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**SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
PHILIPPINE MARTIAL LAW YEARS, 1972-1981:
A 'GLORIOUS PAST' OR A 'PERIOD OF STRUGGLE'?**

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ABSTRACT

Almost four decades after the ouster of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, Sr., the Philippines remains plagued by competing narratives surrounding his declaration of Martial Law and its alleged accomplishments. Thus, this study aims to shed light on the current social understanding of Martial Law among Filipinos born before and after the era. The concept of social representations of history is employed to investigate the research objective. The study has two data collection methods: exploring narratives from written records and social media and conducting in-depth interviews with 20 participants, 10 from each cohort. The examination of written records reveals impartial depictions of Martial Law, but textbooks focus on the positive impact of the period. Social media, meanwhile, promotes nostalgic narratives about the nation's supposed greatness during that time. Thematic analysis of the interviews shows polemical representations between the generations where personality-based political ideology takes center stage in embodying such antagonistic views. The research uncovers socially-mediated memories and perspectives, highlighting the ongoing interplay between the past and present. Two historians provided key insights regarding memory contestation and the larger challenge of historical revisionism in the Philippines.

Keywords: social representations of history, Philippine Martial Law, historical revisionism, memory contestation

I. INTRODUCTION

On September 21, 1972, President Ferdinand E. Marcos, Sr. placed the Philippines under Martial Law. The government's official rationale for the order was the necessity for national discipline due to the growing communist insurgency and the desire to create what it called the *New Society* (Hawes, 1987). Martial Law was officially lifted on January 17, 1981, and Marcos, Sr. was ousted through the People Power Revolution in 1986 (Brilliantes, 1987). However, the real intention of Marcos, Sr.'s imposition of military rule, and the purported achievements during that time continue to be a subject of ongoing debate. Such a pivotal juncture in Philippine history has constantly been plagued by different interpretations and narratives (Aguilar, 2019).

Scholars such as historians believe that Martial Law was used to justify the imposition of an authoritarian regime and remember the era for its abuses (Aquino, 1987; Reyes, 2018; and Aguilar, 2019). Marcos, Sr. was recognized by the Guinness World Record for the highest government heist, with a national loss of five to 10 billion US dollars due to corruption (Matthews and McCarthy, 1995). Due to the suspension of citizens' constitutional rights, Amnesty International has recorded at least 3,240 unlawful killings, 34,000 tortures, and 70,000 forced imprisonments that occurred throughout the Martial Law period (Yapchionco, 2022).

While most scholars have documented the Martial Law era as a dark chapter in Philippine history, narratives circulated online claim that it was during this period that the nation became great (Arugay and Baquisal, 2022; and Dulay, et. al, 2023). Meanwhile, basic

education textbooks praise Marcos, Sr.'s leadership, extolling the virtues of Martial Law and omitting, in particular, human rights violations and corruption (Diokno, et. al., 2022). Aguilar (2019) referred to such stories as the *Marcosian social fantasy* and claimed that they were massively disseminated online as the former president's son, Ferdinand 'Bongbong' Marcos, Jr., was campaigning for the presidency during the 2022 Philippine National Elections. Bongbong successfully won 59 percent of the vote to become the 17th President of the Philippines, and Dulay, et. al.'s (2022) study revealed that favorable perceptions of Marcos, Sr. and Martial Law were among the strongest predictors of people's voting intentions for him.

When there is uncertainty about which historical narrative is truthful, it creates an environment where polarizing language, hate speech, conspiracy theories, and similar phenomena can thrive, contributing to the erosion of a country's democracy (Jones, 2019; and Myers, 2022). Thus, this study aims to shed light on the nature of the current social understanding of Martial Law among Filipinos by exploring how two different generations perceive the era. This study asks: **How is the Philippine Martial Law being viewed by Filipinos born before and after the said period?** To investigate this research question, the study employs the concept of social representations of history.

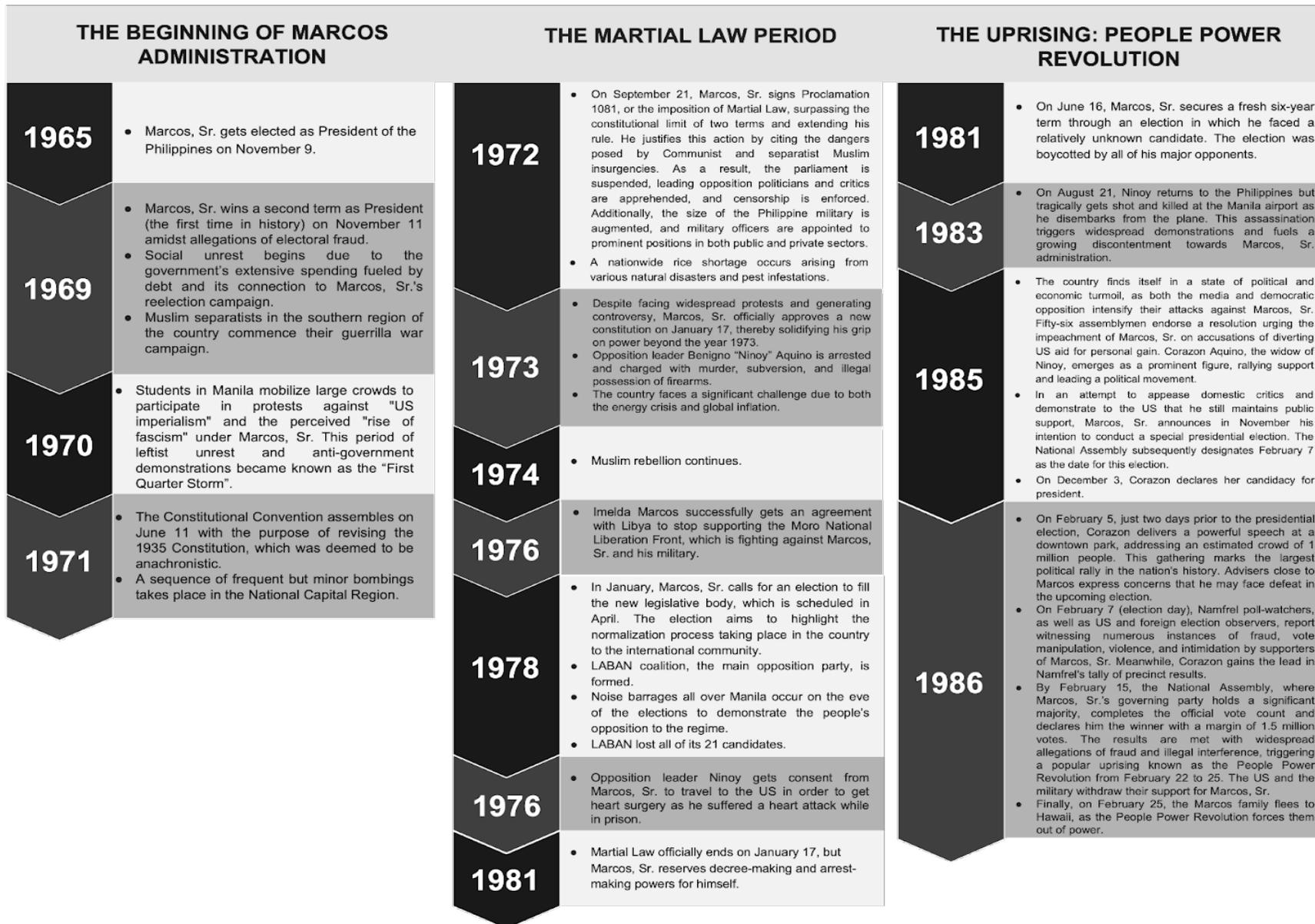
II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Chronology of Events Leading Up to the Martial Law Declaration and the People Power Revolution

Gómez Galán (2016) stresses the significance of chronology in historical studies, highlighting its role in comprehending the cause-and-effect relationship between events. By arranging important events in their precise order, we gain valuable insights into the broader context and perspective of history. This viewpoint allows us to grasp the patterns and progression of how and why events unfold and how they interconnect with one another (Butler, 2017).

In an effort to provide the public with a thorough and all-encompassing narrative of Martial Law and foster open discussions regarding the period, the Philippine Government has compiled a timeline that encompasses the events leading up to its declaration and culminating in the People Power Revolution, which marked the end of the Marcos, Sr.'s administration (Philippine Official Gazette, 2015). The timeline was sourced from various written materials such as biographies, news articles, peer-reviewed journals, and academic books. From 441 entries, I carefully selected the most significant events to highlight to give a comprehensive overview of this period. I categorized the events into three main sections: 1) The Beginning of Marcos Administration, 2) The Martial Law Period, and 3) The Uprising: People Power Revolution.

Figure 1: Chronology of Events Leading Up to the Martial Law Declaration and the People Power Revolution



B. Social Representations of History

When it comes to understanding a country's history through the shared mentalities of its people, two psychological theories can be applied, such as collective memory and social representations of history (SRH) (Montiel, 2010).

Collective memory centers around group recollections and their own processes of remembering and looking at their own history (Jovic, 2004). According to Olick and Robbins (1998), group memories are unstable and can alter over time as they are formed and reconstructed by individual or social identity requirements. Additionally, these memories can also be reshaped during conflicts within the group, particularly in relation to discussions surrounding collective memory.

The focus of this study is to understand better the psychological nature of collective memory's dynamic interaction with continuing political and sociocultural processes (Montiel, 2010). Thus, SRH is the most appropriate construct to apply since it refers to how groups interpret and make sense of societally relevant issues (Moscovici, 1988). SRH uses social representations to look at social memory (Liu and Hilton, 2005) and investigates how a group makes sense of its country's past while navigating its political present (Montiel, 2010; and Sen and Wagner, 2005).

I used SRH in this study for two main purposes. Firstly, Martial Law was a collective encounter shared by Filipinos nationwide, representing a crucial aspect of Philippine history. It is not merely a discrete event that occurred from 1972 to 1981 but rather a

collective memory that has evolved over almost four decades since Marcos, Sr.'s ouster, giving rise to diverse historical interpretations during political unrest in the Philippines. Secondly, the encounters and shared understandings associated with the era, as demonstrated by group-based social representations of individuals born before and after this period, continue to shape the lives of the public in the present time.

a. Formation of Social Representations

According to Hoijer (2011), social representations pertain to the collective processes of creating shared meanings, which in turn, foster social bonds among groups. The term *social* underscores the idea that these representations emerge from social interactions and engagement among individuals and groups (Moscovici, 1984). Moreover, social representations are influenced by diverse social elements, including historical, cultural, and economic contexts. It is worth noting that social representations are not necessarily characterized by logical and consistent thought patterns (Moscovici, 1984). Instead, they can consist of fragments of thoughts and even paradoxical ideas.

According to Moscovici (1984), social representations serve two primary purposes. First, the representations facilitate communication among group members. They achieve this by establishing standardized definitions and classifications for objects, individuals, and events encountered, thereby creating collective and recognizable cognitions and gradually shaping them into shared and distinct representations. Second, social representations establish a structure that allows individuals to orient themselves within their physical and social environment and effectively navigate it. They are imposed on

individuals through social structures and traditions. It is crucial also to acknowledge that both individuals and groups have the capacity to modify and transform collective cognitions.

Anchoring and Objectification

Social representations' primary objective is to make unfamiliar concepts or phenomena familiar to individuals and groups (Moscovici, 1984). Through communication, social representations are constructed, sometimes challenging established historical narratives (Ahonen, 1997). For instance, when encountering unfamiliar subjects like Philippine Martial Law, there is a need to attribute meaning to them. This meaning-making process is facilitated by basic socio-cognitive mechanisms, namely anchoring and objectification (Lautier, 2001).

Anchoring involves assigning meaning to new information by integrating it into existing worldviews, allowing for interpretation and comparison with what is already known (Moscovici, 1984). Analogical reasoning can be used in the process of anchoring. For instance, the September 11 attacks in the United States, often referred to as 9/11, could be likened to Pearl Harbor, and Saddam Hussein could be compared to Adolf Hitler, as demonstrated by Liu, et. al. (2017) and Spellman and Holyoak (1993). Additionally, anchoring has social dimensions, as groups give meaning to their representations through communication processes. For example, the concept of the 'War Against Terror' may be construed as a just and necessary conflict, drawing parallels to World War II (Liu, et. al., 2017). Empirical evidence suggests that when people learn about historical issues,

they anchor the received information in their personal experiences, group affiliations, and values (Liu, et. al., 2017).

Meanwhile, objectifying transforms the unfamiliar into something tangible and concrete, allowing people to perceive and control it (Liu, et. al., 2017). This process is commonly observed in historical understanding, where historical events are personified in figures, such as Hitler representing the darkness of the Nazi regime in World War II and Che Guevara as a symbol of communism in Latin America (Liu, et. al., 2017; and Moscovici 1988). Additionally, using visual images, such as Columbus' three ships symbolizing the Discovery, also exemplifies objectification (Liu, et. al., 2017; and Lautier, 2001). According to Moscovici (1988), objectifying is a more active process than anchoring, which tends to occur automatically when confronted with new phenomena.

Types of Social Representations of History

Moscovici (1988) distinguished three types of SRH: hegemonic, emancipated, and polemical. Hegemonic representations are those that are common and shared by all members of a group, whereas emancipated representations are made up of subgroup variants but are fluidly interacting narratives (Liu and Hilton, 2005). Polemical representations, on the other hand, are competing interpretations that often surface in the context of social conflict (Moscovici, 1988). According to Moscovici (1988), antagonistic relations between concepts are marked by their intention to be mutually exclusive. For example, political ideologies like liberalism and communism can be seen as embodying such antagonistic relations.

According to Montiel (2010), hegemonic representations enable dispute reconciliation. However, disparities in SRH may result in more hostile exchanges. Because each group's representations are non-conflicting in nature in relation to the other groups, there is an opportunity for similar intergroup history narratives in emancipated representations (Liu, et. al., 2002). Ben-Asher (2003) emphasized that the groups' sets of hegemonic, emancipated, and polemical SRH are dynamic and ever-evolving throughout time.

b. Intergroup Relations

According to Liu, et. al. (1999), history-making is a social activity and is essentially the story of the formation of an in-group. History helps establish a path that aids in identifying the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and what alternatives it has for dealing with current difficulties (Liu and Hilton, 2005).

Intergroup differentiation in the context of SRH is better understood from the perspective of Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, which asserts that belonging to a group is a key source of pride and self-worth for people, giving a sense of social identity. However, it also suggests that repressing and harboring biases against the out-group increases people's sense of self-esteem. Hence, the intergroup distinction can take two forms: in-group favoritism and out-group derogation (Greene, 2004). Hogg and Ridgeway (2003) noted that members of a group might pursue a positive feeling of distinctness for their own group by producing historical narratives for in-group enhancement and self-verification (Liu, 1999).

History is an interesting emblematic reserve (Liu, 1999) for nation-building since it contains real events and personalities with widely collaborative emotional resonance, the significance of which to the contemporary situation can be freely interpreted. History, therefore, is not immune to changes or transformations. It is frequently subjected to scrutiny and distortion to achieve political objectives and influence political behavior (Bar-Tal, 2007). Historical narratives are often utilized to legitimize present-day demands and attitudes (Bobowik, et. al., 2014). Establishing a widely accepted representation of the past is significant in maintaining social harmony or facilitating the reconciliation of previously conflicting groups (Bar-Tal, 2007).

c. Generation Effects

Mannheim (1952) describes generation as a social construct and is not defined by a specific group of individuals who are physically and socially close to each other and are aware of each other's presence. He went on to say that only when events occur that characterize a cohort in terms of its historical consciousness can the genuine definition of generation be given. Generations are created by two crucial factors: a shared collective experience of events within a specific historical period and a conscious understanding of that historical context.

Several studies have focused on the effects of generation on a group's SRH (Holmes and Conway, 1999; and Schuman and Rodgers, 2004). In particular, Schuman and Scott (1989) have defined the generation effect as a strong finding that information is better recollected when it is personally experienced rather than simply read about. When applied

to a nation's history, this suggests that groups who directly witness and undergo the same political events retain a collective imprint of such historical experiences for a longer period. These political events tend to be ingrained in the shared memory of a cohort, especially if they occur during their formative adolescent years (Schuman and Scott, 1989). Rintala (1968) noted that the period of late adolescence and early adulthood is crucial for the development of an individual's unique political perspective. It is during this period that the events experienced by a cohort in their youth shape their generational character, which is believed to have a significant and possibly determining impact on the subsequent attitudes and behaviors of its members (Berger, 1971). Holmes and Conway (1999) offered a psychological understanding of this phenomenon, and their research indicated that memories formed during late adolescence and early adulthood tend to retain accessibility over time and play a significant role in forming a generation's identity. This is particularly relevant as adolescents navigate the complexities of psychosocial identity and invest considerable cognitive effort in identifying with social groups during historical moments.

Schuman and Scott (1989) somehow noted that the generation effect encompasses more than just variations in memory strength; it also involves the process of cohort meaning-making. Even when different generations undergo the same historical events, they may have differing interpretations of those occasions. Schuman and Scott (1989) claimed that individuals from older cohorts are likely to interpret events based on pre-existing worldviews. Similarly, those who were too young or did not directly experience such events may interpret them through the lens of their own adolescent experiences. Additionally, the subjective significance of generational memories might influence the

collective strategies adopted by groups that interpret and share these memories for the future.

III. HYPOTHESES

Based on the literature review, I have formulated three hypotheses:

- H1:** Filipinos born before and after Martial Law likely hold different representations of the era due to the activation of different social meanings associated with it. The concept of polemical representations could become prominent in the study.
- H2:** People born after Martial Law likely hold revisionist views about the period, influenced by various factors. Textbooks mention little aspects of the period, leading to an incomplete understanding. Additionally, social media, where fake news and misleading claims can easily circulate, plays a prominent role in shaping the youth's views.
- H3:** Considering their direct experiences, the older generation's representations would likely emphasize the process of Martial Law. With less exposure to the intricate details of the historical context, the younger generation's representations likely rely on broad generalizations, associating the entire period with Marcos, Sr. himself.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design and Data Collection Method

Personal experiences, perceptions, and perspectives are challenging to capture accurately through quantitative means. A qualitative approach enables participants to express their thoughts, emotions, and experiences, allowing for a deeper understanding (Tenny, et. al., 2022). Thus, I used a qualitative research design to address the research question.

Before exploring the current social understanding of Martial Law among Filipinos born before and after the period, it is crucial for me to investigate the prevailing dominant and revisionist narratives concerning the era by comparing accounts from written records with those found on social media.

To gain insights into what transpired during the period, I examined historical books, autobiographies, and textbooks. Three historical books provided comprehensive accounts of this regime, shedding light on various aspects, including the economic and political dimensions and the exploitation carried out by the military, the Marcoses, and their cronies. Additionally, three autobiographies documented the personal experiences of individuals subjected to human rights violations during that time. Furthermore, I gathered the narratives documented by the Far Eastern University during its evaluation of 14 basic education textbooks used in private and public schools, which examined how Philippine history, including Martial Law, was presented in schools (Diokno, et. al., 2022).

On social media, I looked at Tsek.ph's study (Chua, et. al., 2022), which identified the leading online narratives about Martial Law during the 2022 national elections. Tsek.ph is an autonomous project focused on fact-checking conducted by academics, media professionals, and civil society. Additionally, I made mention of a study carried out by Arugay and Baquisal (2022), which explored the prevailing online narratives concerning Marcos, Sr. and the Martial Law era within the same election context.

To explore the social representations of Martial Law that Filipinos born before and after it hold, I used in-depth interviews as the main data collection method. Social representations theory emphasizes the significance of common sense and acknowledges its value and purpose (Moscovici, 1984). By valuing people's everyday understandings of a particular subject, it is logical to inquire about their thoughts and opinions through interviews, allowing participants to share their stories.

To avoid potential social desirability bias, which can lead participants to provide answers they believe are socially desirable rather than their true thoughts and experiences, participant observation and focus group techniques are unsuitable for studying personal narratives and experiences (Leggett, et. al., 2003). By conducting in-depth interviews, the participants are encouraged to openly express their feelings and delve more flexibly into the main research topic. This approach aims to create a comfortable and confidential environment that allows participants to share their perspectives freely.

B. Instrument

The primary instrument employed in the study was an interview guide consisting of five parts. The questions were not designed to uncover an objective truth about Martial Law but rather aimed to uncover subjective truths by delving into the participants' subjective experiences and views, understanding how they personally remembered and interpreted the period.

According to De Saint Laurent (2021), people actively engage in historical thinking to construct representations of the world we live in and determine how we challenge or adopt the narratives we have encountered about the past. Thus, the first part of the interview guide inquired into the participants' general interest in Philippine history.

The second part of the guide focused on the participants' understanding of Martial Law. Those who experienced it firsthand were asked to recall why Martial Law was declared and describe the period based on their experiences and recollections. On the other hand, participants born after it were asked to narrate why it was imposed and describe the period based on their own understanding, and inquired how they formed their perceptions about it. The third part of the interview guide examined the key personalities who played significant roles during the regime. These parts of the instrument were adapted from the set of questions used by Huang, et. al. (2004), Liu and Hilton (2005), Liu, et. al. (2002), and Montiel (2010) in their studies on SRH. The questions were modified to align with the specific focus of this study.

The fourth part centered on the participants' thoughts regarding other people's misconceptions about Martial Law. This section aims to gain insights into the dynamics of intergroup differentiation and their role in the collective understanding of the period. Lastly, the fifth part of the interview guide inquired about the participants' hopes for the future, particularly in light of the country being led by another member of the Marcos family. This question explores how participants' view of the past might influence their perspectives on navigating the current political landscape.

C. Participants

A total of 20 participants were included, with 10 individuals from each cohort. The recruitment process utilized the Snowball sampling method, where the researcher contacted them through referrals from friends (Abubakar, et. al., 2016). Specific criteria were established for the recruitment process.

Rintala (1968) emphasized the importance of late adolescence and early adulthood in shaping an individual's unique political perspective. While Mannheim (1952) did not specify the exact age when an individual begins to develop a distinct generational character, Schuman and Scott (1989) suggested that this process typically occurs between 17 and 25, sometimes extending a bit later.

Considering the above studies, the first cohort who have lived through the Martial Law period and experienced it firsthand are composed of people who were born before 1972 and should have been in their 20s or 30s when the Martial Law was implemented. At present, they would be in their 70s or 80s. In contrast, the second generational cohort

consisting of individuals born after the official lifting of Martial Law in 1981 must be in their 20s and 30s at present. They are the younger generation who did not directly experience the era but have grown up in its aftermath. Tables 1 and 2 present an overview of the participants of this study.

Table 1: Participants Born Before the Martial Law (ML)

Participant	Current Age	Current Occupation	Gender	Age During ML	Occupation During ML
O1	72	Retired NGO Worker	Female	21	Student Activist
O2	72	News Editor	Male	21	Student Activist
O3	80	NGO Chairman	Male	29	Seminarian
O4	85	Entrepreneur	Female	34	Entrepreneur
O5	77	Retired Lawyer	Male	27	Labor Lawyer
O6	71	Retired NGO Worker	Female	20	Student Activist
O7	71	Public Servant	Male	20	Seminarian
O8	75	NGO Worker	Female	24	Activist
O9	76	Retired Graduate School Professor	Male	23	Seminarian and Youth Worker
O10	71	Public Servant	Female	20	Student Activist

Table 2: Participants Born After the Martial Law

Participant	Age	Gender	Occupation
Y1	30	Female	Public Servant
Y2	30	Male	Public Servant
Y3	22	Female	Working Student, Tertiary Level
Y4	24	Male	Working Student, Tertiary Level
Y5	21	Male	Unemployed
Y6	30	Male	Entrepreneur
Y7	30	Female	Unemployed
Y8	30	Male	Call Center Agent
Y9	29	Male	Public Servant
Y10	25	Male	Warehouse Custodian

D. Method of Analysis

The interviews were conducted via Zoom and were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed accordingly. Thematic analysis is employed to analyze the data, which is particularly useful for identifying patterns and common elements in the meanings expressed by the participants. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that this method offers a flexible approach to qualitative analysis, allowing researchers to delve deep into the participants' meanings and even generate new concepts from their accounts.

To create a concrete thematic map, I was guided by Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase method of reflexive thematic analysis, which focuses on exploring patterns and meanings. The interview transcripts were carefully examined and compared across all transcripts, and an inductive, data-driven method was used to code them.

Since the study involved comparing social representations between two groups, two separate thematic trees were created. For the older generation, 11 basic codes were identified throughout the process. These codes were then grouped and classified to form four organizing themes. From these organizing themes, two global themes emerged that directly addressed the research question. Similarly, for the younger generation, nine basic codes were identified and organized into four organizing themes, leading to the emergence of two global themes relevant to the research question.

In addition, two more thematic trees were constructed to explore the historical perspectives of the two generations, as I deemed it important for providing further depth and context to the study. For the older generation, six basic codes were identified and

grouped into three organizing themes, resulting in one global theme. Likewise, for the younger generation, six basic codes were identified and classified into three organizing themes, leading to one global theme.

The diagrams (refer to Figures 2, 3, and 4) illustrate the basic, organizing, and global themes, following a structure derived from Attride-Stirling's (2001) thematic network analysis.

E. Reflexivity

Before conducting the interviews, appropriate consent was obtained from all participants to ensure ethical compliance. Additionally, measures were taken to guarantee the confidentiality of the interview. A comprehensive background of the research was thoroughly discussed with the participants, including a clear explanation of the purpose of the study. It was emphasized that their identity would be confidential and responses would be recorded for research purposes.

It is important to note that some participants in this study have personally experienced arrests and abuses during Martial Law. However, it is crucial to emphasize that the participants were not coerced or pressured to divulge detailed accounts of these experiences, as such discussions could potentially trigger adverse psychological effects. Instead, their comfort and well-being were prioritized throughout the research. The concerned participants expressed their willingness and comfort in sharing their experiences, as they are known public speakers who have openly discussed such experiences in various fora.

V. FINDINGS

This section explores the results derived from analyzing the data obtained through exploring the narratives of Martial Law sourced from written documents and social media and the in-depth interviews with individuals born before and following that era.

A. History According to Books

After Marcos, Sr.'s ouster in 1986, the study of authoritarianism in the Philippines significantly increased (Capino and Manalansan IV, 2021). The Cornell University Press released one of the earliest and most comprehensive accounts documenting the oppressive years under Marcos, Sr. in the country in the book *Marcos and Martial Law in the Philippines* (Rosenberg, 1979). Here, it is claimed that the imposition of military rule was a strategy orchestrated by Marcos, Sr. and his associates to enable him to stay in power beyond the two presidential terms allowed under the constitution. Meanwhile, Aquino's (1987) *Politics of Plunder: The Philippines Under Marcos* and Manapat's (1991) *Some Are Smarter than Others: The History of Marcos' Crony Capitalism*, both provide well-documented narratives regarding the political and economic framework of corruption that bolstered the dictatorship under the military rule. The books delve into various aspects of abuses, including the establishment of monopolies for their associates, engagement in offshore business activities, diversion of foreign funds, direct embezzlement of state finances, and corruption within the military.

Outside of scholarly publications, various firsthand accounts, like Mijares' (1976) book titled, *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos*, also emerged to provide evidence of the widespread atrocities that occurred during the period. Mijares was a former journalist who had initially been a propagandist and trusted companion of Marcos, Sr. since 1963. He had a change of heart and provided valuable insights into the inner workings of the government at the highest levels.

Amnesty International recorded at least 70,000 individuals who have endured imprisonment, torture, or lost their lives during the regime (Yapchionco, 2022). These people were unjustly labeled as enemies of the state and were apprehended by the military without proper warrants. The descriptions of torture are profoundly distressing and involve heinous acts such as rape, electric shocks, severe mutilation, and beatings. In her autobiography titled, *Ascending the Fourth Mountain*, Morales (2021) recounts her personal experiences during the period, shedding light on the active involvement of women in the fight against human rights violations and sexual abuse within military detention. On the other hand, the biography titled *Living and Dying: In Memory of 11 Ateneo de Manila Martial Law Activists* pays tribute to the young intellectuals who sacrificed their lives for their beliefs during the regime (Montiel, 2007).

Despite the extensive documentation of atrocities during Martial Law, such narratives appeared to be absent or downplayed in both public and private basic education textbooks. A review by Diokno, et. al. (2022) of 14 social studies textbooks published between 2016 to 2019 revealed that the coverage of the Martial Law period is limited, accounting for approximately 11 percent of the content. They also observed that the most

commonly cited reasons for its declaration in these textbooks were the communist threat and protests, serving to justify its imposition. Meanwhile, specific textbooks mention acts of corruption committed by the Marcoses' cronies but do not address the involvement of Marcos, Sr. and his family. Additionally, more pages were dedicated to enumerating the purported positive impacts of the dictatorship, labeling the era as the Period of New Society, and highlighting themes of economic progress, discipline, culture, and tourism.

According to Diokno, et. al. (2022), the textbooks acknowledge that the Martial Law regime was authoritarian. However, the textbooks tend to construct Martial Law through subtle justifications, using tactics of objective reporting to equate the oppressive actions of the dictatorship with its positive impact on economic and infrastructure development. The authors of these textbooks are accused of being evasive and avoiding taking a firm stance by remaining silent on crucial facts. Despite credible and easily accessible evidence, they treat the period's history as a subjective matter, allowing for differing opinions.

B. History According to Social Media

The story is different in social media. Narratives represent Martial Law as a period that marked the nation's greatness, and such stories gained significant traction during the 2022 Philippine National Elections, when Marcos, Sr.'s son, Bongbong, campaigned for the presidency (Arugay and Baquisal, 2022; Dulay, et. al., 2023). According to Tsek.ph's (Chua, et. al., 2022) data, almost a thousand groups and pages on Facebook alone have produced stories asserting that Marcos, Sr. propelled the country into modernity, brought

about peace through his military rule, and questioned allegations of human rights abuses. In a related study by Arugay and Baquisal (2022), the prominent narratives circulating during the 2022 elections include themes of authoritarian nostalgia and strongman leadership. Chua, et. al. (2022) analyzed the narratives collected by Tsek.ph on social media and discovered that 92 percent of the information related to the Marcos family and the military rule was false or misleading.

Meanwhile, a systematic examination of *Marcosian social media* (Aguilar, 2019) conducted by Bautista (2018) suggested a narrative structure embraced by Marcos loyalists. This narrative constructs a glorified depiction of the past under the benevolent leadership of Marcos, Sr., followed by a fall orchestrated by Corazon Aquino in an alleged conspiracy. The present depicts Marcos, Sr. as a victim of malicious propaganda. According to this perspective, he is presented as a patriotic father figure who deeply loved the country and played a pivotal role in building the New Society through Martial Law.

C. History According to People Born Before and After Martial Law

1. Contrasting Representations of the Past

H1 was confirmed through in-depth interviews, which revealed distinct and contrasting representations of Martial Law among Filipinos born before and after the era. In support of H3, the younger generation's understanding of the era heavily relied on the concrete elements and the personification of Marcos Sr. as the central figure. Meanwhile, the focus of the older generation's representations was both on the personification of Ferdinand

and Imelda as the conjugal dictators and the process of Martial Law, which involved its implementation, its economic impact on society, human rights violations, and other significant aspects related to the period.

Figure 2: Thematic Map of Social Representations of Martial Law Among People Born Before Martial Law

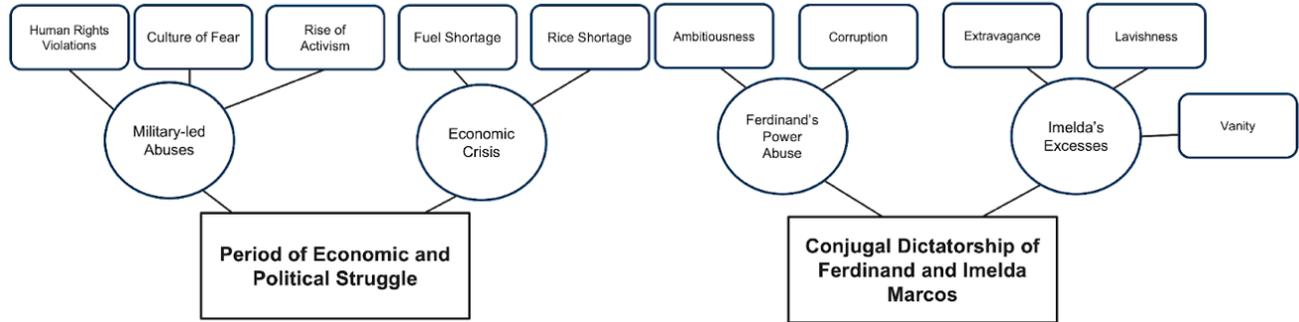
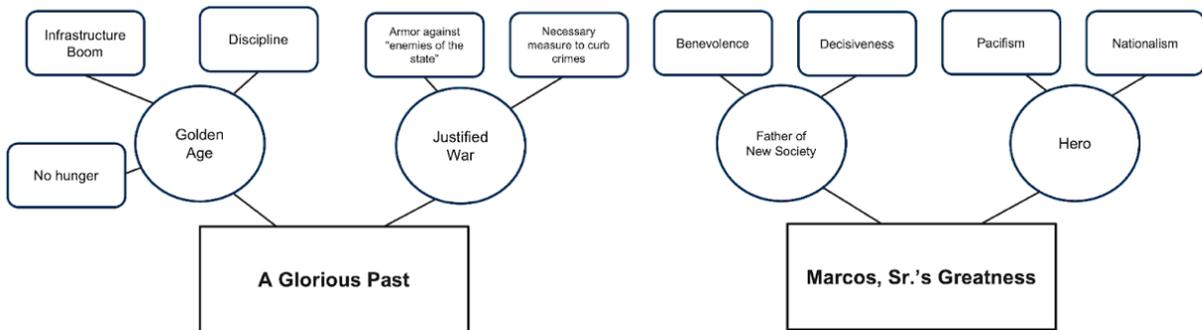


Figure 3: Thematic Map of Social Representations of Martial Law Among People Born After Martial Law



Period of Economic and Political Struggle. Among the global themes derived from the interviews of the older participants was the characterization of Martial Law as a period of economic and political struggle, a process marked by military-led abuses and the economic crisis.

Military-Led Abuses:

Human Rights Violations, Culture of Fear, and Rise of Activism

Because of Martial Law's wanton disregard for civil rights, it came to be mentioned in the same breath as human rights violations among six participants due to the killings, arrests, tortures, and disappearances of activists executed by the military. This representation is anchored in the experiences of the participants who directly suffered from these military-led abuses, along with witnessing similar ordeals suffered by their friends and relatives.

O1: *"There were so many soldiers everywhere arresting people, mostly activists. I, for one, experienced being arrested and tortured."*

O5: *"My friends were arrested without a warrant. But worse, others were summarily executed or taken away and disappeared, not to return again. If you are a female, you face rape and sexual abuse."*

Meanwhile, anchoring through emotions such as fear became deeply intertwined with the military rule. The era became synonymous with fear, with people being afraid to speak out against the government due to the repressive environment and the tangible risks associated with challenging the government's authority. Five participants regarded Martial Law as something to be afraid of as people could be targeted at any time by the military.

O2: *"People were afraid to do anything that in their mind would offend the authorities—any authority—the police, all the way up to Marcos."*

O4: *"Even if you are just inside your house, you have this feeling that*

someone is listening to you. You are being under surveillance. So, people were scared.”

Due to the oppressive nature of the military rule, it was also characterized as a time when activism was intense, and this was symbolized by the “L” hand gesture and yellow ribbons in rallies. L stands for *Laban* (Fight) and yellow was the official color of the opposition. These concrete symbols held significant meaning and were objectified by five participants as representations of the people's collective fight against the military regime.

O1: *“It was a period where there were already so many rallies in the Philippines, on the streets. People are really voicing out their discontent over the regime. The famous Laban sign and yellow ribbons were everywhere during the rallies.”*

O9: *“The movements were synchronized. When people see strikes, everyone strikes. When they see that we’ll tie yellow ribbons, everyone will wear yellow ribbons. People even tied yellow ribbons in their cars.”*

Economic Crisis:

Fuel and Rice Shortages

Furthermore, the objectification of empty streets during transportation strikes and long lines of people to buy limited fuel and rice were powerful visuals that evoked a sense of struggle and reflected the belief that the Martial Law era brought about a period of economic crisis. These visuals are significant aspects of the social representation of that

time shared by four participants, vividly depicting the hardships endured by people as they grappled with the scarcity of essential goods.

O1: *“There was a national transportation strike that really paralyzed the whole of Metro Manila. No jeepneys. Everybody was not in the streets.”*

O2: *“I saw people lining up for rice. I never saw a line to buy rice before that. And to buy only a limited amount of rice. Rice was a basic food. It’s a main staple, and people were lining up for rice.”*

A Glorious Past. In contrast, the younger participants hold the belief that Martial Law was a period of a golden age for the economy and that it was a crucial intervention aimed at curbing crimes and rebellious activities, hence considering it overall as a glorious past.

Golden Age:

Infrastructure Boom, Discipline, and No Hunger

Martial Law triggered concrete images of physical infrastructure in the minds of six young participants, leading to a sense of objectification. These participants attribute the construction of hospitals, bridges, a nuclear power plant, and convention centers during that time as a physical testament to this perceived golden age. These concrete images come to symbolize the era and the lasting positive impact Martial Law had on society, as the public still benefits from them.

Y10: *“The Philippine Heart Center and the Children’s Hospital were established, which are still being benefited by Filipinos at present, especially the poor families who cannot afford private medical care.”*

Y7: *“It was only during Martial Law when the San Juanico Bridge was constructed, which was really a game-changer because it connects two provincial islands.”*

Additionally, four participants see images of clean sidewalks, people crossing the street using designated walkways, and empty streets during the night with the perceived golden age of Martial Law. These visuals evoke a sense of orderliness and strict adherence to laws, reflecting the belief that the era brought about societal discipline.

Y8: *“People know how to cross the streets using pedestrian lanes. They religiously avoid jaywalking.”*

Y2: *“Everyone had to be home by six in the evening. Streets are empty at night, therefore no crimes.”*

Moreover, the distribution of rice, fortified bread, and other food packages during the regime is also seen as a testament to the perceived golden age, according to four participants. These initiatives aimed at providing food assistance to the population were viewed as positive efforts to alleviate hunger. They were seen as tangible representations of the Marcos administration’s commitment to improving the people’s well-being.

Y1: *“The life of my grandparents and parents back then was simpler and better. There was no hunger as the government was giving them rice.”*

Y9: *“No kid went hungry then because there was free fortified bread in schools.”*

Justified War:

Armor Against the ‘Enemies of the State’ and Necessary Measure to Curb Crimes

Participants born after Martial Law also believe that its imposition was justified as an intervention against enemies of the state and criminals. In their view of it as a glorious past, three participants consider Martial Law a necessary measure to suppress the rebellious activities of communist groups. They draw parallels between Martial Law and former President Rodrigo Duterte's War on Drugs, seeing both as strategies to address violence and disorder in the country. By equating the illegal drug problem with insurgency, they established a connection through analogy, anchoring their understanding of Martial Law in relation to the contemporary context of the War on Drugs.

Y6: *“It was an effective solution to the growing problem of communist insurgency, just like how President Duterte imposed the national war on drugs.”*

Y5: *“The military rule is not entirely wrong as it only targeted enemies of the government, just like any administration that is confronted with security issues. Duterte launched a war with drug addicts.”*

Meanwhile, three participants draw attention to the perceived failures of democratic post-Marcos governments by highlighting the prevalence of crime in the present day, juxtaposing it with the supposed peace during Martial Law. These participants also establish a connection through analogy, comparing the current state of affairs to the past.

Y3: *“If we are still under Martial Law, Filipinos will not be undisciplined as they are now, and crimes like rape, murder, and illegal drugs would not be prevalent.”*

Y1: *“During the time of Marcos, nobody gets raped, even if girls walk alone at night. Now, it's impossible to walk alone without getting raped or sexually harassed.”*

2. Conflicting Portrayals of Personalities as Representations of the Past

The interviews revealed that personification was also utilized as a means of objectifying the period. However, different perspectives exist regarding the qualities of personalities and characterizing those responsible for negative or positive actions during Martial Law.

The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda. The objectification of specific qualities, objects, and gestures attributed to Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos as key figures of the Martial Law era is a common representation among the older generation. In this view, the period is objectified by emphasizing the conjugal dictatorship of the president and his first lady.

The experiences and perspectives shared by seven participants highlight that Martial Law was about Ferdinand's abuse of power because of his political ambition. His ambitiousness was reflected in the constitutional change that transpired during Martial Law. They believed that he exploited legal mechanisms to manipulate the Constitution during that period to consolidate his power and extend his stay in office.

O10: *"Martial Law was the hype of Marcos' political ambition because he could just command anything, and everything will be executed."*

O2: *"It was all about keeping himself in power because a year after that, he would have ended his two-year term."*

Meanwhile, the notion of Martial Law being linked to Ferdinand's corruption emerged. Four participants specifically treat his favoritism gesture as a testament to his corrupt activities. This suggests that he had his friends and relatives appointed to high government positions, controlled key industries, and facilitated business monopolies to concentrate the power in the hands of a few.

O1: *"Marcos controlled everything during that period. He chose his friends from the College of Law to head the Supreme Court so that when he says something, it will become a law."*

O4: *"It was a time when friends and relatives of Marcos benefitted a lot with political favors and facilitation of business monopolies to the economy's detriment."*

Martial Law was also remembered through Imelda's excesses. Three participants point to her extravagance by describing images of her massive shoe, dress, and jewelry collection. Two participants characterize her lavishness through her gesture of hosting numerous parties and events, both domestically and internationally, which involved extensive expenditures. Meanwhile, infrastructure profligacy, such as the ill-fated construction of the Manila Film Center during the period, is considered an iconic symbol of her vanity, according to three participants. These excesses were considered a stark contrast to the economic hardships experienced by many Filipinos during that time.

O6: *"She was using the money of the people to splurge on luxury shoes, dresses, and jewelry."*

O10: *"She had all these shows to give them impressions that the Martial Law–Philippine style–was different."*

O3: *"Imelda's Film Center was a white elephant project. Some funds were supposedly earmarked for essential projects like hospitals, they were siphoned off to build Imelda's Ode to ostentatious display."*

Marcos, Sr.'s Greatness. In contrast, the younger participants objectified Martial Law with specific qualities attributed to Marcos Sr. as the central figure of the era, but in this perspective, the period is objectified by emphasizing his greatness.

The period is characterized by Marcos, Sr.'s benevolence and decisiveness as the Father of the New Society. He is seen as a patriarchal figure by three participants who redeemed the country from violence through Martial Law. His benevolence is exhibited by his non-

hesitation to use whatever means to protect the Filipino people from harm. They believe his combination of brutality and compassion was necessary to quell dissent and ensure progress. Meanwhile, four participants objectified his decisiveness with the progress achieved during the Martial Law, claiming that this allowed for the implementation of effective policies and solutions.

Y10: *“His actions were justified, all for the common good of the Filipino people. He was so correct in declaring Martial Law. It saved us from all the chaos and violence brought by the leftists.”*

Y1: *“He can easily solve economic problems because he is a genius and he can immediately think of solutions and implement them right away.”*

Meanwhile, the younger generation mostly objectified the period with Marcos, Sr.’s pacifism and nationalism, viewing him as a hero. Three participants believe that he sacrificed himself for the common good by resigning as president to bring about a peaceful resolution to the People Power Revolution. Meanwhile, two participants believe the period highlighted Marcos, Sr.’s nationalism. They applaud his efforts to host international gatherings and events, which were intended to showcase the country's cultural heritage and raise its global profile.

Y4: *“He sacrificed himself. He resigned so that people will not get hurt because of Cory’s evilness and selfishness.”*

Y10: *“He is the only Philippine President that put the country into a limelight. He put the Philippines into the center of the world.”*

3. Revisionist Views

Although the goal was to explore the subjective views of the participants about the period, I found it important to also evaluate the participants' narratives with evidence through existing objective records. Balancing subjective interpretations with factual information can help provide a comprehensive view of the past. In this effort, H2 was confirmed as I observed four main revisionist narratives among the younger generation about Martial Law.

Claim: No Hunger

Data revealed that hunger worsened during Martial Law. Before Marcos, Sr. assumed office in 1965, approximately four out of 10 families were considered poor and hungry. By the end of his rule in 1985, this had increased to six out of 10 families, peaking in 1975 (Macaraeg, 2019). Additionally, the cost of essential commodities tripled during the last decade of his administration. Data from the 1970s-1980s further supported the idea of an economic crisis during Martial Law, leading to the characterization of the Philippines as the *Sick Man of Asia* (Kind, 2000).

Claim: Justified War Against Communists

Martial Law was imposed to thwart communist insurgency, yet data contradicts claims. The Communist Party's membership grew from 60 to 25,000 during Martial Law, indicating its intensification rather than suppression (Regalario, 2022).

Claim: Infrastructure Boom

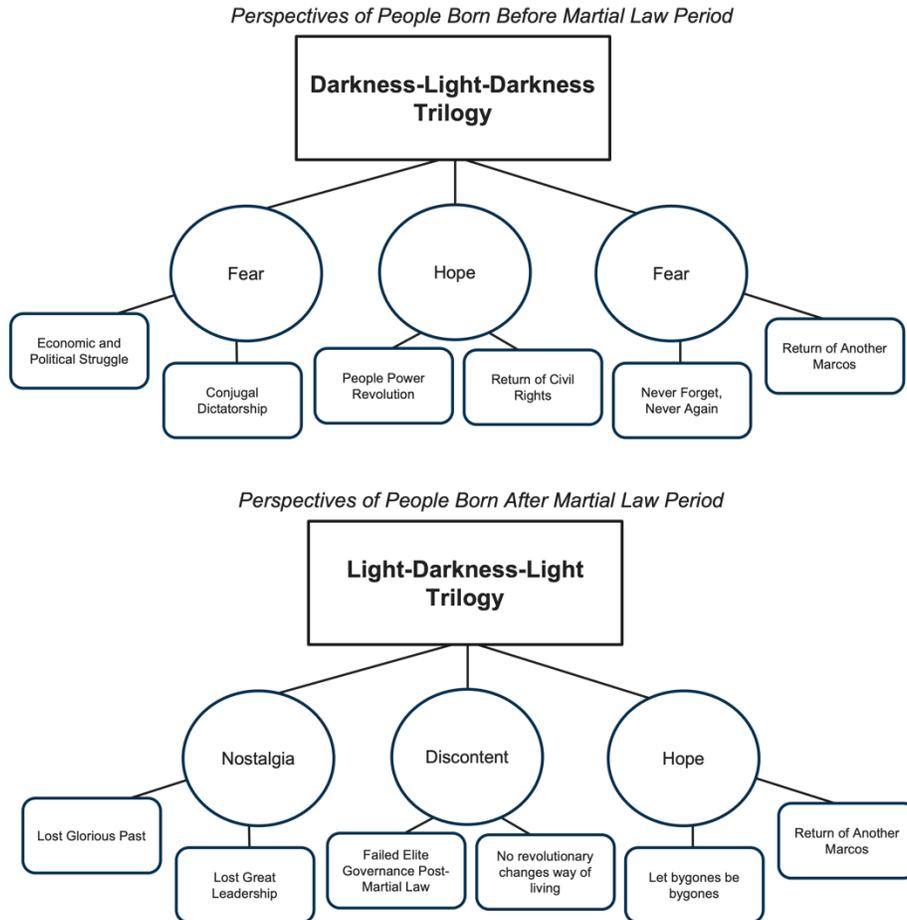
There was indeed an infrastructure boom during Martial Law, but it is crucial to provide a proper context for it. A significant increase in external debt accompanied the infrastructure modernization as the government heavily borrowed funds from external sources to finance them. The external debt surged six times, from 4.1 billion US dollars in 1975 to 24.4 billion US dollars in 1982 (Boyce, 1993). Furthermore, the projects were associated with overspending, ostentatious displays, and corruption (Manapat, 1991).

Claim: Marcos, Sr. Resigned

Marcos, Sr. did not publicly resign. Instead, he abandoned the presidency and flew into exile to Hawaii on February 25, 1986, following the People Power Revolution (Aguilar, 2019).

4. Contrasting Historical Perspectives

Figure 4: Thematic Map of Comparison of Historical Perspectives of People Born Before and After the Martial Law Period



A notable observation was made regarding the contrasting historical perspectives between the two generations. The framework of a tripartite view of history was first introduced by Salazar (1983), which claimed that the late nineteenth-century propagandists in the Philippines adopted this framework to liberate their people from the colonial bipartite view of history. This view depicted the pre-colonial times as barbaric (darkness) while glorifying the colonial regime as a period of civilization (light).

In this study's context, I found that the participants exhibited a threefold historical outlook on Martial Law, emphasizing the significance of how the past and present interact to provide a comprehensive understanding of that era. However, the historical perspectives of the two groups have reversed elements. There were contrasting perspectives on what constituted darkness and light in relation to the past and present. This reversal of elements signifies a departure from the traditional historical narratives, indicating a contesting understanding of which aspects of history are considered positive or negative. Through the exploration of these historical perspectives, it becomes evident that there exists a competing political ideology between the older and younger generations, and this is one of the driving forces of how they view the past and navigate the political present. In the Philippines, political parties are not strongly rooted in specific ideologies; rather, ideologies are personality-based (Ressa, 2022). The older generation seems to be Anti-Marcos while the younger ones are Pro-Marcos.

Darkness-Light-Darkness. The negative representations of the older generation about Martial Law make it a period of darkness, laying the foundation for portraying the post-Martial Law era as a period of light and the current situation with another Marcos in power as a return to darkness. This darkness-light-darkness framework encompasses the participants' emotions and experiences during that time. Remembering Martial Law provided a feeling of fear due to the struggles and the conjugal dictatorship they endured during that period. The successful People Power Revolution, on the other hand, gave them hope as it restored their freedom. However, the fear of another Marcos coming back to power arises. They accuse the younger generation, who make up more than 50 percent

of the voters, of not being knowledgeable about the past, hence being vulnerable to disinformation (out-group derogation).

Light-Darkness-Light. In contrast, the light-darkness-light framework is embraced by the younger generation. Their positive representations of Martial Law make it a period of light, laying the foundation for portraying the post-Martial Law era as a period of darkness and the present with another Marcos in power as a return to the light. Martial Law provided a nostalgic longing for a lost glorious past and great leadership embodied by Marcos, Sr. There is discontent among the younger generation regarding the failed governance by the elite post-Martial Law and the lack of revolutionary changes in how Filipinos live. However, they find hope in the comeback of another Marcos, believing that this individual has the potential to restore the nation to its former glory. They call out the older generation to let bygones be bygones and move on (out-group derogation).

5. Different Social Milieus

According to the social representations theory, individuals within a social group share common everyday knowledge (Moscovici, 1984), and this cohesive knowledge is influenced by various social milieus (Bauer and Gaskell, 2008). Halbwachs (1992) contends that the formation and reconstruction of the past, as well as the meanings associated with it, are heavily affected by social milieus rather than being rooted only in experiences. With these, I found it important to understand the agents that shaped the views among generations about Martial Law. I identified the following social milieus that might have influenced their understanding, according to the interviews:

Catholic Values. Participants O3, O7, and O9 were seminarians during Martial Law. Hence, their Catholic values had a significant factor in shaping their opposition to the regime. Their religious beliefs and convictions were likely crucial in motivating them to stand against the dictatorship, viewing it as a moral imperative aligned with their faith to fight for what they perceived as just.

Family and Personal Experiences. The role of family and personal experiences had a strong influence on the participants' beliefs and values. The younger generation would always refer to the narratives and experiences shared by their grandparents and parents who lived through that era. Most of their families had positive recollections of the period, describing a better and more stable life during Martial Law. They highlighted the perceived effectiveness of government programs and the benefits their families experienced as a result. Y1, in particular, mentioned the first-hand accounts of her father, who worked within the Malacañang Palace, implying that their family had a direct association with the regime.

In contrast, O1, O2, O6, O8, and O10 came from the families of activists and personally endured warrantless arrests, torture, and even the loss of loved ones. These experiences, along with witnessing similar ordeals suffered by their friends, reinforced their opposition to the regime and solidified their political beliefs. Despite living a relatively normal life herself, O4 witnessed the arrest of her innocent employees by the military and experienced workers begging her for wage increases or entitlement to rice subsidies.

Social Media. Social media has been an essential source of information about Martial Law among the younger participants. In fact, all participants born after the period are members of the Pro-Marcos and Pro-Duterte Facebook pages. Their specific affiliation with these pages suggests that these political leanings might influence the participants' perceptions of Martial Law. Bovet, et. al. (2018) and Tornberg (2018) cautioned that social media could potentially become a breeding ground for misinformation and conspiracy theories. They also noted that it could play a significant role in influencing shifts in public opinion.

Interests in History. O1, O2, O7, O6, and O9 were history students and expressed that their opposition to the Marcos, Sr. regime was somehow based on the lessons of Philippine heroes Andres Bonifacio and Jose Rizal. Bonifacio was a key figure in the Philippine Revolution against Spanish colonial rule. Rizal, on the other hand, was a national hero and a prominent advocate for reforms during the said period. The participants have likely found parallels between the oppressive nature of Martial Law and the injustices fought against by Bonifacio and Rizal and have been inspired by the spirit of resistance and nationalism. In contrast, most participants from the younger generation see history primarily as a school requirement and struggle to remember important historical periods.

VI. DISCUSSION

Summary of Results

The situation in the Philippines is strongly connected to Chile, a nation separated by contrasting ideological gaps and conflicting historical recollections (Natzmer, 2002). The dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile has both advocates and critics, each forming their own assessment of the regime. A comparable situation also exists in Brazil, wherein a study of the social representations of Getúlio Vargas' dictatorship revealed antagonistic views between the older and younger generations (Santos, et. al., 2021).

In this study, participants born before and after Martial Law hold polemical representations of the period where personality-based political ideology plays a central role in embodying such antagonistic views. The older participants are anti-Marcos and have negative representations of the period, centering on the process and the objectification of it with Ferdinand and Imelda's conjugal dictatorship. They view Martial Law as a time of economic and political struggle, characterized by military-led abuses and an economic crisis. Their memories of the regime are likewise marked by Ferdinand's abuse of power and Imelda's excesses. In contrast, the younger participants are pro-Marcos and have positive representations of Martial Law, seeing it as a golden age and a justified war, thus considering the regime a glorious past. They also objectify it with Marcos Sr.'s greatness as a patriarchal figure and a hero. The representations of the younger participants are consistent with the narrative structure embraced by a typical

Marcos loyalist (Bautista, 2018), wherein revisionist views about the period are also prevalent.

I thoroughly examined the methods employed by the participants to construct their representations of the regime, focusing on anchoring and objectification mechanisms. Anchoring was accomplished through their personal experiences, emotions, and making connections to present-day situations. According to Liu, et. al. (2017), SRH are particularly responsive to the prevailing social demands. Objectification was observed through the personification of characters and the recollection of vivid images and symbols.

This study also revealed three key factors that might have shaped the participants' views. Firstly, the participants' position and the impact on them are significant. Generation effect was evident as the older participants directly suffered state repression and the economic conditions of the era; thus, they interpreted the period based on experiences and pre-existing worldviews and could tell more cohesive narratives. Meanwhile, the younger participants did not experience such, thus interpreting it through the lens of current experiences or making analogies on contemporary issues. Their narratives were more topical than chronological. Secondly, the social milieus in which individuals are embedded play a crucial role in shaping their beliefs, political affiliations, and orientations, influencing their understanding and experiences. Lastly, the aftermath of the regime influences how participants think about the past and navigate the political present, as seen in how they shaped their tripartite historical perspective of Martial Law.

The examination of books and social media in conjunction demonstrates the adaptable nature of social representations. While books and published materials offer impartial depictions of Martial Law, textbooks tend to construct Martial Law through subtle justifications, focusing on the positive impacts. Social media, on the other hand, exacerbate these debates as the widespread circulation of nostalgic narratives brings forward justifications for the regime.

Contesting Memories, Historical Revisionism

Jelin and Kaufman (2000) highlighted that when memory is viewed as collective, the realm of memory transforms into a battleground of political conflicts. To explore how this struggle materializes in public history, I interviewed two historians (T1 and T2).

T1 emphasized that this study observed historical distortion and politicization of collective memories rather than a simple memory contestation. Memory contestation involves conflicting recollections of past events among multiple actors due to several factors, whereas politically motivated historical revisionism deliberately distorts collective memories by cleansing or denying narratives to promote a specific political agenda (Uyheng, et. al., 2020). While both memory contestations and historical revisionism contribute to political struggles, they should not be mistaken as the same.

Both historians believe that the conflicting interpretations of Martial Law in the Philippines stem from the dual nature of the trauma caused by the era. One form of trauma is structural, suggesting that some individuals may have lived during the period without feeling victimized. These were observed in the narratives of the younger participants, who

shared that most of their families had positive recollections of the period, describing a better and more stable life during Martial Law. On the other hand, there is historical trauma experienced by those who directly suffered from the dictatorship's oppressive actions. This was evident in interviews with the older generation, who experienced firsthand the military-led abuses and the economic conditions during Martial Law. T1 and T2 believe this has led to divided and conflicting social memories today. The historians also assert that this division made it easier for the Marcoses to propagate their family's rehabilitation through historical revisionism.

On the prevalence of historical revisionism, the historians identified factors contributing to the population's vulnerability to disinformation and alternative narratives about Martial Law. Firstly, the production of textbooks fails to address Martial Law's abuses adequately. This was seen in my brief analysis of textbook narratives where such are silent about the abuses and atrocities that transpired during that time. Secondly, the perceived failure of the Philippine justice system in holding the Marcoses accountable. Even after winning several administrative and criminal cases, the government has failed to prosecute or even arrest a single member of the Marcos clan. Additionally, hundreds of cases are still pending for several decades.

Thirdly, academia has not been thoroughly aggressive in influencing public discussions concerning this period. The historians acknowledged the necessity of promoting historical empathy and adapting to contemporary trends to make public history more relatable to the younger generation. Lastly, the presence of social media made it easier to propagate

disinformation. Various studies have documented organized disinformation schemes in social media, including the methodological use of trolls orchestrated by prominent public relations firms to promote pro-Marcoses narratives (Ong and Cabañes, 2018). All these create opportunities for promoting a favorable image of Marcos, Sr. and maintaining support for his family.

Limitations

The findings of this study cannot be generalized to the entire population due to the limited sample size. It would be valuable to explore the social representations in a larger and more representative sample and compare it to previous research studies to identify any changes. Additionally, a study of the social representations of Vargas' dictatorship in Brazil suggests that views differ depending on age, political orientation, and educational background (Santos, et. al., 2021). This highlights the importance of taking these factors into account. Nonetheless, this study can serve as a valuable foundation for future research endeavors.

VII. CONCLUSION

SRH provided a useful lens in exploring how Filipinos born before and after Martial Law view the period. The study highlighted the prevalence of polemical representations where personality-based political ideology takes center stage in embodying such antagonistic views. It also unveiled numerous socially-mediated memories and perspectives, illustrating the continuous interplay between the past and present. It is recognized by

historians that the contestation of memories among the participants is not solely rooted in conflicting recollections due to the dual nature of the trauma caused by the era, but it exposes the broader issue of politically-driven historical revisionism in the Philippines.

Imelda Marcos once said in an interview: "*Perception is real, and the truth is not*" (Aguilar, 2019). This line of thought suggests the Marcoses' inclination towards endorsing alternative interpretations of their family and the deliberate reshaping of historical narratives within the Filipino collective consciousness, where perception's dominance is favored over truth. As explored by the study, this trend of historical revisionism transcends the boundaries of social media platforms, extending its influence on educational resources as well, thereby eliciting substantial concern. While certain revisionist contentions are not entirely new, they have garnered extensive attention beyond academic spheres due to their resonance with pivotal contemporary challenges, encompassing peace, security, governance, economy, and the welfare of the people.

Bar-Tal and Halperin (2011) emphasize the importance of establishing a widely accepted representation of the past to foster social harmony. However, this task proves arduous in the Philippine context, as seen in the deeply divided perspectives among the participants and the prevalence of historical revisionism. Indeed, the enduring legacy of Marcos, Sr. and his Martial Law has not only resulted in a nation lacking a unified agreement on its history of authoritarian rule but has also created a polarized society in comprehending its current state.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

PART 1: ICE BREAKER

1. Can you state your age and what you are currently doing right now?
2. How interested are you in history?
3. What do you think are the important periods or moments of great interest in Philippine history?

PART 2: THE MARTIAL LAW PERIOD

1. How old were you when the Martial Law was declared, and what were you doing then? (*For Older Generation*)
1. Why do you think Martial Law was declared in the Philippines?
2. How would you describe the Martial Law rule in the country?
3. What do you remember the most about the period?
4. What do you think are the most significant events that happened during the Martial Law period? Please elaborate on why.
5. How do you think Martial Law ended?

PART 3: PERSONALITIES

1. Who do you think were the personalities that mattered most during the Martial Law period? Please elaborate on why.

PART 4: MISCONCEPTIONS

1. What do you think are other people's misconceptions about this critical period in Philippine history? And why do you think they have such misconceptions?

PART 5: HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

1. What are your hopes and expectations for the future since another Marcos is leading us?

Appendix 2: Information Sheet and Consent Form

Dear **Participant**,

Thank you very much for your interest in participating in this project that aims to understand the nature of the current social understanding of the Martial Law period among Filipinos. In this email/message, I am giving you information about the project and requesting your consent to participate. **If you agree, please reply to this email/message, stating your name and agreeing to the statements in the table below to give your consent form.**

What is the study about?

With the increasing incidence of disinformation in the Philippines promoting varying recollections of Ferdinand E. Marcos, Sr.'s Martial Law period, this study aims to shed light on the nature of the current social understanding of Martial Law among Filipinos. The goal of this research is to describe the dynamic social representations of Martial Law that Filipinos born before and after the said period hold.

What will be my involvement?

Your role is to participate in an in-depth interview as one of the participants in this research. The researcher will ask open-ended questions about your understanding and views of the Martial Law period.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is **voluntary**. There are no negative consequences for you if you decide not to participate in this study. Should you decide to take part but then later on change your mind, you can let me know by **June 1, 2023**. You will not have to give any explanation why. It is also absolutely fine that you do not want to answer any specific questions—you can just tell me, and we will move one.

What will my information be used for?

The data gathered in this study from our in-depth interview will be used to fulfill my MSc Dissertation. These might also be used in future research or publications.

Will my information be anonymous?

Your participation will be anonymous. Your name will not be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study.

If you agree to take part in the research, please complete the section below:

Your name: _____

Please read the statements carefully. If you agree with them, put an X mark in the boxes below:

I have read this message and had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I agree to participate in the interview.	
I understand that my responses will be kept confidential and anonymous and that my personal information will be kept securely and destroyed at the end of the study.	

Should you have further questions, please feel free to contact me. My contact details are contained below.

Appendix 3: Thematic Analysis Codebook

Thematic Map: Social Representations of Martial Law Among People Born Before the Period

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
<p>Period of Economic and Political Struggle</p>	<p>Military-led Abuses</p>	<p>Human Rights Violations</p>	<p>Because of Martial Law’s wanton disregard for civil rights, it came to be mentioned in the same breath as human rights violations due to the killings, arrests, tortures, and disappearances of activists executed by the military.</p>	<p><i>O3: “There were a lot of human rights violations with activists being arrested, killed, and tortured.”</i></p> <p><i>O1: “There were so many soldiers everywhere arresting people, mostly activists. I, for one, experienced being arrested and tortured. They fully undressed us so that they would make sure that there are no weapons. I was threatened with rape. The prison cell had no window. There was no air and there was only an overhead electric fan. The switch to the bulb inside the room was outside so they could control it.”</i></p> <p><i>O2: “I remember the abusive and indiscriminate treatment of the military to the ordinary folks. When the bus I was riding in was stopped by the metro cop, they came up to the bus and looked for people—men, boys, and men with long hair, and they cut them without explanation.”</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p>O4: <i>“They stripped everyone they arrest and capture. I did not hear anyone who had been captured that was not stripped. All the people I knew who were arrested were all made to strip. Sometimes, you know, even their underpants, they were told to remove them. So, that was to...I think to humiliate you and to make you disrespect yourself.”</i></p> <p>O5: <i>“There was a massive violation of the human rights of the citizens. My friends were arrested without a warrant. But worse, others were summarily executed or taken away and disappeared, not to return again. If you are a female, you face rape and sexual abuse.”</i></p> <p>O8: <i>“Military authority was over the civilian authority, and it was the principal instrument to arrest more, imprison more, torture more, and kill more than what would be normally done.”</i></p>
		Culture of Fear	<p>Martial Law became synonymous with fear, with people being afraid to speak out against the government due to the repressive environment and the tangible risks</p>	<p>O2: <i>“People were scared to do anything that in their mind would offend the authorities—any authority—the police, all the way up to Marcos. They were scared into doing things. Sometimes, not even</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
			<p>associated with challenging the government's authority.</p>	<p><i>do things that they were made to do. You know, speak out."</i></p> <p><i>O7: "There was fear because we did not have freedom anymore. That already started the hardships in our life. First, we did not have the freedom of speech. You cannot just say something against the government. People were already getting uneasy. So, every time you speak, you have to screen the words that you are going to say."</i></p> <p><i>O4: "Even if you are inside your house, you have this feeling that someone is listening to you. You are being under surveillance. So, people were scared."</i></p> <p><i>O6: "Literally, you couldn't talk freely. You are always talking in whispers, and then you always look over your shoulder to check if someone is listening. It became a must to become paranoid."</i></p> <p><i>O10: "There was that feeling of fear that something bad might happen anytime, maybe violence or chaos."</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
		Rise of Activism	Due to the oppressive nature of the military rule, it was also characterized as a time when activism was intense, and this was symbolized by the “L” hand gesture and yellow ribbons in rallies.	<p>O1: <i>“It was a period where there were already so many rallies in the Philippines, on the streets. People are really voicing out their discontent over the Marcos regime. The famous Laban sign and yellow ribbons were everywhere during the rallies. We rallied against the dictatorship, against the US imperialism. They were also already aware of those things and those issues. So, when we joined the rally, it was not because it was fashionable to join them, but because you believe that we should resolve these issues.”</i></p> <p>O4: <i>“Almost all of the students are seen in the streets. It was a normal sighting during Martial Law. Students rallying, doing the L hand sign, and having yellow ribbons.”</i></p> <p>O5: <i>“I made a promise to myself and to a good friend of mine that we will fight this [dictatorship]. That we will resist. And that was what I think defined my life from that moment on.”</i></p> <p>O7: <i>“Pamphlets were being read in the seminary coming from this group who</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>attended the rallies and demonstrations in Manila. There was a rise in activism. It was branded with the Laban."</i></p> <p><i>O9: "The movements were synchronized. When people see strikes, everyone strikes. When they see that we'll tie yellow ribbons, everyone will wear yellow ribbons. People even tied yellow ribbons in their cars."</i></p>
	Economic Crisis	Fuel Shortage	<p>Images of empty streets in Manila due to transportation strikes that paralyzed the capital and long lines of people buying limited fuel are regarded as symbols of the economic crisis that happened during Martial Law.</p>	<p><i>O1: "There was a national transportation strike that really paralyzed the whole of Metro Manila. No jeepneys. Everybody was not in the streets. It was really a paralyzation of the economy."</i></p> <p><i>O2: "There were also, at some point, long lines for gasoline. So, things were not looking good in that respect."</i></p> <p><i>O7: "We saw from the streets lines in buying of rice. In the buying of gasoline. And all other personal necessities of people."</i></p> <p><i>O4: "It was a time when the price of fuel and oil really skyrocketed."</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
		Rice shortage	Images of people lining up to buy a limited amount of rice are also regarded as symbols of the economic crisis that happened during the period.	<p>O1: <i>There were long lines of people wanting to buy rice, and each family could only buy two kilograms of rice.</i></p> <p>O2: <i>"I saw people lining up for rice. I never saw a line to buy rice before that. And to buy only a limited amount of rice. Rice was a basic food. It's a main staple, and people were lining up for rice."</i></p> <p>O4: <i>"There was a time when we had to fall in line to buy rice. And there are times when we were giving salaries to our people on a daily basis because they couldn't buy rice. We are giving them wages for rice, even substituting monetary salary to rice itself."</i></p> <p>O7: <i>"On one occasion, I witnessed a KADIWA center somewhere in Sampaloc being ransacked by people due to a lack of food. And the contents inside the KADIWA consisted of primary necessities and canned goods, and they were all taken by the people in the area."</i></p>
Conjugal Dictatorship of	Marcos, Sr.' Abuse of Power	Ambitiousness	Martial Law was objectified with Ferdinand's abuse of power because of his political ambition.	O10: <i>"Martial Law was the hype of Marcos' political ambition because</i>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
<p>Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos</p>			<p>His ambitiousness was reflected in the constitutional change that transpired during Martial Law.</p>	<p><i>he could just command anything, and everything will be executed.”</i></p> <p><i>O2: “It was all about keeping himself in power because a year after that, he would have ended his two-year term. Even during the declaration of Martial Law, he invented all these threats to society. And then, to continue ruling by decree, he amended the constitution or had it amended to insert a provision that he could still rule. So he overturned the institutions—Congress, Judiciary, and Supreme Court.”</i></p> <p><i>O3: “The only way he could continue in office, for whatever reasons, is to declare Martial Law. So, the immediate driver to declare it is his aim to stay in office beyond what is legally allowed under normal circumstances.”</i></p> <p><i>O6: “Marcos used the Martial Law provision in the constitution, which can only be declared when under invasion. He abused and misused that provision by saying that there was an ongoing rebellion raged by the communists and the New People’s Army.</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p>O7: “[<i>Martial Law</i>] was about Marcos’ abuse of power to lengthen his term.”</p> <p>O4: “I think it was a matter of self-preservation and self-defense for him because he knew that all his political enemies would go after him after he leaves <i>Malacañang</i>.”</p> <p>O5: “<i>Martial Law</i> was declared for Marcos’ personal interest, political preservation, and physical self-defense.”</p>
		Corruption	<p>Martial Law was linked to Ferdinand’s corruption. His favoritism gesture is treated as a testament to his corrupt activities.</p>	<p>O1: “Marcos controlled everything during that period. He chose his friends from the College of Law to head the Supreme Court so that when he says something, it will become a law.”</p> <p>O3: “He had complete control of the military. He appointed his friends. Even all the major branches of the government so that when he says something, it will become a law.”</p> <p>O4: “It was a time when friends and relatives of Marcos benefitted a lot with</p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>political favors and facilitation of business monopolies to the economy's detriment."</i></p> <p><i>O5: "Marcos' relatives and friends all became rich during Martial Law."</i></p>
	Imelda's Excesses	Extravagance	Martial Law was objectified with Imelda's excesses, and her massive shoe, jewelry, and dress collection served as the symbols of her extravagance.	<p><i>O1: "She was dazzling with her jewelry and shoes, and she was always talking about the good and the beautiful while people suffer from poverty."</i></p> <p><i>O2: "While people were suffering, Marcos had to continue feeding the profligate lifestyle of the family. He had to continue stealing money for Imelda's lifestyle."</i></p> <p><i>O6: "Every time Imelda Marcos would come to New York, the diplomats would have to drop everything they were doing and go with her on her shopping sprees. She was using the money of the people to splurge on luxury shoes, dresses, and jewelry."</i></p>
		Lavishness	Imelda's excesses were also characterized by her lavishness through her gesture of hosting numerous parties and events, both domestically and	<p><i>O4: "She wanted to entertain her friends—Hollywood friends—by hosting parties and events but she would hide the poverty of the Philippines. She would build all the</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
			internationally, which involved extensive expenditures.	<p><i>concrete walls so that she could hide the real Philippines from them.”</i></p> <p><i>O10: “So, she had all these shows to give them impressions that the Martial Law–Philippine style–was different. But what Imelda did was keep the slums away from the eyes of the visitors. She literally covered them up to keep the slum out of view of the foreign visitors that were attending the Marcos-sponsored International Conferences. So, that’s Imelda’s beautification version.”</i></p>
		Vanity	Imelda’s excesses were also characterized by her vanity in establishing expensive infrastructure projects that were considered unnecessary.	<p><i>O3: “Imelda’s Film Center was a white elephant project. Some funds were supposedly earmarked for essential projects like hospitals, they were siphoned off to build Imelda’s Ode to ostentatious display.”</i></p> <p><i>O7: “Some infrastructure projects were really overpriced. Some are Marcos’ gifts to Imelda. Like the San Juanico bridge. It was a grand gesture of Marcos to Imelda. It was really not meant for the people.”</i></p> <p><i>O8: “They misappropriated money to fund projects that were not a necessity at</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<i>that time. It was just to show off to the international community. ”</i>

Thematic Map: Social Representations of Martial Law Among People Born After the Period

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
A Glorious Past	Golden Age	Infrastructure boom	Infrastructure projects built during the Martial Law years, which benefit the public until today, are regarded as physical testaments to the said golden age.	<p>Y5: <i>“Our economy was really growing rapidly during Martial Law because of massive infrastructure investments. We were called the Little Paris and Venice in South East Asia.”</i></p> <p>Y4: <i>“During Martial Law, we had the Bataan Nuclear Plant. Our country was so great that we had our own nuclear power plant.”</i></p> <p>Y10: <i>“The Philippine Heart Center and the Children’s Hospital were established, which are still being benefited by Filipinos at present, especially the poor families who cannot afford private medical care.”</i></p> <p>Y1: <i>“There was an infrastructure boom during Martial Law. We had our own Manila Film Center, Nuclear Power Plant, and Philippine International Convention Center. The most important infrastructure projects are the Philippine Heart Center, Lung Center of the Philippines, and National Kidney and Transplant Institute, which all cater to people who are not</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>capable of paying much for medical expenses until now.</i></p> <p><i>Y7: "It was during Martial Law when the San Juanico Bridge was constructed, which was really a game-changer because it connects two provincial islands."</i></p> <p><i>Y9: "During that time, you can really see the infrastructure projects built were unprecedented in the history of our country. And they are still functioning up to this date. Among those infrastructure projects are focused on promoting Philippine arts and culture like Nayong Pilipino and the Cultural Center of the Philippines."</i></p>
		Discipline	<p>Images of clean sidewalks, people crossing the street using designated walkways, and empty streets during the night which exhibit discipline among citizens, are regarded as symbols of the said golden age.</p>	<p><i>Y8: "People know how to cross the streets using pedestrian lanes. They religiously avoid jaywalking."</i></p> <p><i>Y2: "People during that time really respect the law. They follow the curfew. Everyone had to be home by six in the evening. Streets are empty at night, therefore no crimes. You cannot play basketball during the night."</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p>Y10: <i>“Obedience and good behavior were really evident during the time. You can also see people really cleaning the streets and picking garbage.”</i></p> <p>Y3: <i>“You can walk alone safely in the streets of Manila anytime. The military intervention was necessary to control the movement of people and curb crimes. People before know how to cross the streets using the pedestrian lane properly. People knew that they are being watched by the authorities, so they are really careful not to do nasty things.”</i></p>
		No hunger	The distribution of rice, fortified bread, and food packages which are used to tackle hunger during the regime are regarded as symbols to the said golden age.	<p>Y2: <i>“During Martial Law, Marcos made sure that the living conditions of people were well. He distributed rice, pieces of bread, and other food packages.”</i></p> <p>Y1: <i>“The life of my grandparents and parents back then was simpler and better. There was no hunger as the government is giving them rice.”</i></p> <p>Y10: <i>“My grandmother said the price of vegetables, rice, and other food items were very cheap and that people were living comfortably and no one was below</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>the poverty line. Also, the government distributes food packages.”</i></p> <p><i>Y9: “No kid went hungry then because there was free fortified bread in schools.”</i></p>
	<p>Justified War</p>	<p>Armor Against the ‘Enemies of the State’</p>	<p>The imposition of Martial Law was a necessary intervention to curb rebellious activities of the communists just like President Duterte’s ‘War on Drugs’, which were bringing violence and chaos in the country.</p>	<p><i>Y6: “It was an effective solution to the growing problem of communist insurgency just like how President Duterte imposed the national war on illegal drugs.”</i></p> <p><i>Y3: “The leftists were holding protests and rallies that brought chaos. They wanted to overthrow Marcos because they did not like him. They were bringing violence and social unrest because of that. That’s why Marcos had to put the country under Martial Law in order to stop the rebellious activities and protect the ordinary people from them. We can compare it to Duterte’s war on drug addicts. Martial Law was just like that, but the enemies are the communists wanting to overthrow the government.”</i></p> <p><i>Y5: “Yes, there were human rights abuses; there were tortures and arrests. But those who experienced it are the enemies of</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>Marcos. They were anti-government. The military rule is not entirely wrong as it only targeted enemies of the government just like any administration that is confronted with security issues. Duterte launched a war with drug addicts.”</i></p>
		<p>Necessary Measure to Curb Crimes</p>	<p>The participants draw attention to the perceived failures of democratic post-Marcos governments by highlighting the prevalence of crime in the present day, juxtaposing it with the supposed peace during Martial Law.</p>	<p><i>Y1: “During the time of Marcos, nobody gets raped, even if girls walk alone at night. Now, it's impossible to walk alone without getting raped or sexually harassed.”</i></p> <p><i>Y10: “After Martial Law, illegal drugs and crimes became worse and rampant that's why President Duterte had to impose the war on drugs.”</i></p> <p><i>Y3: “If we are still under Martial Law, Filipinos will not be undisciplined as they are now, and crimes like rape, murder, and illegal drugs would not be prevalent.”</i></p>
	<p>Father of New Society</p>	<p>Benevolence</p>	<p>Participants objectified Marcos, Sr.'s benevolence to the peace and prosperity achieved during the Martial Law. His benevolence is exhibited by his non-hesitation to use</p>	<p><i>Y10: “His actions were justified, all for the common good of the Filipino people. He was so correct at declaring Martial Law. It saved us from all the chaos and violence brought by the leftists.”</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
<p>Marcos, Sr.'s Greatness</p>			<p>whatever means to protect the Filipino people from harm.</p>	<p>Y4: <i>“He stayed in power not only because of the military, but because he was so aware and conscious of what the country really needs and the things that must be done to progress.”</i></p> <p>Y5: <i>“His brilliance surpassed everyone during his time. It was during his Martial Law that the most innovative government policies and projects were instituted and peace and order was really restored because of the military rule. He was a really good father of the nation.”</i></p>
		<p>Decisiveness</p>	<p>Participants objectified Marcos, Sr.'s decisiveness to the progress achieved during the Martial Law, claiming that this allowed for the implementation of effective policies and solutions.</p>	<p>Y1: <i>“He can easily solve economic problems because he is a genius and he can immediately think of solutions and implement them right away.”</i></p> <p>Y6: <i>“Martial Law was the time when our economy was very high, and we were referred to as the Tiger of Asia because Marcos was an economic genius, according to my father. Marcos could easily get foreign investments just by talking to investors. Marcos left such a very good legacy.”</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p>Y3: <i>“Marcos is the only president who made our country rich because he can get things done right away.”</i></p> <p>Y10: <i>“He is the only Philippine President that put the country into a limelight because he can do with haste whatever things that would make us progress. The Philippines then was one the world's most influential country.”</i></p>
	Hero	Pacificism	Participants believe that Marcos, Sr. is a hero during the period as he sacrificed himself for the common good by stepping down as President to bring about a peaceful resolution to the People Power Revolution.	<p>Y4: <i>“He sacrificed himself. He resigned so that people will not get hurt because of Cory’s evilness and selfishness.”</i></p> <p>Y9: <i>“It was a family feud. A personal attack that affected the whole country. That’s why Marcos had to control it so that Filipinos will be protected against the chaos and everything.”</i></p> <p>Y6: <i>“He did not escape. He wanted to end the revolution in a safe way because the opposition supporters were becoming so rapid and chaotic. So, he still chose the people until the end. He did not give up. It was a matter of choosing what was going to benefit the greater good.”</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
		Nationalism	Participants believe that the period highlighted Marcos, Sr.' nationalism as they applaud his efforts to host international gatherings and events, which were intended to showcase the country's cultural heritage and raise its global profile.	<p>Y7: <i>“Even if he was called a Dictator, he put the Philippines at the center of the world. He established a lot of infrastructure projects and promoted the Philippines’ rich culture. He will do anything that will make the country known in the international scene. He left a legacy that until now is deeply embedded in the hearts of the Filipinos that’s why we love him.”</i></p> <p>Y10: <i>“He is the only Philippine President that put the country into a limelight. He put the Philippines into the center of the world.”</i></p>

Thematic Map: Historical Perspectives of People Born Before the Martial Law

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
<p>Darkness-Light-Darkness Trilogy</p>	<p>Fear</p>	<p>Military-led abuses</p>	<p>Remembering Martial Law provided a feeling of fear due to the abuses the participants endured during that period.</p>	<p>O3: <i>“There were a lot of human rights violations with activists being arrested, killed, and tortured.”</i></p> <p>O1: <i>“There were so many soldiers everywhere arresting people, mostly activists. I, for one, experienced being arrested and tortured. They fully undressed us so that they would make sure that there are no weapons. I was threatened with rape. The prison cell had no window. There was no air and there was only an overhead electric fan. The switch to the bulb inside the room was outside so they could control it.”</i></p> <p>O2: <i>“I remember the abusive and indiscriminate treatment of the military to the ordinary folks. When the bus I was riding in was stopped by the metro cop, they came up to the bus and looked for people—men, boys, and men with long hair and they cut them without explanation.”</i></p> <p>O4: <i>“They stripped everyone they arrest and capture. I did not hear anyone who had been captured that was not stripped. All the people I knew who were arrested were all made to strip. Sometimes, you know, even their underpants, they were told to remove them. So, that was to...I</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>think to humiliate you and to make you disrespect yourself.”</i></p> <p><i>O5: “There was a massive violation of the human rights of the citizens. My friends were arrested without a warrant. But worse, others were summarily executed or taken away and disappeared, not to return again. If you are a female, you face rape and sexual abuse.”</i></p> <p><i>O8: “Military authority was over the civilian authority, and it was the principal instrument to arrest more, imprison more, torture more, and kill more than what would be normally done.”</i></p>
		Conjugal Dictatorship	Remembering Martial Law provided a feeling of fear due to the conjugal dictatorship rule of Ferdinand and Imelda as they hold the all power	<p><i>O2: “People were scared to do anything that in their mind would offend the authorities—any authority—the police, all the way up to Marcos. They were scared into doing things. Sometimes, not even do things that they were made to do. You know, speak out.”</i></p> <p><i>O7: “There was fear because we did not have freedom anymore. That already started the hardships in our life. First, we did not have the freedom of speech. You cannot just say something against the government. People were already getting uneasy. So, every time you</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>...speak, you have to screen the words that you are going to say."</i></p> <p><i>O4: "Even if you are inside your house, you have this feeling that someone is listening to you. You are being under surveillance. So, people were scared."</i></p> <p><i>O6: "Literally, you couldn't talk freely. You are always talking in whispers, and then you always look over your shoulder to check if someone is listening. It became a must to become paranoid."</i></p> <p><i>O10: "There was that feeling of fear that something bad might happen anytime, maybe violence or chaos."</i></p>
	Hope	People Power Revolution	The successful People Power Revolution gave the participants the feeling of hope, as it restored their freedom.	<p><i>O7: "The feeling [during the People Power] was so festive. People were celebrating the ouster of a dictator and oppressive regime."</i></p> <p><i>O8: "It was as if we were able to breathe again. It was so refreshing."</i></p> <p><i>O3: "It was really a collective effort of the Filipinos to fight for democracy."</i></p> <p><i>O5: "People on the streets were rejoicing. Everyone was hugging everyone, even strangers."</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<i>They were all happy and hopeful. And that is not just in our place. It was all over when you go around all over the Philippines.”</i>
		Return of Civil Rights	The participants also felt hopeful when their freedom and civil rights were given back to them after the Martial Law as these were all curtailed during the period.	<i>O10: “We gained back our right to free speech and expression.”</i> <i>O2: “We got our freedom back from oppression.”</i> <i>O3: “We became a free country again.”</i> <i>O10: “The dark days of oppression was over.”</i>
	Fear	Return of Another Marcos	The participants were fearful of another Marcos coming back to power.	<i>O1: “Bongbong won the election because he cheated. He could not win the election, he cheated. There are so many testimonies, there are so many evidence now that there was cheating that’s why he won.”</i> <i>O10: “We don’t want another Marcos back. We don’t want to experience another dictatorship.”</i> <i>O7: “I am scared for the future of my grandchildren. I hope they won’t experience the same dictatorship regime we have experienced.”</i>
		Never Forget, Never Again	The phrase “never forget, never again” captured the collective determination of the	<i>O1: “A portion of our population, especially young ones, do not know about Martial Law. We should</i>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
			<p>participants to remember the past and prevent a repetition in the future.</p>	<p><i>never let our youth forget that significant part of history. That should never happen again.</i></p> <p>O2: <i>“Education. Education across the board—not just education in school—is very important. That’s where we should start. So the youth will remember history.</i></p> <p>O10: <i>“Never again for Martial Law.”</i></p>

Thematic Map: Historical Perspectives of People Born Before the After Martial Law

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
<p>Light-Darkness-Light Trilogy</p>	<p>Nostalgia</p>	<p>Lost Glorious Past</p>	<p>The end of Martial Law gave the participants a feeling that they lost something, particularly nostalgic longing for a lost glorious past.</p>	<p><i>Y10: "After Martial Law, illegal drugs and crimes became rampant."</i></p> <p><i>Y3: "If we are still under Martial Law ,Filipinos will not be undisciplined as they are now."</i></p> <p><i>Y5: "Just imagine the great things that could have happened if the people did not oust Marcos. Our future became darker and darker after."</i></p> <p><i>Y1: "Filipinos would have been more obedient and the country would have become the best and richest in Southeast Asia and the world."</i></p>
		<p>Lost Great Leadership</p>	<p>The end of Martial Law gave the participants a feeling that they lost something, particularly nostalgic longing for a lost great leadership.</p>	<p><i>Y8: "The post-Martial Law is a dark era caused by the Aquinos, the oligarchs, the church, media, schools, and other groups' connivance to overthrow a brilliant leader."</i></p> <p><i>Y3: "I really wish I was able to experience what it was like having Marcos as the president."</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
	Discontent	Failed Elite Governance Post-Martial Law	Participants felt discontent after Martial Law as the People Power Revolution did not result in any changes in government.	<p>Y7: <i>“Let’s say there was corruption before. But at least we are seeing the outputs like the infrastructure projects. Now, corruption has become so very rampant and like a normal thing. And worst, we are not seeing any improvements. No outputs.”</i></p> <p>Y2: <i>“There are really no changes. We see the same people running the country but we are not heading somewhere, unlike before we were on a clear path to economic growth. We are governed by the same set of people from the same family without really tangible achievements like the Aquinos.”</i></p> <p>Y5: <i>“Our nation has become more corrupt than ever.”</i></p>
		No revolutionary changes way of living	Participants felt discontent after Martial Law as hunger and despair continue to constitute people’s everyday reality.	<p>Y8: <i>“Quality of life now is worst. High inflation. We are full of borrowings. People are undisciplined. A lot are hungry.”</i></p> <p>Y4: <i>“After EDSA, people are still poor. Many of us are still suffering from extreme poverty.”</i></p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
	Hope	Return of another Marcos	Participants are hopeful of Bongbong's (Marcos, Sr.'s son and newly-elected president) win as they believe he will bring the continuity of Marcos, Sr.'s brand of leadership and that he will liberate the country from the rule of the oligarchs.	<p>Y3: "We became worse. Economy. Poverty. Inflation."</p> <p>Y1: "I have high hopes for Bongbong. He should be like his father and President Duterte. He should end crimes by being a strongman in disciplining people."</p> <p>Y2: "I believe Bongbong will surpass his father's greatness."</p> <p>Y3: "He should continue the legacy and projects of his father and of Duterte. We should not be under the Aquinos again."</p> <p>Y5: "We are in good hands under Bongbong. He is a breath of fresh air from evil oligarchs. If he succeeds, we will also succeed as people. We should help him."</p> <p>Y7: "With the blood of his father with him, I believe he can make the Philippines great again. I hope he inherited his father's brilliance."</p> <p>Y4: "I believe he will surpass his father's legacy, especially in the infrastructure sector and foreign investments that's why</p>

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme/Code	Description	Examples
				<p><i>he is always out of the country talking to investors now to make our country be the Asia's Tiger Economy again."</i></p> <p><i>Y10: "Bongbong will bring the nation back to its glory."</i></p>
		<p>Let bygones be bygones</p>	<p>The participants believe that the older generation and the anti-Marcos groups should move on as a necessary step to national healing and development. They believe that the opposition should instead focus on the present and future than continuously dealing with the past.</p>	<p><i>Y1: "Those who are against Marcos, who says that he is a bad president, should move on. He is already dead. He is no longer here. People should move on."</i></p> <p><i>Y4: "There is no evidence about what people are saying that Marcos was corrupt. He was already rich when he became the President. And cases filed against him, and Imelda were dismissed. They should just focus on the true corruption happening now."</i></p> <p><i>Y5: "The human rights violations before were for those who really were not following the rules. That should be a lesson to them now that they should follow the law and respect the government. They should have learned already from their past mistake and moved on."</i></p>

Appendix 4: One Full English Translated Transcript of Interview

INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANT O2

May 29, 2023

***Researcher (R)**

- R** : Now that this is being recorded, I would like to reiterate that your participation in this study is totally anonymous. Your name and other information that will point to your identity will not be revealed. Please feel free to use Taglish, Tagalog, or English—whichever is your preference.
- O2** : Okay.
- R** : Sir, for the first part, can you just state your age and what you are currently doing in general terms?
- O2** : Okay. I'm 72 years old. I am currently one of the editors of the Philippine Daily Inquirer. I work part-time. I was working for the Associate Press for 26 years before I retired and worked briefly with CNN Philippines as an Editor before I moved to the Inquirer. Now, I work part-time for the Inquirer, three days a week. I also write for the online news magazine—it's called coverstory.ph.
- R** : Thank you, sir. Can I just ask how interested you are in history?
- O2** : I am very interested in history. In fact, my course was Philippine Studies and I focused on history—Philippine Literature and Philippine Anthropology. So, history (to me) is interesting, important, and very instructive.
- R** : So, you really have that very great knowledge about Philippine history. Can I ask what do you think are the important periods or moments of interest in Philippine history that really captured your attention?
- O2** : I only have a great understanding of history, not knowledge. The historical periods in the Philippines, which to me are very important for the country as a nation and which developed through the centuries were, of course, the Spanish Colonial Period, the American Colonial Period, the Japanese Occupation, and the New Republic. And one very important period, of course, was the Marcos dictatorship. They are very important for the nation to be able to understand and move forward. The most important of all the important periods to me, of course, was the Martial Law period.
- R** : Now that you've mentioned the Marcos dictatorship, can I ask how old you were

when Martial Law was declared, and what were you doing during that time?

O2 : When Martial Law was declared in 1972, I was a student. I was around 21 years old. As a student, you were very interested in things going on. You know, in school, with your friends, with your classmate, with your family, with things happening outside school, especially for me as I was an activist then. And we were, of course, a little bit scared—we were scared, not a little bit—we were scared of what could happen to us because we knew that the authorities knew who we were in that small school.

R : For you, why do you think Martial Law was declared, and what's the relevance of that law?

O2 : As activists, we did what you call discussion groups—we have discussion groups about the things going on in the country, things happening abroad, especially the Vietnam War, and what US imperialism was about. And then, the impending Martial Law would be asked. It was a so-called dress rehearsal. A year before, when Marcos suspended the Writ of Habeas Corpus, it was the dress rehearsal for 1972. So, I believe then, as I believe still now, Marcos declared Martial Law to keep himself in power because a year after that, in 1973, he would have ended his two-year term as president. So, with all the things hurled against him, especially after his second term as president, all the corruption, and the display of power and wealth by his family—they were all going to haunt him after he leaves office. So, for me, it was a matter of self-preservation and self-defense for him because he knew, you know, all these people, all his political enemies, would go after him after he leaves Malacañang. So, it was all about keeping himself in power because a year after that, he would have ended his two-year term. Even during the declaration of Martial Law, he invented all these threats to society. And then, to continue ruling by decree, he amended the constitution or had it amended to insert a provision that he could still rule. So, he overturned the institutions—congress, judiciary, and supreme court. So, that was one thing. Secondly, he had to continue feeding the profligate lifestyle of the family. He had to continue stealing money from the people, and it was proven.

So, those were, to me, the reasons why he declared Martial Law. It was personal interest, political preservation, and physical self-defense because they would go after him, they would have jailed him, you know. They still had to stand trial, but all the pieces of evidence that were eventually brought out after they left Malacañang in 1986 would have surfaced much sooner if he had not stayed in Malacañang. Because those little things like the so-called Yamashita gold and so-called treasures upon which he says stand his wealth, you know, these were all going to be exposed after he leaves Malacañang, and which were exposed when he left. So, those were the reasons for me, and I believe these reasons have all only been strengthened and have only been supported by evidence.

R : With that, how would you describe the Martial Law rule in the country based on your own experiences?

O2 : Based on what I experienced, and based on what I saw, what I read, what I heard, and what others were telling me—others who had their own personal experience—on the outside, Martial Law was all quiet, but behind the scenes, you know, it was a brutal regime. I personally had a case of indiscriminate and abusive treatment. I remember the abusive and indiscriminate treatment of the military to the ordinary folks. When the bus I was riding in was stopped by the metro cop, they came up to the bus and looked for people—men, boys, and men with long hair and they cut them without explanation. That time, it was 70s, right? So, we were all wearing long hair. Of course, our ears were covered. So, they just came up to us with mechanical shavers and shaved our hair. So, there was a big gap showing my scalp. And for no reason, they just wanted to show that they were in charge, and you cannot resist, and you cannot do anything, and there was no purpose. Of course, they want to say that people with long hair are the rebellious type, you know. That they are leftists, and they're dangerous, so they cut their hair, you know. That's the only thing they could do at that time to us because we were just passengers; we were not doing anything. So, they cut our hair. That was my first encounter with abuse and discrimination for no reason. They just wanted to show that they were in charge and that they could do anything. I had to cut the rest of my hair to follow the contour of the shaving. So, when I arrived at school, everybody was laughing at me.

R : Do you have any more encounters that you want to share?

O2 : When you enter the University of the Philippines, there's a checkpoint. The police would board the bus and check your belongings to see if you might have manifestos or whatever reading materials. So, when you enter the College of Arts and Sciences, there are guards there checking your bags. So, as an activist, I would bring manifestos to the campus. So, I would fold the manifestos. These manifestos were either written by the mass organizations then, you know. I was a member of the *Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan* (Society of Democratic Youth). So, every now and then, we produce manifestos for distribution to students on various campuses. So, what I do is to fold them into four, wrapped them in sandwich paper, and make them look like sandwiches at first glance. And then, I put them at the bottom of a bag, and I would leave the bag under that long seat at the end of the bus. Can you imagine? Normally, the buses have three and two-seaters per line, and one long, maybe a six-seater at the end, right? I'd put that bag under that long seat, and I would move forward with just my books and notebooks so they could not check it. They were probably not that much interested or were not suspicious of us so, they wouldn't see the bag. And after they leave, I'd go back and collect my bag. After that, we go and distribute. So, there was

always constant tension entering the school daily. So, you'd think of other ways of going around these security checkpoints. And then, other experiences, I think sometime in my second year in college, I was arrested. I worked full-time underground, and I was arrested.

I had joined the Communist Party at that time. I was already a member or, technically, a candidate member of the Communist Party, and I was working for a group that helps support groups working in the countryside. So, I was arrested in an apartment where I had met some of these people the previous days. On the day of my arrest, I did not know that the apartment had already been raided. So, they were waiting for people to come in and capture people—I was one of them. So, they beat me up right there and then, and one of them hit me with the butt of his pistol. I had a cut on my eyebrow, and it was bleeding, but I could not feel it. When you're beaten up, you wouldn't know anymore where the punches are going.

The scary part of that is not the actual beating up, you know, because you get punched, you get hurt, and that's it. And you get punched again, and you get hurt again. The scary part was that one of the guys there, one of the members of the arresting team, was pointing a gun at my head, but I could see that his hands were shaking. And I was afraid because he was shaking, he might pull the trigger—that was the scariest part at that point. But it did not happen, obviously, and I was taken away and brought to a safe house, and I was made to strip down to my underpants.

R : Thank you for sharing those personal experiences, sir. I'm sure it's very traumatic. I'd just like to put on record that you were not forced to share these experiences, especially the details of those. You willingly shared those.

O2 : Yes. I was able to overcome them by sharing just like this, I'm sharing them with you now. Sharing experiences helped. I don't carry the burden of my experience by sharing. So, I think sharing, in my case, was to ease the trauma. I have been sharing my experiences in public conferences.

R : Sir, how about the general state of the Philippines at that time? How would you describe the state of the economy?

O2 : Well, it wasn't doing good, you know. Of course, you can now read reports on what happened to the economy during Martial Law. But one thing I can tell you was that people were afraid enough not to follow basic regulations or rules like crossing the streets. People were scared to do anything that in their mind would offend the authorities—any authority—the police, all the way up to Marcos. They were scared into doing things. Sometimes, not even do things that they were made to do. You know, speak out. I don't think the people were economically better off. Personally, I saw people lining up for rice. I never saw a line to buy rice before that. And to buy only a limited amount of rice. Rice was a basic food. It's a main staple, and people

were lining up for rice. There were also, at some point, long lines for gasoline. So, things were not looking good in that respect. People had economic problems, and that's when the OFW (Overseas Filipino Workers) phenomenon started in the 70s.

R : For my next question, how do you think the Martial Law ended in the Philippines?

O2 : Well, Martial Law, meaning—military, rule, authoritarian, and dictatorial rule—ended at EDSA or ended with EDSA, technically speaking. But, that kind of rule, that kind of administration, that kind of abuse of power, perhaps, one could say, it continued because there was no real reckoning. There was a reckoning of hidden wealth, stolen wealth, and ill-gotten wealth by way of recoveries, but there was no reckoning of abuses. No one went to jail because of torture or illegal killings, and no one was jailed because of abuse of power. So, it was, in a way, half-baked. Although, technically, we overthrew the dictator. And for a while, people were very grateful for that. People celebrated. But the way the country is being ruled has not changed, essentially, because the same people stayed in power. And the prime example of this is that the son of a dictator is now the occupant of Malacañang. This family did not atone for their sins. They even resist to this day the confiscation of their ill-gotten wealth. And they perpetuate the myth of the golden years of Marcos—actively or behind the scenes through some of their supporters. And they have never disavowed any abuses, whether personal abuses by their family or abuses made in their name. So, there was something wrong after 1986 that did not complete...that would not qualify 1986 as a real revolution.

R : Do you have more experiences to share, perhaps?

O2 : While people were suffering, Marcos had to continue feeding the profligate lifestyle of the family, as I have said earlier. He had to continue stealing money for Imelda's lifestyle. Well, you probably read so many things about Imelda, about her shopping sprees, and about her, you know, whims and caprices. But I can tell you from my experience with her that it's all probably true. They're all probably true—they are all true—I could even say that. Why? There was one incident when we interviewed her (post-Martial Law). I was with the Associate Press when we interviewed her. And after the interview, I was waiting in the lobby of this big apartment building on Makati Avenue where she's staying. So, I was there waiting for our car—the office car—and she came down to the lobby. There was a big mirror where she fixed her hair and very discreetly, like very naturally for her, the movement of her hand, she had a one thousand peso bill, and she was holding it up and reached for my hand and tried to give me this money. Can you imagine that? That's just after our interview. She didn't say anything, you know, but you can tell it was like sending a message to please do a nice story about me. Of course, I refused. The way she did it, it struck me. The way she did it, it was very casual. It's as if it was done by someone so used to doing it. It's like a natural thing for her. The gesture, the timing, you have to learn that, and she learned it over twenty years or maybe more after

1986. I'm sad for the children and furious because so many other bad guys in history have atoned for their parents' sins, you know, and asked for forgiveness. But in this case, the children are blinded. They're already blinded. They believe the lies that come out from their mouths, so they're doomed—that's the sad part. The furious part is that I think they know, you know, the impact, the changes, and the horrific experience millions of Filipinos went through because of the dictatorship. And they're just in denial; maybe at best, they are in denial; at worst, they refused to atone for the sins of their father.

And then there's plunder. Not just by his family, not only his cronies but all the other functionaries in government at that time. So, anyone who had or who can say they had links with Marcos or with the government was in a position to abuse. Well, of course, not all of them abused their position, but that was the natural course of events. So, Marcos' dictatorship is like a new book in Philippine history because he overturned institutions. There were institutions only by name, like Congress. Congress, for all its faults, you know, was still, in a way, democratically elected. Of course, people will argue about that term—democratically elected—but people were fit to compete. In the case of Marcos, he had democracy only by name, and he was the one who said, "Who could complete Congress?" And it was a one-party government. You have the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (New Society Movement), which practically controlled all political activities and got political loyalties down to the grassroots. So, it was Marcos who even persuaded, at that time, a relatively unknown politician to run against him in one election. He had to find somebody to run against him to make his win legitimate.

Marcos had this thing; he always wanted some kind of legal support for everything he does. Even with the declaration of Martial Law, he invented all these threats to society. And then, to continue ruling by decree, he amended the constitution, or had it amended to insert a provision that he could still—rule by decree, you know. Even with the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* (Congress) already in place, I think that was the so-called 1976 Amendment to the Constitution; he was able to continue ruling by decree. It's in the transitory provision of the constitution. And then he had, of course, complete control of the military, you know. It was so-called the Armed Forces of the President. All the major branches of the government were beholden to him. What he says, you know, becomes law. And when he's in a hurry, he makes the law himself. In that way, he's the vilest person in this drama.

R : Sir, who do you think were the personalities that mattered most during the period?

O2 : Of course, there were many individuals who stood up against him, people who were disenfranchised members of Congress, who were removed from office just like that. You had Tañada, you had Diokno, you had Salonga, of course, Ninoy Aquino—those were individuals. But more importantly, I think the masses, the Filipinos, the ordinary folks, these people are the heroes. People went out to the

streets when they were courageous to face the military or the police. So, the Filipinos, the ordinary Filipinos, little by little, when out in the streets. They were the ones getting killed and getting arrested; they were those that disappeared. So, without them, I don't think we would have People Power. Even People Power itself, that's the people rising. It's really the Filipino people. EDSA Revolution—that's how it happened. Pent-up anger, resistance, and frustration all materialized in one common stand at EDSA. And, of course, it was not only at EDSA. There were other People Power movements outside Manila, in the major cities around the country of various sizes. Of course, Manila was the biggest, being Manila—the most populous urban center in the country. The good thing was nobody fired a shot, and it would have been a massacre—maybe EDSA would have been defeated, you know. You cannot have only small sacrifices; you cannot have only big sacrifices—these are all sacrifices that people offered and ended the dictatorship. We got our freedom back from oppression.

R : Thank you for sharing those, Sir. We're down to my two last questions. What do you think are the biggest misconceptions people have about this period in our history?

O2 : Well, discipline. They say, people then were disciplined—no, people then were scared. They were scared into doing things. So, of course, you have no freedom of the press; all the newspapers were shut down. There were a few that continued, like the Daily Express. The so-called “golden era” is only in the eyes of some people, and they had no basis for sure of that if you ask them. What do you mean by golden era? Tell me about it. In addition to discipline and the golden era is that the Marcoses were benevolent—they were not. They were thieves, you know, they were never giving away things, they were taking away things from people. So, how? For example, in education. They spent so much for their children's foreign education. But there were schools that had no money, there were schools that do not have decent classrooms or decent books, you know. So, they were taking money from people to educate their children who did not get proper education despite all the money spent on their education. They did not just spend money for the school, and tuition—they spent money for boarding houses, even bought an entire mansion for Imee where she could stay while studying. So, they were not benevolent, they were stealing money from people, or they were spending people's money for their own family. And during that period, Marcos really wanted the world, to see that his brand of Martial Law was not brutal, authoritarian, you know, dictatorial. So, Imelda hosted a lot of international conferences here—IMF, World Bank, Miss Universe, and then you have the Metro Manila International Film Festival when the Film Center collapsed. So, they had all these shows to give them the impression that Martial Law in the Philippines was different. So, it was not a happy time for the people. It was the happy times for the Marcoses, you know. In reality, they were standing on the shoulders of the people for their own glory. They were trampling on the bodies of people. If I were a cartoonist, I would have pictures

of people, you know, lying on the ground and then them (Marcoses) standing up on the mounts on the bodies of people, claiming the glory of the Martial Law years.

R : For my last question, can I ask what are your hopes for the future of the country?

O2 : Okay, well, one serious problem we have now is many people, not just the youth, but other people, even people of my generation and people older than me, who are being fooled in various ways, including the troll farms, to believe in the glory days of the Marcoses. So, my hope would be for people to be able to discern, to be able to learn on their own as we did on our own, that the Marcoses did not do these things...that the things they said they were doing for the people, they were doing these things for their own benefit, for their own interest, for their own glorification, and for their own wealth accumulation. And how shall we do that? Education. Education across the board—not just education in school—is very important. That's where we should start so the youth will remember history. One practical implication of that is when there is a lie, the truth should be said. So, truth versus lies—it's a running battle that will be a running battle between truth seekers and truth sayers and liars. That's my hope because every action would be based on conviction, and your conviction should be based on the truth. My hope would be to win that battle. I'm sure many people have many ways of fighting that battle. I cannot say what ways because everyone probably has his or her own ways of doing that. Education and tit-for-tat battle against lies. That's all for me.

R : Thank you so much, Sir!

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