

# History In The (Re)Making: A Schema-Theoretic Analysis of Baguio-Benguet University Students' Perceptions of the Political Legacies of Ferdinand Marcos Sr., and Corazon Aquino

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## ABSTRACT

Former presidents Ferdinand Marcos Sr. and Corazon Aquino are two prominent figures whose political legacies of martial law and the EDSA People Power Revolt, respectively, have dramatically shaped the country's politics and history. Their iconography, as well as those of their political legacies, continue to be relevant in the current political scene. Despite the mechanisms put in place to remember Marcosian dictatorship and the restoration of democracy (e.g. holidays, monuments, etc.), how Marcos Sr., Cory Aquino and their legacies are remembered and portrayed remain contradictory, especially in online platforms. In response to this problem, this case study analyzed how Baguio-Benguet university students remember and conceive of these political actors and their respective legacies, as well as the justifications and reasoning they employ for their perceptions. Through a convenience sampling scheme, 28 students from the four most populated universities in Baguio-Benguet were interviewed, and their statements were analyzed using Navera's (2012) schema-theoretic framework. The main findings revealed that the youth were more familiar with Ferdinand Marcos Sr. and martial law than with Cory Aquino and EDSA. Better recall of Marcos Sr. and martial law than Cory Aquino and EDSA indicate that mechanisms to remember the latter two may be failing despite their relation to Philippine democracy. Also apparent among the participants is a lack of in-depth knowledge about contemporary Philippine history as a whole, as almost all of them justified their perceptions of the political actors and events in general or vague terms.

Keywords: *Ferdinand Marcos Sr., Corazon Aquino, political legacy, collective memory, youth*

### Introduction

Upon his ascension to the presidency, Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr., who has disassociated himself from his father since his senatorial campaigns (Mendoza Jr., 2013), has revealed his willingness to defend the family patriarch’s legacy. In fact, during the World Economic Forum in the earlier part of 2023, he said that someone in their family had to join politics to “defend” his father’s legacy and ensure their family’s survival (Manahan, 2023). Incumbent Senator Imee Marcos also said in an interview that their return to Malacañang after Bongbong Marcos won the presidency holds less importance to them than their hope to clarify the legacies of Marcos Sr. and their “family name that has become so controversial,” and which was “oppressed” and “mocked” for years (Lalu, 2022; CNN Philippines Staff, 2022). During the 37th anniversary of the EDSA People Power Revolution, Sen. Imee also posted on her official Facebook page a message about being open to discussing history and their side of the truth. She believed that doing this could free the nation from negative sentiments and help the country move toward change (Bolledo, 2023).

A few days before this, Bongbong Marcos released Proclamation No. 167, which moved the 37th year anniversary of the EDSA People Power Revolution from February 25 to February 24 (Bersamin, 2023). Though this was justified with the principle of holiday economics, with Marcos Jr. even claiming that the historical significance of the event would be maintained (Bersamin, 2023), activists and victims of Ferdinand Marcos Sr.’s administration said the proclamation diminished the significance of the revolution that ousted Marcos Sr. and ended his two-decade rule (Reyes & Corrales, 2023).

Despite efforts by the Marcos children to obscure the memory of one-man rule and their family’s controversies, various progressive organizations last year commemorated the 50th anniversary of Marcos Sr.’s declaration of martial law in 1972, an event widely remembered as one of the darkest periods in Philippine history (Morella, 2022; Mangaluz, 2022). Human rights groups also held a solemn vigil to honor the thousands of Filipinos who were slain, tortured, and illegally detained between 1972 to 1986 while the country was under military control (Elemia & Riñoza, 2022). Anti-dictatorship sentiments seem to be still running strong among Filipinos, as a survey published by Social Weather Stations (SWS) on February 23, 2023, showed that 62 percent of Filipinos believed that the spirit of EDSA People Power was still alive (see Figure 1) (Social Weather Stations, 2023). Curiously, however, 42 percent of the respondents answered that commemorating the event was no longer important (Social Weather Stations, 2023).

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Figure 1

SWS Survey on the Spirit of EDSA Revolution (SWS, 2023)



The decision to preserve the memory of historical events is an important determining factor about how the present populace will regard the importance of these periods in history. Funkenstein (1989) ascribed memory and consciousness as highly associated with human collectives. This means that groups of people, the nation, and its institutions should remember significant people and events to foster a strong collective memory. Collective memories, however, are not fixed, and in the context of memories that transcend generations, versions of the past are continually reconstructed depending on how the living remember them (Poole, 2008). In the case of the political history of the country, martial law and the EDSA People Power Revolution are two events that are still debated by many Filipinos today. Presidents Ferdinand Marcos Sr. and Corazon “Cory” Aquino, each of whom are associated with these historical periods, are also remembered

differently by many Filipinos, with memories of them shared by one group often conflicting with those of others (Curato et al., 2022).

Using Navera's schema-theoretic framework (2012), this study determined the perception of university students in Baguio-Benguet regarding Ferdinand Marcos Sr. and his legacy of martial law; and Cory Aquino and her legacy of EDSA People Power– that is, how they conceive of these political actors and events, and the justifications they use for these perceptions. Given this orientation, this study's prime significance is its aim to gauge collective memory through perception.

Poole (2008) argues that the role of memory is not only to provide individuals with information about the past but to oblige them to accurately remember certain events so that memories of such events are passed down correctly to the next generations. Accurate remembering is especially important since memories can be used to forget atrocities or empower unheard voices, to lend legitimacy to existing power structures or to challenge them (Schwartz, 2016).

On this end, the youth play a crucial role in shaping collective memory since they function as the “main conductors” in transmitting a nation's memory across generations (Krawatzek & Friess, 2022). In a country like the Philippines where historical figures and events are often used to enact political campaigns (Serquiña, 2019), it becomes even more important to analyze the collective memory of the youth since they constitute a sizable chunk of the Filipino electorate (Lopez, 2022), placing them in a strategic position to actively shape the country's political landscape. As the youth are also widely taken to be tech-savvy, they are primarily susceptible to political and historical disinformation which continues to permeate digital spaces and social media (Ong & Cabanes, 2018).

By using Navera's (2012) schema-theoretic framework, this study aims to add to the growing literature on contemporary political rhetoric in the Philippines (Serquiña, 2019; Tatcho, 2023a, 2023b). However, whereas other studies have chosen to focus on prominent individuals and their rhetoric, this study distinguishes itself by focusing on the audience, more particularly the youth, and how they conceive of the political actors and legacies considered for this study.

### Literature Review

To highlight the importance of this study, a brief discussion of the specific historical events, political actors, and other related concepts that were considered are in order, as this will not only underscore the significance of these events in contemporary Philippine history but provide meaningful context that will enhance the relevance of the study's results.

### Marcos and Aquino

The impact of the rivalry between the Marcoses and the Aquinos cannot be understated in the Philippines. So embedded in the nation's memory is this political and familial rift that even in the recent 2022 national elections, those contending for the presidency—then-Vice President Leni Robredo and Ferdinand Marcos Jr.—evoked a sense of familiarity with the 1986 showdown between Cory Aquino and the older Marcos in their campaigns (Espiritu & Cristobal, 2022).

The decades-long strife between these families has been described as a “never-ending epic” in the country (Villaluz, 2014), the pinnacle of which was Benigno Aquino's assassination in the 1980s, yet the political drama that was the Aquino-Marcos feud began as early as the heyday of Marcos's presidency (Dunlap, 1983; Bello, 1984).

### *Marcos Sr. and Martial Law.*

Prior to the declaration of martial rule, the political, social and economic situation of the Philippines already left much to be desired. Determined to nab a second term as president, Marcos Sr. spared no expense in his campaign in 1969, spending about \$50 million (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005). Marcos Sr. served his second term after one of the dirtiest elections in Philippine history (Morallo, n.d.; TIME, 1969), but the economy crumbled under the immense weight of his unbridled spending, which forced him to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for an emergency loan (Robles, 2016). This move, however, slashed the peso's value to nearly half (De Quiros, 1997; Robles, 2016).

The economic turmoil of the period triggered massive social unrest, including the famed First Quarter Storm (Dacanay, 2020; Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, n.d.-b). Unsatisfied with long-standing societal problems and economic instability, farmers, students, working professionals, among other groups, voiced their dissent against Marcos Sr.'s administration with protests, some turning violent with the use of makeshift explosives (Robles, 2016). Marcos Sr. would shift the blame for the ongoing political chaos on communist groups, but even then, according to propagandist Primitivo Mijares (1976), Marcos Sr. was already taking advantage of the situation to rationalize his eventual declaration of one-man rule.

Martial law was officially declared in 1972 with Proclamation 1081 (Marcos, 1972). The president-turned-dictator rationalized this by citing widespread violence and the presence of lawless elements that threatened state security (Marcos, 1972). Marcos Sr.'s most vocal critics were quickly incarcerated under claims that they were conspiring against him (Rosenberg, 1974). In anticipation of the media's critical reception of martial law, prominent and respected journalists were also arrested. The press was gagged, prohibited entirely from

publishing editorial and opinion-based content (Rosenberg, 1974). Apart from the suppression of civil liberties, martial law saw to the introduction of military-managed “safehouses”– torture chambers where threats to the regime were brutalized with a whole array of torture methods (Robles, 2016). Amnesty International’s (1976) report post-martial law stated that 3,240 were killed, 34,000 were tortured, and 70,000 were arrested. With about 75,730 claims of human rights violations during the period, martial law was likened to a “one-stop butcher shop for human rights abuses (Doyo, 2015; Robles, 2016).”

On the economic front, the creation of massive monopolies manned by Marcos cronies became prevalent (McCoy, 1994). Instead of spurring economic development by way of foreign competition, Marcos Sr. issued decrees designed to preserve and protect the business interests of his allies in multiple industries (McCoy, 1994). Marcos Sr. had initially claimed himself a reformist determined to dismantle oligarchic rule, but in actuality “had substituted a ruthless elite for a merely inefficient one” (Overholt, 1986, p.1143), all while amassing wealth for himself and siphoning these off to Swiss bank accounts (Wurfel, 1977; Overholt, 1986).

Martial law was lifted in 1981 due to the adverse economic consequences of capital cronyism, but the Marcos regime would further be rendered vulnerable by Marcos Sr.’s deteriorating health (Overholt, 1986). In 1983, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr., a longtime critic of Marcos Sr. who had self-exiled to the United States, made the decision to return to the country with the hopes of running against Marcos Sr. in the upcoming elections (Martial Law Museum, n.d.).

### ***The rise of Cory Aquino and EDSA.***

Ninoy Aquino was already a threat to Marcos long before the declaration of martial law. Among the youngest to hold government positions in Philippine history, Aquino was a firebrand in his political career and a fearless critic of the Marcos administration’s policies and projects (Martial Law Museum, n.d.; Rosenberg, 1974). Apart from being a journalistic and political wunderkind, Aquino was also charismatic and passionate about democratic rights (Overholt, 1986). All these made him an overwhelming threat to the regime, especially during its deterioration by the early ‘80s.

Before even reaching the tarmac upon his return to the country, however, Aquino was shot in the head by one of his escorting guards (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, n.d.-c). The Marcos administration claimed the shooter was a communist hitman, but the dubiousness of this claim did not sit well with the public (Robles, 2016). Aquino’s death in broad daylight and in front of countless spectators, including international media, was a spectacle of its own– one that catalyzed numerous sectors to mobilize resistance against

Marcos Sr. (Robles, 2016). Apart from the growing resentment from the business, church, and other civil society groups, the Marcos administration also suffered an internal crisis during this period. Marcos Sr., afflicted with illness, could no longer hold the reins of his government firmly, resulting in infighting and heightened tensions between his cronies (Overholt, 1986). By then, Marcos Sr.'s last hope was support from the United States. Then-US President Ronald Reagan was still Marcos-leaning but was nonetheless urging the dictator to hold an election (Overholt, 1986).

Marcos Sr. finally caved in 1986, declaring the conduct of a snap election. Here, Aquino's widow Cory gained popular support by capitalizing upon the death of her husband (Timberman, 1987); yet the elections themselves were massively fraudulent (Mydans, 1986). Citizen poll-watching group National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) had recorded Cory constantly leading against Marcos Sr.; still, the official count from the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) showed Marcos Sr. gaining a dramatic lead (Mydans, 1986). The cheating then had become so obvious that 30 computer programmers who were tabulating the results walked out, claiming votes were being falsified to favor the strongman (McManus, 1986; Mydans, 1986). Marcos Sr. won the snap elections.

What followed after were a series of demonstrations that eventually erupted into the famed EDSA (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, n.d.-b). A crowd of about four million marched along Epifanio Delos Santos Avenue (EDSA) on February 16, 1986 (Boquet, 2017). Over a week later, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and acting Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos also defected from the Marcos regime (Boquet, 2017; Villegas, 1987). Finally, on the night of February 26, protesters stormed Malacañang Palace and were held off only by a small security force (Greenfield, 2019). Devoid of all allies, the First Family left via chopper. Cory stepped in as president shortly after (Villegas, 1987). Despite the unorthodox way she rose to the presidency, Cory became an icon of leadership in the country as the first female president and was widely regarded as the restorer of Philippine democracy (National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2012; TIME, 2020; Iowa State University, n.d.).

### Collective memory

Collective memory can be understood as a pool of memories a certain group shares regarding specific events (Olick et al., 2011). These memories, however, are not fixed; and in the context of memories which transcend generations, versions of the past are continually reconstructed depending on how the living remember them (Poole, 2008). Due to collective memory's subjective nature, it is also commonplace for different groups to exhibit different collective memories

(Verovšek, 2016), the exception typically being events which unfold in a highly emotional and spectacular fashion.

### *The politics of memory.*

An event that is emotionally charged can sometimes even warrant the building of certain structures to keep its memory alive (Tileaga, 2013). Such a form of remembering is commonplace among the subjects of this study, as memories of EDSA and martial law are often revived with grand commemorations, monuments, holidays, and the like. Important as these are, however, such types of remembering count as historical memory (Halbwachs, 1992), and not as collective memory per se, for the latter occurs not within the pages of official historical records or museums but is instead continually created, institutionalized, and shared through social interaction in everyday life (Kevers et al., 2016; Campbell, 2008).

In the arena of politics, collective memories of political figures are often dependent on the legacies they leave behind, for even beyond the grave, politicians are continually survived by the long-term effects of their time in office. Legacies can be classified into two types: hard and soft (Fong et al., 2017). Hard legacies pertain to the concrete actions of a politician during their stint. These may come in the form of enacting policies, appointing figures to governmental posts, or influencing the economy (Fong et al., 2017). Soft legacies, on the other hand, refer to ideas, philosophies and aggregated memories that become associated with a politician— the image they leave behind even after their term expires (Fong et al., 2017).

### *Perception and mythmaking.*

The case of Cory Aquino and Ferdinand Marcos Sr.'s continued relevance in the contemporary political scene is inextricably tied to how the Filipino populace perceives them. Perception, like imagination and memory, varies from one person to another depending on their point of view (Macpherson, 2018). Applied to the study of history, and especially in the case of historical icons and events, perception encompasses how historical subjects can “leave a mark” on history and how they are remembered in the present (Roshwald, 1999). In this manner, martial law and EDSA can be considered the historical “marks” that Marcos Sr. and Cory, respectively, have left behind. As far as their soft legacies are concerned, these events are so entrenched in the Filipino psyche that they are still used to mobilize political campaigns decades after their distant occurrence; Marcos Sr., to associate a candidate with an age of discipline; and Cory, to stoke the grandeur of a righteous uprising (Serquina, 2019). Yet there are still differences in how certain groups remember these phenomena. It is here that the overlap between



perception and memory also becomes apparent, as memories can be colored by individual biases, therefore affecting how a person “constructs” their perceptions (Ribeaux & Poppleton, 1978).

Martial law, for example, is well-documented as a period rife with human rights abuses. Efforts to remember this period include the establishment of the Human Rights Violations Victims’ Memorial Commission (HRVVMC), the construction of the Bantayog ng mga Bayani, and the yearly commemoration of the anniversary of the Marcos Sr.’s Martial Law Declaration; yet the Martial Law period is still widely touted and defended as a necessary move to restore national security (Parrocha, 2019; ANC 24/7, 2022), and as a period characterized by peace and order (Uyheng et al., 2021). Similar to martial law, EDSA is also remembered with the physical, tangible reminder of the People Power Monument. Its anniversary is not only yearly celebrated but is even a national non-working holiday (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines n.d.-a); yet contradictorily, EDSA has also been portrayed as Aquino’s attempt to grab power (Tsek.ph et al., 2022). Other content, even academic ones, also seeks to derail the spotlight from Cory and instead venerate Marcos Sr. as a hero (Uyheng et al., 2021).

Online, a myriad of myths regarding the Marcos family have also become rampant. With the help of digital influencers, opinion leaders, and countless fake account operators (Ong & Cabanes, 2018), myths that characterize martial law as a “golden age” (Uyheng et al., 2021), a time of peace and order, and as a period of productivity and development (Afinidad-Bernardo, n.d.) have spread far and wide. Collectively, such myths evoke feelings of nostalgia, causing audiences to yearn for a romanticized and fictionalized version of history (Talamayan, 2021). Alongside beautifying the image of the Marcos family and whitewashing historical accounts, pro-Marcos content is also notorious for its ability to vilify the ‘yellow’ administration, along with activists, journalists, and others who have allegedly contributed to the Marcos patriarch’s ouster (Uyheng et al., 2021). Despite blatantly contradicting historical fact, it becomes nearly impossible to change the mind of audiences once these ideas and fantasies are cemented in their worldview (Bautista, 2018).

### The Schema-theoretic Framework

In Navera’s (2012) first use of the schema-theoretic framework, conceptual metaphors were primarily derived from metaphorical statements in the rhetoric of his subjects. Broadly speaking, metaphors are an integral part of communication and sense-making, as the very ways which we conceive of the world are metaphorically structured (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). In more basic

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terms, this means that we understand things by relating them with other things (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Consider the following statements:

*Your claims are **indefensible**.*

*He **attacked every weak point** in my argument.*

*His criticisms were **right on target**.*

*I **demolished** his argument.*

*If you use that **strategy**, he'll **wipe you out**.*

*He **shot down** all of my arguments (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)*

Metaphorical understanding extends to our linguistic system and rhetoric. Though argument and warfare are different things, they have considerable metaphorical overlaps which underscore conflict, allowing us to understand each one more clearly when they are related to the other (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Much like how the media apply certain frames in how it presents news, metaphors collectively “frame” our worldview and construct how we perceive reality, thereby affecting how we behave and make decisions (Spencer, 2012; Chilton & Lakoff, 1995). A conceptual metaphor, meanwhile, is defined as a formal statement disguised under a figure of speech (Charteris-Black, 2004) and is formed by several, interrelated metaphors. Once a conceptual metaphor is established, there arises an opportunity to scrutinize it through the surface-level metaphors it is made up of, allowing one to deduce the motivation behind the conceptual metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004). This makes it a particularly effective tool in finding commonalities among the speeches and arguments of different rhetors talking about the same topic or genre (Navera, 2012).

Conceptual frames, on the other hand, are a collection of conceptual metaphors which seek to substantiate or conceive of a particular theme or issue. Navera’s (2012) conceptual frame finds its roots in Lakoff’s (2004) definition of frames as mental structures. Frames shape our worldviews. They are, to us, what counts as common sense and reason, influencing our goals, plans, and actions (Lakoff, 2004). Our use of frames is subconscious but nevertheless active, in that when we hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated (Lakoff, 2004). Frames and metaphors are also closely related, for a frame can take the form of a metaphor, such as in the following:

When the word tax is added to relief, the result is a metaphor:  
Taxation is an affliction. And the person who takes it away is a hero, and anyone who tries to stop him is a bad guy. This is a frame. It is made up of ideas, like affliction and hero. (Lakoff, 2004)

Tax relief, in this example, is both a frame and a metaphor. Tax is understood in terms of it being a sickness; and relief is understood as the elimination or reduction of tax (Lakoff, 2004). Frames, therefore, involve a close interplay between ideas, language, and worldview.

Previous studies in metaphor analysis have often spotlighted the rhetoric of politicians (Ferrari, 2007; Navera, 2011; Agbo et al., 2018; Neshkovska & Trajkova, 2020). Ferrari (2007), for example, analyzed President George Bush's rhetoric from the events of 9/11 toward the Iraq war, discovering that Bush highlighted conflict and fear to persuade his audiences. In the Philippine context, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's speeches regarding the United States' global war-on-terror likened the phenomenon to a "curative" that would be the silver bullet to social "ills" such as criminality, poverty etc. (Navera, 2011). Metaphor analysis has also been used to study the media and their reporting (Spencer, 2012; Kennedy, 2000; Batstone, 2000; Lule, 2007), often revealing the close relationship between the metaphors employed and how the issue is ultimately framed by the media entity. In his analysis of *The Sun*, a tabloid, Spencer (2012) found that likening terrorism to war made it seem that a military response was necessary, whereas likening it to a crime connoted judicial action instead. A separate analysis of wartime news by NBC news, on the other hand, showed that the metaphors used by the network tended to exacerbate ongoing political tensions instead of easing them (i.e. using terms such as "games" instead of "debate" or "negotiation") (Lule, 2007). Conceptual frames also bridge the gap between conceptual metaphors and the final and broadest concept in the schema-theoretic framework, the schema.

In its most basic sense, a schema is a generic idea or worldview (Quinn, 2005). Schemas are underlying mental structures which mediate how we look at the world. As an example, Strauss and Quinn (1998) used the schema of a lumberjack to illustrate how such a schema would allow an individual to picture a man wearing flannel and suspenders. Similarly, the schema of "well-mannered" men and women would elicit images of individuals who were probably college-educated. Simply put, schemas, as preconceived notions of how the world works, help us order and make sense of our lived reality (Axelrod, 1973).

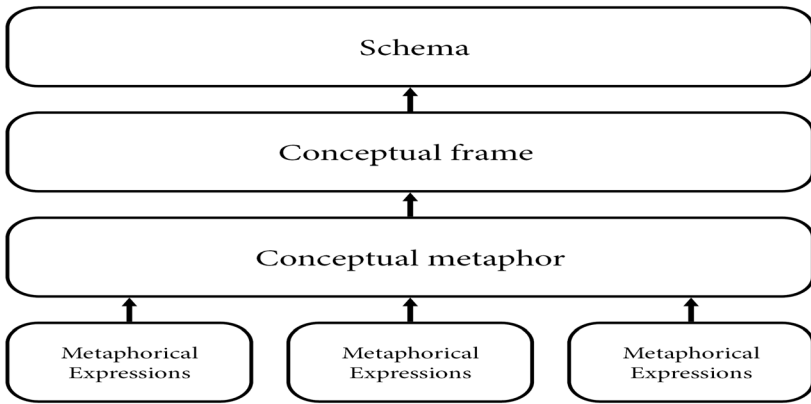
In his analysis of Marcos Sr.'s speeches regarding martial law, Navera (2018) used schemas as the mediator between the former dictator's speeches and the larger socio-political context, claiming that the schema of Marcos's rhetoric about martial law resonated effectively with the schema of his audience, allowing for martial law to look appealing to the Filipino mind. Enriquez and Saguy (2016), on the other hand, focused on how the existence of a "coming out" schema spurred undocumented immigrant youth to engage in political mobilization. This schema, which aims to empower a marginalized group, was co-opted by

the immigrant youth movement, allowing them to curb potential members' fear of publicly identifying themselves as undocumented migrants, and subsequently encouraging them to participate in social movements.

Navera (2012) claims that texts and performances which are repeatedly performed, such as recurring speeches, contribute to the production, reproduction, and alteration of set schemas. People who have shared experiences will also share similar schemas. The relationship between all of these concepts and how they will be used for the analysis of the data in this study are illustrated in the schema-theoretic framework below:

Figure 2.

*The Schema-Theoretic Framework*



## Methodology

To gather the data needed for this study, a total of 28 college students were interviewed. Seven participants were chosen from each of the following four universities in Baguio-Benguet: Benguet State University (BSU), Saint Louis University (SLU), University of Baguio (UB), and University of the Cordilleras (UC). The participants were selected based on a convenience sampling scheme where the researchers interviewed every tenth student passing by the gates of the mentioned schools.

One of the reasons for the choice of Baguio-Benguet as the area of the study was because of its geographical proximity and accessibility to the researchers. Beyond this, however, the province of Benguet and the Cordillera region as a whole also served as historical sites of political struggle for the administrations of Marcos Sr. and Aquino.

The province of Benguet, even before the creation of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), became a part of the so-called “Solid North” phenomenon, so termed because of the Marcos-partisan block voting behavior of the Ilocano regions (Pawilen, 2020). Despite this, Benguet and CAR are also known for their resistance against the Marcos administration. The Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA), a known progressive organization in the region, said that Marcos Sr.’s legacy in Cordillera includes “land grabbing, plunder, and development aggression” (De Vera, 2021).

In 1974, the Marcos administration planned to construct a dam along the Chico River in Kalinga, prompting the displacement of over 100,000 people (Martial Law Museum, n.d.). Indigenous peoples, led by tribal leader Macli-ing Dulag, asserted their rights and continued to defend their lands and rivers. In 1980, however, government soldiers raided Macli-ing’s house, killing him (Dumlao, 2004). Macli-ing’s death, along with the growing resistance of the people successfully halted the damming of the Chico River in Kalinga (Göransson, 2022). In 1986, Baguio City also staged a simultaneous EDSA People Power Revolution to call for the ouster of Marcos Sr. (Rappler, 2016). Geraldine Cacho, a full time urban poor organizer during the Martial Law period even recalled that months before the EDSA revolution, workers had already organized strikes in the mining areas of Benguet (De Vera, 2021).

Meanwhile, the four universities were specifically chosen for the study because they constituted the highest student populations in Benguet. Based on the Commission on Higher Education’s (CHED) statistics for the school year 2021-2022, Benguet province obtained the highest number of enrollees with a 75,695 total population share from the 115,668 college students in the Cordillera Administrative Region (Commission on Higher Education, 2022). The aforementioned four universities were the most populated among the 21 tertiary education institutions in the province.

The researchers conducted face-to-face interviews with the participants. Jensen (2002) described the respondent interview as a form of data collection where an interviewee is conceived as “representative of one or more social or cultural categories”—in this case, the respondents were samples of university students in Baguio-Benguet. Each of the interviews lasted for an average of three to seven minutes.

Given that convenience sampling was used for this study, it was appropriate to use the semi-structured interview because the researchers could only meet the participants once (Bernard, 1999). The participants were asked first if they were familiar with the political actor/legacy, and if so, what they remembered about them. The participants were also asked how they viewed the political

actor/legacy (i.e. was the subject good, bad, or if they had no opinion). All of the participants were also asked from which source of information they were able to base their responses. The interview was semi-structured to allow follow-up questions and clarifications for the responses when the need arose. The responses of the interviewees for each question were first transcribed. From there, the participants' perceptions of Marcos Sr., martial law, Cory and EDSA were generated. Perceptions here are directly linked to how historical icons and events have successfully left a mark in history and how they are remembered in the present (Roshwald, 1999). Navera's (2012) schema-theoretic framework was used to analyze the statements of the participants regarding their perception of the topics of the study. From their statements, conceptual metaphors were surfaced; and from these conceptual metaphors, conceptual frames were constructed. The frames were afterwards organized into schemas. Following Navera's (2012) claim that a schema generalizes a version of a particular phenomenon or experience extracted from memory, each of the schemas generated here are representative of the general perception of the participants regarding the politicians/historical events considered by the study; while the conceptual metaphors and conceptual frames, both of which legitimize the schema, correspond to the justifications used to defend or explain their perceptions.

## Results and Discussion

A majority of the participants were familiar with the political actors and events included in this study. Based on their responses and their ability to identify and provide a background of each of the subjects, majority of the participants were able to demonstrate a working knowledge of Marcos Sr., Cory, martial law, and EDSA. Notably, however, some participants exhibited no knowledge of Cory Aquino and EDSA in their statements.

As for their general perception of the political actors and events based on their responses, martial law was perceived negatively by almost half of the participants, and EDSA positively by the same number. Meanwhile, Marcos Sr. was perceived in a mixed manner, with the participants viewing him negatively and positively, and sometimes both. Cory, on the other hand, was perceived indifferently by more than a third of the participants. The top data source for the participants was social media and online platforms, with almost half of them saying this was where they were able to learn about the political actors and their legacies.

The qualitative analysis of this study will expound deeper on the participants' perceptions. Below, the students' most recurring explanations and justifications about how they remember and conceive of the said political actors and events

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have been organized into schemas. The dominant schema/s per politician or event are the most reflective of the respondents' views, with the corresponding conceptual frames functioning as the respondents' justification or reasoning for their perceptions.

### Mixed perceptions of Marcos Sr.

Though a majority of the participants conceived of Marcos Sr. in largely negative terms, this negative sentiment was occasionally diluted by mentioning that he also exhibited good qualities or demonstrated competence. A significant portion of the participants also perceived Marcos Sr. entirely positively.

**Table 1**

*Dominant schemas under Marcos Sr.*

Schema	Conceptual frame/s
Marcos Sr. was a ruthless and corrupt leader	Marcos Sr.'s Martial law victimized the Filipino people  Marcos Sr. brought economic ruin to the country
Marcos Sr. was a good and competent leader	Marcos Sr. was a notable leader  Marcos Sr. led a time of progress and productivity

Marcos Sr. was most remembered by more than half of the students for his implementation of one-man rule in the country and his dictatorial style of leadership. Many acknowledged that the period came with numerous human rights atrocities and killings. Statements of this nature are classified under the conceptual frame **Marcos Sr.'s Martial Law victimized the Filipino people**. Also evident in a number of statements is knowledge of Marcos Sr. being corrupt or a thief who drastically caused the Philippine economy to crumble during his stint as president. Any mention of corruption by the Marcos patriarch has been classified under the conceptual frame **Marcos Sr. brought economic ruin to the country**. Collectively, these two conceptual frames constitute the schema **Marcos Sr. was a ruthless and corrupt leader**. Provided below are some quotes classified under this schema:

UB respondent no. 2: *Opo, siya ay isang diktador. At siya ang namuno sa martial law...siya ang nagpasimula sa martial Law. At anak niya ang bagong presidente ngayon. At siya daw ay korap. Hindi sa aking paningin, sa paningin ng iba...naririnig ko lang.*

[Yes, he's a dictator. He oversaw martial law... he started martial law. His son is the new president. He's corrupt. Not in my view, but that's what others say... I just hear them]

SLU respondent no. 2: President *natin*. *Ayon lang*. Honest *po?* *Magnanakaw daw*.

[He was our president. That's it. But honestly? They say he was a thief.]

SLU respondent no. 3: ...*Basta* about *sa* martial law and then how he was exiled *sa* Philippines because of what he did, and those are the atrocities *nga na nangyari*, killings *ganyan*, and of course *yung pagkamkam ng kaban ng bayan*.

[Something about martial law and then how he was exiled from the Philippines because of what he did, and the atrocities that happened such as killings, and of course, his looting of national coffers]

This schema of Marcos is in sync with historical data and fact. Reports indicate that Marcos's martial law was indeed a period marked by intense human rights violations and killings: 3,257 killings, 70,000 incarcerations, and 35,000 torture cases (Amnesty International, 1976). Victims appealing to the Human Rights Victims' Claims Board have also breached the 11,000 mark (Human Rights Violations Victims' Memorial Commission, n.d.). On the side of the economy, Marcos's free-market policies, cronyism and foreign loans all destabilized the Philippine economy, with debt increasing fifty-fold in 1986 (IBON Foundation, 2021). Meanwhile the Marcos family proceeded to hoard wealth, with a substantial amount stashed in Swiss bank accounts (Wurfel, 1977; Overholt, 1986). The Marcoses indulged in an ostentatious and lavish lifestyle, with Imelda Marcos constructing her own Safari park, buying buildings in New York, and splurging on shoes and jewelry (Greenfield, 2019). The Supreme Court, responding to the case of the Marcos's Swiss deposits which amounted to over P25 billion, had recognized these as ill-gotten wealth in 2003 (Human Rights Violations Victims' Memorial Commission, 2021).

However, not all respondents shared a similar schema of Marcos. Others perceived Marcos favorably, while others viewed him as bad but still able to exhibit good qualities. Such perceptions have produced three different conceptual frames, and subsequently, a different schema. A part of the positive perception of Marcos Sr. is tied to his being president, as the immediate recall of many of the participants is that he held the highest post in the land, with some even saying



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he did his duties as president effectively. Recall of Marcos as president, and even more so as an efficient one, implies a dignified view of a man who is otherwise portrayed as a dictator. Statements that fall under this description are classified into the conceptual frame **Marcos Sr. was a notable leader**. Other responses cited his focus on developing the country's infrastructure and economy. Views that fall under development and positive contribution to the nation's progress through projects and programs are classified under the conceptual frame **Marcos Sr. led a time of progress and productivity**. Collectively, these two form the schema **Marcos was a good and competent leader**. The quotations below preview the perceptions of some of the respondents whose statements have been classified under this schema.

UC respondent no. 2: *My Lolo [...] for him it's good, especially on the agricultural sector part kasi maganda daw 'yong planning, irrigation to all. My family is pro-Marcos, actually...*

[My grandfather [...] for him it's good, especially on the agricultural sector because he says it was well-planned, irrigation to all. My family is pro-Marcos, actually...]

UC respondent no. 5: *Good leader kasi parang ewan 'yon 'yong nabasa ko libro. Ay hindi sa libro, naresearch, kasi 'yong libro is parang kontra ata sila sa ano, so parang ganun, pero 'yong parang napanood ko [...] sa may Facebook, tas 'yon na parang siya 'yong dahilan, isa sa dahilan kaya naging malakas 'yong ano, 'yong Philippines...*

[Good leader because I don't know, that's what I read in a book. Oh wait, not a book, because books are kind of against (Marcos). But what I watched (...) on Facebook said he (Marcos) was one of the reasons why the Philippines was strong...]

BSU respondent no. 5: *Oo, siyang yung nag-kwan ng...ano na ito... martial law. Siya rin ang nagataas ng economic status ng Pilipinas. Somewhat good, somewhat bad [...] Ang bad ay maraming namatay sa administration niya.*

[Yes, he was the one who...what was it...martial law. He was also the one who raised the economic status of the Philippines. Somewhat good, somewhat bad (...) The bad is many died under his administration]

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Responses under this schema echo prominent Marcosian myths. Marcos Sr's image as a rather remarkable president does not exist in a vacuum, for there have been numerous efforts in the past to portray him as a brilliant academic (Vera Files, 2023), a scholarly author (Reyes, 2018), and a war hero (Matsuzawa, n.d.; National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2016). Though repeatedly proven to be false, such portrayals reinforce and complement Marcos Sr's image as a notable leader and president. The portrayal of his administration's alleged productivity is also fictitious, for historical data shows that much of the infrastructure projects built during the Marcos administration were wasteful, with various officials gaining "kickback" (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005). De Dios (2005) supported this finding, arguing that crony capitalism exacerbated by the monopoly system "almost certainly" enriched Marcos's cronies. Agriculture under Marcos Sr. did not fare any better, as this sector was likewise plagued by corruption, with the agrarian reform plans in the 1980s geared more toward enriching businesses and less toward aiding farmers and peasants (Tadem, 2022). Notably, answers that favor Marcos Sr. are typically sourced from social media and family members who are also pro-Marcos. In one particular answer, books are even tagged as a source of information negatively biased towards Marcos Sr., with the participant instead choosing to believe a video she found on Facebook. This reinforces Bautista's (2018) findings that the Marcos fantasy is tough to erode once successfully embedded into the minds of audiences. Though the schemas here are contradicting, Marcos Sr.'s political legacies are clearly remembered by a majority of the respondents, with Martial law being frequently mentioned by the respondents as the first thing they remember about him.

### Cory as an Aquino

More than half of the participants indicated some working knowledge of Cory Aquino, but she was often defined by her role as the wife of the assassinated Ninoy Aquino. In addition, the respondents often identified her as the mother of the late President Benigno Aquino III and Kris Aquino, dubbed the 'queen of all media' of the Philippine show business industry.

Table 2

*Dominant schema under Cory*

Schema	Conceptual frame/s
Cory is related to more prominent members of the Aquino family.	Cory is the matriarch of the Aquino family.

These responses constitute the sole conceptual frame Cory is the matriarch of the Aquino family, which forms the schema Cory is related to more

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prominent members of the Aquino family. This schema implies that Cory's continued relevance today is not hinged on her administration's achievements or her political legacy, but by her familial relations. Consider the following:

UB respondent no. 2: *Siya ang may anak sa presidente na si Ninoy Aquino at siya rin ang may asawa sa namatay or sa na-assasinate na si Ninoy Aquino Sr. Anak niya rin si Kris Aquino.*

[Her son was President Ninoy Aquino and her husband was the assassinated Ninoy Aquino Sr. Her daughter is Kris Aquino]

UB respondent no. 5: Mother *ni* Noynoy and Kris.

[Mother of Noynoy and Kris.]

UC respondent 7: *Kilala rin. Nanay ni* Kris Aquino. *Lola ni* Bimby

[I know her. Mother of Kris Aquino. Bimby's grandmother]

However, though not part of the dominant schema, it is still worth noting that some respondents considered Cory as the leader of the EDSA in 1986 and knew her as a former president.

Aquino's triumph shortly following Marcos Sr.'s ouster was a national event characterized by intense euphoria. Just as Marcos irrevocably bruised the Philippine economy, Aquino was the first president that would be faced with the aftermath of the previous administration's damning fiscal policies. Aquino quickly dismantled crony capitalism and established the Presidential Commission on Good Governments (PCGG) to track down the Marcos's ill-gotten wealth and to pursue legal action against the dictator (Dohner & Intal, 1989). Cory's reforms have been characterized as "far-reaching" in her pursuit to restore order to the Philippines. Landmark laws would be enacted within Cory's term, including the creation of the 1987 Constitution (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, n.d.), along with laws such as the Family code, the administrative code, and the local government code of 1991. All this said, the prevalence of Cory's being known as a relative of her family members instead of her achievements indicates that her political legacy of EDSA and her other notable actions as president have not been integrated well into the minds of the participants.

### EDSA as a protest

More than half of the respondents viewed EDSA positively. A bulk of their perceptions saw EDSA as something that happened due to the repression of the

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previous administration and as a necessary event that was enacted to depose a dysfunctional leader.

Table 3

*Dominant schema under EDSA*

Schema	Conceptual frame/s
EDSA was a protest	EDSA was an anti-dictatorship movement
	EDSA was a show of citizens' collective action

Responses of this nature fall under the conceptual frame **EDSA was an anti-dictatorship movement**. Other responses do not explicitly mention Marcos Sr. or his administration's shortcomings, but nonetheless characterize EDSA as a protest. These kinds of perceptions conceive of EDSA as an organized movement orchestrated by the Filipino masses to win back democracy or demand that they be heard by the government. Such perceptions are classified under the conceptual frame **EDSA was a show of citizens' collective action**. Collectively, the schema formed by these two conceptual frames is **EDSA was a protest**. The following statements are a glimpse of the responses that fall squarely within this schema:

SLU respondent no. 3: *Nagsama-sama yung mga tao, nagkaroon ng uprising para mapatumba yung current government because of the atrocities na mga nangyari during that time.*

[The people banded together, there was an uprising to topple the current government because of the atrocities that happened during that time.]

UB respondent no. 3: *If I am not mistaken po, yun yung time na na dethrone na po si Marcos sa kaniyang posisyon as the president po...I think it's good kasi we have the right naman kasi we live in a democratic country naman po... so since ina-abuse niya na yung power, so people..ano...gathered up to ..ano..dethrone him.*

[If I am not mistaken, that was the time that Marcos was dethroned from his position as president... I think it's good because we have the right to do that since we live in a democratic country... so since he was abusing his power, the people... gathered up to... dethrone him]

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Notably, however, responses from many of the interviewees showed an evident lack of understanding of EDSA and why it was done, though their responses still depicted the event as a moment of liberation for the country. Such perceptions indicate a belief that EDSA was more or less positive, albeit with the respondents lacking in-depth information needed to support their perceptions. Consider the following:

SLU respondent no. 4: *Nangyari siya [EDSA People Power] para makalaya mga Filipino from... 'di ko sure kung saan.*

[It happened (EDSA People Power) for the Filipinos to be freed from... I'm not sure what.]

SLU respondent no. 6: *Nagkaroon ng EDSA is dahil sa yung government at that time... dahil ba yon sa ano... dahil ba yon sa martial law? Basta ano, tungkol yon sa ano, basta may mga ano sa babae...*

[EDSA happened because the government at that time... was it because of...martial law? It's about something, about some women...]

The schema here shows that the memory of EDSA has more or less managed to live on until today's time. Historical records affirm the schema of EDSA as a protest since it was triggered by the excesses and brutality of the Marcos Sr. administration (Timberman, 1991). A defining aspect of EDSA is also its bloodlessness and non-aggression. EDSA was a very Filipino response to the dictatorship, in that it resembled a fiesta or carnival more than a revolution. Despite no guarantee of safety, protesters brought with them their kids, while others even made the trip to Manila from far-flung provinces (Gonzaga, 2009). Important to note, too, is that EDSA was a unifying event since it did not only involve marginalized groups or victims of the Marcos administration, but also the elite (Fukuoka, 2015). As far as being a protest, EDSA resonated even with those working inside the Marcos regime, with defectors functioning as the linchpins for the uprising's eventual success and the toppling of the regime itself (Fukuoka, 2015). Given these particularities, the student participants' inability to define EDSA concretely indicates that only the essence of this event has been passed down to the youth. Their responses imply a lack of intimate knowledge about a movement that is considered a monumental turning point in the development of democracy in the country.

It is also worth noting that despite the incompatibility of their responses with the dominant schema, a number of the respondents associated EDSA with

the rivalry between the Aquinos and the Marcoses. For some of the participants, the Aquinos took advantage of the Filipinos' anger to dethrone the Marcoses, their political enemies.

**Martial law as oppressive and inhumane**

Almost all of the respondents were familiar with Martial law, with more than half of all students perceiving this historical period negatively.

**Table 4**  
*Dominant Schema Under Martial Law*

Schema	Conceptual frame/s
Martial law was oppressive and inhumane	Martial law was an era of killings and human rights violations  Martial law was an era of military rule

To substantiate their conception of martial law, the respondents often cited that many killings happened during that time and that the era was marked by abuse of power and wanton violation of human rights. Though often explained in vague terms, a general consensus that many people were affected negatively by the period is present. These kinds of perceptions constitute the conceptual frame martial law was an era of killings and human rights violations. Also common among the responses is the knowledge that martial law went hand-in-hand with military enforcement. There is common acknowledgment that the military played a significant part during this period, for better (i.e. people were more disciplined) or for worse (i.e. the military and police abused their power). Mention of the military in the statements of the participants are classified under the conceptual frame **martial law was an era of military rule**. The dominant schema of martial law, when the two conceptual frames are taken into account, is **martial law was oppressive and inhumane**. The following statements are examples of responses that belong under this schema:

BSU respondent no. 3: ...Many died, especially students. I don't know how, but many died. *Tas* something about torture of students. I remember that movie about it *na pinag-awayan pa sa social media nina Direk Daryll Yap...*

[Many died, especially students. I don't know hiw, but many died, and something about the torture of students. I remember

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that movie about it that people were fighting about on social media by Director Daryll Yap...]

SLU respondent no. 7: *Marami pong naabuso, at marami pong... ayon po, maraming naabuso at maraming naapakan yung karapatan.*

[A lot of people were abused, and a lot of people... were abused and whose rights were not respected.]

UB respondent no. 1: *Parang nag-overule yung mga militar ganon or I dont know. Parang they disrespected the rights ng mga civilians.*

[The military overruled or something, I don't know. It's like they disrespected the rights of the civilians.]

Historical fact complements this schema of martial law. The Human Rights Violations Victims' Memorial Commission (n.d.) reports alarming numbers from its roster of claimants. More than 11,000 have come forward, and of this number, 2,326 were killed or forcibly disappeared, 1,467 tortured, and 2,739 involuntarily exiled. Martial law has also been termed a butchery for human rights abuses (Robles, 2016), thanks mainly to the military.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) greatly benefitted from martial rule, with their salaries seeing a 150% increase (Berry, 1987). Marcos mobilized the military in a myriad of ways, using them to remove his political opponents and isolate uncooperative local leaders (Berry, 1987). So effective and striking was Marcos Sr's use of the military that they soon took on more roles apart from traditional peacekeeping, eventually becoming highly politicized to the point where citizens viewed them as replacements for traditional politicians (Hernandez, 1985). Born of this near-unbridled authority would be the military's grave abuse of power, manifest in the torture of Marcos's critics and dissidents. The military employed a whole range of physical and psychological torture strategies in order to punish those opposing the regime (Chua, 2012).

Though not part of the schema, another prevalent trend here is the acknowledgment of Martial law as a divisive topic, with some students saying that people had differing and contradictory opinions of the issue; and as evidenced by one response above, a number of them are aware that the issue is still hotly debated upon today.

### Relationship Between the Schemas

A notable trend in the results is the tendency of participants who have a schema of EDSA as a protest to also share the schema **martial law was oppressive and inhumane**. Such a relationship between these schemas indicates that EDSA

is perceived as a direct response or solution to the excesses of martial rule. Concurrently, those who perceived EDSA as a **protest** also tended to subscribe to the schema that **Marcos was a ruthless and corrupt leader**. EDSA, at this point, is not only seen as a solution to martial law, but to Marcos's rule itself. Responses here are characterized by their description of EDSA as the downfall of the Marcos regime and of Marcos Sr.

Concurrently, participants of the study whose statements are subsumed under the schema **Marcos was a ruthless and corrupt leader** often also shared the schema **martial law was oppressive and inhumane**. This shows that from the point of view of the participants, there is a clear and direct connection between Marcos Sr. and his political legacy. The political actor and his actions are characterized by their negative impact on the country and are seen as inseparable from one another. In Cory's case, such a relationship is absent, as she was often perceived in relation to her family members. Even those who remembered her as a former president did not immediately tie her to the EDSA uprising.

### Conclusion

In this case study, the researchers investigated perceptions of the Baguio-Benguet university students regarding Marcos Sr. and Cory, and their political legacies of Martial law and EDSA, respectively. A majority of the respondents showed familiarity of the political actors and events considered for the study, indicating that there is more or less a general awareness of their being historical figures and events. A notable trend, however, is that more students were somewhat familiar or completely unfamiliar with Cory and EDSA. Using Navera's (2012) schema-theoretic framework to analyze the conceptual metaphors the youth used in their perceptions of the politicians and historical events, conceptual frames were determined; and from these frames, overarching schemas representing the collective perception of the respondents were identified. The dominant schemas of Marcos Sr. were that 1) he was a ruthless and corrupt leader; and in direct contrast to this, that 2) he was a good and competent leader; and the dominant schema for Martial law was that it was oppressive and inhumane. Meanwhile, the dominant schema for Cory was that she was a relative of the more prominent members of her family, and for EDSA, the dominant schema was that it was a protest. The schema of Marcos as a good and competent leader, and of Cory as a relative of the other more prominent Aquinos are notably the schemas most detached from official historical facts. Notably, the participants recalled Marcos and his political legacy of Martial law comparably better than Cory and her political legacy of EDSA. Marcos Sr. was also more directly linked to his political legacy of martial law than Cory was to EDSA. Generally, though



the participants more or less demonstrated familiarity with the political actors and events considered for the study, a distinct trend is the use of simplistic or vague statements to substantiate their perceptions, highlighting a sore lack of in-depth knowledge in contemporary Philippine history, even though this is supposedly taught in the secondary and tertiary education levels.

Meanwhile, though Marcosian atrocities seem to be widely remembered, the number of those who had no opinion or knowledge about them are still pressing, highlighting again the need for a more critical study of historical events. Given that the reasoning of those who favored Martial law and Marcos Sr. were often drawn from family members and/or social media content, it would also seem that prevalent Marcosian myths remain persistent today (Elemia, 2022; Beltran, 2022) and continue to affect the thinking of the youth. Likewise, the overwhelming perception of Cory not as a president nor as an icon of democracy but as the relative of more prominent members of her family underscores a dearth of awareness in political history. This applies as well to the number of participants who had no opinion of EDSA, seemingly substantiating Arguelles' claim that the memory of EDSA as a victorious moment of democracy is waning (Arguelles, 2017), at least among the samples of this study. That a fair number of the respondents were largely unaware of EDSA despite its being a holiday and Cory, despite her being an icon of democracy, also hints that current efforts to remember them and Philippine democracy in general are becoming ineffective among the youth, as opposed to Marcosian-related disinformation which continues to pervade social media (Ong & Cabanes, 2018), the top source of information for all of the study's participants.

Also significant are the number of interviewees who seemed to have contradictory responses about Marcos and martial law. There was wide acknowledgment that martial law was an era of numerous killings, but some respondents who said this still had a schema of Marcos Sr. as a good leader, counterbalancing his atrocities with his alleged contributions to the nation in their statements. The problem in these instances then is no longer their awareness of history, but of the importance they assign to certain historical events over others. Evidently, despite the close link that politicians have with their legacies, the interviewees' responses here suggest that they can be distanced from their legacies to fit one's political beliefs (i.e. martial law happened under Marcos Sr., but it was the military who abused their power during Martial law, not necessarily Marcos Sr.).

Future case studies that will build on the initial findings of this research may consider a larger sample size, the inclusion of youth groups from different sectors, or even the inclusion of other age groups apart from the youth. As this

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study's results also indicated a prevalent preference for social media, other studies may opt to investigate further the relationship between the youth's preference to gather information online and how this affects their historical knowledge and their perception of historical figures and events.

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### APPENDICES

Table 5

*Coding Sheet for Ferdinand Marcos Sr.*

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>Marcos Sr. was president of the Philippines</p> <p>Marcos Sr. ruled for 21 years</p> <p>Marcos Sr. was then a good leader for the Philippines.</p> <p>Marcos Sr. was a brave leader.</p>	<p>Marcos Sr. was notable leader</p>	<p>Marcos was a good and competent leader.</p>
<p>Marcos's dictatorship instigated peace</p> <p>Marcos minimized the rebellious movements of subversive Filipinos.</p>	<p>Marcos Sr.'s time was an era of peace.</p>	
<p>The Marcos regime was considered as the Golden era of the Philippines.</p> <p>Marcos Sr. boosted Philippine economy during his tenure.</p> <p>Betterment in the agricultural sector happened during Marcos administration.</p> <p>Massive infrastructure were developed and established during the Marcos Martial law that have been beneficial up until today.</p> <p>Nuclear power plant was built during the Marcos regime.</p>	<p>Marcos Sr. led a time of economic and infrastructural productivity</p>	

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Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>Marcos Sr. was a dictator.</p> <p>Martial Law was implemented with Ferdinand Marcos.</p> <p>Marcos Martial Law killed thousands of innocent people.</p> <p>Many Filipinos were killed during the military rule in the Philippines</p>	<p>Marcos's Martial law victimized the Filipino people.</p>	<p>Marcos Sr. was a ruthless and corrupt leader.</p>
<p>Marcos Sr. is a thief. He embezzled nation's money and resources.</p> <p>Marcos Sr. lead the Philippine economy to go down during his tenure.</p>	<p>Marcos brought economic ruin to the country</p>	
<p>Marcos was the father of current Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos Jr.</p> <p>Marcos Sr. is the husband of Imelda Marcos.</p>	<p>Marcos Sr. was the patriarch of the Marcos family.</p>	<p>Marcos's prominence is complemented by the popularity of his own family members.</p>

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**Table 6**  
*Coding Sheet for Cory Aquino*

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>Cory Aquino is the mother of Kris Aquino.</p> <p>Cory Aquino is the mother of Noynoy Aquino</p> <p>Cory Aquino is the wife of Ninoy Aquino.</p> <p>Cory Aquino is the grandmother of Bimby.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino is the matriarch of the Aquino family.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino's prominence is defined by her familial ties.</p>
<p>Cory Aquino is the first female president.</p> <p>Cory Aquino replaced Marcos Sr. as the president.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino was president.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino is an icon of democratic leadership.</p>
<p>Cory Aquino is the leader of the EDSA People Power Revolution.</p> <p>Cory Aquino ended Martial law.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino led the nation's transition to democracy.</p>	
<p>Cory Aquino contributed good projects to the Philippines</p>	<p>Cory Aquino's administration was good.</p>	



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Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>Cory Aquino lacked leadership skills in comparison to Marcos Sr.</p> <p>Cory Aquino entered politics without much knowledge about it</p> <p>Cory Aquino transitioned from a housewife to a president</p>	<p>Cory Aquino's background was insufficient for her presidency.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino was an unqualified and ineffective leader.</p>
<p>There were many killings during Cory Aquino's administration.</p> <p>Mendiola massacre happened during Cory Aquino's administration.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino's administration was marked with killings.</p>	
<p>Cory Aquino allegedly sold some parts of the Philippines</p> <p>The Philippines did not become better during Cory Aquino's term.</p>	<p>Cory Aquino did not improve the Philippines.</p>	
<p>Cory Aquino allegedly collaborated with a prince during Martial law</p> <p>Cory Aquino allegedly planned something before Martial law</p> <p>Cory Aquino envied the wealth of Imelda Marcos and the Marcos family</p>	<p>Cory Aquino schemed against the Marcoses.</p>	

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Table 7  
*Coding Sheets for Martial Law*

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
Martial law curbed rebellion and terrorism	Martial law was necessary to curb rebellion, chaos, and terrorism	Martial law was necessary to ensure peace, order, and security
Martial law reduced the number of bad people		
Martial law protected the people	Martial law was a mechanism to ensure safety and security	
Martial law mitigated the chaos in the country		
Martial law disciplined citizens	Martial law was an era of discipline	

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
Martial law was cruel	Martial law was an era of killings and human rights violations	Martial law was oppressive and inhumane
Martial law was the torture of civilians		
Martial law killed many people		
Martial law killed many students		
Martial law killed many journalists		
Martial law negatively affected people's lives		
Martial law was the disrespect and abuse of human rights		
Martial law shut down the media	Martial law was the suppression of civil liberties	
Martial law was restrictive		
Martial law barred freedom of speech		
Martial law saw to the police and military abusing their power	Martial law was military and police rule	
Martial law was unbridled military rule		

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Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
Martial law triggered unrest and rebellion	Martial law was mismanaged and chaotic	
Martial law was not the best option		
Martial law was chaotic and disastrous		
Martial law could not be controlled by Marcos		
Martial law was a failure		
Martial law was Marcos's abuse of power	Martial law was Marcos's grab for power	
Martial law was an instrument for Marcos to gain more power		
Martial law was justified with fictitious claims		
Martial law was the direct orchestration of Marcos		

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
Martial law had both good and bad effects	Martial law was both good and bad	Martial law is a divisive topic
Martial law draws mixed responses from people	Martial law is a topic with many conflicting viewpoints	
Martial law is portrayed controversially and debated upon on social media		

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**Table 8**  
*Coding Sheet for EDSA*

Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>The EDSA People Power ousted Marcos Sr.</p> <p>The EDSA People Power was highly associated with Martial Law.</p> <p>The EDSA People Power is the people's collective action to overthrow Marcos</p>	<p>EDSA People Power was a movement to oust Marcos</p>	<p>EDSA was a protest</p>
<p>The EDSA People Revolution was conducted through rallies and marches on the EDSA with yellow bands.</p> <p>EDSA People Power Revolution was initiated for a cause.</p>	<p>EDSA was cause-oriented</p>	
<p>The EDSA Revolution was an orchestrated unity to lobby freedom.</p> <p>The EDSA People Power Revolution is an act of people movement.</p>	<p>EDSA was a show of citizens' collective action</p>	
<p>The EDSA People Power was held by Aquino supporters who were against Martial law.</p> <p>Aquinos used EDSA People Power to take advantage of the people's anger.</p> <p>EDSA People Power Revolution was marked with suffering due to Aquino-Marcos rivalry.</p>	<p>EDSA is about the rivalry between the Marcoses and Aquinos</p>	

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Conceptual Metaphor	Conceptual Frame	Schema
<p>The EDSA People Power prospered propaganda in favor of the Aquinos.</p> <p>Aquinos stepped up during the EDSA People Power.</p> <p>EDSA People Power discredited Marcos Sr.'s legacy.</p>	<p>EDSA empowered the Aquinos</p>	