outcomes (in the form of burnout and job satisfaction) as well as organizational outcomes (performance and withdrawal behavior). Grandey explains that constantly bottling up one's emotions overworks the cardiovascular and nervous systems and weakens the immune system hence the employee may experience burnout. Surface acting, in particular, has been likened to emotional dissonance defined as the gap between affect and behavior. Emotional dissonance occurs when workers are required to hide their true feelings and project emotions that are expected from their role (Hoschild, 1983).

Researches that have sought to test Grandey's Model (2000) reveal robust evidence that surface acting (but not deep acting) is significantly associated with higher levels of burnout (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2005). That burnout is positively associated with turnover intent has likewise been established in studies among call center agents (Wegge, Van Dick, Fisher, Wecking, & Meltzen, 2006). However, the support for

relationship between emotional labor and turnover intent is mixed (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Some researchers have also proposed that the relationship is indirect and turnover intent is a distal outcome of emotional labor. That is, emotional labor leads to burnout, which, leads to turnover intent (Bakker, Demerouti & Schaufeli, 2003). We test this proposition and predict that:

Hypothesis 1: Burnout will mediate the relationship between surface acting and turnover intent.

The lack of support for the impact of deep acting, however, suggests that the psychological processes of surface and deep acting to organization commitment are different. Hoschild (1983) had suggested that effort of having to manage emotions in inherently dissatisfying and that those who are required to regulate their emotions would be less satisfied with their jobs. However, the support for this is mixed. A longitudinal study by Cote and Morgan (2002) found that suppression of unpleasant emotions is negatively related to job satisfaction. On the other hand, a meta-analysis by Bono and Vey (2005) reported that whereas surface acting is negatively correlated to job satisfaction, the relationship between deep acting and job satisfaction is not significant. Still another study found that table servers who expressed real smiles at work and didn't feel false reported greater job satisfaction than those who faked their smiles (Adelmann & Zajonc,1989).

The lack of consistency in results suggests that perhaps what is missing from the analysis is the element of context. Other than the dissonance that occurs between one's emotions and behaviors, sociologist Rosenberg (1962) coined the phrase contextual dissonance to describe a situation where an individual differs from others in his/her environment. Rosenberg presented evidence that individuals who experience contextual dissonance manifest symptoms of emotional disturbance and depressive affect.

Given this theory, it is important to understand the cultural context of Filipino call center workers. Anthropologist F.Landa Jocano (1999) explained that what makes Filipino relational values quite different from the Westerners is the importance they give to interpersonal relations. He pointed to the Filipinos' personalistic culture that he says reflects a "personally defined way of sharing a burden, a feeling of moral obligation to assist someone in trouble, an expectation for personalized service" (p. 36). A central Filipino value is *pakikipagkapwa* that involves empathizing and showing compassion for others (Jocano, 1999). Such orientation would encourage deep rather than surface acting.

Not surprisingly, a local study found that deep acting is utilized more than surface acting by Filipino CSRs (Hechanova-Alampay, 2010). Although some Western studies reveal the same pattern (Beal, Trougakos, Weiss, & Green, 2006; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005; Grandey, 2003), research in call centers suggest greater reliance on surface acting among American (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007) and British call center agents (Totterdell & Holman, 2003).

The Philippines has been described as a collectivist culture (Hofstede, 1991). In such a culture, conformity to the norm is valued. Hence, contextual dissonance would occur when Filipino CSRs are unable to project the desired emotions. Conversely, CSRs have the ability to display these expected emotions that should create emotional harmony and lead to more positive attitudes about one's work. Hence, we suggest that:

Hypothesis 2: Job satisfaction mediates the relationship between deep action acting and turnover intent.

Career Commitment and Emotional Labor

Grandey's model also described the antecedent of emotional labor. In particular, she suggested that nature of work influences the amount of emotional labor. This has been validated in the context of call center work by Hechanova-Alampay (2010) who found significant differences in emotional labor among CSRs depending on the type of account. Specifically, the study reported that CSRs handling customer service and bill collection work report the highest levels of emotional labor whereas those in technical-related services, such as guiding customers on product use or trouble-shooting equipment-related problems, report the lowest level.

However, what was missing from Grandey's model is career commitment. This is an important issue in the call center industry because the turnover rate in Philippine call centers is reportedly as high as 40 percent (Greenlees, 2006). In addition, a previous study showed that a quarter of call center agents are unsure about their career plans and only 26% of call center agents are considering a career in the call center industry. The study reported that agents view their jobs as transitory and treat them as stepping-stones for a more permanent career (Hechanova-Alampay, 2010).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggested that one's role identification influences the motivation to engage in emotional labor. In other words, the more individuals define themselves according to their organizational role, the greater the internationalization of their role obligations and the more

likely they will feel anxious if they are unable to fulfill those obligations. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and Brotheridge and Lee (2003) tested the impact of role identification and found that role identification was positively associated with deep acting but negatively associated with surface acting. Thus, the more the employee identifies with his/her role, the more likely they are to internalize their role through deep acting. We apply the theory to call center work and examine the relationship of career commitment with emotional labor. In particular, we suggest that:

Hypothesis 3: Career commitment will be positively related to deep acting but negatively related to surface acting.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

Letters were sent to members of the Call Center Association of the Philippines (CCAP) which had 30 members and a dozen other call centers not officially members of the CCAP but are publicly listed. Of these, ten (30%) call centers agreed to participate in the study. Three of the 10 had employees less than a thousand. The rest had 1000 to 6000 CSRs. Two of the ten call centers were in-house call centers. One call center catered exclusively to international clients, one call center catered to domestic clients and the rest had both local and international clients.

A total of 507 call center agents responded to the survey. Respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 60 years with an average age of 25. Number of years of services ranged from less than a year to 10 years with an average of 18 months. Workers had worked for an average of two companies although the range was wide (from 0 to 12 previous employers).

Majority (76%) of respondents were first-time workers, female (53%) and single (82%). Most respondents handled inbound accounts (79%), dealt with international clients (80%), and worked for outsourced call centers (88%). In terms of job level, more than three fourth of respondents (76%) were at the agent level, 11% were holding supervisory/managerial positions, whereas 13% handled primarily support functions. Majority (60%) of CSRs had graveyard shifts. Nature of work varied with 37% handling customer service functions, 34% handling technical support functions, 18% handling sales, 6% financial transactions, and 5% others.

Measures

Emotional labor was measured using a six-item scale taken from Brotheridge and Lee's (2003) Emotional Labor Scale. This consisted of two sub-scales: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting consisted of three items that measured the extent to which respondents suppressed their true feelings, "I resist expressing my true feelings" or exhibit a fake emotion "I pretend to have emotions that I don't really have." The deep acting sub-scale likewise consisted of three items that measured the extent to which respondents sought to internalize particular emotions "I try to actually experience the emotions that I must show." All items utilized a five-point scale with a higher score indicating greater emotional labor. Internal consistency reliability of the deep acting scale was $\alpha = .65$ and surface acting was $\alpha = .69$.

Career commitment is the extent to which CSRs intend to remain in their current career. It was measured using Blau's (1989) Career Commitment Scale.This consisted of seven items such as "I definitely want a career for myself in this profession". Items utilized a five-point scale with a higher score indicating great career commitment. Internal consistency reliability of this scale was $\alpha = .67$. For the SEM analysis, the items were broken down into three parcels that were consequently used as the manifest scores for the variable. Each parcel was derived by averaging the scores of two to three items

Burnout is described as a state of physical, mental and emotional exhaustion. It was measured using the short version of Malach-Pines (2005) Short Burnout Scale consisting of 10 items and utilizing a seven-point scale with a higher score indicating greater burnout. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent they felt the following when thinking about their work: tired, disappointed, hopeless, trapped, helpless, depressed, physically weak, worthless, difficulties in sleeping and feeling like they've had it. Internal consistency reliability of this scale was $\alpha = .90$. For the SEM analysis, the items were broken down into three parcels that were consequently used as the manifest scores for the variable. Each parcel was derived by averaging the scores of three to four items.

Job satisfaction is operationally defined as employees' evaluation of different facets of their work such as work hours, work conditions, etc. This was measured using Warr, Cook and Wall's (1979) global job satisfaction scale consisting of 15 items and utilizing a seven-point scale with a higher score indicating greater job satisfaction. Internal consistency reliability of this scale was $\alpha = .93$. For the SEM analysis, the items were broken down

into three parcels that were consequently used as the manifest scores for the variable. Each parcel was derived by averaging the scores of five items.

Turnover intent is the extent to which employees intended to leave the organization. It was composed of two items – one asked whether they expected to leave within the year and the other asked how long they expected to stay on the job. The responses to the latter item were reversed so that a higher number (on a five-point scale) would indicate greater intent to leave. Internal consistency reliability of this scale was $\alpha = .71$.

Data Analysis

We conducted confirmatory factor analysis using Structural Equation Modeling using EQS 6.1. To test the three hypotheses, we performed structural equations modeling using a maximum likelihood (ML) estimation procedure. A supplemental analysis involved post-hoc development of a revised model with improved fit to the data. The modifications were based on the Lagrange multiplier test.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The mean scores on the variables revealed moderate scores on career commitment (m=3.31 on a five-point scale). Scores likewise moderate for burnout (m=3.21 on a five point scale) and job satisfaction (m=4.86 on a seven-point scale) and turnover intent (m=2,61 on a five point scale). The scores likewise showed greater use of deep acting (m=3.24) compared to surface acting (m=2.63). The correlations of the variables supported the hypothesized direction. Surface acting was negatively correlated to career commitment and job satisfaction and positively related to burnout and turnover intent. Deep acting, on the other hand, was positively related to job satisfaction and negatively related to turnover intent (see Table 1).

Hypothesis Testing

The confirmatory factor analysis using structural equation modeling revealed a good fit of the measurement model. The structural model likewise elicited acceptable fit indices (Table 2) The standardized path coefficients are depicted in Figure 1.

Table 1
Descriptives and Correlational Analysis of Study Variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1) Career Commitment	3.31	.67	1.00				
2) Deep Acting	3.24	.74	.15*	1.00			
3) Surface Acting	2.63	.79	-.08	.27*	1.00		
4) Job Satisfaction	4.86	.93	.43*	.10*	-.18*	1.00	
5) Burnout	3.21	1.09	-.43*	.05	.26*	-.50*	1.00
6) Turnover Intent	2.61	1.26	-.54*	-.09*	.13*	-.51*	.53*

*p< .05

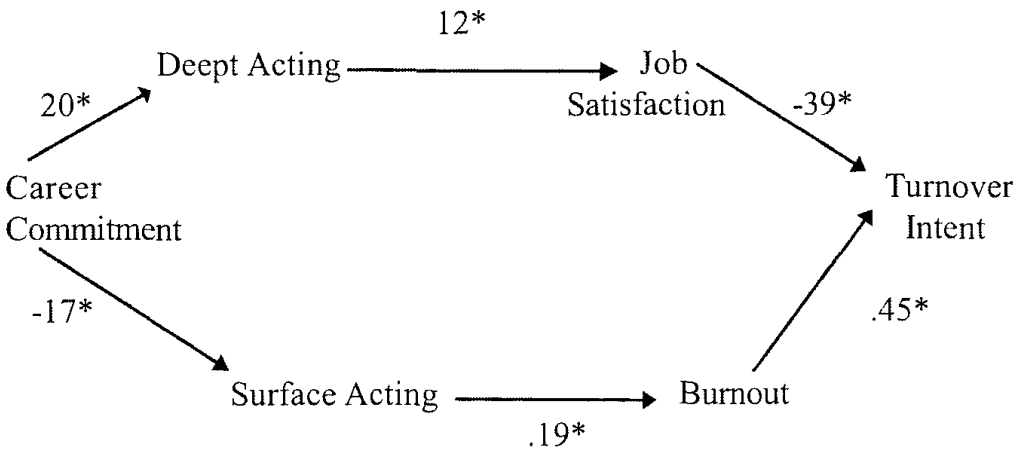

Figure 1. Hypothesized Model

Findings supported the hypothesized mediating role of job satisfaction on deep acting and turnover intent. As predicted, deep acting predicted job satisfaction (β =.12) and job satisfaction was negatively associated with turnover intent (β =-.39). The data also support the mediating role of burnout on surface acting and turnover intent. Surface acting predicted burnout (β =.19) and burnout predicted turnover intent (β =.45).

However, the Lagrange multiplier test indicated a better fitting model with the addition of a path from career commitment to job satisfaction (multivariate χ^2 increment of 52.89, df=1, p<.001) and from career commitment to burnout (multivariate χ^2 increment of 35.61, df=1, p<.001). The re-specified model had a slightly better fit with the data (see Table 2).

Table 2
Structural Equation Model Fit Indices

	Measurement Model	Hypothesized Structural Model	Revised Structural Model
Chi Square	234.33 (*df*=104)	502.71 (*df*=105)	304.28 (*df*=103)
Bentler Bonnet Normed Fit Index	.95	.88	.93
Bentler Bonnet Normed Fit Index	.96	.88	.94
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	.97	.90	.95
Joreskog-Sorbom's GFI Fit Index	.95	.91	.94
Root Mean-Square Residual (RMR)	.04	.16	.06
Standardized RMR	.04	.15	.06
Root Mean-Square Error Of Approximation (RMSEA)	.05	.08	.05

*$p < .05$

DISCUSSION

The study hypothesized that the two components of emotional labor would have different psychological mechanisms. Our results validated our hypothesis that burnout will mediate the relationship between surface acting and turnover intent. This validated previous findings that surface acting is associated with burnout (i.e., Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Lewig & Dollard, 2003). As explained by Brotheridge and Lee (2003), surface acting is exhausting because it reduces one's sense of authenticity. Totterdell and Holman (2003 also posited that employees may find it more difficult to endure the tension of emotional dissonance produced by surface acting. It is this tension and loss of authenticity that can make the work and being a part of the organization less enjoyable for the CSR.

We also found support for our hypothesis that job satisfaction mediates the relationship between deep action acting and turnover intent. As suggested by Rafalei & Sutton (1987), emotional harmony occurs when expressed

feelings are congruent with the experienced emotions and expectations on the incumbent. Given the Philippine culture and role expectations, the ability of call center agents to empathize with their clients enhances satisfaction with one's job that in turn, decreases the likelihood of turnover.

The results also showed that deep acting and surface acting have opposite relationships with wellbeing and organizational outcomes. The original conceptualization of emotional labor assumes that both suppressing, intensifying or faking emotions (surface acting) and attempting to actually experience or feel the emotions one wishes to display (deep acting) are both laborious and therefore detrimental to well-being (Hoschild, 1983). However, results showed that it is only surface acting that is positively related to burnout whereas deep acting is associated with greater job satisfaction and decreased turnover intent.

Given the varying impact and mechanisms of deep and surface acting, are surface acting and deep acting really components of the same construct? Although both involve the management of emotions, it appears that deep acting may actually be advantageous and not necessarily laborious. Hence, it may be more accurate to view these two components not as components of emotional labor but rather as separate strategies for emotion management.

One practical implication of these results may be the need to encourage the use of deep rather than surface acting among Filipino call center representatives. Call centers can assist their workers by helping them develop empathy through skills training programs and on-the-job coaching. Two techniques that can be can be taught to call center workers are attention deployment and cognitive reframing. Attention deployment involves changing the focus of one's thoughts to induce the required emotions. Using trained imagination, one invokes desirable thoughts, images, and memories that elicit pleasant emotions. For instance, a service worker having a bad day may successfully be able to put up a cheerful front by thinking of a happy occasion to feel happy. Cognitive reframing, on the other hand, involves evaluating or appraising situations differently to change the emotions that they induce (Hoschild, 1983). For example, a customer service worker may attempt not to be affected by an irate customer's racial attacks by understanding that the attack is not personal.

Career commitment was a significant predictor of both deep and surface acting. As predicted, results showed that those with less career commitment tend to employ surface acting. On the other hand, those with greater career commitment are more likely to employ deep acting. This was somewhat similar to the findings of Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and Brotheridge

and Lee (2003) who found that role identification was positively associated with deep acting but negatively associated with surface acting. At the same time, the relationship of career commitment with job satisfaction and burnout highlights its importance in shaping not just emotional management but also work attitudes.

An implication of this findings was that other than training and encouraging CSRs to employ deep acting; another implication was for call centers to install career development systems in the organizations in order to develop greater career commitment. Unfortunately, a study by Hechanova-Alampay (2010) showed that only a quarter of call center agents are considering a career in the call center industry. Thus it may be important to provide CSRs with information on career paths, coaching, and development opportunities. Such interventions may change the paradigm of employees that call centers are but stepping-stones to other employers.

Limitation and Implications for Future Research

As in all studies, this research had its strengths and limitations. One of its strengths is the sample size. A limitation, however, is that the call centers were not randomly drawn. One difficulty experienced is that many call centers, especially the smaller ones, were not open to research. Researchers in the Philippines commonlyexperience this. It seems the Filipino organizations are wary about being assessed or obtaining employee opinion in the fear that the information would reflect poorly on them. Hence the sample mostly comes from medium and large call centers.

Another limitation of the study is that the measurement of the variables was based on self-reports. Hence, common method variance may have increased the relationships between criterion and predictors. In addition, because the study was cross-sectional, the issue of causality is problematic. Proof of impact would be strongest in longitudinal studies that allow measures of wellbeing upon entry and after a given period of time.

Limitations notwithstanding, the results of the study present some intriguing results that need to be validated. For example, the results suggest the need to disentangle deep acting from surface acting because of its beneficial impact. Instead, perhaps it is more worthwhile to explore defining emotional labor in terms of surface acting and the dissonance it creates. A review of the literature reveals that some studies use Hoschild's original conception of emotional labor whereas others measure just emotional dissonance. Follow-up studies looking at both acting and dissonance would

further refine the definition and measurement of emotional labor. In addition, since both emotion management strategies are used, further studies may wish to examine in what instances each type may be more appropriate. For example, surface acting may be more valuable for quick or simple transactions and deep acting more important when dealing with customer concerns.

Beyond the variables examined in this study, there are other variables worth examining. For example, the nature of call center work also appears to be evolving. Holman (2003) differentiated two call center models: the mass service and the high commitment service models. The mass service model aims at high market volume and low added value. In this model, jobs are low in complexity and control. In contrast, in the high commitment service model, market volume is low but the added value is high. Jobs are empowered, tasks are complex and there is high control for service providers. Research showed the level of autonomy and empowerment is significantly associated with stress levels of call center agents (de Ruyter, Wetzel & Feinberg, 2001). Future studies could compare the use of surface and deep acting in call centers that have evolved into higher-value services versus those that utilize the mass service model.

In summary, the study validates the existence of surface and deep acting and highlights the difference in outcomes of surface acting and deep acting. Given such, the results suggest the need to rethink the conceptualization of emotional labor as not comprising these two components. Rather, these two components may be viewed as emotion management strategies with varying impacts. At least in the context of the Philippine call center industry and culture, it appears that between these two, the positive outcomes of deep acting suggest that it is a strategy that is worth encouraging.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was conducted in partnership with the Ateneo Center for Organization Research and Development. Funding for the project came from the Institute of Philippine Culture and the Ateneo de Manila University Loyola Schools Research Grants. Address correspondence to Ma. Regina M. Hechanova, Associate Professor at the Department of Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University. Contact details: Department of Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City, Philippines 1109. Tel no: (632) 426-5931 Fax No: (632) 426-6065. Email address: rhechanova@ateneo.edu

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PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 2011, 44 (1), 90-113

"It Makes Me What I Am": An Interpretative Phenomenological Investigation of the Social-Emotional World of an Adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome

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This study focused on the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis or IPA. A 15-year-old male who was enrolled in high school and received a diagnosis of Asperger's Syndrome was interviewed. This single-case IPA was conducted by the researcher-clinician and another independent, nonclinical investigator. The results revealed the unique and shared interpretative phenomenology of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome. On one hand was a social-emotional world characterized by the unique experience of the symptoms of the disorder alongside issues in cognitive processing, maladaptive coping patterns, and experiences of depression. On the other were needs and concerns typical of adolescents in this developmental stage. These findings were discussed in relation to adolescent identity development, information-processing, challenging the impairment perspective of social interaction in Asperger's Syndrome, and implications to parents, clinical practitioners, and the educational system.

Keywords: Asperger's Syndrome, interpretative phenomenology, adolescence, and identity

One out of every 110 children is diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (Autism and Developmental Disabilities Monitoring Network,

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2006). In a local study conducted in a major tertiary hospital, Autism Spectrum Disorder was found to be the third most common developmental disability from 2004 to 2008 (Reyes & Herrin, 2009). One of the disorders under the autism spectrum is Asperger's Syndrome.

Asperger's Syndrome (AS) has often been described as a high-functioning form of autism, such that there are considerable problems in social interaction but no significant delay in cognitive development (Attwood, 1998). Asperger's Syndrome has been characterized by the following symptomatology: (a) significant difficulties in social interaction and emotional relatedness; (b) unusual patterns of narrow interests; and (c) unique stereotypical behaviors, in spite of an average or above average intelligence (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2000).

Children and adolescents who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome have particular difficulties in communicating with their peers and forming appropriate relationships with others at school (Attwood, 1998; Carrington, Templeton, & Papinzak, 2003). Persistent problems with social interactions have been found to be a factor in the development of other emotional concerns, such as aggression and depression (Barnhill, 2001). Tantam (1991) further emphasized that Asperger's Syndrome is possibly one of the greatest disability in adolescence and young adulthood because social relationships are key to many achievements during this developmental period. As such, it is crucial to explore how these social difficulties and emotional problems are experienced by adolescents diagnosed with AS.

This present study focuses on the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome. Unlike many studies on AS that have focused on the clinical symptoms of the disorder (Daniel, 2006), this study takes an interpretative phenomenological lens. Hence, the present study seeks to contribute to a phenomenological understanding of the social and emotional experiences of individuals with Asperger's Syndrome.

In addition, the present study adds to the local literature on Asperger's Syndrome. In the Philippines, there is a dearth of literature focusing on AS. A related study focused on the parents and siblings of children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (Liwag, 1989. Another study focused on the use of music therapy with Filipino children diagnosed with autism (Marin, 2004). This study hopes to give a picture of what Asperger's Syndrome is like from the point of view of a Filipino adolescent diagnosed with AS, as interpreted by the researcher.

Social-emotional World of Adolescents with Asperger's Syndrome

A synthesis of studies on children and adolescents with AS showed that they generally experience: (a) marked emotional problems observed more by parents compared to educators, but not known to the students themselves, (b) attribution that is similar to an approach of learned helplessness, and (c) depression that is highly associated with their self-attribution pointing to social failure (Barnhill, 2001; Myles, Barnhill, Hagiwara, Simpson, & Grisworld, 2001).

Attwood (2010) emphasized the unique or different types of friendship experienced by adolescents with AS. Given the difficulties in relating to others, Attwood further claimed that the negative experiences in friendship, including bullying, predispose adolescents with AS to develop a painful sense of being different, low self-esteem, anxiety, and eventually depression. The sadness and anxiety are consequently expressed as anger. Several case studies as well as clinical reports also presented that adolescents with AS experience discomfort or anxiety in social situations, have limited capacity to socialize with peers, and appear to be at risk for depression and suicide (Ghaziuddin, Weidmer-Mikhail, & Ghaziuddin, 1998; Tantam, 1991; Wolff, 1995).

Temple Grandin and Stephen Shore, both adults with Asperger's Syndrome, were able to articulate their social and emotional world through their self-written autobiographies. Grandin expressed, "I know I am missing something when other people swoon over a beautiful sunset. Intellectually I know it is beautiful, but I don't feel it" (Grandin, 1996, p. 89). Shore (2000) consistently shared how difficult it is for him to "read between the lines". Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright (2004) further confirmed in their study such reported deficits in empathy, or capacity to understand and feel what others feel. Similarly, a number of studies confirmed that people with AS have deficits in the domain of experience-sharing during emotion-based encounters, in which sharing and integrating experiences with peers becomes the major goal (Gutstein, 2005; Mundy, 1995).

Interpretative Phenomenology as a Theoretical Framework

Qualitative research gives "people who are often studied but seldom heard" a voice in the scientific community (Ferguson, Ferguson, & Taylor, 1992, p. 14). A qualitative framework that focuses on individuals' subjective experiences and cognitions is Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis or

IPA (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Interpretative phenomenology explores in detail how participants interpret and make sense of their personal and social world (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). IPA involves a two-stage interpretation process or a double hermeneutic (Palmer, 1969). The participant is trying to make sense of his or her world whereas the researcher is trying to make meaning of how the participant is trying to make sense of his or her experiences. IPA states that "access is both dependent on, and complicated by, the researcher's own conceptions which are required in order to make sense of that other personal world through a process of interpretative activity" (Smith, 1996, p. 264).

The present study takes an interpretative phenomenological lens to explore the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome. As of the present, two IPA studies have been conducted on PDDs but these have focused on perceptions or descriptions of friendship rather than the social-emotional world as a whole (e.g., Carrington et al., 2003; Daniel, 2006). Although friendship is a major part of the social-emotional world, it is argued that understanding and interpreting the social-emotional world as a whole can possibly provide a more holistic view of the dynamics and lived experience of a person with Asperger's Syndrome.

The social-emotional world as used in this study represents two dimensions of Carandang's (1981) model of the totality of a person. The other dimensions include the intellectual, the physical, and the moral or spiritual. Given that Asperger's Syndrome has been described as difficulties in social interactions and emotional relatedness, the study focuses solely on the social-emotional world. The social aspect explores a person's social interactions, including how one relates to others and how one makes and keeps friends; and how a person understands these interactions. The emotional aspect looks at a person's feelings and emotions towards these social situations, including one's emotional needs and emotional reactions to social events. Hence, exploring the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome is to explore his lived experience of the diagnosis itself, along with the social difficulties and emotions that accompany these experiences.

This study used the interpretative phenomenological lens as its theoretical contribution to understanding the social-emotional world of individuals with Asperger's Syndrome. This study explored how an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome experiences and makes sense of the self, and his social world.

METHOD

This qualitative study involved a semistructured interview with an adolescent diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome. As an initial exploration of the phenomenology of individuals with Asperger's Syndrome, it was deemed acceptable to do a single-case study. Such study can focus on exploring and interpreting the lived experience of the unique condition or diagnosis.

Description of the Participant and Researchers

An adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome was purposively sampled from a therapy center in Metro Manila. The participant was diagnosed primarily with Asperger's Disorder or High-Functioning Autism as validated by the referral letter of the developmental pediatrician. He has a degree of self-awareness of his condition as he has been receiving intervention to target some of his difficulties related to the disorder.

Vincent (not his real name for the purposes of confidentiality) is a 15-year-old male adolescent belonging to the upper class, and who was diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome during his childhood years. He is currently attending intervention programs such as counseling, speech therapy, and group Occupational Therapy focusing on social skills training. He is currently a secondary student in a private school. He is primarily taken care of by his parents.

The main researcher, an occupational therapist and a counseling psychologist specializing in children and adolescents, has had eleven years of experience in clinical work and social skills training of persons with developmental disabilities. The second researcher, a social and counseling psychologist, has had extensive experience in teaching and conducting qualitative research including the use of IPA as a framework and methodology.

Procedure

The participant was sampled from a list of clients referred to the primary researcher. Permission to conduct an interview and use the interview data for research purposes was first sought from the participant and his mother. Both the participant and his mother agreed to the research process. As such, informed consent for research and subsequent publication was

obtained. In consideration of the person's level of attention and information-processing, the data-gathering process was implemented on two separate days, for approximately 45 minutes each session, or a total of 93 minutes.

The instrument schedule was formulated by the main researcher based on a pilot interaction with another adolescent who has AS. A sample form of open-ended questioning is stated as follows:

> How are you and your friends? What is friendship for you? Can you tell me about your happiest/worst moment with a friend?

In general, the interview schedule was divided into three phases: (1) the warm-up and Draw-A-Person test; (2) the semi-structured interview; and, (3) the debriefing. Being true to the theoretical lens of IPA, the Draw-A-Person Test was only utilized as a stimulus for the participant's reflection on his characteristics. The interview process was relatively flexible and sensitive to the participant's emotional needs and thinking process. The intention was to capture and aid the participant in the meaning-making process of his social-emotional world according to his own pace. As such, there were numerous pauses and breaks as the adolescent reflected on the questions. In some instances, emotional processing was conducted to diffuse negative emotions. For example, when the participant was asked about bullying, he got upset and was consequently processed. Such processing was treated as part of the study as this is argued to still be a part of the participant's meaning-making process. Each interview session was recorded and transcribed; for which two transcribers were briefed and hired. The raw data totaled 34 pages.

Data Analysis and Validity Checks

After each interview phase, some portions of the transcript were clarified with the participant. Some words were changed following the participant's comments. The subsequent analysis of transcripts followed the procedure suggested by Smith & Osborn (2008). The first step of the analysis involved a detailed reading and rereading of the transcripts, along with the audiotapes. At this stage, salient topics, ideas, feelings, and potential labels were extracted and noted on each page of the transcript. The next stage involved grouping similar topics or ideas together into themes; producing a list of themes for each page. A smaller number of higher order or master themes emerged after a process of integrating or making connections between themes. The analysis was an iterative process, by which the emerging master themes were constantly checked and cross linked with

the participant's narratives to ensure that each theme was clearly represented in the data.

An additional validity check was carried out with an independent quality audit. This audit generated themes for comparison with those emerging from the analysis of the primary researcher. From the perspective of qualitative research, this audit was not conducted in order to ensure the accuracy or truth of the analysis, but rather to have another layer of abstraction from a non-clinical psychologist. The auditor concurred with six of seven master themes and added another theme. After the abstraction of master themes, the identified themes along with illustrative excerpts and some preliminary hypotheses were offered and discussed by the main researcher with the participant's parent as part of testimonial validity (Stiles, 1993). The master themes were confirmed by the parent.

RESULTS

The analysis of the data established eight higher-order themes that encapsulated Vincent's lived experience of Asperger's Syndrome. To visually present the structure of Vincent's social-emotional world, a table of the master themes, sub-themes, and examples of illustrative text was formed. For the purpose of elaboration and discussion, only the first four themes were presented in detail as these themes seem to reflect the unique lived experience of a person with Asperger's Syndrome. In contrast, the remaining four themes seemed to encapsulate typical adolescent issues and conflicts; and as such were not elaborated further. Following an interpretative phenomenological lens, Vincent's subjective experiences were presented together with the researcher's interpretation of these experiences. Thus, the results emphasized both the adolescent's subjective perception and the researcher's interpretation.

The eight higher-order themes were as follows:

1. Experiencing symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome
2. Issues in cognitive processing
3. Maladaptive coping patterns
4. Depression
5. Anxiety and outbursts
6. Experiencing typical adolescent needs and concerns
7. Intrapersonal issues
8. Family problems

Table 1 lists the specific sub-themes and illustrative quotation for each of these master themes.

Theme 1: Experiencing Symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome

Although no presupposed theories were used to identify themes, some themes that emerged from Vincent's phenomenology can be classified as symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome. Although Vincent could recount his experiences of these symptoms, he did not attribute them to his disorder. As such, he seemed unaware that his experiences were symptoms of a disorder. Asked on what he knows about Asperger's, Vincent replied, "I think it has something to do with antisocial or something, that's how far what I got. I don't know actually."

"It makes me what I am": The experience of atypical/stereo-typical behaviors. Even though he was unable to explain the syndrome, Vincent had a clear account of his experiences with atypical behaviors:

> "I sometimes like to bite my fingers and bite my nose and stuff and once in a while I chew my toenails which is kinda awkward, weird but still... it's just natural...when I was... five, I never really got rid of that habits. Specially the picking nose. I mean I do it seldomly now. Before it was like outright in front of the public make stuffing and putting my finger in my nose like this... And I just take it out and stare it for two seconds make sure no one's looking and stuffing in my mouth stuff. Actually I still do it."

The cited extract illustrated Vincent's lived experience of atypical behaviors, a common symptom of Asperger's Syndrome. What was striking is Vincent's capacity to recount his atypical behaviors even as early as five years old. Vincent further referred to these behaviors as making him appear *"weird"* to others though he considered them as *"natural"* for him. He seemed aware that his atypical behaviors are perceived as *"weird"* by others even though he does not understand the syndrome itself. A deeper awareness of the meaning of these behaviors is reflected in the following lines:

> "I've seen people get laugh at for doing that but I can't stop myself, I've tried. It's like I don't want to say, drinking, but it's like drinking. It's my own personal addiction. It's hard. ... I thought I suppressed it... Something in me, tells me, yes. But majority tells me it makes me what I am, so I should just keep it... It's weird. I can't explain it."

Table 1
Superordinate Themes and Constituent Sub-themes

Superordinate themes	Sub-themes	Example of illustrative text
Experiencing symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome	Difficulty with atypical/ stereotypical behaviors Difficulty in socialization Difficulty adapting to change and transitions	"It makes me what I am!" "I just sit there and watch them talk." "I don't want to grow up."
Issues in cognitive processing	Problems in social cognition Difficulties in problem-solving	"I am not sure if it's a subtle form of bullying."
Maladaptive coping patterns	PassivityAvoidance Family-initiated coping	"I don't want to say anything." "I cut all contacts with them."
Depression	Self-blame Suicidal thoughts	"I might be causing all of these!" "I felt like jumping through
Need to escape		window!" "All of everything is really not fair." "I would do...video games."
Anxiety and outbursts	Covert anxiety ConfusionShouting Physical outbursts	"I just blow up!"
Experiencing typical adolescent needs and concerns	Need for belongingness Need for independence	"I'm trying to get close to girls."
Intrapersonal issues Feelings of inferiority	Low self-esteem Self-acceptance Emerging self-analysis and/or self-reflection	"I'm a good friend to them, but I'm not a good friend to myself."
Family problems	Communication problems Problems relating or interacting with family members	"Sometimes, (my father) can be like mad at everyone and everything!"

In the above passage, Vincent made an analogy between his atypical behaviors and other people's personal addictions. He had also experienced unsuccessful suppression of these behaviors. He expressed confusion whether to suppress or accept these atypical behaviors; experiencing dissonance between what others perceive as *"weird"* and what he perceives as part of his identity.

"I just sit there and watch them talk": Socialization difficulties. Vincent's socialization experience is reflected in the lines that follow:

> (upon the researcher's instruction to describe his self-drawing)
>
> "I guess he's nice and friendly. Maybe a little outgoing and a little shy... and I guess he's sociable, kind of... uhm, he likes talking to people, uhm certain kinds of people. But he's fine with all kinds of people but more of with certain types of people.

Conflicting socialization patterns are reflected in his shifts from shy to outgoing or from being friendly to being choosy with certain kinds of people. Vincent also acknowledged experiencing problems in initiating social interaction as shown in these lines:

> "(I have) difficulty communicating and stuff. If I am with the people whom I am familiar with, I talk... If they're not, I am just silent there watching them talk. I am silent with people I don't know... and people I am disappointed with... but not with people I am close to."

From the previous statement, Vincent showed awareness of his difficulties in relating to others and seemed to know the context as to when he experiences socialization problems. Problems with social interactions are considered to be the hallmark symptom of Asperger's Syndrome.

"I don't want to grow up": Difficulty with transitions. Vincent also shared difficulties dealing with change or transition:

> Ok then, in that case, I guess, most of the reason why I'm having most these problems, is that of, is that honestly, I think it just goes back with the problem about change...I mean, I don't want to grow up, that's the easiest best simple way to say it... ah, partly 'cause most of these people are preparing me for college...I don't know if I am ready to go to college or have a job or survive on college or cause I don't know."

From the previous excerpt, Vincent expressed his anxiety about becoming an adult. Although this may be a reflection of adolescence, the

syndrome itself is possibly compounding the attitude towards change and transition.

Theme 2: Issues in Cognitive Processing

"Am not sure if it's a subtle form of bullying": Difficulties in social cognition. Apart from experiencing the typical symptoms of AS, Vincent also experienced difficulties in social cognition, specifically understanding and conceptualizing certain kinds of social interactions. An example of such experience is cited:

> Vincent: I was actually never really bullied. There was always light teasing, bad jokes or people taking advantage of me. Am not sure if that's a subtle form of bullying. Then it's bullying?
>
> Researcher: Well, if you were taken advantage of, that could be a subtle form of bullying.
>
> Vincent: Well, then I was bullied in four occasions. Before I had friends and I was doing homework for them. But I stopped and I threw books on their face... just an expression. I wished.

In this excerpt, it seemed that the meaning-making process of bullying happened during the interview itself. Vincent's responses further reflected that he was angry when he experienced bullying, but never really understood that it was *"bullying"*. Thus, certain social experiences might evoke certain feelings from Vincent but it does not mean that he is able to understand the social situation. Such cognitive processing issues further affected his relationship with peers. For instance, at one point in his life, he got confused between friendship, servitude, and bullying:

> "When I was younger, I called it friendship. When I look back I call it servitude...People tell me to do things... digging holes in the sandbox. . .going out even if it meant my parents getting angry... get(ting) stuff for them even if they are perfectly capable... (like) I go and pick (their pen) up... hmm, didn't realize it was bullying until I was like, until when I reflected on it."

Vincent also narrated instances when he was hurt by jokes but could not remember or explain why the joke was hurtful. He also remembered being teased and called names but do not know why he was being teased.

Vincent may also have a limited conceptualization of friendship. The interview itself gave him an opportunity to further reflect on friendship:

> "Uhm... (long pause) well, friendship is... (long pause)... I guess friendship is more like listen to problems or help. I don't know."
> "I have no idea": Limitations in problem-solving. The difficulties in understanding social situations can cause or can further be aggravated by limited problem-solving skills.

Vincent recounted a scenario in which he had difficulty understanding children, particularly his younger cousins. Upon dealing with his annoyance, he tried to talk to them but eventually resorted to hitting them with a stick. In addition, Vincent considered his inability to initiate interaction with strangers as a problem but seemed lost on how to address this. Asked how he dealt with this problem, Vincent replied, "Sometimes, I would love to deal with that, other times, you know what, I just want to get rid of that problem (it's just that) I have no idea how."

Theme 3: Maladaptive Coping Patterns

"I don't want to say anything": Passivity. With his limited problem-solving skills, Vincent recounted being passive in dealing with conflict situations. Upon asking him how he dealt with his mother when she forces him to do what he does not like, he answered, "I don't want to say anything, 'cause I don't want to shout at them or them shout at me... (there is) no (other way)."

"I cut all contacts with them:" Avoidance. Similar to passivity, Vincent shared that he preferred to avoid asserting or expressing his feelings and needs to others, more specifically to peers who have offended him. Asked as to how he dealt with bullying, Vincent replied, "I cut all contacts with them... I cut off the phone... I cut off the chat... and I pretend that nothing ever happened." Although it seemed an adequate strategy to get away from being bullied, it was also a disabling strategy to deal with friendship difficulties in general, as it consequently limited his relationships with his peers.

"People who weren't set up": Family-initiated efforts. Given his socialization difficulties, Vincent's family would set up a circle of friends for him. Although the family perceived that setting up friends was helpful, Vincent resented the idea that peers interacted with him only because they were set up by his parents and family friends (as opposed to the natural way of interacting). He desired genuine friendship, particulary "people who weren't set up" by his family. He possibly felt inferior or insecure when interacting with friends who were set up by his parents.

Theme 4: Depression

"I might be causing all of these": Self-blame. In general, Vincent seemed to be aware of his socialization difficulties and problems relating with others. However, perhaps because he did not have an extensive knowledge of his symptoms or his disorder, he blamed himself for all of these problems:

> " 'Cause honestly really don't know why I'm like that...I might be causing all of these basically. . .It's kind of pessimistic and really, really, really, really kind of bad thought that this to suicide and stuff, but yeah. Everything, I thought was bad for two, four years, is because I made it bad, it's really hard to explain. And I don't know what I can do about it."

"I felt like jumping through window": Suicidal thoughts. Vincent's difficulty with adapting to change, more specifically the transition to high school coupled with the daily school load, and possibly aggravated by limited problem-solving skills, predisposed him to conceive of committing suicide:

> "But when I was entering high school, I felt like jumping on through window, which is really stupid... Sometimes I also used to think of hanging above on my lamp...back then I was... really overwhelmed of the amount of work."

"All of everything is really not fair": Pessimism. Apart from blaming himself, Vincent regarded his life as unfair. Such view was further aggravated perhaps by his lack of understanding about his condition and his family's efforts in rearing and helping him:

> "All of everything is really not fair. ...(like) why is everything bad happening to me? Why are you mad at me, I didn't do anything wrong to you. Why are you treating me this way? Why don't I get hooked? School much, I don't really care honestly. Why do you care all of these? Why are searching through my stuff? You don't have any right, it's my personal things. That's the way."

"I would do...video games": The need to escape. Upon inquiry as to what stopped him from committing suicide, Vincent replied:

> "I live in myself, kind of a really dumb thing to do but I would do stuff that would, video games... that would make me stop thinking about the bad mess of the world...(video games) kinda relaxes my brain so it puts me back to a sense of rhythm...(when) my house is all gloomy for me, I just go the computer and do whatever."

Theme 5: Anxiety and Outbursts

Sub-themes of this theme include covert anxiety, confusion, shouting, and physical outburst. These are complementary to Vincent's passive ways of coping. He would tend to keep his anxiety covert, which consequently built anger that would push him into outbursts. In describing the bad point of his self-drawing, Vincent described himself as, "sometimes he just like pent up anger... (in) people in general, and things he gets annoyed about... there's sometimes just when I just blow up."

Theme 6: Typical Adolescent Needs and Concerns

Sub-themes of typical adolescence include the need for belongingness (same sex and the other sex) as well as the need for independence. For instance, Vincent verbalized, "I'm trying to get close to girls so my friends in one of the circles is introducing me to girls. So I don't know when that will happen, it's going to happen soon. Maybe next week, I can hopefully meet someone, but for now it's... not much." Although such a need is typical for adolescents, the process of satisfying the need might be more difficult for Vincent in consideration of his diagnosis.

Theme 7: Intrapersonal Issues

Sub-themes for intrapersonal issues include low self-esteem, feelings of inferiority, difficulty owning his feelings or self-acceptance, and emerging self-analysis or self-reflection capabilities. Low self-esteem was somewhat a consequence or part of his pessimism and self-blame. For instance, upon asking him what role he was really good at, Vincent verbalized:

> "I can tend to give really good advice to people, and... the students...(and they) have better life right now...I'm proud to say that I did something to help change some people's lives. And I can't change mine, which is really ironic, and hypocritical... I'm a good friend to them, but I'm not a good friend to myself."

Theme 8: Family Problems

This theme includes communication issues and problems relating with family members. For instance, Vincent described his interaction with his father as, "Sometimes, he can be like mad at everyone and everything... sometimes he just talks a lot. And I just really, don't really mind."

The Social-emotional World of an Adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome

As a summary response to the research question, the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome, through Vincent, can be characterized as comprised of themes unique to individuals with Asperger's Syndrome and themes shared with adolescents in the same developmental stage. First was a social-emotional world characterized by the unique experience of the symptoms of the disorder alongside issues in cognitive processing, maladaptive coping patterns, and experiences of depression. In contrast were needs and concerns typical of adolescents including anxiety, the need for independence and belongingness, issues with the self, and issues with the family. Hence, this single-case IPA revealed a unique and shared phenomenology of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome.

Vincent's unique interpretative phenomenology as an adolescent with AS showed that he could articulate his experiences, thoughts, and feelings in relation to symptoms and social difficulties and yet not be able to fully comprehend the meaning of these symptoms or the syndrome itself. What may be underlying Vincent's difficulty in social interactions and his inability to cope with social situations were issues in social cognition and information processing. Although Vincent exhibits awareness or recognition of social events and interactions, the capacity to recognize fully the meaning of these events and interaction seemed lacking. As such, Vincent has a different and unique view of friendship, teasing, and bullying.

Vincent also experienced the needs and concerns typical of adolescents in his developmental stage. Similar to his peers, Vincent also experiences the need to be close and intimate with others, expressing a desire to develop friendships and romantic relationships. He also experiences problems in communicating and interacting with his parents, common among adolescents who are negotiating independence from their families. Issues about the self likewise arise. Such concerns can then lead to typical adolescent anxiety and outbursts.

This unique and shared social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome was further argued to be part and parcel of the adolescent's identity development and meaning-making process.

DISCUSSION

This discussion of the interpretative phenomenology of an adolescent diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome is divided into four areas: (1) Vincent's social-emotional world; (2) understanding AS and adolescence; (3) under-

standing the unique cognitive processes of person's with AS; and, (4) understanding AS and a person's identity. This is followed by insights on how to support the positive identity development of adolescents with Asperger's Syndrome.

Vincent's Social-emotional World

Throughout the years of growing up, Vincent had a unique emotional world, primarily echoed by his experience of being different, along with his atypical/stereotypical behaviors, which he articulated as somewhat natural. As Vincent described, "I sometimes like to bite my fingers and bite my nose and stuff and...I chew my toenails which is kinda awkward, weird but still... it's just natural." He also grew up experiencing social difficulties, "(I have) difficulty communicating and stuff... I am just silent there watching them talk," as Vincent put it. He also had confusions, and possibly cognitive difficulties in processing the meaning of social situations, like bullying, or what to do to deal and solve certain situations. On top of all these difficulties, Vincent further felt confused and unable to understand them in the context of AS, which he plainly described as, "it has something to do with antisocial or something, that's how far what I got." Thus, instead of understanding his social-emotional world in the context of AS, Vincent blamed himself, "I might be causing all of these basically." Such self-blame predisposed him to pessimism, depression and suicidal thoughts, such that he shared that at one point in his life "(he) felt like jumping on through window...(or) hanging above on my lamp." All of these reflect Vincent's yearning to understand himself, and possibly his search for his identity as an adolescent with AS. In fact, upon inquiry if he wants to remove his atypical behaviors, which is perceived by others as *weird*, Vincent answered, "Something in me, tells me, yes. But majority tells me it makes me what I am, so I should just keep it... It's weird. I can't explain it."

Vincent's process of understanding himself, together with associated difficulties, and experiences of AS, can be considered as his unique social emotional world. On the other hand, the process of searching for identity, as well as yearning to be accepted, and belong in a group, or interact with the other sex ("I'm trying to get close to girls..." as Vincent shared), can be considered as a typical social-emotional world that he shares with other adolescents. In a way, from an interpretative phenomenological standpoint, Vincent, who is diagnosed with AS, shared with us his need and clamor to understand his adolescent needs, his confusions and unique way of understanding or cognitive processing, and his identity.

Understanding Asperger's Syndrome and Adolescence

The social-emotional themes an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome shares with other adolescents can be viewed in the context of an adolescent's identity development process. The search for the self and establishing one's identity is the hallmark of adolescence (Erikson, 1968). The task of self-definition demands that the adolescent search for his true self amidst a changing world in order to achieve an identity (Lerner, 2002). As it is, the process of searching for one's identity can create anxiety in an adolescent. Furthermore, the primary motivation at this developmental stage is to experience autonomy from one's parents and to experience acceptance from one's peers. Parental failure or difficulty in accommodating the adolescent's developmental needs can possibly contribute to the development of communication and interaction problems. All of these were experienced by Vincent, a 15-year-old adolescent diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome.

Despite these shared adolescent needs and concerns, it is argued that an adolescent with AS can have more difficulty in responding to the developmental tasks at this stage. As seen in the case of Vincent, he may have difficulty in his social world, particularly in meeting his belongingness and socialization needs, due to the symptoms of AS. Furthermore, parents can become overprotective and provide him with less opportunity for independence and autonomy. Past studies have shown that in general, parents of children who are sick or have long-term illness often experience conflict between promoting independence and a desire to protect their sick child (Ollson, Sawyer, & Boyce, 2000; Schmidt & Seiffge-Krenke, 1996).

Understanding the Unique Cognitive Processes of a Person with Asperger's Syndrome

On the other hand, the unique social-emotional themes experienced by Vincent, including communication problems, exhibiting unique stereotypical behaviors, lack of social competence, and difficulty in adapting to change are listed in the diagnostic criteria of AS (APA, 2000). In Vincent's case, it is possible that some individuals with AS are able to experience the symptoms but are unable to attribute these to the disorder or syndrome.

The problems in Vincent's social world, particularly social cognition, specifically in understanding other people and social interactions, can be attributed to the person's unique cognitive style and neurobiology (Baron-Cohen, 2000). Baron-Cohen (2000) explained that people with AS may be

too focused on objects and details rather than people. This cognitive style is a disadvantage in social situations but can be an advantage in the fields of mathematics, computing, linguistics, crafts, engineering, or other sciences. This unique cognitive style limits the ability of a person with AS to fully understand the meaning of social interactions, putting him at a disadvantage in a society that expects people to be people-focused and social, rather than object-focused and solitary. The inability to fully recognize the meaning of a negative social interaction evokes negative feelings (e.g., anger) and consequently maladaptive coping patterns, such as passivity and avoidance.

Thus, despite an initial motivation to interact with others, the cognitive difficulty to make sense of the social interaction and its accompanying negative emotionality often creates an unrewarding social experience for the person with AS. With increasing age and social pressures, individuals diagnosed with AS tend to be ostracized or ridiculed. These experiences are expected to lead to an increased likelihood of social withdrawal, isolation, depression, and suicidal attempts on the part of the person with AS (Rourke &Tsatsanis, 2000). It is further argued that depression can be aggravated by the person's personality (e.g., pessimism). Such depression can also possibly aggravate the symptoms of AS and create another cycle of social incompetence, confusion about how the self is to interact with others, maladaptive coping patterns, and further emotional negativity.

Understanding Asperger's Syndrome and Identity Development

The most striking finding of the study was Vincent's thoughts towards his atypical behaviors, which include biting his fingers, chewing his toenails, and picking his nose. Upon asking him if he wants to remove his atypical behaviors, he replied, "Something in me, tells me, yes. But majority tells me it makes me what I am, so I should just keep it... It's weird. I can't explain it." Vincent's own meaning-making of his atypical behaviors led to the argument that the symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome may be subjectively experienced as part of one's identity as a person.

Considering that Asperger's Syndrome is a form of Pervasive Developmental Disorder (PDD), some of the symptoms and behavioral manifestations are possibly persistent and life-long (APA, 2000). From the point of view of the person with AS, these symptoms are not viewed as symptomatic of a disorder but as part of one's self-identity. Considering its pervasiveness throughout the lifespan, a person with AS may grow up with these atypical behaviors and learn to perceive these as part of his sense of self, despite adult reprimands, behavioral management, or clinical intervention.

One value of interpretative phenomenology in this case is to reveal the conflict or dissonance an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome may experience. The inner battle to suppress or accept the behavioral symptoms is made apparent. Vincent's struggle to restrain his unique atypical behaviors came from the influence of society and the external environment, primarily from the negative reactions of other people. On the other hand, Vincent also experienced an inner struggle to accept himself, to express his unique atypical behaviors perhaps in a more socially-appropriate manner, because he believes that is part of expressing one's self and one's identity.

It can also be argued that interventions aimed at helping an adolescent with AS may benefit from respecting the adolescent's self-identity and self-expression. Recognizing that the phenomena labeled as symptoms and a syndrome are concurrently experienced as dimensions of one's self, interventions can be more sensitive to the phenomenology of a person diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome. Recognizing the individual's phenomenology may mean being more careful in the use of clinical terms such as symptoms and syndrome; being more understanding of the person's atypical behaviors; and valuing the person who has become unique and different because of Asperger's Syndrome (Baron-Cohen, 2000).

It is possible that the negative emotions that individuals with AS are made to experience from being labeled abnormal aggravate anxiety, thereby producing and affecting the cycle of unsatisfying relationships with peers and eventually depression and other psychiatric comorbidities (Tantam, 2000). It is imperative therefore for parents and team professionals, including clinical psychologists, occupational therapists, speech therapists, developmental pediatricians, and educators, to find ways to support people with AS in building and constructing a positive sense of self and identity.

IMPLICATIONS TO THEORY, PRACTICE, AND RESEARCH

One implication of this study is to highlight the need of people with AS to socialize and be understood, instead of emphasizing their impairment. As such, this study implicates the possibility of reconstructing Asperger's Syndrome particularly in relation to how it is conceptualized in the DSM IV-TR. For instance, the DSM IV-TR phrase of "impairment in social interaction" can be misleading as people with AS want to have friends and are able to develop friendships (Bauminger & Kasari, 2000; Carrington et al., 2003; Church, Alinsanski, & Amanullah, 2000; Daniel, 2006). As Baron-Cohen (2000) suggests, people with Asperger's Syndrome or High-

Functioning Autism are not necessarily impaired. Instead, he argues that "they are different in ways that can be described in value-free terms" (p. 490). He further argues that "being more object-focused than people-focused is clearly only a disability in an environment that expects everyone to be social" (Baron- Cohen, 2000, p. 490).

Asperger's Syndrome can be conceptualized as a unique way of recognizing or processing the self and the social world. Rather than focusing solely on the difficulty in social interaction, it might be useful to carefully examine the thought processes of individuals with AS when they engage in social interactions. Understanding the cognitive processes underlying behavioral difficulties in relating with others may create therapeutic interventions and educational curricula that target the social cognition and meaning-making process of individuals with AS.

The results of the study further implicate the need for community-based and school-based intervention programs that responds to the social-emotional needs of adolescents with Asperger's Syndrome. Wolfberg (2009) has emphasized the need for the educational system to focus on developing social relationships, acceptance, tolerance, and understanding. Age-appropriate information about AS can also be shared to avoid misunderstandings and misconceptions (McCracken, 2009).

Lastly, the study further highlights the need to support the social-emotional world of persons with AS through some possible direct interventions, which include:

(a) improving their social skills through the use of social stories which give them cues on how to respond appropriately, and through subtle modeling of peers which allows them to imitate appropriate social behaviors (e.g., Carrington et al., 2003; Gray & Garand, 1993);

(b) intensifying support, analysis, and management during their major transitions (e.g., transition from basic to secondary education) to lessen anxiety and perhaps prevent suicidal ideation from difficulties dealing with change;

(c) expanding and formulating a balanced repertoire of anxiety-alleviating strategies, whether social or solitary, such as video games, creative arts, literary writing, and sports – as these can serve as occupations that can respond to their need to express themselves, perhaps feel good and competent, and free from social demands;

(d) balancing the need to give support and to allow for independence;

(e) developing and enhancing their problem-solving skills instead of solving their problems, perhaps before and during the adolescent stage; and,

(f) helping them develop self-awareness and understanding of their unique condition as individuals with Asperger's Syndrome.

Future research on Asperger's Syndrome and other Pervasive Developmental Disorders can perhaps focus on the following: (a) analyzing the discourses of educators, lawmakers, and parents about these conditions; (b) examining the problem- solving strategies of individuals with AS and PDDs; (c) looking at the broader topic of the inner world of PDD; (d) looking at existing social skills programs and strategies utilized by parents and various health professionals for these conditions; (e) a careful examination of existing school curriculum or programs for socialization; and (f) phenomenological studies on children with Asperger's Syndrome and other Pervasive Developmental Disorders.

Adolescence, for individuals with Asperger's Syndrome, can become an overwhelming experience filled with anxieties, confusion, outbursts, and even depression. Guiding adults are called upon to further understand their uniqueness as persons (as opposed to the persistent view of weirdness or impairment), their repertoire of interests and occupations, their cognitive processing and problem solving, and their subjective or inner worlds, prior to mediation and intervention. In this way, their social-emotional needs are targeted in a more sensitive and effective way, consequently promoting a more positive identity development.

IPA and the Research Journey

As we have experienced, IPA allows the researcher to understand the unique lived experience of an individual. IPA pushes the researcher to bridge the gap between experience and theory, between personal accounts of subjective realities and conceptual explanations of these subjective realities. Through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, we came to know Vincent as a person, with his own meaning-making process of his unique experiences beyond his clinical diagnosis. Through IPA, we discovered and came to understand the person *living* the syndrome.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful and indebted to Vincent and his mother, who allowed us the opportunity to explore and understand the social-emotional world of an adolescent with Asperger's Syndrome. We are also thankful to Ms. Gigi Tirones , Ms. Hazel Melanie Ramos, and Dr. Alexis Reyes for sharing their time and/or resources in completing this research.

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PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 2010, 44 (1), 114-125

An Exercise to Teach the Psychological Benefits of Solitude: The Date with the Self

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Solitude – time spent by oneself – is a common human experience, though its possible benefits may not be appreciated by many. In a pretest-posttest quasi-experimental evaluation of an exercise designed to teach the psychological benefits of solitude, 54 undergraduate students went on a date with the self, i.e., planning and deliberately spending an afternoon or evening by oneself engaged in personally chosen leisure activity. Results showed that the date with the self produced significant gains in appreciation of time spent alone, relative to a comparison group of 49 students. Of the features of solitude, anonymity and low levels of negative affect during the exercise accounted for increased appreciation for time spent alone, while feelings of inner peace, low levels of loneliness, and previous attitudes toward solitude were related to overall enjoyment of the activity.

Solitude, time alone, preference for solitude, loneliness, well-being

Solitude – spending time by oneself – is a ubiquitous psychological experience. Though social animals, humans engage in numerous activities in everyday life accompanied by no one else but themselves. Taking a late bus ride home in the evening, reading a book in bed on a lazy Sunday afternoon, even mundane things like quietly writing a to-do list on one's desk or spending a few extra minutes in the shower – all these are exemplars of solitude experiences. Research using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), in which participants were given beeper devices and contacted at random points during the day and asked to note their current activity and location, has estimated that approximately 29% of human waking hours are spent alone (Larson, 1990).

Solitude is linked to other related, but distinct, constructs. These include isolation— the total absence of social company, and loneliness—the negative emotional state of dissatisfaction with the quantity and quality of one's

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social relations (Burger, 2010; Leary, Herbst & McCrary, 2003). Isolation is an objective state, unlike solitude and loneliness, which are largely subjective experiences. One can be isolated but feel perfectly content; at the same time, a person can be in a crowd and still feel lonely. Solitude and loneliness, in contrast, can be distinguished by their different affective valences and by a cognitive feature: during solitude moments, we have little or no expectation of higher levels of social interaction. That is, being by – or indeed, *being with* – ourselves is fine and simply enough. Loneliness, on the other hand, involves a longing to correct a discrepancy between a person's ideal and actual levels of social interaction (Russell, 1996).

Solitude and Psychological Well-being

While loneliness has received much research attention because of its links with negative psychological functioning and its pervasiveness across time and culture (Ayalon & Shiovitz-Ezra, 2010; Rokach, 2004; Russell, 1996), solitude has been relatively less explored by scholars and clinicians, with a few exceptions. Solitude has been cited by a handful of psychologists studying subjective well-being. The humanistic psychologist Abraham Maslow (1970); Sumerlin & Bundrick, 1996) proposed that the capacity to appreciate solitude was one of the defining characteristics of self-actualized individuals. Researchers in the positive psychology tradition such as Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1992) have argued that solitary skills (the ability to handle isolation and enjoy solitude), not just social skills, are important for happiness, stress management, and flow (see also Byrnes, 1983; Delle Fave, Massimini, & Bassi, 2011; Larson & Lee, 1996; Rubenstein & Shaver, 1982). Indeed, solitude has been described by one clinical scholar as a "return to the self" (Storr, 1988).

Solitude theorists have proposed a number of benefits related to time spent alone: freedom, creativity, intimacy, and spirituality (Long & Averill, 2003). First, being by oneself may provide freedom from social constraints in thought and action, as well as greater ability to engage in desired activities which a person may have difficulty doing when part of a dyad or a group. Second, spending time alone could facilitate creativity – many thinkers, artists, and writers from Michelangelo to Kafka have taken advantage of and advocated solitude in the production of masterpieces of creative thought and expression. In a letter to fellow writer Marcelo H. del Pilar, the nationalist poet and novelist José Rizal wrote, "I prefer to be buried in solitude" (Kalaw, 1930). Third, solitude could make individuals feel connections with significant others more intensely. This ironic process is exemplified in popular music

that suggests that when we are by ourselves, we often think of and long for the persons we love. Finally, solitude may be associated with enhanced spirituality. Many faith systems provide us with exemplars of individuals who have used time alone, often in prolonged periods, to develop wisdom and insight into the human condition, including Moses, Jesus of Nazareth, the prophet Muhammad, and the Buddha.

Empirical research supports the idea that solitude can be beneficial. ESM-based studies led by the developmental psychologist Reed Larson and colleagues (Larson, 1990, 1997, 1999; Larson & Lee, 1996) have shown, for example, that solitude experiences are indeed related to global as well as short-term psychological adjustment. In one ESM study that followed fifth to ninth graders for a one-week period, moderate amounts of time spent alone were significantly linked to fewer parent-reported behavioral problems, higher teacher-rated adjustment, lower depression scores, and even higher grade point averages (Larson, 1997). Another study documented lower levels of negative self-consciousness and higher levels of concentration among teenagers during times spent by themselves, followed by a boost in cheerfulness and alertness after two hours of solitude (Larson, 1999).

Other researchers have focused on the capacity for solitude and have found similar positive results. In one survey comparing US college students and unsheltered homeless adult men, individual differences in capacity for solitude were correlated with a stronger sense of personal freedom and higher self-acceptance (Sumerlin & Bundrick, 1996). Children who report being able to handle time alone exhibit more task autonomy inside the classroom and less social anxiety, compared to less able peers (Youngblade, Berlin, & Belsky, 1999). Among adults, comfort in spending time alone is correlated with lower sadness, fewer negative physical symptoms, and higher life satisfaction (Larson & Lee, 1996), as well as less frequent bouts of boredom and loneliness (Burger, 1995).

Despite these psychological benefits associated with solitude and its appreciation, time spent alone may not be readily appreciated by many. Even solitude researchers concede that spending time by oneself may not strike most people, especially adolescents, as an especially appealing activity. Following this observation combined with time alone's theorized and documented benefits, solitude has been described as "a bitter-tasting but salutary medicine" (Larson, 1997, p. 90).

Since solitude is a relatively accessible experience imbued with a range of possible benefits, how can its appreciation be deliberately developed? One solution may be found in the psychology classroom context – or more specifically, outside the classroom context. While direct instruction may

work to instill knowledge of solitude and its benefits, I argue that psychology teachers can enable students to engage time spent alone more positively using active learning and guided experience (Davis & Buskist, 2006; see also Eiser, Shook & Fazio, 2007, for the effects of exploration on appreciation and attitude formation, generally). Active learning exercises, which encourage students to experience a material in vivid, contextual ways and process information more deeply, are effective in developing appreciation and knowledge structures related to diverse psychological phenomena, in this case, solitude.

In this paper, I describe the structure and empirical evaluation of an active learning exercise from an undergraduate course in personality psychology designed to make students directly experience and appreciate time spent alone in an effective and enjoyable way.

METHOD

The Assignment: The Date with the Self

During a class discussion on solitude, I assigned students an out-of-classroom exercise – the date with the self. That is, students set aside an afternoon or evening of at least three hours to engage in personally chosen leisure activity entirely by themselves. I presented sample activities as suggestions, including going to a cinema, eating at a restaurant, visiting a park or museum, enjoying a walk in nature, etc., with the self as their "date". Students were instructed not to think that they were not going on this date "alone"; rather, they would be going with a companion who is "very special", i.e., themselves.

In addition to this fundamental cognitive frame, I posed a number of specific behavioral guidelines that would apply to any other type of date, like discouraging mobile phone use and book reading. The same way that constantly composing sms messages or burying oneself in a book during a date would probably be inconsistent with the goals of dating as shared pleasurable leisure time (Rose & Frieze, 1993), the date with the self required actively engaging time alone as a purposeful event. Students were given one week to carry out the date with the self and asked to submit a two-page reflection paper on their experience.

Evaluation Design

To test the efficacy of this exercise, I conducted an empirical evaluation of the date with the self by comparing before and after scores in views toward solitude of students who were assigned the activity, relative to a non-equivalent comparison group of students. In this pretest-posttest quasi-experimental design, baseline data on appreciation of time spent alone were collected via standardized questionnaires administered at the beginning of the semester. Parallel posttests were conducted in the class sessions immediately after the exercise (approximately two-thirds into the semester).

Participants

Fifty-four students (ages ranging from 18 to 20) in an undergraduate personality psychology course in a public university in Metro Manila participated in the exercise as part of course requirements. Students assigned to go on a date with the self were offered an alternative activity if they preferred otherwise; none took this option. A sample of 49 university students (ages from 18 to 20) taking introductory psychology who did not receive the exercise served as the comparison group. Pretest data on solitude appreciation were collected at the beginning of the semester, and posttests were conducted immediately after the exercise, approximately twelve weeks into the 16-week semester. Students answered the questionnaires confidentially, and all data were sealed and analyzed only at the end of the semester after final course marks had been handed out.

Measures

To measure appreciation for time spent alone, students answered Burger's (1995) Preference for Solitude Scale (pretest $\alpha = 0.81$, posttest $\alpha = 0.80$). In addition, using a modified version of the Varieties of Solitude questionnaire (Long, Seburn, Averill, & More, 2003), daters rated how nine different meaningful aspects of solitude were applicable in their date experience, using seven-point Likert-type scales. These nine meanings of time spent alone, identified in the research literature using factor analysis (Long et al., 2003), were: (1) anonymity/autonomy; (2) creativity; (3) diversion; (4) inner peace; (5) intimacy; (6) negative affect; (7) problem-solving; (8) self-discovery; and (9) spirituality (see Appendix). Finally, enjoyment of the exercise was assessed using two items ("How enjoyable did you find

this activity?" and "How likely would you engage in an activity like this in the future?"), using seven-point Likert-type scaling, and later summed. Responses to the two enjoyment items showed good intercorrelation, $r(52) = 0.79$, $p < 0.001$ ($\alpha = 0.86$).

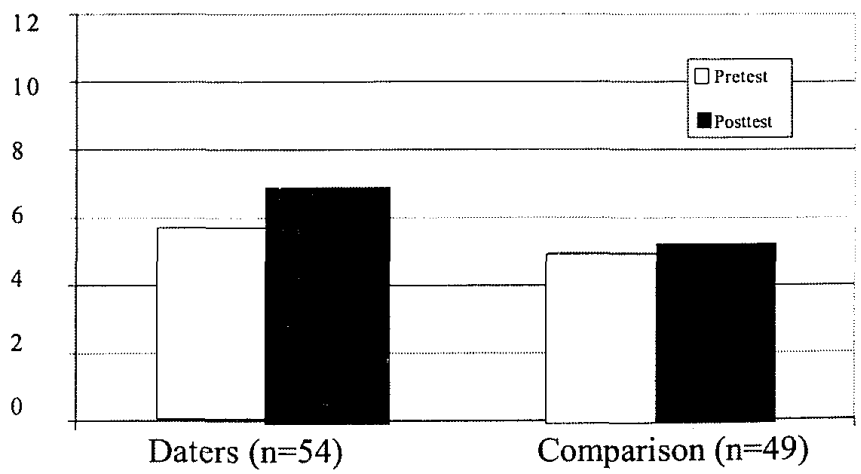
RESULTS

Gains in Solitude Appreciation

Students in the daters group reported baseline attitude levels not significantly different from the comparison group (daters $M = 5.56$, $SD = 3.11$, vs. comparison $M = 4.94$, $SD = 3.11$). At the beginning of the semester, the two groups were comparable in attitudes toward time spent alone, $t(101) = 1.01$, $p > .1$.

After the activity, students from the daters group reported increased positive attitudes toward solitude (mean difference = +1.17, $SD = 2.14$). These gain scores were higher than those of students in the comparison group (mean difference = +0.14, $SD = 2.00$). As recommended by Dimitrov & Runrill (2003) for nonrandomized control-group designs, an analysis of covariance with pretest scores as a covariate was conducted. The difference in posttest scores for the two groups was significant, $F(1,100) = 9.44$, $p < .01$. Going out on the date with the self had a positive impact on solitude appreciation (see Figure 1), and this increased appreciation was significant even when controlling for prior attitudes toward time spent alone.

Figure 1. Changes in appreciation of solitude among daters versus comparison group before and after the activity.



To explore factors that could account for the increase in solitude appreciation, an internal analysis using stepwise multiple regression was conducted on the daters subsample. Results suggested that a sense of anonymity/autonomy ($B = 0.56, t = 3.74, p < 0.001$) and low levels of negative affect (B = -0.35, t = -2.63, $p < 0.01$) predicted increased solitude appreciation, $F(2,51) = 13.00, p < .001, R = 0.58$, adjusted $R^2 = 0.31$. That is, the individual freedom experienced during the time alone activity, along with low levels of negative emotion, contributed to the experience's impact on solitude appreciation.

Enjoyment of the Date With The Self

In addition to improving attitudes toward time spent alone, the date with the self also proved to be highly enjoyable ($M = 11.47, SD = 2.53$, on a 2-to-14 scale, with higher scores indicating higher enjoyment). Another regression analysis indicated that three factors contributed to enjoyment: feelings of calmness and serenity ($B = 0.42, t = 3.85, p < .001$), low levels of negative affect (B = -0.37, t = -3.30, $p < .01$), and baseline attitudes toward time spent alone ($B = 0.23, t = 2.37, p < .05$). This model accounted for a moderate amount of variance, $R = 0.74$, adjusted $R^2 = 0.51, F(3,50) = 19.56$, $p < .001$. A main contributor to the enjoyableness of the exercise was the calmness and serenity it provided; on the other hand, negative feelings about being alone made the exercise less enjoyable. Finally, as expected, prior individual differences in preference for time spent alone predicted overall enjoyment of the date with the self.

DISCUSSION

Unlike its distressing sibling loneliness, solitude can be a positive psychological experience. Solitude can be a context for self-renewal (Storr, 1988) and a tool for the pursuit of creativity and insight, as one basks in the freedom and serenity it can offer. The capacity to handle and enjoy solitude is also linked to psychological adjustment, including less depression, greater sense of personal agency, and higher life satisfaction. This appreciation of time spent alone can be developed using an active learning exercise such as the date with the self, in which individuals mindfully engage in a personally chosen leisure activity, with themselves as companions. Empirical assessment of the activity indicated that it serves as an effective and enjoyable exercise in spending time alone.

Aside from the exercise allowing personal fun and reflection during a point in the semester when academic workloads were increasing, informal accounts from students suggested that a salient aspect of the activity was the construction of the time spent alone as a "date". Since dating is socially scripted as purposeful, interpersonal leisure time (Rose & Frieze, 1993), by activating this cognitive frame, students may have had the opportunity to rethink the meaning and value of time spent alone. Because dating is social, the purposeful companionship with oneself was emphasized. This is reflected in the explicit framing in the instructions for the activity: the exercise is not about time spent *without others*, but about time spent *with oneself*. Such a cognitive reappraisal of time spent alone can be a strategy not only to enable individuals to deal with the solitude that is inevitable in modern life (toward gaining "solitary skills"; Csikszentmihalyi, 1992), but to develop more positive attitudes about being alone – that indeed, solitude can be enjoyable and not an essentially lonely, negative experience.

In addition to cognitive reframing, another factor that may contribute to the impact of the date with the self is the mindful planning required by the exercise. Students had to make time in their schedules for the activity and decide on their own what leisure activities to pursue – in other words, the date was a concrete instance of "active solitude" (Rubenstein & Shaver, 1982). As argued by positive psychologists, this process of planning, without the social constraints usually present in negotiating a date with another person (Rose & Frieze, 1993), can increase the likelihood of a positive experience and offer a sense of personal control over that pleasure (Bryant & Veroff, 2007).

Caveats and Conclusions

Interventions for addressing loneliness often rely on cognitive strategies or behavioral training to improve social skills (McWhirter & Joran, 1996). In this paper, I presented a simple out-of-classroom intervention that relies on a cognitive strategy enacted in behavioral terms, one that focuses not on alleviating loneliness, but on enhancing the positive experience of time spent alone. Such "positive interventions" (Sin & Lyubormisky, 2009) may not necessarily fix or remedy something deficient in the traditional clinical sense, but may be useful as an adjunct to strategies for preventing loneliness – an empirical question worth pursuing in future research. Also, the current intervention was evaluated using a quasi-experimental design with a small, university-based sample; further work on solitude and loneliness, using more rigorous experimental designs with more diverse samples, can provide further

insight on how solitude-based strategies can complement established loneliness-focused interventions in promoting well-being. Finally, cultural factors related to solitude need further study, given how culture structures notions of autonomy, connectedness, and their relationship with well-being (Larson, 1999; Lehman, Chiu & Schaller, 2004). Perhaps individualistic cultures place higher value on the thrill of freedom from social constraints brought about by solitude, while collectivist cultures, especially those influenced by Buddhist thought, may idealize the calmness and serenity it can bring (e.g., Tsai, Knutson & Fung, 2006). Indigenous meanings ascribed to time alone can also point to culture-sensitive interventions for promoting its appreciation (e.g., isolation in nature for Nordic cultures, based on the Finnish concept of *hiljaisuus*, "solitude in one's thoughts" (Carbaugh, Berry & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006).

Time spent alone can be purposeful and enjoyable. Loneliness may be a persistent, complex problem that demands psychological analysis and intervention, but solitude is a positive experience also worth studying, savoring, and promoting.

AUTHOR NOTE

Eric Julian Manalastas, Department of Psychology, University of the Philippines Diliman. A previous version of this paper was presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the Psychological Association of the Philippines. Thanks go to Rae Macapagal for assistance in data collection and to Pam Marek and Baby Marquez for feedback and encouragement on the manuscript. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Eric Manalastas, Department of Psychology, Palma Hall Annex, UP Diliman, Quezon City 1101. Email: eric_julian.manalastas@up.edu.ph

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APPENDIX: FEATURES OF SOLITUDE (ADAPTED FROM LONG ET AL., 2003)

1. *Solitude as Anonymity.* Because you were alone, you may have acted in whatever ways you felt like at the moment, without concern for social niceties of what others might think.
2. *Solitude as Creativity.* Being alone stimulated novel ideas or innovative ways of expressing yourself, whether actually in art, poetry, or intellectual pursuits, or whimsically in daydreaming with a purpose.
3. *Solitude as Diversion.* You filled the time alone by watching television, surfing the Internet, or engaging in other distracting activities.
4. *Solitude as Inner Peace.* While alone, you felt calm and relaxed, free from the pressures of everyday life.
5. *Solitude as Intimacy.* Although alone, you felt especially close to someone you care about, e.g., an absent friend or lover, or perhaps a deceased relative (such as a beloved grandparent); the absence of the person only strengthens your feeling of closeness.
6. *Solitude as Loneliness.* You felt self-conscious, anxious, or depressed; you longed for interpersonal contact.
7. *Solitude as Problem-Solving.* Aloneness provided the opportunity to think about specific problems or decisions you are facing, and you attempted to come to some resolution.
8. *Solitude as Self-Discovery.* By focusing attention on yourself, you gained insight into your fundamental values and goals and you came to realize your unique strengths and weaknesses.
9. *Solitude as Spirituality.* While alone, you may have had a mystic-like experience, e.g., a sense of transcending everyday concerns, of being a part of something grander than yourself; such experiences are sometimes interpreted within a religious context (e.g., being closer to God) but they can also be entirely secular (e.g., as in being in harmony with a social or natural order).

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ERRATA

In the December 2010 issue, the article of Banzon-Librojo and Alampay entitled "Parent and Peer Influences on Adolescent Delinquent Behavior and the Mediating Role of Self-Regulation" contained the following errors:

Page 125 should begin with the following text (in italics) which was inadvertently omitted: "*Similarly, nurturance predicted self-regulation (β = .40, p < .01) and delinquent behavior (β = -.19, p < .05). Self-regulation was also found to be a predictor of delinquent behavior (β = -.44, p < .01). However, when self-*regulation was accounted for, the previously significant relation between the parent variable and delinquent behavior became non-significant, as shown in Figure 1."

In Figure 1, the coefficient depicting the relationship between nurturance and adolescent self-regulation should read .40 and not -.40, corresponding with the above-cited text. Further, path c' representing the relation of power-assertion with delinquent behavior while controlling self-regulation is .04 not -.04.

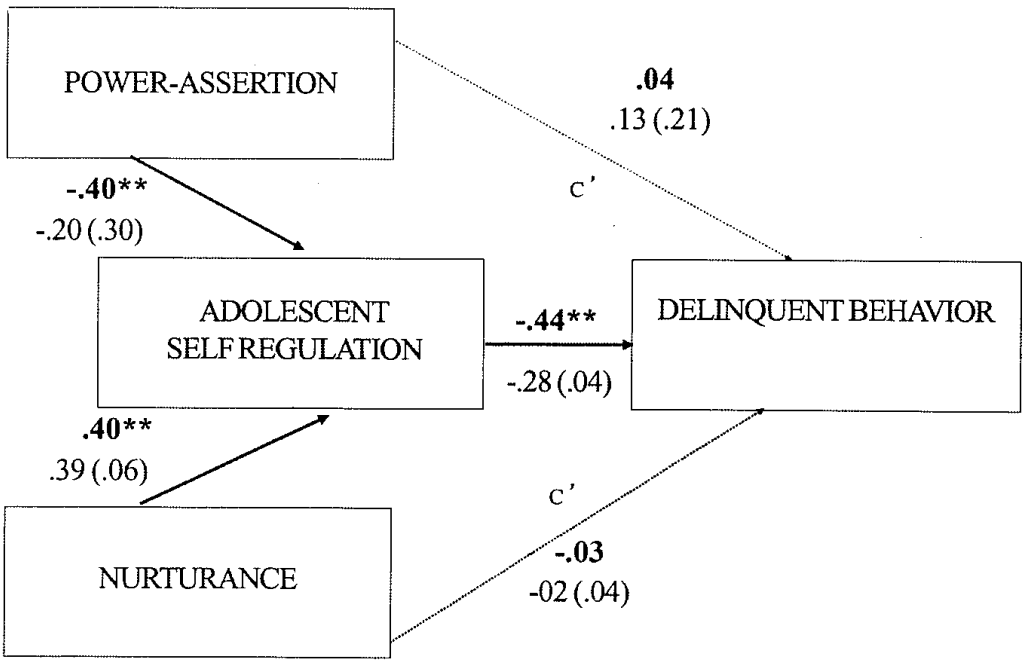

Figure 1. Model of indirect relations between parent variables and delinquent behavior, with standardized (bold) and unstandardized regression coefficient estimates (values in parentheses are standard errors). Path c ' represents the relation of the independent variable to delinquent behavior while controlling self-regulation. The regression analysis was conducted separately for each parent variable.
**p < .01.

In Figure 2, the box labeled NURTURANCE should be labeled PEER DELINQUENCY.

The publisher apologizes for these errors.

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