ISSN 1656-152X

KRITIKA KULTURA

a refereed electronic journal
of literary / cultural and language studies

No. 2, December 2002

www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura
Indexed in Scopus, EBSCO, and MLA International Bibliography

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY
Quezon City, Philippines

KRITIKA
KULTURA

ISSN 1656-152X
www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura

Kritika Kultura is an internationally refereed journal acknowledged by a host of Asian and Asian American Studies libraries and scholars network, and indexed in the Directory of Open Access Journals, Scopus, EBSCO, and the MLA International Bibliography.

Published twice a year (February and August)
Open Access

AIMS, FOCUS, AND SCOPE

Kritika Kultura is an international peer-reviewed electronic journal of language and literary/cultural studies which addresses issues relevant to the 21st century, including language, literature and cultural policy, cultural politics of representation, the political economy of language, literature and culture, pedagogy, language teaching and learning, critical citizenship, the production of cultural texts, audience reception, systems of representation, effects of texts on concrete readers and audiences, the history and dynamics of canon formation, gender and sexuality, ethnicity, diaspora, nationalism and nationhood, national liberation movements, identity politics, feminism, women's liberation movements, and postcolonialism.

Kritika Kultura is interested in publishing a broad and international range of critical, scholarly articles on language, literary and cultural studies that appeal to academic researchers in government and private agencies and educational institutions, as well as members of the public who are concerned with exploring and examining contemporary issues in the complex nexus interconnecting language, literature, culture, and society.

Kritika Kultura seeks to promote innovative scholarship that challenges traditional canons and established perspectives and enhance work that bridges disciplinary research around the issues enumerated above, especially in the promising lines of work in Philippine, Asian, Southeast Asian, and Filipino-American studies.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Please visit www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura.

PUBLISHER

Department of English, School of Humanities
Ateneo de Manila University
Loyola Heights, Quezon City, Philippines1108
Tel. Nos. +63 (2) 426-6001 loc. 5310 or 5311
Telefax: +63 (2) 426-6120
Email: kritikakultura@admu.edu.ph

KRITIKA
KULTURA

ISSN 1656-152X
www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura

KRITIKA
KULTURA

ISSN 1656-152X
www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KRITIKA
KULTURA

ISSN 1656-152X
www.ateneo.edu/kritikakultura

RESEARCH IN THE HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS: NON-TRADITIONAL SOURCES FOR LITERARY AND OTHER RESEARCH

Doreen G. Fernandez
Department of English
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines

Abstract
Fieldwork may well be the oldest research method on earth, but in this day of libraries, the internet, and other kinds of information storage and retrieval systems, it is new again. Going out and talking to individuals—and each person knows something he can talk about, usually something unique and valuable—is non-traditional now. Aspects of fieldwork include oral history (brief questions and interviews which may lead to conversations that are so rich, so deep, often so intimate), sightings (or research that makes use of anything that comes to hand, which may consist of materials ranging from newspapers, lists of movie theaters, data on fiestas, and notices of births, deaths, and weddings), and dictionary research (especially old, unpublished dictionaries).

Keywords
dictionary research, fieldwork, folk sources, oral history

About the Author
Doreen Fernandez was actively involved in the activities of Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP) especially during the Marcos years. Her scholarly writings embody the nationalist ideals and social orientation which are acknowledged as having contributed to the development of many of the leading artists of CAP.

Editor's Note:

This paper was read for the Henry Lee Irwin Lecture at the Department of English, School of Humanities, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City on February 18, 2002.

One of the joys of academic life is definitely research, and I only found that out when I came to the Ateneo. I used to think that to prepare for, and to freshen up one's teaching, one read the textbook and, if an English teacher, the stories, poems, essays and novels that were the material one taught.

I came to the Ateneo as a doctoral graduate student in 1970, and one of my first courses was Philippine Drama, with Bien Lumbera. That was an eye-opener. First of all, there wasn't much in the library to use as research sources—a very few books on theater, a couple of slender play anthologies, a thesis or two. Each of us was assigned, however, to retrieve a drama from our native language and to translate it if it was not in Tagalog. Fr. Mario Francisco, S.J., returned with a full-length *komedya*. A descendant of Tomas Remigio, first decade playwright, brought in the now famous *Mga Santong Tao*. I found old

notebooks, in them a handwritten *zarzuela* written by my paternal grandfather, listing a cast of Silay townspeople with familiar names. That was my first research adventure.

FIELDWORK

Thus I discovered fieldwork—going out of the library into the fields of folk drama. And I was hooked for life. We followed *sinakulo* in the rice fields, streets, and chapels of Malolos, Bulacan. We chatted with former *moro-moristas* to learn about marching, *arnis*, music. Eventually, when I settled on the Ilonggo zarzuela as dissertation topic, I spent blissful hours in Iloilo: talking to a special-effects maker in his hut in a squatter area (careful not to fall through the floor); visiting the families of zarzuela writers and retrieving scripts and pictures; chatting with Iloilo elite to gather their zarzuela memories.

I did detailed research in old newspapers, theater and fiesta programs—in the very old house of editor Rosendo Mejica. There lived his five unmarried daughters, each of whom remembered something of presentations, set designers, musicians. When Carolina, who brought me *merienda* every day, would say: "Come with me to the [weekly] Jaro market day," or "Let us visit the Lopez sisters; they always give me a gift of rice," I would forsake my note cards and willingly go. That was research too, into the Iloilo that encased my thesis research.

When accidents of time and circumstance made me enter as well the field of food research, the fieldwork continued in similar ways. My research partner and I explored markets, and asked questions: What is that called? How do you cook it? We found a smiling woman making *kinilaw* of freshly-bought fish in a plastic bag on top of empty soft drink crates, and her picture is in our book *Kinilaw: A Philippine Cuisine of Freshness* (1991). When we went into eateries—*pondohan, carinderia,* or restaurant—we not only ate, but also analyzed the menu; we befriended and interviewed owners, waiters, cooks, even customers.

Certainly one of the most exciting field trips we took was on a friend's boat in Sagay, Negros Occidental. With us was Enteng, a *kinilaw* master. We stopped where he pointed—to buy crabs and fresh fish. In the boat, he made *kinilaw* on the spot, teaching us that each type required a different souring – just vinegar for one, vinegar with chili seeds for another, etc. It was a peak point not only of my research but of my life. Imagine all that clean, translucent raw freshness, transformed in a moment in the way of the oldest recorded Philippine food (carbon-dated at 1000 years).

Fieldwork may well be the oldest research method on earth, but in this day of libraries, the internet, and other kinds of information storage and retrieval systems, it is new again. Going out and talking to individuals—and each person knows something he can talk about, usually something unique and valuable—is non-traditional now.

The fresh air and encounters of fieldwork can turn us library denizens into venturous people once again.

ORAL HISTORY

The brief questions and interviews of fieldwork can be formalized as oral history—if the information is recorded, transcribed, classified, and stored for retrieval by others. This works not only to gather bits of data on theater no longer existing, or to fill the blanks in our knowledge of Philippine food, where there are as yet few cookbooks with information outside the recipes, hardly any food histories, and certainly nothing encyclopedic.

I stumbled into this again by happy accident. An American scholar, Ron Grele, spoke at the Thomas Jefferson Cultural Center on what was then newly named Oral History. He cited the book *Working*, by Studs Terkel, as a successful and valuable example of the method, and supplied the titles of the first few books on the methodology.

When my research partner, Eddy Alegre, said that he wanted to interview writers (and asked me to help, in return for help with food research), we ventured into what eventually became the two volumes of *Writers and Their Milieu*, about the first and second generations of Filipino writers in English.

We located the writers of each generation with the help of Franz Arcellana, and made connections, sometimes with the help of my mother who had been the classmate of Angela Manalang Gloria in high school, and of Arturo Rotor and Jose Garcia Villa in medical school. (Yes, Villa was in medicine, but quit when he was not allowed to wear gloves while dissecting cadavers.)

We eventually—after mistakes like running out of tape or film—developed our *modus operandi*. We made firm appointments, indicating who we were, why we wanted the interview, and what it might cover. Then we prepared, by reading everything we could about and by the writer.

When we went to see them, we could skip questions on birthplace, birth date, town of origin, school, even list of works—because we already knew that. We could instead zero in on: "In 'Scent of Apples,' Mr. Santos, was Celestino Fabia an actual person, or a composite?" or "Was this character a homosexual, Ma'am Edith?" and Edith Tiempo said,

"I did not write him as one, but later discovered that deep in my mind he was, something that Bien Lumbera also noticed. How did you know that?" "Research, ma'am," we answered.

Inevitably, because the conversations were so rich, so deep, often so intimate, the writers became our friends, and we took care of some of them. Bienvenido Santos confessed that, since his wife had died, he wondered who would be his first reader. He had made it a practice to write somewhere away from home, and then to call his wife and read the fresh story to her. Manuel Viray, after an anguished life, asked: "Why should I still write?" When he went to the US, we wrote each other, even at the old folks' home, and when he died I was one of the first to know.

I sat in NVM Gonzalez's living room in Hayward, California, drinking coffee he had made, while he read to me from a biography he was then calling "Dragons Deferred." That was when Narita Gonzalez said, as she listened and did her sewing quietly nearby, "I ease everything around him, so that he can write," a simple admission that brought tears to other writers less blest.

The discipline of oral history requires that the tapes be transcribed as soon as possible, while one can still remember, and thus undo inaudible or incoherent parts (caused by traffic and other noises; e.g. I interviewed Carlos Angeles in a Playboy Club in Los Angeles, and Villa at the Waldorf Hotel in New York).

We next corrected the rough transcripts made by the transcriber, and sent these to the writer interviewed, for checking. Only after the writer's approval could the interview be finalized, the tapes stored, and the product published.

SIGHTINGS

This is not an official name, but this is what I call the research that makes use of anything that comes to hand. In newspaper research, for example, such as what I did with *Makinaugalingon* (every single issue) in Iloilo, I was primarily searching for data on the zarzuela writers and on the presentation of their productions (date, time, place, number, occasion, sponsors, and the like).

There were other sightings, however, that proved useful. A list of the movie theaters in town, for example, since later they were often used for stage plays. Data on prominent residents as well. Even when the data was not connected to theater at all, these *ilustrados* were the ones who bought the boxes (*palcos*) at zarzuelas, and who gifted visiting Spanish opera singers and zarzuela stars with jewelry, and feted, even housed them.

Data on cockpits, on movies screened, on vaudeville shows, were good, because this indicated the competition offered the zarzuela. Data on fiestas, their events and sponsors, were also corollary to theater. Notices of births, deaths, weddings, were often relevant sightings.

One of my more unique sightings was on a trip to the cemetery to a writer's grave to check on his death date, because his daughter (this was unusual because she was unusual) would not give it to me.

Programs of civic events (Independence Day, Rizal Day, etc.) offered sightings of people and shows. Even archival and census data might list houses according to the materials used, and one zarzuela writer who had a house of wood was considered quite well off.

Feature stories in magazines are research wealth as well, as are theater programs, souvenir programs, even movie programs.

Nor should we neglect the most obvious sightings: photographs, pictures, portraits, paintings. In Iloilo, Don Teodoro Benedicto was known to be an enthusiastic party-giver who paid studio photographers to take pictures of his honored guests and the whole assemblage—which he then bought up, and had his daughters collect in large albums. These lay in the living room, piled high on side tables, and were offered to guests to entertain them.

There I saw—and was allowed to reproduce—pictures of visiting foreign theater artists, of the reigning Miss Philippines, of Fernando Poe Sr. and Lucita Goyena, of foreign and government dignitaries, and group pictures of the whole party.

Research sources are in effect all around us. All events and their documentation present research opportunities, seemingly begging to be used.

DICTIONARY RESEARCH

I credit William Henry Scott, Scotty the historian, for this innovative method. He brought one day descriptions of boats of the Spanish era that he had gathered from old dictionaries, and he wanted a drawing. An artist from my husband's design office complied, and Scotty was pleased that his dictionary research had produced an accurate illustration.

The opportunity for food research in dictionaries enticed me. If the words were in the dictionary, their contexts were in the culture, and food is certainly a high priority in Philippine life.

I began with *vocabularios*, *diccionarios* and *artes de la lengua*—works generally examined by literature and linguistics scholars rather than by food researchers. I started with the *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* by Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, published in 1754. Begun in the 17th century by the Jesuit Clain, Bien Lumbera believes that it contains orally transmitted folk material "dating to the first relations between the native and Spanish cultures (1570-1699)."

Here is what I found: 713 food-related words, 160 pertaining to rice—varieties, planting and harvesting, containers, cooking; 144 pertaining to fish—varieties, nets, traps, baskets, cooking. The rest are divided among fruits, vegetables, tubers, shellfish and other sea creatures, meats from animals domesticated or hunted.

The physical count alone shows that the contemporary Filipino peasant diet of rice-and-fish is the traditional one, surely the pre-Spanish food pattern, logical because of the agriculture-based economy, and the many water sources for food: the seas, rivers, rivulets, brooks, canals and flooded rice fields of 7100 islands. (See "*Historias, Cronicas, Vocabularios:* Spanish Sources for Research in Philippine Food," in Fernandez and Alegre, *Sarap: Essays on Philippine Food*, 1988.)

I did the same research in the unpublished *Diccionario Espanol en Tagalo* compiled by Miguel Ruiz, classifying the words, examining them, reading them separately and together to discover the food world they describe. In the 187 Tagalog-Spanish pages (using Bataan Tagalog), I found about 1000 food-related words. Again rice had the majority: 201 words. Each step of the production process has a specific name, and so do the stages of growth, the containers, the care of the fields, the cooked product.

I wrote up this research as "The Food World of Miguel Ruiz," and it has been published in *Reflections on Philippine Culture and Society, Festschrift in Honor of William Henry Scott*, edited by Jesus T. Peralta (2001).

This is challenging, indeed exciting. Think of what we could find by examining all the other *diccionarios* in Tagalog, Pampango, Ilocano, Ilonggo, Bicolano and the like. Although I have not been able to do more work in this direction, I do not worry. Ambeth Ocampo, historian and writer, is working on it now, and including the traditional rice strains and seedlings found in the IRRI seed bank. The work will go on.

Dictionary research Ambeth also used once to identify names for parts of the anatomy; another time for curse words, for an undergraduate paper. This is also a major source for Resil Mojares and his fellow researchers, who seek to compile a list of terms for Philippine literature and literary criticism.

The search can go on almost forever in the fields of our choice and delight. The words we use define the culture we have, and shape the culture we will have. It is almost as awesome as learning to speak.

I do not believe I have exhausted the list of non-traditional sources for research. I have only spoken of the highways and byways which I have explored by accident and good fortune. I know you all have your own research paths, and I end by wishing us all happy research journeys and much triumph at the end of each road.

WORKS CITED

Alegre, Eddy, and Doreen G. Fernandez, eds. *Sarap: Essays on Philippine Food*. Manila, Philippines: Mr. & Ms., 1988.

---. *Writers and Their Milieu*. 2 vols. Manila, Philippines: De La Salle UP, 1987.

Fernandez, Doreen G. *Kinilaw: A Philippine Cuisine of Freshness*. Manila, Philippines: Bookmark, 1991.

---. "The Food World of Miguel Ruiz." *Reflections on Philippine Culture and Society, Festschrift in Honor of William Henry Scott*. Ed. Jesus T. Peralta. Manila, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila UP, 2001. 72-94.

Terkel, Studs. *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do*. NY: New Press, 1997.

TRANSCULTURE, CIVIL SOCIETY, OR CAPITALISM? AN INTERVIEW WITH DELIA AGUILAR

May Penuela
m2pwt2@hotmail.com

Abstract
In the interview with Delia Aguilar, she critiques this unwarranted embrace of globalization, where "cheap access to information superhighway" is now possible, "heralding entirely new channels for instantaneous exchanges that would include every remote corner of the world, resulting in the evolution of a 'transculture' with its presumably leveling consequences." Delia Aguilar posits that this view of globalization obscures a true analysis on the dynamics of class and production. Thus, Aguilar urges the vacuousness of academic writing, and to focus attention, instead, on the "dirt and grime of the workaday world." More importantly, she urges the academics to adjust their framing device, that way they would have the eye and the savvy to expose the "predations of global capitalism and bringing into view what now appears like a wonderful New World Order."

Keywords
cultural economy, feminism, globalization, migrant workers, women, US imperialism

About the Interviewee
Delia D. Aguilar teaches Women's Studies and Comparative American Cultures. She has had a long-standing interest in the development of women's movements and feminism, particularly in peripheral formations, and their interaction with feminist theoretical production in the metropolis. She firmly believes with Deniz Kandiyoti that feminism is not autonomous, but always bound to the national context that produces it. On behalf of dis/content, May Penuela conducted this interview in December 2000.

May Penuela: I'd like to begin by revisiting your article "Questionable Claims: Colonialism Redux, Feminist Style" that appeared in *Race and Class*. In this article you critique those who embrace "globalization" exclusively as a concept of transnationalism and transculture, a popular trend in the US academy, thus obscuring analyses of international and global political economy. Can you comment further on this issue?

Delia Aguilar: What immediately prompted my writing about "transculture" in that article was a team-taught graduate class that I had occasion to take part in several years ago. Although the six or so faculty designing the course were, I'm sure, cognizant of the globalized economic order serving as the backdrop for our discussions, the direction of our thinking was guided by its proposed title: "Critical/Cultural Spaces."

As one might surmise, a course so labeled would indeed present an unwarrantedly optimistic view of globalization, one that applauds the "borderless

world" of transnationalism purportedly now come into existence, seeing in this apparent seamlessness a radical decentering and displacing of Western culture. I think NAFTA had not yet been three years in place, and there was no foreshadowing then of protests against powerful international bodies staged in Seattle, the other Washington, and Prague. High-tech communication and cheap access to information superhighways, especially, were cheered as heralding entirely new channels for instantaneous exchanges that would now include every remote corner of the world, resulting in the evolution of a "transculture" with its presumably leveling consequences.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that we indulged in unmitigated flights of fancy, the kind that a group constituted by race and class privileges and academic training is prone to. After Arjun Appadurai's five "scapes" were presented, my thoroughly mundane contribution—globalization and women migrant workers from the "Third World," calling attention to the culpability of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—was new and disturbing information to everyone. It was also decidedly out-of-sync with Appadurai's rendering of diaspora as amorphous, flowing and deterritorialized, and globalization as a "global cultural economy." We talked about "transculture" in ways that were completely dissociated from anything that might imply or invoke the social relations of production. Unspoken was the assumption that the realm of production had been replaced by consumption as the activity of the historical moment, for hasn't post-Fordism obliterated the working class, along with the assembly line? In the wink of an eye, consumption had emerged as a kind of labor, and we were the new workers!

This concept of "transculture," then, fragments the social totality by claiming detachment from class and production. Ironically, this presumed detachment only functions to reinforce the commodifying process of the capitalist division of labor, now international, in which everything translates into cash or exchange value.

Along with the discourse of transculture came associated notions of borderless landscapes in whose interstitial spaces diasporic communities of transmigrant individuals improvise and reconfigure their fluctuating identities. No room here for nationalism, in all instances retrograde, anti-imperialist nationalism having become (in a global cultural economy), thankfully, a thing of the past.

MP: Over the last fifteen years or so, a segment of feminist scholarship has addressed transnational labor of women through local and mid-level narrative analyses of women workers themselves, particularly Asian women. However, while some mention is made

of global capitalism in these works, though not its imperatives, an explicitly political economic framework seems strikingly absent. In what ways do you think this constitutes a brand of reformism, emanating from US feminist discourses, that actually reinforces the imperatives of neoliberalism?

DA: Yes, and "reformism" might be too gentle a word to describe these currents. At least, those who are engaged in thinking along the lines of "transculture"—that is, culture conceived in purely aesthetic terms—are so detached from the dirt and grime of the workaday world that they have somewhat of a pretext for their vacuousness. But in the case of feminists who write about domestic workers, mail-order brides, or prostitutes ("sex workers"), spotlighting women's ability to "resist and oppose" (what they are opposing and resisting is rarely specified) serves to conceal the determining power of international production relations—US imperialism, to be precise—and results in a distortion that is simply unforgivable, given claims of empowerment if not emancipation.

So you have Nicole Constable telling you how Filipina maids in Hong Kong manifest individual power by demanding more ketchup or asking for extra napkins at McDonald's on their days off—at which moments they are also, in case you haven't guessed, subverting ascribed roles by being served rather than serving. Why 10% of the Philippine population is outside the country and why over 65% of overseas contract workers are women employed primarily as servants or caregivers, despite their professional credentials, is rarely addressed. A newfangled angle is offered by Arlie Hochschild ("The Nanny Chain") who, acknowledging the unprecedented migration of workers from developing countries, proposes that the phenomenon be viewed as a "global care chain" or, better yet, the "globalization of love." Beginning from the peasant woman in the Philippines paid a pittance to look after the children of the domestic helper now in Beverly Hills caring for offspring not her own, the chain ends with the affluent white woman whose on-the-job duties as a female include that of creating a caring corporate climate. A caring corporate climate for what purpose? Hochschild fails to say. Her political stance is further disclosed in her outright dismissal of poverty as a causal factor because, she explains, some women who were interviewed spoke not of escaping poverty but domestic violence. And even if poverty generated by underdevelopment were the problem, she continues, immigration scholars have demonstrated that attempts at transforming these societies would merely have the effect of raising expectations, initially increasing rather than decreasing migration. So much for social change.

For the moment, however, Constable and Hochschild represent the sanctioned and rewarded orientation in feminism and in cultural studies in general, and to call it "reformist" is perhaps too generous. In the absence of an explication and critique of the international socioeconomic and political forces leading to the exportation of female labor, the end result is hardly reform but a continuation of the current state of affairs. What's to reform when women's coping and survival strategies are already touted and proclaimed as struggles for empowerment? Never mind that these strategies—cajoling and chicanery, insider jokes understood only by cohorts, confronting the boss—are enacted on a personal, individual level. Interestingly enough, a favorable review of Constable's book prescribed its translation into Chinese, supposedly so that employers might begin to appreciate their servants' labors.

Something of a left-handed commendation of subalterns' capacity to make do that may well be spawned by liberal guilt, works like Constable's and Hochschild's more significantly perform the probably unintended but necessary function of mystifying socioeconomic realities so that, in the final analysis, the exploitative global social order as it exists becomes legitimized. I should mention in this regard that even a Marxist like Fredric Jameson ("Globalization and Political Strategy") seems to accept only two possible response categories (to cultural imperialism, in this case): to foreground the ingenuity of the subaltern (how the Indian, for instance, stubbornly resists the power of an Anglo-Saxon imported culture), or to insist on their miseries in order to arouse indignation. But a good look at what "Third World" peoples are actually doing at this historical moment will tell you that they are confronting their miseries wreaked by globalization not by sticking their tongues out at their exploiters, but by waging old-fashioned revolution!

Here three Filipina women come to mind, all of them vitally involved in genuine struggle. I think of Vicvic Justiniani, who spent a good 20 years of her youth underground, organizing peasants with the New People's Army during the Marcos years. In 1986 she briefly emerged as the Makibaka (the underground women's organization) spokesperson during the cease-fire talks called by President Cory Aquino, attracting international attention. Today in her mid-40s and a "legal" personality, she set up an innocent enough non-governmental organization of poor, illiterate widows that soon became a beacon for other dispossessed sectors—sidewalk vendors, laid-off government workers, etc. Gathered together under the banner of human rights, these sectors, now politicized and united, drew the ire of the Mayor who promptly called in the military. With the entire city subjected to military repression, Vicvic has been forced to flee to Manila, but not before exhausting all legal processes, including the formation of a Senate investigative committee.

I also think of Ma. Theresa Dayrit-Garcia, a convent-school bred 43-year-old mother of two teenagers, born of landowning parents. She and her husband had been student activists in their youth. Choosing not to work in the "democratic space" opened up by the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship, she instead continued in the underground and became a ranking officer of the New People's Army. Last July she was killed by the military in retaliation for the slaying of an officer in a prior encounter.

And there's Nanay Mameng Deunida, high-school educated 72-year-old Chair of Kadamay, a militant association of slumdwellers. Also a veteran of the nationalist movement who has had numerous encounters with truncheon-wielding cops in front of the US embassy and in countless rallies, she speaks on a number of issues: poverty, contractual labor, transnational corporations, women and patriarchy. A mother of seven, grandmother of 14, and great grandmother of 2, Nanay Mameng now suffers from the afflictions of the old who are poor, none of which deter her from summoning the anger "in the pit of her stomach" when addressing anti-Estrada, anti-US demonstrations.

You can see from these examples that the picture we are getting from academic accounts, because of their framing device, is a fundamentally lopsided one, one that effectively warps our understanding of the global situation. Worse, in spite of ostensible efforts to valorize the experience of the subaltern, it actually denigrates the real struggles of oppressed peoples. Now in some instances retreat from the political economy is not as flagrant and, precisely for this reason, requires a bit more savvy to unmask. In an influential book on Caribbean and Filipino migration (*Nations Unbound*) Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc begin by taking into account a global historical perspective, and then in a deft maneuver shift attention over completely to the ways in which "transmigrants" negotiate the spaces they inhabit between two, now presumably co-equal, states. What the reader is left with is the notion that, indeed, nation-states have become unbound and that transmigrants have the power to challenge and contribute to hegemonic processes in several separate states, which is the thrust of the book. I must remark that these authors are not at all averse to the deployment of "dated" vocabulary symptomatic of an earlier era, bruiting about phrases like global capitalism, the global relations between capital and labor, control of productive forces that is ultimately protected by force of the state, etc. Moreover, they do not shirk from the concept of class, stressing that it is a description of social relationships and that issues of class are inevitably woven into their analyses. Yet because the center of attention is transferred to and ultimately fixed upon the freedom and agency of individual transmigrants who have decided to engage in transnational projects (note how the prefix "trans" flattens and equalizes power-laden

relations of domination), invocations even of imperialism and colonialism become purely gestural or rhetorical and vacated of their meaning. What meaning can labor exploitation, racism and sexism have when "transmigrants" can and do practice "transnationalism"—that is to say, "create social fields that cross national boundaries?"

Pondering these things brings to mind a statement that Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz made in her visit to WSU last spring. She said that the fear of ideas that characterizes the current period, the restriction on ideas of what is possible, is paralleled only by the McCarthy era. A frightening thought, but not wholly untrue! I think that with the postmodernist turn in the university and the rejection of Marxism as an outdated tool of analysis, two key concepts have taken hold in feminist and cultural studies that are mainly responsible for the distortions I have outlined.

The first concept is globalization. A number of Marxist academics have noted that the displacement of "imperialism" by "globalization" has succeeded in diverting our attention from the predations of global capitalism and bringing into view what now appears like a wonderful New World Order! Thus transculture enthusiasts like Miyoshi and Appadurai can imagine that the nations of the world, now assembled into a seamless whole by high-tech communication, lowered transportation costs, and unfettered commerce, will usher in a liberating, emancipatory culture in which voices from the South will have equal time, if not occupy centerstage. I remember a graduate class I taught in the early 1990s in Ohio where the students blithely informed me that there was no longer a working class as everything had been turned over to finance capital. And the most outspoken had been a union organizer not too far back! It's amazing how silly ideas can ruin an ordinarily sensible person's mind. I had just returned from a visit to the Philippines then, and had been witness to the usual wrenching poverty, student organizing, labor and women's struggles, etc. I must say that I was discombobulated, to say the least.

In the meantime, sectors of the ruling-class can speak the truth, as when an assembly of the business elite and conservative economists gathered at the Fairmont in San Francisco in 1995 and discussed future society in a pair of numbers: 20:80. These numbers indicate that in any given country in the world, only 1/5 would have access to production and consumption; that is all the labor power required to produce all the goods and services that global society can buy. For the 80% without employment, the choice, if any exists, would be "to have lunch or to be lunch" (see Martin, Schumann, and Camiller). Is this what my students meant, perhaps, by the disappearance of the working class?

I agree with James Petras who strongly argues for the use not of a generic imperialism, but of US imperialism, and proceeds to present incontrovertible evidence for

his contention. I think that most of the world's peoples know that the US is the greatest power and the most dangerous threat to world peace today, even if this is evidently a secret from most academics in the North who persist in fantasies of the demise of the nation-state, seamlessness, border-crossing, fragmentation, multiplicity, heterogeneous and fluctuating identities, among others.

This brings me to the second related concept, that of civil society. If globalization has been substituted for US imperialism, civil society has jettisoned capitalism, with equally dire consequences. Here I call on the authority of Ellen Meiksins Wood who states that the distinction between the nation-state and civil society has been useful insofar as it calls attention to the dangers of state oppression and the need for popular vigilance in order to limit actions of the state. She adds that the notion of civil society has also prompted attention to a whole range of institutions (households, churches, etc.) and relations (gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, etc.) heretofore unacknowledged. But its primary defect, and a crucial one, is that it denies the totalizing logic of capitalism and the determinative effects of class relations, locating class and submerging it along with other forms of domination, stratification, or inequalities. The upshot is seen in the familiar "intersections" formula, where the holy trinity of class, race, and gender may be expanded to accommodate sexuality for good measure; that is, if you wish to be really "inclusive."

What's wrong with the notion of civil society and its corollary, identity politics? First of all, recognizing difference is a goal not to be demeaned or scoffed at; identities previously marginalized are now given play and viewed as legitimate categories. The issue is not the recognition of difference as such, but the way in which, through an intellectual sleight-of-hand, civil society has relegated class, the constitutive relations of capitalism, to merely another identity or set of social relations like race, gender, sexuality, and so on. Historically, "civil society" was used as an ideological weapon against the statist distortion of socialism in the Soviet Union, so it is not quite an innocent notion.

Since civil society has rhetorically deleted capitalism, it has virtually erased that totalizing system whose impetus is capital accumulation and expansion (leading to imperialism, now benignly called globalization) based on the extraction of the surplus value of workers' labor. Having been dissolved into an unstructured and undifferentiated set of institutions, capitalism with its totalizing logic has been rendered innocuous! This is the feat that "civil society" accomplishes, and it is not insignificant. It has deflected much-needed attention, particularly at this time when global capitalism is tightening its grip on workers throughout the world, away from class as a set of relations upon which the profits of transnational corporations rest, to a mere matter of identity, lifestyle, or occupation.

To be sure, Meiksins Wood clearly apprehends the perfectly warranted moral claims of race, gender, and sexuality, and the need to respond with complex concepts of identity to people's different needs and experiences. But all of this has transpired in a discursive context in which the concept of class as the set of relations that is the foundational undergirding of capital has been discarded.

Fortunately, there are a few courageous feminists who have dared to take the unfashionable theoretical route, linking the outflow of domestic workers and caregivers from the periphery directly to the imposition of structural adjustment programs by the IMF and WB, both US-controlled international agencies. Two such books came out in 2000: one by Grace Chang (*Disposable Domestics*) in the US, and the other, a sophisticated study exploring the connections between North/South relations, middle-class based feminism, and the subjectivity of migrant domestic workers by Bridget Anderson (*Doing the Dirty Work?*) in the UK. (Predictably, even otherwise approving critics balk at the "economic reductionism" of writers like these two who unflinchingly assign ultimate blame on international policy-making institutions.) There are hopeful little signs, then, that academic perspectives might alter as they must, if so-called progressive academics do not wish to find themselves tailing behind at the rearguard of change.

Meiksins Wood asks simply, can capitalism exist without class? Without an understanding of class as the main axis of capitalism, in fact, one really can't begin to comprehend the operations of sexism, racism, or homophobia. This explains exactly why the "resist and oppose" agenda that foregrounds individual human agency is characterized by such indeterminacy. It can only tell you that it is resisting and opposing some variety or other of some unspecified "power." How this will bring down the larger system is out of the question, as this has been wished away apriori. It is not surprising, then, that what preoccupies academics these days is a search for "complexity" in analysis, or a push to "complicate identities." To what end, who knows? Such complexity, as we have seen in the works I've reviewed, tellingly excludes a class analysis of capitalism, now global, the very social order that is the cause of their subjects' miseries. Reformism? Long live the status quo!

An old friend once told me that the capitalist system needs academic servitors. He said this during the Vietnam War, referring to conservatives. The supreme irony today is that the ideas I've discussed are those espoused by people believing themselves to be radical and progressive.

WORKS CITED

Aguilar, Delia D. "Questionable Claims: Colonialism Redux, Feminist Style." *Race and Class* 41.2 (2000): 1-2.

Anderson, Bridget J. *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labor*. London: Zed, 2000.

Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Chang, Grace. *Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. Mass: South End, 2000.

Constable, Nicole. *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: An Ethnography of Filipina Workers*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value." *Global Capitalism*. Ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens. NY: New Press, 2000. 130-46.

Jameson, Fredric. "Globalization and Political Strategy." *New Left Review* 4 July-Aug. 2000: 49-68.

Martin, Hans-Peter, Harald Schumann, and Patrick Camiller. *The Global Trap*: *Globalization and the Assault on Prosperity and Democracy.* NY: St. Martin's, 1997.

Meiksins Wood, Ellen. *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Petras, James, and Henry Veltmeyer. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. London: Zed, 2001.

ON VAGINA MONOLOGUES

Delia D. Aguilar
Washington State University and Bowling Green State University
deliadag@hotmail.com

About the Author
Delia D. Aguilar teaches Women's Studies and Comparative American Cultures. She has had a long-standing interest in the development of women's movements and feminism, particularly in peripheral formations, and their interaction with feminist theoretical production in the metropolis. She firmly believes with Deniz Kandiyoti that feminism is not autonomous, but always bound to the national context that produces it.

Although I'd heard from students and read about "The Vagina Monologues" (I've taught women's studies for more years than I'd like to count), I only actually saw it the other day at the University of Connecticut where it was roundly applauded by kids in a packed theater.

The issues of academic and artistic freedoms that have been raised in discussions here vis-à-vis the *Monologues* are of tremendous importance, as is the need to demystify and celebrate women's bodies. But the presentation that I saw the other night was very clearly class-bound and, worse for us colonials, reeking of imperial hubris. "What would your vagina wear?" The recommended apparel—Louis Vuitton boots and a matching bag, cashmere and Lolita Lempicka perfume, Birkin bag, etc.—is hardly within the reach of US white, working-class women who, by these standards, would be reduced to sporting vaginas au natural. So where does this put those of us, members of the non-elite, living in the "Third World?" The references to "saving" Afghan women and those poor benighted African "sisters" whose clitorises are cut up, labias infibulated, and who in all other ways are subordinated and repressed by their men, well, we've got to rescue them too! Who's the "we" here? VM is curiously devoid of social context, except when Bosnia and other such places are cited. More precisely, the context is merely implied and has to be unmasked, as I'm trying to do.

As someone on this site remarked, VM has worldwide circulation. And why not? Who's to prevent the US from going anywhere these days? Moreover, VM also has liberal appeal as a fundraiser for "eliminating violence against women." But it's violence of an interpersonal sort, never institutional or systemic. It's men who are the problem. I don't know how much license is given local presenters to innovate and revise. But I must say that

as it stands, *Vagina Monologues* is just one more conduit of cultural imperialism. With those Green Berets and Navy Seals already in Basilan, do we really need more of the same?

WORKS CITED

Ensler, Eve. *The Vagina Monolgues*. London: Virago, 2001.

RESPONDING TO STUDENT WRITING

Michelle G. Paterno
Department of English
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
michellepaterno@gmail.com

Abstract
This paper examines written teacher feedback on selected student papers in an attempt to analyze underlying attitudes embedded in the response episodes. In the past, writing theories have emphasized writing as a fixed and linear process of transferring thoughts on paper. As a consequence, teacher feedback reflected these pedagogical principles by treating texts as fixed and finished products. Today, despite the dawn of more process-oriented theories, teacher feedback remains largely product- and form-oriented. While there is a genuine attempt to communicate effectively with the students, such communication is usually hindered by vague, opinionated and negative comments that obstruct student-teacher relationships. In the end, this paper underscores the need for greater self-reflection in order to address the question, "Why do we give the kind of responses that we give, for whose purpose and for what intention?"

Keywords
English language teaching, teacher feedback, writing theories

About the Author
Michelle G. Paterno is an Assistant Instructor at the Ateneo de Manila University. She completed her MA in Literature (English) from the same university in 1999 and holds a certificate in Communicative Language Teaching from Lancaster University. Her research interests include the developing of reading competencies in a second language context and mythological retellings.

Introduction: Feedback and the Politics of Pedagogy

Feedback is traditionally seen as a linear process of providing input to a writer for the purpose of providing information for revision (Keh 194). However, the dawning of more process-oriented pedagogical theory in recent years has altered the way feedback is perceived. Far from being mere input from one person to another, the issue of feedback is now recognized as "an interaction between responder and recipient through the medium of the written comment … a highly complex activity, constrained by the particular learning context in which it is embedded" (Freedman et al. 321). In other words, the notion of feedback is not limited to prescriptive interventions but is in fact a communicative activity employed within the context of interpersonal classroom relationships.

In recent years, the dynamic character of feedback as a medium of interaction has placed greater emphasis on the nature and content of teacher feedback. The underlying assumption is that teacher feedback reveals much about a person's own beliefs and biases on the nature and function of writing. As a result, it cannot be isolated from the issues of teacher behavior and student-teacher relationships.

In the past, many researches were too preoccupied with how to provide feedback that very little attention was paid to the nature of the responses. Following the trend of writing instruction from the mid-1960s, response strategies vacillated between various schools of thought – from form to content, product to process, single to multiple drafts – all with contradictory and inconclusive results (Leki 1990). Ferris (1995) goes even further to claim that research in both L1 and L2 writing provides little evidence that feedback can improve student writing.

Today we are no nearer in answering the question as to how feedback can be made more effective but perhaps the reason we are still grappling with the issue is that we have been looking for answers in the wrong place. Instead of looking for prescriptive writing strategies we should consider redirecting our efforts in terms of understanding what it is that we do when we respond to student writing. Perhaps the real question is not how should we respond to student writing but what in fact are we saying, for what purpose, and on behalf of whose interest?

FEEDBACK IN THE WRITING CLASSROOMS: L1 SCENARIO IN THE '80S AND '90S

Before we can look into the content of teacher feedback today, a brief look at feedback years ago helps to ground the issues at stake.

Even in the past it was recognized that teacher feedback does not exist in a vacuum. It is influenced by the teacher's own preconceived notions and attitudes towards the writing process which in turn is conditioned by the individual's learning experience.

In the 80s, such attitudes reflected a stringent view of writing despite the growing recognition of the dynamic nature of writing. As a consequence, teacher responses tended to be instructive, applying a fixed and uniform standard to all students. The focus then was not so much to recognize and encourage individual student thinking as to evaluate how well student writing approximated or deviated from accepted and existing norms. Murray's claim was that teachers were preoccupied with teaching students "to study what we plan for them to study and to learn what we or our teachers learned" (7). The resulting

feedback made it clear to students that what they had to say was not half as important as what teachers wanted them to say. In addition, the fixed and uniform attitude towards writing reinforced teachers' attitudes to view texts as being fixed and final and to apply the same standards when checking draft or final papers alike. As a result, surface-level errors were addressed alongside rhetorical concerns resulting in contradictory, unclear and ambiguous messages (Zamel). Finally, teacher comments in the 80's also displayed a generic attitude toward student writing. Sommers (1982) claimed that teacher comments, while designed to encourage revision, rarely included text-specific strategies to carry out the task. Instead, comments offered vague prescriptions that could be interchanged from one text to another.

Such teacher attitudes make it equally clear that the notion of feedback, then and now, is more than just an intervention tool. It is intrinsically entwined with the issue of power relations in the classroom. This is because student-teacher interactions, no matter how process-oriented, are never relationships between equals. Students, especially second language users, always see the teacher as the final arbiter in the classroom and this implied power hierarchy allows the teacher to decide when and what kind of feedback is necessary. In addition, although the social demands of the student-teacher interaction mitigate how much control is actually reasonable in the learning process, teachers still generally control how things are said in the feedback.

Even today, there is evidence to suggest that teacher attitudes tend to be more negative than positive, product-than process-oriented, and directive than exploratory. Teachers continue to find it difficult to treat texts, even drafts, as works in progress thereby applying standards that are strict and stringent. Editing is often heavy-handed and authoritative as if teachers writing on the paper were forgetting the student on the other side of it (see Connors and Lunsford 1993).

Unfortunately, most of the research on teacher content is found primarily in first language classrooms; very little information is actually available on the nature of second language teachers' responses.

FEEDBACK ON STUDENT PAPERS IN AN L2 SETTING

In order to understand the nature of ESL teachers' comments on student papers in an L2 setting, samples of student papers with written feedback were randomly sampled from freshmen English classes in a Catholic university in the Philippines. Eighty-one papers were examined, representing the feedback styles of 15 English composition teachers

on either a draft or final paper. The average size of a freshman composition class is about 25 to 30. Every fifth paper was taken from a sample batch so that approximately four to five papers could be taken to represent a cross section of each teacher's feedback style. Because the teachers were not informed of the true purpose of the study and the papers were selected only after they had been checked but before they were returned to the students it can be assumed that the feedback on these papers represents the actual response styles of the teachers in an authentic setting. The written comments are used to characterize general trends or patterns of teacher behavior in these classrooms.

Type Of Feedback	No. of Papers	Percentage
Total number of papers	81	
Papers with local feedback only	9	11
Papers with global feedback only	30	37
Papers with local/ global feedback	39	48
No feedback given (grade only)	3	4
Content of Feedback		
Communication is generally poor (little or no content feedback, tendency to be irrelevant and vague, no terminal/ initial comments).	38	47
Some communication exists (presence of some content feedback, some tendency to be unclear or ambiguous, some effort to acknowledge student's strengths/ weaknesses in terminal or initial comments).	23	28
Communication is good or excellent (feedback addresses salient points, generally relevant and clear, provides concrete suggestions, directions or evaluations).	20	25
Tone of Feedback		
Papers with positive feedback (or feedback that tends to draw emotionally close to student)	15	18
Papers with neutrally phrased feedback.	26	32
Papers with negative feedback.	40	49
Papers with Terminal/ Initial Comments	48	
Features of Terminal/ Initial Comments		
Leads positively but ends negatively.	11	23

Type Of Feedback	No. of Papers	Percentage
Leads negatively but ends positively.	1	2
All positive.	9	19
All negative.	14	29
Neutral	13	27

Table 1: Written Feedback on Student Papers

GLOBAL OVER LOCAL COMMENTS

In analyzing the written feedback, one striking pattern that emerges points to the preponderance of global, or meaning-related comments, alone or in combination with local or form-oriented comments, over local comments alone. This shows that teachers generally recognize the importance of responding to student writing on both the structural and content levels. In fact, most teachers revealed that a good portion of time is spent marking and responding to student writing. Many spend an average of 20 to 30 minutes poring over each paper. The time they spend assessing student performance is likewise indicative of the value they attach to feedback giving.

The written comments, however, seem to belie the time and effort teachers put in checking papers. Most of the comments present generic assessments or cursory remarks composed of few words and phrases. Only a handful of the papers contain terminal or initial comments that exceed ten words.

Whereas in the past, the overwhelming impression was that teachers were primarily language teachers preoccupied with surface-level corrections, this time there is a change in their perceived functions. Although language concerns are still deemed important, there is greater concern for the content of the writing. There are more comments that ask students to revise the clarity of their ideas, provide more concrete support, and clarify the focus and organization of the paper, among other things. Such concerns, however, are also impeded by the vague, generic and sometimes confusing messages found on student papers.

ARBITRARY, INCONSISTENT, ERRONEOUS AND CONFUSING COMMENTS

A close analysis of the feedback on student papers reveals that teachers sometimes make arbitrary, inconsistent, and erroneous corrections. In more than one sample, teachers often correct one kind of error but ignore the same problem in a later section or another

paper. Post interviews with the subjects confirm that because of time constraints and task schedules, corrections and comments tend to be more arbitrary than deliberate.

In addition to arbitrary corrections, text appropriations also occur when teachers try to rewrite student experiences:

Well, that was how my mind kept my conscience quiet.

my mind

(1) That night I felt good about myself. (2) I thought I just did something unusual and out of my routine satisfied me. (3) I had fun that day and proved to my friends that I was not different with all of them (4) But still, there was this part of me that felt guilty. (5) I knew I was wrong and yet I gave in. ~~(6) I disappointed not only my teachers but also my parents and also God. (7) It was something bad and uncalled for and very unlike me. (8) I tried to defend myself in my mind thinking that I was just trying to be like friends and my parents not knowing that will not disappoint them. (9) Well, that was what I thought until the day that I wished did not happen came.~~

You tend to explain more than you should tell a story. Focus on the story and let it explain itself.

The marginal comment explains the teacher's deletion of sentences six to nine which "tend to explain more than necessary." Unfortunately, the action also alters the student's original meaning. Whereas the original version has the student musing about her thoughts at the end of the day, the revised sentence now reads as if the student has found a way to rationalize her fears. Since this idea is not found in the student's original text it is not part of her intentional message but is a result of the meaning imposed by teacher on the text.

This tendency to appropriate the writing process is perhaps one of the greatest dangers of feedback writing. Without a doubt, one of the teacher's roles is to interpret student writing but when the lines between interpretation and rewriting become blurred the feedback becomes more a tool for text appropriation than a response strategy. One reason that could explain this is that writing teachers frequently operate with an "ideal text" in mind which sometimes interferes with their ability to read and interpret students' texts. This "ideal text" is rooted in their own preconceived notions about how the topic should be written and is somehow transferred to students who take it to mean that their purpose is to meet their teacher's expectations by allowing him or her to direct and sometimes take control of the writing, a condition which Sperling and Freedman (1987) have termed the "good girl syndrome."[1]

The concept of an ideal text can also lead to unclear, confusing, and inconsistent responses. For example, one student writes

> … Martial law didn't make it any better, so why did Marcos start Martial law? It was because of the armed forces, student, labor, nationalist and other populist sectors in the 1971 constitutional convention and the Supreme Court.

wrong place, no sources documented

these may be irrelevant to your work

The contradictory statements on the margins are probably unintentional and represent the externalization of the teacher's thought processes as she marks the paper. However, since students are rarely privy to the teacher's thoughts, these comments appear unreasonable and misleading when in fact they result from the teacher's desire to help the student revise the work. Unfortunately, because the teacher addresses the text by simultaneous acting as editor and a writing coach, the result is a mixed-up message.

Externalizing spontaneous thought processes can be confusing because sometimes teachers fail to acknowledge that feedback giving is also a work in progress. As such, some teachers write impulsively, without thinking their thoughts through. For example, one teacher writes, "___, your purpose here is supposedly to discuss the Muslim secession problem. The thing is, you didn't really discuss it. You have researched on the problem but nothing about it per se" implying that that student has managed to both do and not do the research. In another terminal comment, another teacher writes, "needs more focus. Otherwise, you thought this out well." Sometimes a teacher's effort to provide some positive recognition of the student's efforts results in unintentionally ambiguous messages.

Other problems also arise when teachers combine global and local comments by asking students to edit for tense consistency while at the same time making them rewrite the paragraph to improve clarity. Comments like these are confusing for students because often times they are used to copying corrections verbatim and remain unsure in deciding which comment requires priority. Also, they may recognize, even if the teacher does not, that to change the content of the text will necessarily alter or even disregard these surface errors.

Finally, the liberal use of the term "awkward" can be troublesome especially if teachers use the term as a blanket statement to cover up their failure to provide a more accurate diagnosis of the student's writing problems. In the following text, the term is used thrice to call attention to three different kinds of structural problems, from diction, phonetic misunderstanding, to vague ideas:

(1) First it is commented to destroy tradition. (2) Since time and memorial, the church has said that priest should be of this standard. (3) No change should take place, and sadly, this complaint is unheard of. (4) The fact of the matter is that times change and people change … (5) Unless the church changes with the times, it will remain unpopular to the new generation of not deteriorate even more. (6) Tradition, when obsolete, should not be followed anymore.

awkward

awk/vague

This example illustrates how cryptic awkward comments can be. In fact, one teacher's candid admission was that "there are times when I can't make heads or tails of my student's sentences so I just mark them as awkward. I'm not entirely sure what is wrong but it just sounds wrong." This admission is also an acknowledgement that a teacher's position as instructor does not preclude his or her own share of uncertainties and apprehensions about language. At the same time, it may also be indicative of teachers' unwillingness to reveal the same apprehensions to the students lest it undermine their position in the classroom. Perhaps this attitude is rooted in the belief that most students, especially ESL ones, place an implicit trust in the expertise of their teachers as holders of absolute knowledge in the classroom. As a consequence, teachers generally feel obliged fulfill that function.

INITIAL, MARGINAL, AND TERMINAL COMMENTS: NEGATIVELY-INCLINED AND TEACHER-CENTERED

Another emerging pattern noted is although the value of positive feedback is not lost, teachers still tend to write more negative or neutrally-phrased comments.

Some of these positive comments come in the form of non-verbal signals such as check marks and smiling faces. Some teachers also address their students by name to add a personal touch to either their terminal or initial comment. However, most of the responses on student texts, whether draft or final papers, tend to gloss over the positive aspects of the text with generic statements. The general impression is that teachers are more comfortable assuming the role of evaluator, passing critical judgments on papers, rather than acting as interested readers or coach, helping students along a process. Hence, generic and negatively inclined responses dominate the papers.

Other responses reveal that teachers make broad proclamations and assumptions about student texts and writing that are outside the scope of the current task. For instance, one teacher writes on a final paper: *OK but lacks editing. You should practice more or read more*. Certainly, there is no denying the truism behind such advice for developing long-term writing skills but it does not help fix the student's more immediate writing problems because it has no bearing on the overall evaluation of the present paper. On another student draft paper, a different teacher writes: *this paper has no focus, no organization, certainly no concrete support.* Here, the teacher assumes that the student ought to know better than to submit a paper lacking in form and substance, an assumption that the student obviously does not share or is not capable of sharing. Although there are students who will try to get away with shoddy writing, there are also those who are earnest enough to try but are limited in their capabilities. Thus, it is possible that what appears to a teacher as chaotic and unorganized thinking is actually the result of careful and deliberate action.

The comments found on these papers are similar in content to responses on other student papers checked by the same teachers. This same pattern is likewise evidenced in both draft and final papers, suggesting that like their L1 counterparts, ESL teachers make almost no distinctions when looking at draft or final papers and that their comments are virtually interchangeable between the two. Both are treated as fixed and final products and are given short evaluative statements that fail to concretize the shortcomings of each.

It also indicates that teachers find it difficult to respond to a text unless they can treat it as a finished product regardless of the writing stage it belongs to. Moreover, teachers tend to evaluate drafts and final papers not by weighing the pros and cons of what the students had accomplished but by what they did not do. By focusing on the students' failures, such as failing to read more or provide sharper focus and better organization, the teacher fails to consider what the intention of the student actually is.

Only a handful of papers contain terminal or initial comments that detail the teacher's overall impression of the student's writing and provide concrete recommendations to improve the rhetorical and content aspects of the work. The papers, however, do not belong to one teacher but represent the work of three different teachers, which indicate that teachers themselves are not consistent when providing detailed feedback. Certainly, there are many factors that could explain why only a handful of papers receive quality responses such as time constraints, task schedules, teacher fatigue, class sizes, and teaching load being only a few of them. But this fact certainly points to the arbitrary nature of feedback if teachers cannot maintain the same standard for all their students and yet subject all students to the same inflexible standards of the writing process.

Aside from confusing and erroneous content, most marginal and terminal comments also display varying tones of acceptance, appreciation, or rejection. Some negative reactions to student papers can be punitive or even hostile. In one paper, a student writes: "Innocence and being free best characterizes a child of content and happiness." In response, the teacher scribbles the words "oh please!" in the margins, expressing distaste for the student's cliché-ridden style without addressing the diction and agreement problems in the sentence.

Such heated response shows the teacher's active engagement with the student's text but it does not respond to the act of writing itself. Instead, such comments transform the text from a venue of exploratory writing to a kind of arena for one-sided rhetorical arguments from which students can put up little or no defense.

In some instances, it becomes apparent that although nothing pleases a teacher more than providing positive feedback on papers, he or she can also unwittingly reveal his or her own frustrations regarding the writing of other students. For instance, one teacher writes: ____—*your paper has much improved! Thank heaven for that! May the same happen to your classmates.* Other comments overflow with profuse emotions: "again—this is GREAT! A true masterpiece!" or "You did it! Yes! ☺!"

The preponderance of negative feedback also calls attention to the superiority of the teacher's position vis-à-vis the student. In some cases, the comments tend to polarize classroom relationships by calling specific attention to the teacher's dominant position as an authoritative and expert "I" entity versus the student's more passive and novice "you" status as seen in the following examples

> Rewrite this research paper and follow the format I gave; Your introd was good – you followed the format I gave; You didn't follow the format I gave. Better rewrite this research paper and stick to the prescribed format.

In general, the dominance of negative and neutrally-phrased comments displays the teachers unwillingness to engage in more personal relationships with their students. Although the presence of neutrally phrased comments indicates that teachers recognize the harmful repercussions of too many negative comments, it is also demonstrates that teachers prefer to err on the side of caution when responding to student writing. At the same time, they tend to curb overly positive responses to avoid making students feel too overconfident about their writing abilities and to force them to strive for greater excellence. Perhaps one other reason for the hesitation to bestow more positive responses is the perceived

need to preserve social distance in the classroom as a means of maintaining class control. Polino reported in her study of student-teacher relationships that teachers view an ideal relationship as one where the teacher avoids drawing too close to the student for fear of undermining her own sense of authority. It is possible that this same reasoning finds its way, however subconsciously, into the feedback style of teachers.

Interestingly enough, there is a marked difference in the feedback styles of junior and senior faculty. While the subjects' age groups indicate no real differences in terms of the feedback's communicability, there is a noticeable difference in the degree of emotional difference and teacher status exhibited by both groups.

The junior faculty, those thirty-five years and below with less than five years of teaching experience, tend to exhibit less emotional distance and their comments tend to foster a more peer-oriented relationship. In contrast, more senior teachers tend to be less personal and more distanced and objective in their relationships with students. This finding is consistent even when draft and final papers were compared. Junior teachers are more consistent in providing personalized and balanced comments on student papers; senior teachers seem more inclined to maintain a strictly professional relationship with their students.

IMPLICATIONS TO ELT

> In general, the overall findings of this study confirm Zamel's earlier conclusions that teachers tend to misread student texts, are inconsistent in their reactions, write contradictory statements, provide vague prescriptions, impose abstract rules and standards, respond to texts as fixed and final products and rarely make content-specific comments or offer specific strategies for revising the text. (86)

After close examinations, it becomes apparent that problems encountered in an L1 setting are almost the same as the ones found in an L2 context. Although there is a genuine attempt on the teachers' part to communicate with their students, such responses are usually negatively inclined, product-oriented, limited, non-specific, and authoritative. Teachers prefer to maintain an objective, distanced and semi-formal relationship with their students and few try to cultivate more personal classroom relationships.

These findings indicate that response styles have changed little in the last fifteen years. The same teacher habits have persisted to the present and seem difficult to unlearn. Perhaps this observation tells us that teachers are products of habit and experience more

than trends and theories and therefore, we find it so difficult, on some subconscious level, to let go of certain practices. The authoritative and teacher-centered responses recorded in this study suggest that certain teaching practices still echo the teacher-fronted pedagogy that dominated ELT for several decades. For the most part, we teach the way we were taught and for many of us, years of product-approach methodology are difficult to unlearn. As Kennedy has stated:

> The conventional images of teaching that derive from [teachers'] childhood experiences make it difficult to alter teaching practices and explain in part why teaching has remained so constant over many decades of reform movements. (qtd. in Bailey et al. 16)

Understanding what teachers are saying in their feedback imposes certain challenges to second language teaching.

The first challenge lies in recognizing that feedback, like any writing process, is a chaotic procedure hindered by faulty, ambiguous or mixed messages. Thus, as composition teachers we need to pay closer attention to the messages we pass on to our students and be more critical and accurate in our diagnosis of student writing. At the same time, we need to examine our personal histories and determine if and to what extent our present practices have been influenced by past experiences.

Such self-exploration might help us to come to terms with the roles that we assume in the writing classroom. Perhaps one way of making feedback more attuned to our students' needs is to diversify the roles we play in the classroom. Instead of always acting as a judge or evaluator, we can act as interested readers, designated audience, or even a writing coach to suit the particular needs of each writing stage. Nevertheless, we must remain careful that our roles do not overlap with one another. In other words, we cannot be both judge and coach at the same time. Internalizing our different roles may help to clarify the way we respond to student texts.

The second challenge is to recognize that feedback is more than just an intervention tool. It is first and foremost a point of interaction, of communication between student and teacher. It is a way to help students negotiate and evaluate meaning and is, therefore, both process- and product-oriented. This recognition does not overlook the unique cognitive and social forces surrounding each student-teacher relationship, which vary from class to class and student to student as Sperling and Freedman have claimed. On the contrary, it recognizes that such forces dictate the acceptable parameters and reasonableness

of feedback content and tone, whether positive or negative, general or specific. In other words, what might seem as negatively charged feedback in one student-teacher relationship might be perfectly acceptable in another. By taking into consideration the individual relationships we share with our students we can decide when and what kind of feedback is warranted without obscuring meaning or intent. For instance, it is possible to write critical statements to one student but not to another because we know that the former is not one to take things personally.

In the end, it is only the individual teacher who can identify what an ideal student-teacher feedback relationship entails. The patterns discussed here are by no means generalizations about the nature of all teacher responses. At best they provide a starting point with which to evaluate existing practices by acknowledging the fallibility and limitations posed by written feedback.

One practice that needs review is our habit of writing generic responses. These findings suggest that for teacher feedback to be more effective, responses need to cater to individual needs. But given that teachers seldom have time for detailed written feedback, we need to find ways to supplement written feedback with other forms of oral feedback to facilitate classroom dialogue, clarify statements and downplay the negative impact of some responses. We can also ask students if they share the same understanding of the feedback as we had intended and explore other strategies to see how students respond to the feedback we give and whether or not they understand what they are being told to do.

Accepting the limitations of written feedback implies that we are also more willing to make less assumptions about the text, differentiate between the feedback we give on drafts and final papers and adopt a more flexible means of responding to student writing, one that takes into consideration task constraints, task designs, individual and stylistic differences, writing contexts, among others. In other words, we should not limit the notion of feedback to its written form, which tends to be uni-directional, but explore all aspects of this dynamic exchange as a means of negotiating meaning.

These challenges all demand for greater reflective practice on our parts. They demand an introspective look at the values we hold when we respond to student texts and a willingness to break established practices and old habits. They dare us to research into our own classroom practices and analyze the data that confront us by asking what it reveals about our teaching styles and our selves. Perhaps we might discover that by changing our feedback behavior we can help students clarify and revise their writing. By re-examining what we say in our feedback we can refocus the learning from the student's perspective and learn alongside our students.

NOTES

1 In this case study, researchers studied the interaction between a student, Lisa, and her teacher, Mr. Peterson, as manifested in an exchange of drafts and written comments. The student was highly motivated with an equally high scholastic record but despite having above average critical thinking and writing skills, she still depended heavily on her teacher's comments because he was considered an authority and she aimed to please. As the study progressed it became increasingly clear that Lisa was using Mr. Peterson's comments to try and approximate what he had expected her to say and how to go about saying it.

WORKS CITED

Bailey, Kathleen. "The Language Teacher's Autobiography: Examining the Apprenticeship of Observation." *Teacher Learning in Language Teaching.* Eds. Donald Freeman and Jack C. Richards. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 11-29.

Connors, Robert, and Andrea Lunsford. "Teachers' Rhetorical Comments on Student Papers." *College Composition and Communication* 44 (1993): 200-23.

Ferris, Dana. "Student Reactions to Teacher Response in Multi-Draft Classrooms." *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (Spring 1995): 33-53.

Freedman, Sarah Warshauer. *Role of Response in the Acquisition of Written Language: Final report to the National Institute of Education*. CA: UC Berkeley Graduate School of Education, 1985.

Leki, Ilona. "Coaching from the Margins." *Second Language Writing*. Ed. Barbara Kroll. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 57-68.

Murray, Donald M. "Writing and Teaching for Surprise." *College English* 46.1 (1984): 1-7.

Polino, Feliciana. "The Concept of an Ideal Teacher-Student Relationship as Perceived by 4th Year Chinese Students and 10 Teachers and its Significance to a School Guidance Program." M.A. thesis. Philippines: Ateneo de Manila U, 1973.

Sommer, Nancy. "Responding to Student Writing." *College Composition and Communication* 33 (1982): 148-56.

Sperling, Melanie, and Sarah Warshauer Freedman. *A Good Girl Writes like a Good Girl: Written Responses and Clues to the Teaching/Learning Process*. University of California, Berkeley: National Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy, 1987.

Zamel, Vivian. "Responding to Student Writing." *TESOL Quarterly* 19 (1985): 79-101.

NARRATIVIZING INTRAMUROS: A COUNTERDISCOURSE TO NEOCOLONIALISM

Gary C. Devilles
Department of Filipino
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
gary.devilles@gmail.com

Abstract
This article is a textual analysis of two short stories of Pedro S. Dandan who has articulated for Filipinos their political unconscious against the onslaught of colonial domination. In his works we read how Filipinos confront socio-political problems of war, squatting, poverty in everyday lives. Since most of his stories depict Manila in its early phase of urbanization, it is interesting to note how such stories offer a crucial perspective to the real socio-political problems we are still experiencing today. Reading his works in light of our contemporary problems will reveal the various interplay of forces of control and resistance. Dandan's short stories narrativize these forces and allow us to see how problems are assessed and reassessed. Conveniently, Dandan's stories are narrativization of our roles as subjects in a continued effort for improvement and further emancipation. In the works of Dandan, we pose also the question of who we are in relation to this domination and how we can recognize ourselves as agents of transformation in our society. These articulations have generative resonances to our own real situation and condition. In this paper, Intramuros is not only a convenient setting in Dandan's stories, rather Intramuros becomes the narrative of Filipinos' colonial experience and counter-colonial sentiments.

Keywords
city, colonial discourse, Manila, Pedro S. Dandan

About the Author
Gary C. Devilles teaches Philippine Literature at the Ateneo de Manila University. His most recent study deals with Filipino reception of Mexican telenovelas. His paper "Globalizing Telenovela," co-authored with Dr. Lulu Torres-Reyes, was read in an international conference in Japan. He is currently pursuing a doctoral degree in Philippine Studies at the University of the Philippines.

The dual city is not simply the urban social structure resulting from the juxtaposition of the rich and the poor, the yuppies and the homeless, but the result of simultaneous and articulated processes of growth and decline.

—Manuel Castells

INTRAMUROS LOST, INTRAMUROS REGAINED

Recently, the September 11 incident has shown that architecture bears the brunt of terrorism. Both New York and Washington DC being sites of terrorist activities indicate that terrorism is more than just the destruction of lives and properties; it is also about undermining symbolic powers. The terrorists have made their point (and indeed at a very high price) by destroying the World Trade Center and attacking the Pentagon, symbols of US economic and military power. Cognizant of the fact that architecture played an important role in accentuating imperial power in the past, it is not surprising therefore, that architecture today is also subjected to various resistive forces, not excluding destructive ones. Buildings are destroyed, spaces are reclaimed, and places are cleared. As to what all these changes in space amount to is a paramount aspect of discourse analysis. One has to resort to a discourse analysis to understand the interplay of forces of control and resistance.

Michel Foucault defines discourse as "unnoticed" power-producing systems that legitimize and support each other for purposes of control of and resistance to domination. Discourse is unnoticed because it passes off as commonsensical and natural for someone subjected to it. Apparently, this naturalness is only an impression of power that simultaneously re/produces this effect on other agents within the systems.[1] Put simply, terrorists today are engaged in discourse analysis in as much as anyone else. But one need not be a terrorist to study the conflicting terrain of any discourse. If there's one thing we learned about terrorism on September 11, terrorism can be traced back to the most intimate roots of our speech and signification. Discourse analysis therefore is about power relations. Like ideology, discourse questions power. However, unlike ideology, discourse is not false consciousness in which agency or subjectivity is located outside its ambit. There is no way a subject or an agent can stand outside discourse. In discourse, the subject experiences both material subjection in relations of production and signification, consciously and unconsciously, in various institutional disciplines and practices.

Subjectivity is crucial in discourse analysis. A discursive reading eschews the reductive historicism on the one hand and the essentialist project of hermeneutical phenomenology on the other. Without considering the complexity of the subject's role, analysis tends to be romanticized and idealized. This is quite evident in phenomenology, where the individual's projection of meaning assumes an essential and universal character.[2] Thus, in phenomenology, historical and socio-economic forces are bracketed in an individual's attempt to understand a particular phenomenon. Consequently, such bracketing accentuates the role of individuals, a privileging of the subject that negates the social dimension of discourse. Fredric Jameson argues that apolitical texts are symptoms of

reification and privatization of contemporary life, and these texts reconfirm:

> that structural, experiential, and conceptual gap between the public and the private, between the social and psychological, or the political and the poetic, between history or society and the "individual", which–the tendential law of social life under capitalism–maims our existence as individual subjects and paralyzes our thinking about time and change just as surely as it alienates us from our speech itself. (20)

In a discursive reading, the subject may be seen as an agency and a victim at the same time. However, instead of overemphasizing subjectivity or completely annihilating it, a realistic approach to subjectivity necessitates a critical assessment of the subjects' relations to systems of ideas or *epistemes* and their concomitant practices and disciplines. Foucault cautions against projecting power as a monopoly and he believes that this is a facile tendency that one should combat. One must abandon the idea that there is always a principal form of oppression from which one has to liberate oneself. Such a simplistic approach to subjectivity and power results in an inclination to seek out some cheap form of archaism or some imaginary past forms of happiness that people did not, in fact, have (153-4). To be critical is to locate subjectivity in various relations of power.

Perhaps, we may not be able to relate totally to the events of September 11. We have enough problems of our own. But like the terrorists' attack against US, we, too, experience terrorism in various guises and forms. Sometimes we even act complicitly with these acts of terrorism without knowing how we are also subjected in the same logic of power. Terrorism or the acts of terrorists spin out from other aspects of our lives although there is no reason one power relation cannot be considered as fundamental. Power is both assumed to be something that is identical with the terror of colonialism and its more benign form of institutional practices. Using discourse analysis, one can see these power operations. In this paper, Intramuros[3] becomes an interesting point of departure for understanding the interplay of power because the place evokes a kind of sentimental feeling about the colonial past of the Philippines. At the same time, it provides a venue for critical reflection regarding how we relate to past and present problems. For example, Intramuros, as a testimony to the subjection of Filipinos as a people, allows us to see how the present problem of squatting becomes a symptom of problems of identity and nationhood. It is not surprising that a lot of Filipino writers use Manila, if not Intramuros, as their setting to bring these problems to our attention.

Discourse analysis is needed not only to situate our subjectivity but also to provide

a more transparent view of our condition. Oftentimes, Filipino writers bemoan the loss of Intramuros by romanticizing the place inordinately in their works and hence they succeed only in obscuring the real conditions of oppressions. However there are writers today in Philippine literature who take seriously the problems of colonialism in their work. Pedro S. Dandan[4] is one of those who, I believe, has articulated for us our political unconscious against the onslaught of colonial domination. Dandan wrote short stories and it is quite evident in his works how Filipinos confront socio-political problems of war, squatting, and poverty in everyday lives. Most of his stories depict Manila in its early phase of urbanization and thus it is interesting to note how such stories offer a crucial perspective to the real socio-political problems we are still experiencing today. Reading his works in light of our contemporary problems will reveal the various interplay of forces of control and resistance. Dandan's short stories narrativize these forces and allow us to see how problems are assessed and reassessed. Conveniently, Dandan's stories are narrativizations of Intramuros, where we reassess also our roles as subjects in a continued effort for improvement and further emancipation. In the works of Dandan, we pose also the question of who we are in relation to this domination and how we can recognize ourselves as agents of transformation in our society. These articulations have generative resonances in our own real situation and condition. In this paper, Intramuros is both narrativized as colonial and counter-colonial.

This paper aims to discuss two things: first, to describe Intramuros not as a phenomenology of a place but as surface relations of power and subjects, and second, to offer a counterdiscourse to colonial power. As surface relations, borders and lines are re/drawn and territories remapped. Intramuros read as surface relations then becomes a discursive site of contestation. Accordingly, the subjects too reassess their linkages and alignments and in their bid to power they naturally question and reclaim spaces. Thus, in Intramuros we see a formation of colonial discourse, but Dandan's stories contradict this formation of colonial power. Although we mourn the loss of a heritage, perhaps something is regained in terms of our experience of colonial space. Sometimes, our loss is an occasion for celebration.

INTRAMUROS AS A COLONIAL DISCOURSE

The historic Intramuros dubbed as the *noble and ever loyal city* of Spain typifies a spatial discourse that links practices to forms of knowledge. Intramuros is important to us not because of its residual significance as an artifact or relic but as an institution and a

system of practices that continue to inform and affect our everyday living. Intramuros is very much within us in terms of how we conduct our everyday political, socio-economic lives both on the micro and macro level. We still see some vestiges of Intramuros practices in the way we exclude people and how we constitute our political agenda. Hence, Intramuros is a continuing positive present, more of a strategic manipulation than a deviation and less of a symptom than a singular politico-juridical operator.

Intramuros was the seat of the Spanish colonial government in the 16th and 19th centuries. Naturally, it was imbued with the aura of a romantic and monumental past, as memorialized by Nick Joaquin in his play, *Portrait of the Artist as Filipino*. As a colonial discourse, Intramuros was the very apparatus for deploying colonial relations that were hierarchical and phallocentric. It was hierarchical because of the division between the residents and the outsiders. The walls divided the colonizers from the subjects. Intramuros which literally means "within the walls," conveyed this dichotomy by privileging the people inside against the people/s outside. The ambit of power is well defined by the concentric relations of subject within these walls and distance to the church bells, known as *bajo las campanas*. The farther away from the church vicinity, the least accessible one is to power. In fact, the remote outsiders were known as *brutus salvajes* or brute savages, people without culture and bereft of any dignity. Intramuros clearly demarcated this line of accessibility and provided, architectonically a lifestyle both for the colonizers and the colonized.

The walls of Intramuros did not just divide or exclude. As a concomitant of difference and a continual reminder of separation, the walls became permeable for the interpenetration between the colonizers and the colonized. The walls virtually vaporized for the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services of the outsiders. The early visitors of Intramuros noted that there was no market inside Intramuros. The *Parian*, which was located outside Intramuros, served as the market and its residents, known to Spaniards as *Sangleys*, as the source of skilled manpower.

The relationship of the insiders to the outsiders is parasitic in so far as only the insiders benefited from the transactions while the outsiders remained subservient to satisfying their masters' greed and appetite for power. It is interesting to note that the dynamics of this relationship reached the level of connivance with the outsiders. Some outsiders, if not all of them, acted complicitously to preserve the status quo. For Gramsci, an Italian Marxist critic, the outsiders exercise subaltern functions of social hegemony in which "spontaneous" consent is given by outsiders to the general direction imposed on social life by the status quo. Such consent is historically caused by the prestige which the

status quo enjoys due to their privileged position and function in world production (12). Thus, even if the walls are just demarcations, the walls protected the powerful by way of quarantine or decontaminating them from the outsiders. Both the insiders and outsiders set up the wall and reinforced this division in their day to day living. In addition, the walls prevented contamination also by regulating the drawbridges and manning the traffic flow.

The transaction between insiders and outsiders is just one facet of this colonial discourse. The colonial domination of our people cannot be transacted without the master narratives and tropes that shape our way of thinking about the colonials. Thus, Intramuros is part of the historical movement that employs engendered tropes to justify the colonialists' expansion program. Joaquin's veneration of Spain in all his works is an example of such engendering. For Joaquin, the Philippines is the virgin who lost her innocence and splendor with the coming of Americans. Virginity as a trope for colonized lands enhances the logic of domination by characterizing land as uncultivated, undomesticated and thereby demanding foreign intervention in conquering the desolation and penetration by way of fecundating the wilderness. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam believed that the revivification of a wasted soil evokes a quasi-divine process of endowing life and meaning ex nihilo, a Promethean production of order premised from chaos, plenitude from lack (141). The foreigners are justified in conquering any lands. They can now disseminate their seeds; they have divine rights to rape these "virgin" lands.

The insignia of the "noble and ever loyal city" is an apt metonymy of the nation's servitude. The imaginary empire allows us to see ourselves as the loyal subjects of Spain. We are hailed, using an Althusserian term, in this drama and we try to live this out by simply acting as state apparatuses. Our subjection to colonial rule manifests in our regionalism and elitism and the violence inflicted on each other is a symptom of malaise that we experience collectively against our oppressors. Since we cannot attack the colonizers, we then replicate their violence against our own people especially those marginalized by gender, belief and ethnicity. It is stereotypical of our culture to promote elitism at the risk of marginalizing others and no wonder the very few who act as mediums of colonization, tend to overact and bemoan the loss of such colonial heritage. It is an understatement to say that until now we still experience subjugation in various forms. Our experience of colonization today is complicated by the capitalists who have replaced our oppressors. Competition brought about by capitalism has resulted in our further subjugation not only to neocolonial rule but also to extreme poverty. Thus, lines and demarcations are not only drawn between cities and provinces but also between states and among nations. In effect, the walls of Intramuros were extended and we continue to

discriminate or are continually being discriminated against people of another belief, sexual preference, and ethnic affiliation. Intramuros as the "walling in" of colonial discourse is very much operative today and we see only of ourselves as interpellated or literally "walled in", in other words, victims. However, we also see ourselves in the short stories written by Pedro S. Dandan. Reading Dandan's stories, we see ourselves as resisting the systemic oppression of the powerful. Hence, Intramuros as a lived space becomes a continual process of reclamation. Its cultural reality is both posited and reclaimed.

INTRAMUROS AS A COUNTERDISCOURSE TO NEOCOLONIALISM

Language always negotiates a kind of gap between the word and its signification. Our words elude us no matter how we pin down their meanings. Place, like language, is also elusive, such that if Intramuros can be lost, it can also be reclaimed. Little narratives, like short stories, that deal with the plight of the people living in Intramuros articulate this political unconscious of reclaiming the space denied them. Two stories are instructive for this purpose, *May Buhay sa Looban* and *May Kalmen at Batumbuhay*. Both stories written by Pedro S. Dandan use Intramuros as the setting.

May Buhay sa Looban is the story of a young boy, Popoy, who does not want to leave Looban,[5] the place of his birth and where his family lives. His father wants to compete in the annual Commonwealth Literary Contest and move to Dampalit. Popoy spurns the idea of moving out because he loves Looban. But for the father, Looban is unsuited for his work as a writer, and the place threatens their security. Popoy remains adamant.

Popoy tries to understand his father and his father's work. He first blames his father's literature and thinks of concealing his pen so that he will never be able to write. He knows that deep inside he cannot do anything. While waiting for the truck that would carry their loads, Popoy tells his friends and playmates what it means to live in Looban. His friends understand him but Popoy is disappointed that his father, of all people, can never understand his loneliness. Popoy leaves and joins his family in Dampalit.

The story, like any initiation story, is about a boy who will confront manhood. But unlike any other story, this is more than just the conflict of the boy against his father because the conflict alludes and becomes homologous to the complex struggle in the Filipino psyche. We see the story as part of the grand narrative of the oppressed versus the oppressors. It is only in subjecting this story in such a grand narrative that our understanding of the present condition of Filipinos makes sense and becomes intelligible. The fictionalization, or more appropriately, the narrativization of our psyche becomes

the symbolic intervention of a true society. The experience of dislocation as hinted and dramatized in the story becomes the perennial condition of Filipinos within the context of development of technology and the expansion of the market. In such cases, Filipinos respond by migrating to other places. Filipinos everywhere look for home and this story of Popoy, his story of coming to terms with one's space, is the dilemma of every Filipino today.

The Filipinos' sense of space is fraught with conflicting values and paradigms. He is torn between staying and moving. He postpones decisions of moving on. Everything for him is transient. His ambiguous relation with his own space indicates a psychic split just like the irreconcilable differences of Popoy and his father in this story. A Filipino is like Popoy, the free-spirited, primeval consciousness, or the Archaic Man. On the other hand also, he is the father, the logical, rational consciousness, the Civilized Man (Jung 130). Since Philippine history is a history of repression, the Civilized Man subdues the Archaic Man. What we see when the father berates Popoy for his ignorance of literature and the arts, or when Popoy suffers quietly is a symptom of this repression. Popoy has to be silenced and his way of looking at things must be changed and oriented towards the father's more pragmatic view of life. The violence committed against Popoy is another aspect of this suppression. The father cannot see and feel Looban just as so many Filipinos today who have migrated elsewhere in the US see the Philippines or Manila as a despicable place. The father, in fact, condemns the place,

> Ano ang masusulat mo rito … ano! Wala! Maliban sa mga kalapating mababa ang lipad na ari ni Mang Lino, maliban sa dagundong ng mga bola ng boling at bilyar hanggang sa madaling-araw sa palaruan ni Mang Tino, maliban sa mga sabungerong nagkakahig ng kanilang mga tinali sa harapan ng pagupitan ni Mang Tote, maliban sa mga kasibulang maghapunang nakatayo sa panulukan sa may tindahan ni Beho … Ano nga ang makukuha mong paksa sa mga kapangitang iyan, anong pag-ibig, anong kagandahan … anong buhay? (Dandan 7)
>
> [What can you write about this place? Nothing! Except those prostitutes in Lino's whorehouse, or those who play billiards and bowling till dawn in Tino's place, or those cockfighting addicts near Tote's barbershop, or those bystanders at Beho's store … How can you even write in this despicable place, what kind of love, what form of beauty...what kind of life is this?]

This condemnation of Looban resonates in Ernard Berner's description of Looban; although residents, according to him, had already adjusted to the place and reclaimed it as their own. In one interview, a resident says

> Looban may be dirty but it is far from unfit to live in. It is noisy but which neighborhood in the city is not? … Looban is a peaceful and pleasant place to live in. No one in his right mind will ever exchange this place for, say, Tondo—what a place to live in! (125)

Interestingly, the family moves to Dampalit, a flower's name. Dampalit is different from Looban in the way that it signifies the conflict between two societies. The gap between Dampalit and Looban is the gap between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the oppressed. The father thinks only of his profits and winning is his only goal. The father indeed belongs to Dampalit and is completely estranged from Looban. It is not surprising therefore that the father acts as an agent of this oppressive system. He is, like most of the Filipinos today, interpellated and coopted by the oppressive regime to work for a system that feeds on unfair practice of competition. *May Buhay sa Looban* therefore, dramatizes the Filipinos' conflict against a neocolonialist/imperialist order in which capitalism is the main driving force. The Commonwealth Literary Competition that the father will join alludes to the Commonwealth, the interim government of the Filipinos during the US military occupation. It is not unexpected to read the story therefore as an allegory of the oppressors versus the oppressed. The story shows how this intrusion is destructive for us. It unmasks this unjust encroachment of our space. The benevolent mission of civilizing becomes a pretext for US colonialism.

Since the family must relocate, the Archaic Man has indeed been displaced. The Archaic man in Popoy knows the painful process of dislocation. As he grows he learns to forget his childhood. Dislocation happens not only in real space but also in time. Alienation is not only a personal experience of relocation but a transit happening in the collective consciousness. The Archaic gives way to the Civilized Man. This psychoanalytic reading of the story reveals the inner/outer, inside/outside, center/periphery, powerful/oppressed conflict. The father as a writer is an apparatus of the status quo to disseminate the ruling class ideology. He affirms life only in the ruling class. Looban as the binary opposite threatening the hegemonic ideology brings out the same inner/outer conflict. Unfortunately for the father, he believes that Looban is deprived of any decent life form.

Taking into account the history of city-building in Manila, interestingly, this Looban took actually an inversion of meaning after Manila was devastated by war. Prior to war, Intramuros which was the Looban then was power. Colonials lived in Intramuros, and the natives who worked as their maids and servants lived outside (labas) or in the surrounding area. After the war, instead of restoring Intramuros, officials looked for other places. Erhard Berner accounts for this competition between the cities and municipalities:

> [I]ts objective being nothing less than centrality itself. The center of city and country under colonial rule, the walled city of Intramuros, was destroyed in World War II, and subsequently occupied by squatters for decades: "The city's oldest material testimonies, the sensually perceptible continuity of four centuries of life in this place, were literally thrown onto the garbage heap of history." Instead of clearing the rubble, the new masters made the first in what became the series of attempts to leave the problems of one place behind and make a fresh start in another. (12)

Quezon City, Makati, San Juan were some of the cities competing for the power center and this resulted in an influx of migration of people in the surrounding area. In turn, the peripheries of these centers became the Looban. The dramatic shift of *labas* (the outside) to *loob* is a shift in powerplay. The people who are now in Looban become the potent source of manpower needed by the community living in the centers. As part of the machinery in labor production, these people form the excess who degenerated into squatter dwellers and urban poor residents. In an article by Neferti Xina M Tadiar, the city seems to suffer from "bulimia," absorbing a surplus of workers to maintain cheap labor, and disgorging them in squatter areas when there is no need for them (299). This excess provides the manpower needed to maintain the fluid transaction of business in the center. They must also be shunned from sight because they are also eyesores, a defect that cannot be reconciled with the "beauty" of the center. This defect in city planning and management was also discussed by Glenda M. Gloria. She describes Makati as two worlds torn apart by the yawning gap between its posh villages and its squalid *barangays*:

> Driving around this commercial and financial center, one negotiates different life zones, as exclusive subdivisions give way to a sudden maze of narrow dirt roads, makeshift houses, and sidewalks full of jobless men, gambling and drinking their worries away. (qtd. in Lacaba 68)

Looban is the space in which Popoy, and many like him, identifies in this vie for power. Popoy is a metonym for the million Filipinos who are dis/relocated, constantly looking for greener pastures, leaving the land of their birth, forever searching for the life "out there." In this parting scene, where Popoy tries to understand the meaning of his life, he suddenly reveals his innermost conflict:

> Diyan na kayo … Minsan pang inilibot niya ang kanyang paningin sa kanyang mga kalaro at sa buong paligid ng Looban, saka inihimpil nang matagal kay Lina. Lumakad na ang trak at unti-unting nawala sa likuran ang kanyang mga kapwa bata. Ngunit nahabilin sa kanyang balintataw ang malulungkot na anyo ng mga mukha at ang mga kamay na ikinakawal. Naramdaman ni Popoy sa kanyang pisngi ang pag-agos ng maiinit na butil ng luha, at nalasap ng kanyang bibig. Sa kauna-unahang pagkakataon, sapul nang mamulat siya sa kahalagahan ng kanyang sarili, ay noon lamang siya napaiyak. Hindi niya madalumat kung paano nakakakilala ng luha ang walang gulat na "hari" ng Looban. (Dandan 13-4)
>
> [Bye … He tried to look around once again and bid Lina goodbye. As they leave, the scene of his friends bidding him goodbye slowly disappeared. Yet in his innermost sense, he could still see the lonely faces and hand waves. For the first time, Popoy was not sure of his feelings, until he cried. He could not understand how a "king" like him suddenly felt the loneliness within.]

Ironically, Looban is also a constant reminder of their "otherness" or estrangement from their own country. It reminds them of the home they can never have. Thus, our subjectivity as represented by Popoy in this story may be construed as a form of alienation. We may be helpless and yet we see ourselves capable of articulating the problem. Our obedience and subservience may not be interpreted only as absolute subjection but rather, as an act of silent defiance. Popoy cries in the end of the story and this moment becomes the symbolic first step towards rectifying visions. Looban, which is now Intramuros, is the alienated space, the dreamscape and the mythical place, as Popoy, the alienated self, identifies with it:

> Si Popoy ang kanilang matapang na prinsipeng lumaban sa dragong pito ang ulo; siya ang pumatay sa malaking higante; siya ang nakahuli sa ibong Adarna; at siya ang nakaisang palad ng magandang prinsesa … Ang Looban ay kinilala ng mga

> taga-Tambakan at Tabing-Ilog dahil sa kanya. Siya ay sa Looban at ang Looban ay sa kanya. (4)
>
> [Popoy is the brave prince who slew the dragon with seven heads, killed the ogre, had the mythical bird called Adarna, and married a beautiful princess...Looban was famous because of him. He belongs to Looban and Looban belongs to him.]

Here, we see Looban as invested with mythical themes that only unfurl its generative relation to the collective unconscious towards an articulation of the genuine subjectivity. Popoy recognizes the Looban just as one should see oneself in relation to the whole. Looban becomes the very site of this articulation towards a counter-consciousness—something imminent and waiting to be fulfilled. One day, Popoy will wake up just as all the dreams invested in Looban will come true. Looban offers Popoy and us a counterdiscourse to neocolonialism.

Another story that resonates with the same theme of oppression is the story of Mang Simo in *May Kalmen at Batumbuhay … sa Isang Estero*. Mang Simo is a squatter in Intramuros. He is evicted and becomes a vagrant in Divisoria until he settles down in Daambakal (railway) and Pepot, an orphan and a vagrant also, accompanies him. He sits near the railway and contemplates the past 80 years. Unfortunately, a passing train runs him over. No one helps him and the people cannot identify him. Instead of helping, they rob him of belongings while others take advantage of the situation by blackmailing the railway company. Pepot is disappointed to see how cruel others are to Mang Simo. Pepot eventually learns from the amulet given to him by Mang Simo that Mang Simo himself is a veteran of the revolution.

May Kalmen like *May Buhay sa Looban*, situates the binary conflict of loob and labas in the personal narrative of Mang Simo. As a war veteran, he definitely represents resistance against colonizers but as a squatter in Intramuros he is an outsider (taga-labas) trying to reclaim Looban, the space unjustly occupied by the colonials. People like Mang Simo were told that power will be brought back to them. Our history says otherwise. These people continue to suffer in the hands of another colonial power, the United States. The wandering of Mang Simo seems to be the endless wandering also of the Filipinos in their colonial history:

> Walumpu't siyam na siya. Buhat sa Intramuros … hanggang sa Tundo. Napilit siyang umasa sa mga kapalagayang iskuwater sa Intramuros. Hanggang sa ligaligin

> sila ng mga makinang panggiba at saklawin ng mga proyekto ng siyudad ang kanilang mga tirahan at itaboy sila nang walang pakundangan. Pinapangit daw nila ang Makiring Menila at kahiya-hiya sila sa mga dayuhang puti. (36)
>
> [He's {Mang Simo} eighty-nine years old. He came from Intramuros and then he settled in Tondo. His fellow squatters in Intramuros used to support him until they were all evicted from their settlements because of city planning and government projects. They were accused of turning the place into a "harlot" Manila. They are the eyesores for foreigners.]

His exploitation is the same dehumanization that a captive people endures and suffers. It is not surprising that Looban here functions as a counterdiscourse by which they, the likes of Popoy and Mang Simo, can reclaim the space denied to them. Looban is our response to this systemic oppression.

It is interesting to note that Looban offers an interim bliss for Mang Simo and Popoy. Looban reterritorializes subjects like Mang Simo and Popoy. Looban challenges the legitimacy of power structures and oppressive institutions. Looban reconfigures a trope by which these people can identify with. Thus, Looban as a space promises to give them back whatever has been forcibly taken from them. They regain in Looban what was denied from them by unfair practices of capitalism. In Looban, they can become kings again, they can regain their memories, they can speak with their own voices. Looban as a space gives Mang Simo and Popoy their identity: Popoy through his playmates and Mang Simo through Pepot discovers who he really is. In as much as Looban may appear as an abnormality, it continues to be the site of struggle for the marginalized.

May Kalmen ends in the tragic death of Mang Simo. Death and total destruction are the ultimate ends of this obtrusion. Unlike *May Buhay sa Looban*, *May Kalmen* articulates an ambiguous possibility for liberation within the context of the development of technology, the equivocal relationship between ritual and politics, the expansion of market to all areas of modern urban life, and the fate of the art under conditions of commodifications. The experience of Looban in the stories is ambiguous, porous, with joy succeeded by sudden misery. These stories are not romantic celebrations of poverty; they only show that poverty does not only deprive its victims of initiative, but can also provide a spur for innovation (Caygill 122) and thus, articulating a valid sense of self that has been eroded by dislocation.

Narrativizing Intramuros by way of Dandan's stories enunciates the problematics of space in the context of burgeoning urbanism and discriminatory modes of transnational

corporations which subject individuals and society into different forms and levels of oppression. We narrativize Intramuros as a subversive space that should be naturally defended and controlled especially at times when the homogenizing tendency of US cultural imperialism is in full force and threatens our existence. Finally, we should address space as it was narrativized, localized, and collectivized in the past as it is being narrativized also now. Indeed, one cannot deny the imperial concerns as constitutively significant of our colonial culture.

Dandan's works as cultural artifacts definitely expounded on these themes of colonialism. It is quite difficult not to see the themes of uneven development and often disadvantaged histories of the captive people that give rise to issues of social and political discrimination in our literature. Dandan's works give us not only an account of these issues but a panoramic view of oppression in Intramuros, the Looban, the squatters area, mental hospital, drenched streets of Tundo, and railway communities of Divisoria. Through his works, he gives us a picture of life as lived in the marginal sector of our society. Edward Said believes that we cannot escape the question posed by our colonial experience because all allusions point to the facts of the empire (*Culture* 66). It is paramount that any discourse analysis takes an oppositional stance against the powerful and other forms of affiliations. Dandan's works are not just narratives of social ills at that time but also an articulation of political consciousness and emancipatory insight against neocolonialism.

NOTES

1 Discourse in the Foucauldian sense is the transindividual and multi-institutional archive of images and statements providing a common language for representing knowledge about a given theme. This archive of images and statements becomes regimes of truth which are encased in institutional practices. An example of this discourse formation is Orientalism, or the phenomenon of producing knowledge about the "East" and "its peoples" as discussed by Edward Said in his outstanding book, *Orientalism* (1978). For further discussion on the subject matter, see also Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977*, translated by Colin Gordon, (1980).

2 Christian Norberg-Schulz, Norwegian architect drawing from the theories of Gestalt and Heidegger, advocates for a phenomenology of place. What is missing in his advocacy is an immanent criticism that uncovers the operative ideology in his work. In the case of a phenomenology of place, place is, first and foremost, an ideological construct, and the experience of place of Third World people differs with that of their oppressors in the First World. Schulz's inability to tackle this problem is a symptom of privatization and reification of contemporary life. Thus, Terry Eagleton, in his book, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1996) discusses the disputable project of phenomenology. He says that oftentimes such projection of meanings is typically bourgeois in orientation.

3 Intramuros is the name of the walled city built by the early Spanish colonials in Manila, Philippines in 1571. It is a city within a city, separated from the rest of Manila by its crumbling walls. This ancient capital had well-planned streets, plazas, the Governor's Palace and churches. However, many buildings were reduced to shambles in World War II. To date, despite government projects of Intramuros renovation, people continue to squat within its periphery.

4 Pedro S. Dandan is one of the obscure short story writers writing in Filipino. Although he won various literary awards and most of his stories have been anthologized in various textbooks for high school and college, his collection of short stories was published only after his death, an indication that he was barely acknowledged during his time.

5 *Looban* is a piece of fenced land or yard around the house planted with a variety of trees and plants; an orchard. However, with the growth of population and rapid changes brought by industrialization, Manila was urbanized and Looban gradually disappeared. Looban became the squatter areas and urban poor housing. Looban has rich semantic connotations in the Tagalog idiom because Looban comes from the word *Loob* which means the interior, the internal part or the inside. Albert Alejo, S.J., discusses the various historical, and philosophical codes of this word, Loob, in his book, *Tao po! Tuloy!: Isang Landas ng Pag-Unawa sa Loob ng Tao*, 1990.

WORKS CITED

Alejo, Albert. *Tao po Tuloy! Isang Landas ng Pag-Unawa sa Loob ng Tao*. Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila U, 1990.

Berner, Erhard. *Defending a Place in the City: Localities and the Struggle for Urban Land in Metro Manila*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila UP, 1997.

Caygill, Howard. *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience*. NY: Routledge, 1998.

Dandan, Pedro S. *May Buhay sa Looban at 20 Kuwento*. Ed. Virgilio Almario. Quezon City: U of the Philippines P, 1996.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minnesota: U of Minnesota P, 1996.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977.* Trans. Colin Gordon. NY: Pantheon, 1980.

---. *Power.* Vol. 3. Trans. Robert Hurley. Ed. James D. Faubion. NY: New Press, 2001. 3 vols.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Eds. and Trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. NY: International Publications, 1971.

Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. NY: Cornell UP, 1981.

Jung, C. G. *Modern Man in Search of a Soul.* Trans. W. S. Dell and Cary F. Baynes. NY: Harvest Book, Harcourt Brace, 1993.

Lacaba, Jose F. ed. *Boss: 5 Case Studies of Local Politics in the Philippines*. Pasig City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 1995.

Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Architecture: Presence, Language, Place*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2000.

Said, Edward, *Orientalism.* NY: Pantheon, 1978.

---. *Culture and Imperialism*. NY: Vintage, 1994.

Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Tadiar, Neferti Xina M. "Manila's New Metropolitan Form." *Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures*. Ed. Vicente L. Rafael. Manila: Anvil, 1995. 285-313.

CONFLICTS OVER HERITAGE: THE CASE OF QUIAPO

Victor S. Venida
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
vvenida@ateneo.edu

Abstact
Quiapo is one district marked out as a heritage district under the proposed Comprehensive Land-use Plan for the City of Manila. The plan aims at rationalizing land-use of the city, redesigning the property tax system and creating livelihood activities to promote economic development and create a livable, attractive city. As a heritage district Quiapo can realize substantial economic activity as this generates tourist interest, retail activities and outlets for local crafts and small-scale manufacturing. But the question looms as to whose heritage will be preserved, as Quiapo was once known as an upper class residential area, home to many famous personalities in politics, business and the arts and their old mansions are witness to this. Since 1940s, their families have largely moved out and Quiapo become a multi-use district with working class residents, educational establishments, small-scale businesses, and the original Islamic community of Manila. The paper thus identifies the competing interests in heritage preservation that need to be considered for any plan of urban renewal to be effective as a community development activity.

Keywords
city, cultural heritage, Manila, tourism

About the Author
Victor S. Venida is Associate Professor of Economics at the Ateneo de Manila University. His research interests include urban development, economics of cultural heritage and the arts, international trade and tourism, policy analysis. He finished his MS at the London School of Economics and his PhD at New York University.

Quiapo is geographically at the center of the city of Manila. Indeed for the many new provincial arrivals in the capital city of the Philippines, Quiapo has often been regarded as the center. A substantial number of public transport routes converge in this district. The most attractive bargain shopping, both retail and wholesale, is available throughout the area until Divisoria. Many of the most traditional crafts, eating places, and published materials thrive in its streets. And the most popular center of devotion is that of the *Nazareno*, the Lord of Manila.

But Quiapo also has a substantial collection of old houses, one of the greatest collections in the whole city. They are in various states of repair and disrepair, of use and abuse, of beauty and pity. However one sees them, they are key elements of the city and the country's artistic and cultural heritage. A familiarity with the personal and social history of these houses further enriches the flavor of life, art, style, history and tradition in this city. Thus the preservation of these structures is a necessity that is already widely shared,

however controversial it may be. Nonetheless, one of the major issues is how preservation can be a cost-effective activity. In an era of scarce resources and increasing social demands and expectations, any issue no matter how critical and crucially desirable needs to show a measure of cost-effectiveness to emerge and endure. But also crucial is the question of whose heritage is being preserved. After all, in a district as old and as populated as Quiapo, its history is definitely multifaceted and cuts across class, gender, religious and ethnic lines, all united by the one district in which these personal and collective histories occurred.

This paper will identify competing interests in a number of proposed long-term directions in the preservation of Quiapo's heritage. At the start, it will need to first identify and analyze three major economic forces that can have a heavy bearing on the effective revitalization of historic districts in general: the shift of investment activity, the growth of tourism, and the increase in land speculation. It will then analyze the various aspects of the state of obsolescence of these buildings. Then the possible general directions of revitalization, more specifically the creation of economic value in these buildings, shall be discussed. But alongside the discussion is the identification of the competing interests of various groups that may want to have a say in these directions. Finally, specific recommendations on revitalization, on broader fiscal issues shall then be presented and discussed again in terms of these competing interests and agenda.

THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE

In the global environment, a number of factors specifically related to globalization will have direct impact on the future of historic districts. First, in developed countries, major cities have shifted from being centers of production to centers of consumption. While production activities – factories, plants and other processing centers and corporate headquarters – had relocated to the outer suburbs, many have begun to locate in the developing countries,

in specially developed export processing zones, industrial estates, or even the established cities. Many less developed countries have competed with each other to attract these forms of foreign direct investment, including the Philippines. Fortunately for historic districts, these industrial sites tend to be located outside the city centers where the real estate prices are lower and the land can still be developed to realize the latest infrastructure.

Second, tourism has become one of the fastest growing industries in the world. Traditionally, investments in the revitalization of old buildings or in entire historic districts are justified by the expected income stream from tourism and tourism-related revenues that would be generated in the district and its vicinity. Such districts attract art galleries, curio and souvenir shops, restaurants, and other retail establishments. Above ground, they then provide valuable rental properties for commercial, business, and residential purposes. Many substantial buildings can also be reused as hotels. Moreover they eventually translate to substantial tax revenue, from sales taxes, income taxes, and property taxes. In addition, they furnish the city with a signature district or landmark that can prove useful in marketing the city to tourists and investors.

Examples that come to mind are the Covent Garden district and Paternoster Square in London; SoHo and the East Village in Manhattan; Georgetown in Washington, DC; and the central district of Antwerp, Belgium. These districts have largely retrofitted old buildings for modern use. Modernist buildings can be found but the design and size harmonize with the rest of the district. These have proven to be successful public and private investment ventures. More importantly, they have kept these districts alive and dynamic, and a place of pleasant human habitation and not a mere museum district—lovely, sadly, and even deathly-still, like the ruins of Pompeii. Thus to some extent, heritage can be made to pay for itself especially since tourism is one of the fastest growing global industries.

Throughout North America, Western Europe, Japan, and even among the expatriate Filipino communities, long-term trends indicate a pattern of growing incomes and higher levels of education. These comprise the major market for tourism in the future. These are the types of tourists who purchase informative, illustrated and detailed guidebooks of places, complete with their political, cultural and social histories. They look for museums and art galleries, well-preserved old buildings and historic districts, characteristic landmarks and distinctive structures, souvenirs and items that bring out the flavor and character of a particular city or even a mere district.

Tourism is also multi-functional in nature. Leisure and amenities also are part of the tourist package. But those places that provide a wide range of attractions from leisure

facilities, shopping opportunities, adventure opportunities, ecological sites and heritage and cultural attractions will have a greater advantage in attracting tourists for a longer stay and a larger per capita expenditure. This would especially be the case for the East Asian countries because of the wide geographic distances. Unlike in Europe, East Asian countries are so far apart with only air travel being the feasible option to move about for a traveler. The decision to stay longer in a particular locality is more cost-effective. In Europe, the compact geography allows for easy cross-country travel over land and the ability to see several countries in a short period of time is actually rather inexpensive by comparison, especially now that a common currency will be in use among many of them.

Indeed research has shown that new travel patterns are emerging (see Payumo and Aliño). Traditional tourist directions tended to be short holidays with single-activity focus, such as packaged tours to tropical islands or noted beach resorts, and separate packaged tours to cities and their noted cultural and artistic landmarks. But the new travel patterns now show tourists staying longer and looking for multi-activity focus: the leisure of enjoying a tropical beach resort, exploring natural landmarks such as forests and coral reefs, but also learning about a locality's history and culture. The tourist markets that are growing are those that cater to adventure tourism, ecological tourism, and cultural and heritage tourism. The more of all three that a country provides, the more it can attract tourists in the future.

Thus, for the Philippines to attract more tourists into the country, it has to diversify the range of offerings and indeed would need to develop its own unique sense of place and culture. The Philippines already has its sites for leisure tourism, adventure tourism and ecological tourism. The facilities for cultural and heritage tourism, such as museums, galleries, and historic districts, need to be developed as well. There is now the opportunity of developing them in an integrated and systematically planned manner. Alongside coral reefs, marine reservations, forest and mountain treks, old buildings and historic districts are essential elements in a locality's sense of place and unique identity.

Quiapo is an excellent model for heritage revitalization as it is in the center of Manila, the main gateway to the Philippines. Many who plan on an adventure and leisure tourism holiday can thus obtain a measure of heritage tourism before departure or upon arrival at the airport. Thus, a well-developed plan of conservation and reuse of these old structures and an ingenious program to develop viable business activities in Quiapo will eventually generate the necessary revenues that will justify expenditures on renewing old structures. This could generate multiplier benefits for other sectors and spill over to neighboring districts. Industries that cater to the establishments in the historic district

would have a new and expanding market to cater to, such as the food and beverage requirements of the restaurants and eating places, the suppliers of souvenir items and curios which are usually traditional handicrafts of the area and the like. Moreover, the restoration project itself would create a market for those skilled in the traditional crafts associated with the construction and renovation of these old structures, such as carpenters, masons, sculptors, metalcraft, furniture-makers, upholsterers, and the like. The skills of these craftspeople can then be harnessed in developing new products to cater to both tourists and the local market. They could also pass on the knowledge of these crafts to future generations that might need this to recreate the lifestyle that a future middle class might wish to adopt.

But the recent history of apparent squalor and dereliction has also become part of the heritage of Quiapo. Many of the grand residences have become low-rent multiple dwelling units for the working classes. The streets are full of small shops and establishments that belong to the so-called informal sector. And although Quiapo has been the center of one of the most famous and popular devotions in the city, namely the Señor Nazareno, it is also now the site of Manila's first mosque and has created a vibrant Islamic neighborhood in the Globo de Oro area. The area is alive with the small retail establishments. Indeed, the working class can also tell of a story of struggle and survival in the city, a part of the fabric and color of the area. For these individuals, Quiapo is not necessarily a museum for others to delight in but a place of residence and work. And they may not necessarily share any possible commercialization (or commodification) of their lifestyle that a tourism plan may suggest.

But an important issue also looms as a major threat to Quiapo as a heritage site, and this is land speculation. Like many East Asian cities, cities in the Philippines are expected to

grow rapidly in population. The National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) expects the population of the entire Philippines to double in 35 years time with over half of the population already in urban areas. To be precise, as of the 1995 census, the population of the Philippines was set at 68,616,536, that of Metro Manila at 9,454,040. By the year 2020, the population of the Philippines will be anywhere from 98,864,348 to 110,715,179. By then, a little over half will be residing in urban areas (see NEDA). This will increase the demand for urban space and efficient infrastructure.

The increased demand for urban space is the real threat to preservation of old buildings. Quiapo is superbly located for commercial and office buildings which have huge rates of return in a shorter period of time than the revenue one can get from conservation and renewal. This increased demand for urban space can fuel real estate speculation that would cause real estate prices to skyrocket even more and could make all space in the city centers excellent prey. In fact, the reason many Quiapo residents remain in the district is attributed to its excellent access to livelihood and commercial activities. Thus, Quiapo's attraction lies more in its location, so that the increase in land speculation can also mean a greater demand for demolition of old buildings to realize the value of the real estate (Venida 373-91).

Thus, while the revitalization of Quiapo presents opportunities for tourism and consumption-related activities and is home for many of its current inhabitants. Land speculation is a real threat. For an effective program of conservation and renewal, one therefore will need to analyze the current status of the old district. For a systematic analysis of the existing condition in this district, one can use the model of obsolescence and renewal of Tiesdell, et al. (1996).

THE ISSUE OF OBSOLESCENCE

Old buildings in an historic district have to deal with the problem of obsolescence (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Obsolescence is the decrease in the useful life of a capital good—in this case of old buildings and of the entire district itself. Obsolescence is often the outcome of social changes—expected or unexpected, with the buildings and the district remaining fixed, as structures and location. When these structures were constructed, they had fulfilled the most advanced building principles of those days to be useful for their intended functions in the actual localities. Thus, many of the buildings of Quiapo were indeed the mansions of the high-income commercial classes then residing in one of the higher class residential districts of a colonial capital. Quiapo in fact was located right in the middle

of the capital's centers of government, commerce, finance and pilgrimage. These were all scattered about San Nicolas, Binondo, Santa Cruz, Intramuros, Ermita, and San Miguel. Moreover, it was an era when transport was done both by land and water, so that many mansions were located beside esteros which were then, a major transport artery. And in common with many old districts worldwide, streets were narrow, made for light vehicular traffic, often animal-driven.

Obsolescence, however, sets in because of social and economic changes, but the structures remain fixed. Thus, as these buildings remained in Quiapo, Manila changed in less than a century, from being a colonial capital to the capital of the thirteenth largest nation in the world, to being in the center of one of the twenty megacities of the new century. The main centers of commerce and finance have moved elsewhere to Makati and Ortigas. The posh crowd moved elsewhere to establish their residences. The government centers have by and large dispersed all over the metropolis. What remained in Quiapo are low-income and working class retail establishments, a few old residents, but mostly migrant low-income tenant residents, vocational and educational establishments, and its one great focal point, the city's arguably, most popular devotional center. Infrastructure changes have brought vehicular traffic jams and pollution, and the *esteros* [sewers] have become open sewers and reluctant storm drains. The old mansions of Quiapo are thus now obsolete residences of the upper class.

Revitalization of old districts entails that they should be economically viable. It has to address this issue of obsolescence. To be specific, for effective preservation, one needs to identify means to extend the economic life of these buildings in particular and of the district in general.

Obsolescence has many dimensions, some of which refer to the buildings alone and others to the district as a whole. Moreover, obsolescence is not absolute as it is relative to other available alternative uses for the building or site. For example, a power plant in the middle of the city may already be obsolete as it is a major source of air and noise pollution, but the structure itself can be adapted and transformed as an art gallery, as has happened in the case of the Tate Modern in London. Similarly, the former airport of Manila, the Neilsen's Tower, has been viable first as a posh restaurant and now as a library. Even the runways have become the major thoroughfares of the country's premier financial and business district. But these structures can also be adapted for use by the working classes. Several old structures in the working class districts of Hafsia, Tunisia and in Fez, Morocco, were all renovated as low-cost housing for the current residents (see Serageldin). The same was done for some of the old buildings in Penang and Malacca, Malaysia (Villalon E5).

Thus, old structures can be preserved and can be viable but a new economic use needs to be identified. And economic uses need not be catered only to the demands of the upper-income classes.

As a first step, one will thus need to analyze the specific dimensions of obsolescence. A systematic presentation of this issue can be very instructive in approaching the economic analysis of preservation of old buildings. Moreover, this will also help identify possible feasible modes of action.

The first type of obsolescence is the most obvious, physical or structural obsolescence. Many of these old buildings are in a decrepit state and do require substantial rehabilitation. Again, not far from these decaying structures are equally old but still well-maintained and useful buildings that are models for physical and structural rehabilitation. Also, a peculiarity of a building is that it is an interdependent asset. Though privately owned, its value depends a lot on the quality, appearance, maintenance and condition of the surrounding buildings and of the infrastructure. A building is a publicly viewed structure and its very sight can be an eyesore or a pleasure to others who just pass by or live nearby. The decay of a number of structures can be enough to impress upon viewers the degree of deterioration of the entire district.

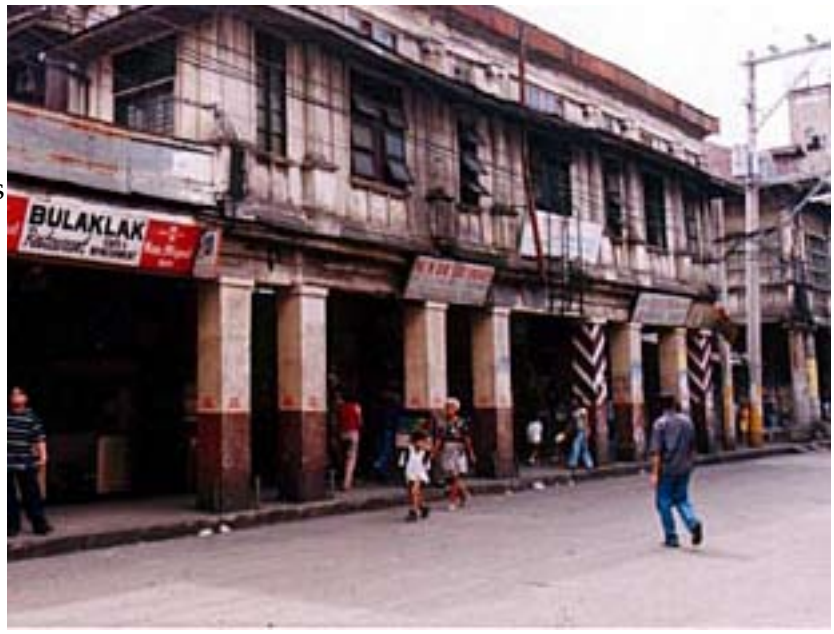
A more problematic type of obsolescence is functional. Many of these old buildings were designed not to accommodate aspects now regarded as necessary. Many old buildings need to be designed to accommodate plumbing, electricity, telephone lines and correct location of toilet facilities. A number of factors external to the buildings can underscore this functional obsolescence, and these are mainly the infrastructure of the district. For example, the absence of substantial parking facilities, the narrowness of the streets and the lack of adequate sewerage are factors that one needs to resolve to revitalize the area. Thus, a complete recreation of the old structures as they may have been is no longer feasible; a substantial degree of modification is essential to make these old buildings functionally relevant.

A broader type of obsolescence is that of image, of the public perception of the district. For a long time, inner city areas were regarded as noisy, dirty, polluted, thus, no longer attractive as residential areas or location for many types of activities. But this perception can change over time. Thus, since the 1980s, large areas of Manhattan and the East End of London have become attractive residential areas and districts for a wide range of service activities and cultural establishments. Even in Manila, Malate has undergone quite a change in the last decade. From a notorious red-light district to a sophisticated district of restaurants, clubs, bars, art galleries, fashion houses, and now, even as an upper

middle income residential area. Incidentally, it seems Quezon Boulevard has gone in the opposite direction, accidentally perhaps.

Quiapo, until the 1930s, was regarded as a quiet, attractive upper-middle class residential area. Among the residents were families whose names are the history of Philippine politics, culture and business. Indeed the district still has the educational institutions that catered to this social class, San Beda, San Sebastian, La Consolacion, and Holy Spirit, among others. But this image has long disappeared. Any effort at restoration and preservation will need to develop a new image of Quiapo. The image has to be one that can attract investments and residents and still preserve the old buildings and even retain the longtime residents.

Related to image obsolescence is location, which is a feature of the functional activities in the district. A building is constructed in a particular location because by its original function, it is accessible in that specific location to other necessary facilities, such as transport, market, suppliers, educational institutions, and the like. But because of changes in the overall pattern of accessibility of many of these facilities, the district has become obsolete for its original function. For example, the central business district might move elsewhere, which made buildings in central Manila, along Calle Colon in Cebu, and the warehouses and factories in SoHo and Tribeca in Manhattan obsolete as workplaces. Or a major business activity has to be relocated, as was the case of the Covent Garden fruit and vegetable market. Its relocation was necessary since it has caused massive traffic jams in its original location in the city center.



Clearly Quiapo can no longer be what it used to be as a residential district with neighborhood provisions stores, schools, churches and other facilities that make for a self-contained, posh community. Quiapo is at the bustling center of Manila, a city that is no longer the country's main business and financial district, but one that harbors the most extensive historic district in the country. It still has residents and the facilities that will

make it a proper residential community. But it now houses educational establishments that cater to the technical and vocational classes, small retail establishments, a thriving and self-contained but much misunderstood Islamic community, and arguably, the most popular and commercial pilgrimage center in the country. Moreover, its infrastructure requires substantial repair: the massive traffic jams that result from the district's very centrality, the pollution mainly from vehicle exhaust, the foul *estero* and riverfront that blights the streetscapes, the unsightly electrical and communication posts and wiring, and the roads needing even paving, and finally, curbs and sidewalks for pedestrians.

This then results in the district's economic obsolescence, namely, that capital is being invested elsewhere. The cost of investment in preservation may well be higher than investment elsewhere or investment in new structures. Quiapo can no longer be mainly a tony residential area like it used to. Given its location, Quiapo will attract investment in construction of new commercial and office buildings, but not in the preservation of the old buildings. Thus to preserve the old buildings, the district needs to develop an image that will attract investors to reuse the huge stock of old buildings to be preserved in the exact same location. Moreover the preservation has to be an area-based program. The preservation of one historic building will not be enough to attract residents, investors or patrons, precisely, because of the interdependent nature of buildings as assets. This explains for example the real threat faced by the Metropolitan Theater. Despite a lavish restoration and rehabilitation in the late 1970s, it has never attracted sufficient custom as a center for the performing arts, as the area around it has remained primarily a transport artery, without the necessary restaurants, parking areas, shops and other amenities that theater patrons would normally look for.

THE CREATION OF ECONOMIC VALUE

To create economic value, one thus needs to rehabilitate and convert not just one building but several collectively in a given area. As pointed out, buildings are an interdependent asset; the value of one is dependent on the quality of the other buildings and the infrastructure in the vicinity. It is true that the creation of one major structure can revitalize an entire district but the American and British success stories of the Bilbao waterfront with the Guggenheim Museum and of the Covent Garden area with the Jubilee market and the Opera House underscores the fact that the area-based renewal has to be done consciously and deliberately by an organization. This seems to be happening well with Malate and the Malate association. On the other hand, the sorry state of the

Metropolitan Theater does emphasize that the renewal of the district does not follow automatically from the rehabilitation of one major structure.

To effectively realize economic value in the long-term, one then needs to identify an area's competitive advantage relative to other areas, an image and economic function that can enable it to attract investments and residents the way other areas do. The image would have to focus on the economic and other human activities that the area could provide. But it is in this area where precisely competing interests will emerge. The general methods by which economic value can be created already involve substantial choices on whose interests are to be promoted or ignored.

The first method is functional restructuring which involves new uses or activities replacing the former existing ones. As examples, the former garments factories in SoHo in Manhattan have been converted into residential quarters, and the fruit and vegetable market in Covent Garden has become Jubilee market, a mini-mall of upscale restaurants, shops and a flea market. At its most extreme, a lovely already abandoned neo-Gothic Episcopal church along Seventh Avenue and the Twenties has been preserved as a discotheque; or an also abandoned Plateresque church in Alcala de Henares has become a college library. These have certainly preserved not just old buildings but entire districts. Moreover, these generally involved private investments and thus minimized on the need for actual public subsidy other than public expenditure on the area's infrastructure and some tax incentives given that rehabilitation of old buildings is more costly than construction of completely new structures.

Unfortunately, unless the buildings have already been abandoned in the first place, functional restructuring suggests displacing existing activities and along them the current residents. The very rehabilitation of buildings and the surrounding infrastructure cannot help but increase land values and rents. Thus, restructuring can also result in gentrification of a district, as has happened in London's Docklands and Manhattan's Lower East Side and SoHo so that much of the area's local color and character has been diminished with the departure of old-time residents and their memories of local history. It also gives preservation a rather bad name, especially in countries with a high incidence of poverty or income inequality or with a genuinely multicultural fabric.

A second approach is functional regeneration, which involves improving the profitability and efficiency of existing activities in the area. This approach has to address the locational obsolescence of the district and improve the competitiveness of existing industries. By increasing the profitability of these firms and activities, the firms themselves could have the incentive in investing in the rehabilitation of the buildings themselves. In

this way, current residents can remain in the area and thus maintain the local flavor and color to proffer a sense of authenticity to the district's historic character. The preservation therefore is not simply a matter of façadism which often presages gentrification. Generally speaking, functional restructuring may be more attractive an option if most of the structures are abandoned or are owner-occupied as displacement would be minimal.

The problem with this approach is that first, this will not attract the necessary external investment because as already pointed out, rehabilitation of an old building is often more expensive than construction of an entirely new one, and existing industries may not necessarily offer reasonable rates of return. Second, this will therefore suggest a much larger commitment of public funds or fiscal incentives to support the restoration, beyond the investment in basic infrastructure itself. This is specially the case if a large number of the buildings happen to be used as rental properties or residences, educational institutions and other non-profit activities. These buildings will need some subsidy for rehabilitation as the existing firms under this approach will logically invest in rehabilitating only those structures that they actually occupy. The third problem is some of the existing activities may themselves not be compatible with revitalization of historic districts, such as storage and warehousing.

A third approach is functional diversification, a compromise between the first two. This will involve maintaining and enhancing the competitiveness of existing activities but allow for a limited restructuring, to bring in investments in new activities but not to the degree of displacing residents or current businesses. This approach will try to realize the benefits of restructuring and regeneration while minimizing the costs of either. Certainly, some of the existing activities may need to be displaced if they happen to further the deterioration of the building fabric, such as auto repair, storage and warehousing, or some heavy industrial activities. But all others can be enhanced especially with the entry of new activities that support and harmonize with the current ones. For example, the rehabilitation of Madrid's Chueca and Malasaña districts maintained the old residents while allowing bars, cafes, art galleries, and upscale shops to locate there. As already mentioned, the old working class districts in Tunis and Fez were all rehabilitated as low-cost housing for the low-income residents. In all these cases, government had to finance infrastructure development and the development of a number of open spaces into parks and gardens. Police presence was also stepped up to rid the area of criminal elements.

But as with all compromises, this approach could well be the most feasible yet least satisfactory to many. For one thing, hard choices need to be made with regards to which existing industries to discourage and which to attract. Public assistance will be even more

crucial. Further, a committee or association will need to spend time in consultation with residents and current businesses and in monitoring of the revitalization program. The very creation of a new image for the district will be a long and tedious consultative and deliberative process which in itself involves substantial opportunity losses. Besides, the image has to be focused but still broad enough to encompass a reasonably wide range of activities as any urban district will always be multifunctional in nature. An area with a single function is not likely to survive long-term changes in the economy and society. This job could be eased if neighborhood associations are functioning and social capital is present. Otherwise, revitalization will truly be a backbreaking activity.

COMPETING INTERESTS IN QUIAPO

One can now begin to identify the competing interests in the revitalization of Quiapo as a heritage district. Quiapo still has a substantial number of residents in both owner-occupied dwellings and in tenanted establishments. Many remain in the district because of easy access to livelihood opportunities. A number are still among the old-time residents and one street organizes neighborhood activities such as street parties during the district fiesta (see Zialcita's descriptions). The Globo de Oro area has a close-knit, peaceful and hardworking Islamic community centered around Manila's first mosque with substantial retail activity. Diversification will thus allow Quiapo to retain much of the flavor of an established residential community whilst promoting activities that will enhance this nature.

As already pointed out, it can be expected that the center of Manila will not attract substantial investment in manufacturing activities, rather more toward consumption-related activities. Also, the tourism opportunities are quite substantial and real. However, part of the attraction of a district is its own particular sense of place so that even a completely residential area like large sections of Greenwich Village and East Village in Manhattan still attracts tourists and a limited measure of tourism-related retail activities. Thus, the very residential nature of Quiapo needs to be retained and enhanced, and the unique sense of place and atmosphere to emerge.

Indeed, one can design a cost-effective means of rehabilitating many of the old buildings as residences of the current inhabitants. One can propose for the tenanted ones, that some form of a Community Mortgage Program (CMP) type of financing be availed of to renovate these mansions and to redesign them as multiple-dwelling units where the tenants can then purchase the units on a condominium-type basis. Many of

these structures are effectively multiple-dwelling units already, and converting them into owner-occupied structures can go a long way in preserving these buildings and creating a viable neighborhood community. Since many of the current tenants are low-income, neighborhood associations will need to be developed among the residents to maintain these structures effectively. It is the formation of these associations that can create "patterns of relationships between actors or collectivities reproduced across time and space" (Giddens 27) and ensure that the physical facilities of an area shall be maintained and operated efficiently. As for the owner-occupied houses, a similar financing package can possibly be arranged with the National Shelter Program for their rehabilitation.

However, in a recent exhibition of Quiapo arts and history at the Metropolitan Museum, a number of descendants of the original resident gentry of the district have whispered that the heritage of Quiapo remains that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, the heritage is exclusively the history, styles and traditions of the upper class. It was also bruited about that the Islamic community has been there only quite recently, as having arrived only during the 1970s.

This is clearly the issue of whose heritage is being preserved. Indeed Quiapo was a tony residential district until the 1930s, with residents like the Ocampos, Aranetas, Nakpils, Legardas, Paternos and others who have produced important figures in national political and economic life. But Quiapo has already had an undeniable history as a working class district since the 1940s. It has also produced a number of celebrities in sports and show business who have become part of the district's legacy.

And Quiapo is also a testament to the peaceful coexistence of Islam and Catholicism. Indeed it was the shrine of the Nazareno that made the district famous among ordinary people as the devotional center of Manila. But it already has the distinction of being the host of the first mosque of this most Catholic city. Yet a number have claimed that this latter experience has been for three decades only, and thus, is not a part of the area's heritage. Somehow, this argument misses the point that the mass devotion to the Dark Christ is also a recent one, dating from the 1930s (according to De Manila). Clearly both can lay claim to being part of Quiapo history.

Currently a number of educational institutions are already established in Quiapo and in the immediate surroundings. Some occupy old buildings so that some donation from a benefactor can be obtained to rehabilitate these structures. Some others can also be converted into student or faculty residences but this will need more resources for effective management and maintenance over time. Also this would mean that the ground floor of many buildings can be allocated to retail establishments for household and student

requirements.

But at the same time a number have expressed that the conversion of these mansions to student residence can subject the buildings to undue deterioration. Moreover they may not preserve the flavor of genteel life that once inhabited these structures. They have expressed a desire to just restore the mansions as museums and art galleries that showcase the gentrified life that first made the district famous at the turn of the twentieth century.

The infrastructure of the district, like most areas in Metro Manila, requires substantial improvement. But in addition to the basic infrastructure requirements, a number need to be identified specifically for Quiapo and other historic districts in inner cities. One is that perhaps electricity and telephone lines can be installed underground so that the vistas in these districts can be more attractive, especially to the tourist trade. It could also mean that these lines can be protected from damage caused by a typhoon. This will also allow for the replacement of unsightly electric posts with more artistically designed light posts, like the *farolas* common in many old districts in Madrid.

It would also be attractive if a parking building would be constructed and the pedestrian lanes and sidewalks would be widened and paved for easy pedestrian movement. Many of these old districts derive their charm from their very compactness and the narrowness of the streets that should make walking around a pleasure. One can even propose some mosaic paving on the sidewalks like the ones common in Brazilian cities. The parking buildings can be designed achieve efficiency and to allow as well visual delight.

But again these sort of proposals, all adapted from the experience of other cities, would mean substantial public funding, one that can be recovered through the increased revenue from property and sales taxes if the district allowed for more commercial activities, especially tourism-oriented ones. Another way would be to attract high-income residents to occupy the newly rehabilitated antique mansions. This will once more threaten the continued presence of the working class residents.

All-out tourism-oriented redevelopment can also propose some rerouting of traffic of public utility vehicles in the area. Much of the soot on old buildings come from the fumes of jeepneys that use R. Hidalgo as an artery towards Barbosa and Elizondo which are the main transport terminals. The construction of a transport terminal building nearer Legarda so that these vehicles need not drive all the way down R. Hidalgo or Arlegui, can indeed relieve the area of traffic. Commuters need not be too inconvenienced if the sidewalks of these streets are improved to make walking easier and pleasurable.

Furthermore, a number of streets can be closed to vehicular traffic and be the site for a more organized flea market. This will especially add character to the area and increase

the attraction to the tourist trade and budget shoppers. Certainly some mechanism for an orderly assignment of slots and regular cleaning and maintenance can be developed and be a model for other street markets in the city. Also certain sections can be designated as areas for vendors of street food where these can have access to running water to improve the sanitary practices of these establishments. Reasonable user fees can be charged to pay for the cost of water and management of the flea market.

Again these proposals can convert the district into a living museum for tourists and transients, not as a livable residential area for the working classes.

Finally, one needs to consider the problem of land speculation that affects the activities not just of the historic district but the entire city. One needs to consider the tax system that can effectively promote such a program of functional diversification for revitalization. Specifically, one needs to propose some modifications in the property tax system especially because of its impact on land speculation and cost of rehabilitation.

Local government fiscal policy plays a crucial role. The basic principle of fiscal incentive is for the market to absorb the costs of rehabilitation and land speculation and thus put a price on the value of conservation. This can be done through appropriate tax measures and zoning ordinances. A major source of local government revenue is the property tax (Llanto 16). Owners of property pay an annual tax which is a percentage of the property's market value or assessed value. The percent rate is usually based on the nature of use of the property. Based on the Real Property Tax Code at least before the Local Government Code of 1992, the rates on lands and their improvement were as follows:

a. For provinces and municipalities: one-fourth of one percent (1/4 of 1%) to one-half of one percent (1/2 of 1%) of the assessed value of real properties;
b. For cities: one-half of one percent (1/2 of 1%) to two percent (2%).

The schedule of the assessment value would be as follows:

Land-Use	Assessment Level (percent of market value)
Residential	30
Agricultural	40
Commercial and industrial	50
Building and Improvement	

Residential	15 to 80
Agricultural	40 to 80
Commercial and industrial	50 to 80

If properly administered, the real property tax can diminish real estate speculation and preserve the character of many districts. Unfortunately, both in terms of design and implementation, the property tax system can stand substantial improvement. In terms of implementation, local governments seem to have not fully tapped the potential revenue of the property tax (Llanto 16). Estimates from the 1980s show that local governments have been collecting about 60% only of the potential revenue from property taxes. There have not been substantial increases overall even after the Local Government Code of 1992.

There is a need to regularly update the valuation of urban properties. Ideally this should be based on current market values but often the market values used in the assessment are about eight years outdated. With such undervaluation, the amount of tax due is thus very minimal. It has been the experience of European countries that a properly collected property tax based on current market values significantly discourages land hoarding and speculation (Musgrave and Musgrave 278). With a huge tax due annually, land ownership does not become an attractive investment unless one actually develops it. To use an arithmetic example: if one owns a 1000 square meter residential property in Quiapo, at a current market value of P80000 per square meter, one would need to pay a property tax of P240,000 (P80,000 x 1000 x 0.3 x 0.5 x 0.02). Either one has to sell this property and be relieved of the burden of this tax bill, or one has to develop it.

But in actual fact, few might be paying this huge amount. It is possible that the valuation uses not current market values but the value of 1988. At land prices then of P8,000 per square meter, the tax due is P24,000. And in practice, the valuation used by government is even lower than the actual market value as available information on actual market sales is not being used. Because of the low property tax due, land then becomes an attractive investment opportunity. A substantial amount of urban land is simply being hoarded from the market to await the next highest purchase offer which often results in keeping the land idle for some time until the next highest bidder comes along.

If the tax were to be enforced strictly using the actual current market values one attractive probable outcome is that land values might actually moderate if not even decline. This is because more lands would be made available for sale by landowners that wish to reduce their tax liabilities. This is one reason why economists as early as the

middle of the 19th century have argued for the equitable feature of a land tax. It generates substantial government revenue from the landowning classes (who are of course among the high-income classes) and makes land available for purposes more productive than mere speculation (see Lacey 126). Strict enforcement would require prompt and accurate reporting by real estate firms of their recent sales.

But more importantly, in terms of design, the real property tax can realize an ideal land-use and zoning pattern for the city. For quite some time, the identification of the assessment rate has been based on the actual use of the property, regardless of whether this might be the best-use of it. One can develop a proposed land-use map for the city and assign the tax rates accordingly. Thus, establishments in an area zoned for medium-density commercial establishments shall all be assessed with the same rate regardless of actual use of the establishment at the time of implementation of the new zoning rules. Any establishment that does not follow the zoning ordinance on use and building density can be slapped a much higher sumptuary rate. Thus, all establishments are forced to convert themselves into medium-density commercial structures. The tax rate can thus be used as an effective instrument to enforce zoning and land-use ordinances.

One can therefore propose that the land-use map recognize Quiapo as an historic district where old structures will be assigned a lower tax rate than the newer ones. In fact, an inventory has identified a substantial number of old buildings, which comprise nearly all houses and some even mansions. One can suggest that these antique houses receive a lower tax rate or a lower rate of assessment. New structures that conform to the density and architectural requirements of the district will also get a similar tax rate. Expenditures on renewal of old buildings can be granted tax relief for a certain number of years or a lower rate of assessment on improvements. Similarly, buildings that do not conform to the architectural and density requirements of the district, especially demolition of old buildings, will be slapped a higher even punitive tax rate. One can even propose that the cost of demolition not be considered as depreciation expense, and thus, not deductible from taxable amount.

It is these tax measures, zoning, and land-use mechanisms that will cause the market to value these old buildings closer to their cultural and historic values to preserve them for the future. But it would be necessary to ensure first of all, that the property tax collection be implemented effectively. Even if old buildings do not yet receive preferential tax treatment, any mechanism to discourage land speculation will be a necessary first step in allowing these old buildings to be preserved.

These fiscal proposals now underscore another area of competing interest, mainly

among the property-owners themselves. A number will clearly prefer that they realize the maximum possible gains from their property and may like the present tax system as it is. But a number will want a modification because of some sentimental attachment to the antique mansions, or the expectation that a heritage district (of whatever heritage to be promoted) would provide a larger and more satisfactory return. This is one conflict where the interests of the working class tenants are not present, yet are fully under siege.

CONCLUSIONS

The current crisis in East Asia affords one a breathing space to work for the effective conservation of these old buildings. The crisis has thus far reduced land speculation, construction, and thus demolition activity. It is thus an opportune time to plan for the long-term development of these structures and the community around them.

The old buildings can be incorporated in the land-use maps and the tax maps so that we can now negotiate for lower tax rates and some form of tax relief or subsidy on their renovation. But one must also insist and lobby for an effective program of implementation of the real property tax. This will generate the revenues of the local government and at the same time reduce land speculation that will greatly aid in the revitalization not just of Quiapo but all other historic districts in the metropolis.

Research on the architectural, artistic, social, and personal histories of these building will guide us in the process of adaptive reuse, the development of guidebooks, and the identification of other appropriate business activities that can be encouraged in the district. It will also involve continuing research in the history and tradition of the entire Quiapo. This will yield the necessary information not just for the guidebooks but also for the integrated development plan for the district. Preservation, conservation, and revitalization of Quiapo can then be seen not as a mere beautification program but as a viable local development program that can be applied in all other historic districts not just in Manila but throughout the entire Philippines.

But eventually the issue remains: whose heritage is to be preserved and adapted?

WORKS CITED

De Manila, Quijano. *Language of the Street and Other Essays*. Manila: Cacho Hermanos, 1980.

Giddens, Anthony. *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. London: MacMillan, 1981.

Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.

Lacey, Robert. *Aristocrats*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1983.

Llanto, Gilbert M. "Local Taxation and Decentralization." *Tax Payment: A Burden or Civic Duty?* Ed. Helmut Kurth. Manila: Philippine Economic Society and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1990. 16-33.

Musgrave, Richard A., and Peggy B. Musgrave. *Public Finance in Theory and Practice*. 5th Ed. NY: McGraw-Hill, 1989.

Payumo, Anita, and Faith Aliño. *Selling the Philippines*. Global Competitiveness Papers Ser. 5. Washington: Washington SyCip Policy Forum & Asian Institute of Management, 1998.

National Economic and Development Authority. *Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1998*. Manila: National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), 1998.

Serageldin, Ismail. "Cultural Heritage as Public Good: Economic Analysis Applied to Cities." *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century*. Ed. Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg, and Marc A. Stern. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999. 240-63.

Tiesdell, Steven, Taner Oc, and Time Heath. *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*. Oxford: Architectural Press, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996.

Venida, Victor. "Economist's View of Old Buildings." *Philippines Studies* 48 (2000): 373-91.

Villalon, Augusto. "The Painted Ladies of Penang and Malacca." *Philippine Daily Inquirer* 31 May 1999: E5.

Zialcita, Fernando. "Is Communitarianism Uniquely Asian? A Filipino's Perspective." *Sojourn* 14.2 (1999): 313-31.

LITERARY SECTION

POEMS BY PETER HORN

Peter Horn
University of Cape Town, South Africa
peterhorn@telkomsa.net

About the Author

I was born on December 7, 1934, the son of Alfred Horn, wood carver, and Paula Horn, teacher, in Teplitz-Schönau, Germany. I attended the elementary school in Schönau, the classical secondary school in Teplitz, the secondary school in Donauwörth and the classical secondary school in Freiburg/Breisgau, where I matriculated in 1954.

In 1955, I emigrated with my parents to South Africa, since then my permanent residence. I studied German and English as majors at the University of the Witwatersrand from 1957 to 1960—1959 BA (Witwatersrand) with a first class in German; 1960 BA Honours (Witwatersrand) in German (First Class). After that I qualified as teacher at a high school (1961, Higher Education Diploma, Johannesburg). By 1960 to 1964 I taught German, English, History and Afrikaans at the German private school in Johannesburg. In 1964, I was Temporary Junior Lecturer in the department for German language and literature at the University of the Witwatersrand;in 1965 Lecturer at the University of South Africa; from 1966 to 1973 Senior Lecturer and Head of Department at the University of Zululand. In 1970, I received a Daad-exchange-scholarship to do research in Stuttgart.

In 1971, I graduated PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand with a thesis on "Rhythm and Structure in the Poetry of Paul Celan," and was offered the chair of German at the University of Cape Town in 1974. From 1985 to 1987, I was Deputy-Dean; and from 1987 to 1990 Dean of Faculty; and from 1993-1994 Acting Deputy Vice-Chancellor.

I am (or was) member of the South African Association of German Studies (executive committee 1975, vice president 1985-1989, president 1989-1997), the Heinrich-von-Kleist-Gesellschaft, the Internationale Germanistenverband, the Gesellschaft für Internationale Germanistik, the Georg Büchner Gesellschaft, a scientific adviser of the Institute for Research into Austrian and International Literary Processes (Vienna), on the executive committee of the Elias-Canetti-Gesellschaft, the Skrywers Guilde, the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW)-Western Cape Executive (1988-1990), and National Executive (1991-1992). Besides these, I was Honorary Vice President of the National Union of South African Students (1977-1981), Trustee of the South African Prisoners' Educational Trust Fund (1980-1985), and a member of the Interim Committee of the Unemployed Workers' Movement (1984/5).

Since 1971, I was invited frequently as guest professor and external examiner at Natal University, Witwatersrand and Rhodes University (1978). In 1977/8, I was guest professor at the Free University of Berlin, the University of Cologne, the Gesamthochschule Essen, the University of Regensburg, the Gesamthochschule Siegen. In 1981/2, I was visiting professor in Cologne and Essen and in summer 1982 in Regensburg (DAAD guest-professorship). In 1986, I was visiting professor at the University of Hong Kong, in 1990 at the Ateneo de Manila, the University of the Philippines, Queensland, NSW, Melbourne, Adelaide, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Riverside (California), Stanford, Boulder, Houston, Georgia, Tennessee, St. Louis, Wisconsin, Philadelphia, Columbia, and Dartmouth.

In 1974, I received the Pringle Prize of the South African English Academy for an essay on the concrete poetry. 1982, I was made a HSRC University Researcher. In 1992, I received the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa (Honourable Mention for Poems 1964-1989), and in 1993 the Alex La Guma/Bessie Head Award for the short story collection *The Kaffir who Read Books* (published under the title *My Voice is Under Control Now*). In 1994, the University of Cape Town granted me an Honorary Fellowship for life. I have been invited to participate in the Humboldt-University Berlin's major research project into violence in literature (April 2000 to March 2001). I have been awarded a Hertz-Stiftung research fellowship for the year 2001, to work on Kleist's dramas at the University of Paderborn (April to October).

Two of my volumes of poetry and numerous other publications by me were banned for possession during the Apartheid regime.

My poems are included in most major anthologies of South African poetry, and more than 100 have been published in journals. I have published 37 contributions to academic books, 67 articles on learned journals, and numerous reviews and review articles.

SILENCE IN JAIL!

Nothing was sadder
there was no more saddening want
than the deadly lack
of music
Dennis Brutus

They don't like music in prison
so they banned Dennis Brutus's poems
and Wopko Jensma's poems
and Breyten Breytenbach's poems
and James Matthew's poems
and my own poems

They hate music and poems
and pictures and statues
they have cleaned out the country:
there is silence between its bare walls
the silence of bones in the desert
cleaned by the vultures

But unaccountably
music crosses the border
on waves of ether
through every crack
between heavily armed border posts

"Eine kleine Nachtmusik"
this serene joy invading
the muscles of my body
revolutionary music
written against the dreary dictates
of puritan dominees
who don't like music and dancing and serenading
in their straight-laced
country-wide jail

Beethoven's fifth revolution
breathing courage into our heart
is knocking at the door
defying the corrupt little giants
ministers of state
at whose absolute pleasure
you may be detained
in our own Bastille

Tchaikovsky's victorious canons
repulsing the would-be colonizer of Russia
succeeded to hunt the glorious army of France
across the entire continent of Europe
and his ringing church bells give us the courage
that we can too

Theodorakis' songs from Orobos jail
the "takketak ego, takketak esy"
communicating hope through the stone walls

Wolf Biermann's songs from Chausseestrasse 131
("Thus or thus the earth will be red")
and Bertolt Brecht crowing
his venomous ballads
about worker's solidarity

There are too many holes in the net
there are too many cracks in the wall
there are too many radios on the air
the growing number of censors
scramble round frantic white ants
cementing the crumbling structure
catching invaders in their poisonous embrace
breathlessly while armies of new ones enter
Exhausted they attach their stickers
to ever new songs: Banned for possession

But music (lalalla lallala la)
"The royal fireworks"
"The New World"
"The Emperor" and the "Eroica"
triumphantly sweeps them away
helter skelter
in ever growing waves of glorious hope

LISTENING TO A VOICELESS VOICE

As for the poets
only those who go astray follow them
Have you not seen that they wander
distract in every valley
And they say what they do not do.
Al-Qur'an, Ash-Shua'ara v.224-226

When you listen to poems,
forget what you learned at school,
what they told you at university,
forget the literary critics,
and listen to the voiceless voice
speaking from the flames
with the lightness of birds,
sounds burning themselves out,
the torture of words chained together
which hate each other while they rhyme.
There are a lot of reasons
why a poet never leaves his bed
why a poet never cuts his hair
why a poet drinks himself to death
why a poet jumps out of a moving train
there are a lot of reasons, believe me.
Of course everyone would like to float
and to write in larger than life letters
in a manner which says their own name indelibly
in a loud voice so that everyone can hear.
But there are simply too many writers
there are not enough people to listen
and his poems do not make the top twenty.
So he waits for posterity,
breathing invisible poems,

his smile is extinguished in the mirror,
the mirror in the pool vanishes,
and everything he has to say is silenced,
but even in silence there is a kind of beginning,
a lost trace to be recovered.
Poets have written their dark songs
while there was low tide in their blood,
their voice breaking through clenched teeth
they utter the original scream, Eva's song,
a bellow, a roar, a howl,
what else should they do in a deadly town,
except bury their heads in the earth?
The heart whistles a sad whisper
a whisper which sings without a tune
in memory of burnt houses,
the sadness of ivory dipped in silver and
the tears of children with dirty faces,
the weight of the earth,
the heaviness of mountains,
the force of the sea.
Sometimes nothing is left of the poet
except a voice: childish and fragmentary
querulous, asocial and amoral.
At the end of the day
when the watches cycle through their numbers,
what kind of a stammer
vibrates in human mouths?

From: *An Axe in the Ice, Poems*. Johannesburg: COSAW, 1992

A TRIBUTE

For Lulu and all my friends in Manila

I know
one week is not enough
for the birds to tell me their names
for the crickets to impart their rhythm
to the flow of untutored words
for the trees to explain the shape of their leaves

I know
one week is far too short
to knock on the doors
of shacks on the river's quay
and to speak Tagalog
with the garbage of Smokey Mountain
to be part of the struggle of mountain dwellers
to come down through the monsoon clouds
to the rice paddies.

It will take
far longer for my eyes
to understand the green of the grass
and the greys and brown
of rusting paint-peeled houses
or the silver glint of a Mercedes
on Loyola campus

The taste buds
on my tongue
are startled by the blend of strange spices
and the blandness of McDonalds
but they don't yet know

the food of the peasant
the drink of the workers

I have a nodding acquaintance
with a distant typhoon
but I have not stood
on rocks parting in anguish
or lain under the rubble
of a school collapsing on my broken bones

I have not yet been imprisoned
or hunted as a terrorist
in the jungles of Southern islands
I have not yet been interrogated
by anything worse than custom officials

but my eyes can read the colours
of the stars and stripes
in every soap opera
on every channel
of early morning TV

So what can I say
about these islands
under a tropical sun
hidden in driving rain?

I can say: tell me, show me, *kalabitin*.[1]

1 Touch me (with your fingertips, to establish body contact while talking).

TRIBUTES TO DOREEN FERNANDEZ

Editor's Note

This section of *Kritika Kultura* honors Doreen G. Fernandez (1934-2002). She was a prodigious writer, literary scholar, and cultural historian, and a much-beloved teacher.

Fernandez earned a PhD in Literature in 1976 at the Ateneo de Manila University, where she was mentored by Bienvenido Lumbera, the "dean of Philippine Studies." Her dissertation, not surprisingly, was a pioneering study on the *sarswela*, an indigenized form of the Spanish zarzuela. Fernandez relates its rise and fall to the changing socioeconomic conditions in Iloilo, particularly the fortunes of the sugar industry. It was eventually published as a book (*The Iloilo Zarzuela: 1903-1930*) by the Ateneo de Manila University Press. Much of her work on Philippine drama since then were later collected in *Palabas: Essays on Philippine Theater* (1996).

With her late husband Wili Fernandez, she started a food column, which she eventually continued singly and which was to be the germ of her research into Philippine food and food culture. With co-writer Edilberto Alegre, her output in this field were the following books: *Sarap: Essays on Philippine Food* (1988), *Kinilaw: A Philippine Cuisine of Freshness* (1991) and the Lasa series of restaurant guides. She also authored *Tikim: Essays on Philippine Food and Culture* (1994), *Fruits of the Philippines* (1997), and *Palayok: Philippine Food through Time, on Site, in the Pot* (2000).

Her work on Philippine literature includes the two-volume oral history *Writers and Their Milieu* (1984, 1987). This important work contains interviews with members of the first two generations of Filipino writers in English, and is the first of its kind in Philippine literary scholarship, providing primary data on many aspect of these writers works and life, data unavailable elsewhere and otherwise irretrievable.

The scholarly spirit is manifest in Fernandez's "Research in the Highways and Byways: Non-Traditional Sources for Literary and Other Research," a professorial chair lecture she delivered at the Ateneo de Manila University. In it, she shares with the prospective researcher in Philippine culture the unlikely places where scholarly gems lie buried. It is here being published for the first time.

In 2000, she was honored with a festschrift entitled *Feasts and Feats* (Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University), the contributors to which includes Philippine National Artists Nick Joaquin, Jose Garcia Villa, and N. V. M. Gonzalez, and revered Philippine literary scholars-mentors, later colleagues and friends—Bienvenido Lumbera, and Nicanor G. Tiongson.

Her full resume—the above is merely a sketch—is certainly impressive, but it does not reveal the person behind the works. The short pieces that follow her lecture reveal aspects of her character and show why she was much loved by the folks with whom she came into contact, as teacher, writer, colleague, critic, friend, or comrade. The writers represent different sectors: the academe, the media, the cultural establishment, even the anti-establishment Left.

DOREEN, THE REVOLUTIONARY

Teddy Casiño
Fast Forward, *Business World*
July 12-13, 2002

About the Author
When not busy marching in the streets as secretary general of the militant Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), Teddy Casiño writes a weekly column for *Business World* where he tackles a broad range of subjects, from existential angst to the protracted people's war. He was president of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines from 1991-94. Teddy finished sociology at UP Los Baños in 1993, where he was editor in chief of the student paper, The UPLB Perspective, from 1989-1991. Right after college, Teddy worked for the Kilusang Mayo Uno (May 1 Movement) Labor Center from 1994-1998.

We all knew Doreen Fernandez, the food critic. Her weekly column in the *Inquirer* served as an infallible guide for many of us looking for a good place to dine.

We also knew Doreen, the respected and multi-awarded teacher, prolific writer, author and editor of many books, historian, journalist, literary critic and sought-after lecturer on food, theater and Philippine culture.

But the gracious and ever-smiling Doreen as a radical and closet revolutionary? A supporter of the Communist Party (CPP) and the National Democratic Front (NDF)?

Well, why not?

Doreen Gamboa-Fernandez died of pneumonia last June 25 while vacationing in New York. She was 67. Her death came as a shock to many at home, especially her friends, students and fellow writers whom she had inspired and supported through the years.

Last Tuesday, it was the turn of Doreen's "comrades" to give her a tribute.

Organized by the UP (University of the Philippines) Faculty of Arts and Letters and the Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP), the "Luksang Parangal" was held at the UP Faculty Center and was attended by a hundred and so activists, professors, cultural workers, artists and writers.

UP Professor Edru Abraham, who emceed that evening's affair, opened the program by noting that many write-ups on Doreen failed to mention her activism. Thus, that night's task of bringing to light this significant part of her life.

The entire evening was filled with the militant and nationalist music and rhetoric commonly associated with the Left, punctuated from time to time by Doreen's words herself, written by her and read by one of the performers.

Describing her transformation from housewife and teacher to activist, she had this to say: "I came to the Ateneo in the '70s a housewife—the kind who went to Inner Wheel Club meetings. The activists wondered what I was doing there—was I serious? I did receive some criticism for not being politicized at that time. I joined a few discussion groups, though it was mainly to learn since I was so ignorant. There were some friends who said, 'How can you sit there and do the *burgis* (elitist) things you do?' So I said to them, 'Teach me.' And they did."

Martial Law did not stop Doreen from pursuing her newfound activism. She involved herself in theater and founded the theater group Babaylan which dared to stage plays critical of the Marcos dictatorship.

She was also instrumental in organizing the Cultural Research Association of the Philippines which advocated studies on nationalist culture. Both organizations dared to challenge the repressive culture being imposed by the fascist regime.

Again, in Doreen's own words: "That was the time of political theater—our political theater was very advanced. Theater was a fighting weapon: you could say things in theater that you couldn't in a novel."

Even Doreen's articles on food bore the stamp of her patriotism. She often wrote about food consumed by the common *tao* (person)—the worker, the peasant, the fisherman. She introduced her readers to their tastes and, in so doing, introduced them to values and ways of life of the ordinary Pinoy (Filipino).

"(W)ith politicalization came the idea that food doesn't have to be the way it is in the best restaurants of Europe. One should put food in the context of the culture," she once wrote.

Thus, Doreen wrote not only about food, but about the distinctly Filipino in food. She treated the subject with apt reverence. "Food punctuates Philippine life, is a touchstone to memory, a measure of relationships with nature and neighbors, and with the world," she wrote in a yet unpublished essay.

Doreen herself loved to cook. Among those who enjoyed her cooking were members of the NDF and other underground personalities who frequented her house during those dangerous years till the late '80s.

In a letter read during last Tuesday's tribute, NDF's Mela Castillo Zumel remembers Doreen as a warm and gentle lady comrade who welcomed to her home those who resisted the fascist terror. Among her most frequent visitors was then CPP secretary Rafael Baylosis, who shared with the audience his group's delight as Doreen always served them a minimum of five delicious viands per meal.

In one of the most poignant parts of the program, Mr. Baylosis narrated how touched he was when, during one of his clandestine visits to the Gamboa residence, Doreen asked his permission to clean his fresh bullet wound, which he suffered in an encounter with government soldiers.

Doreen valued and nurtured her relationship with the revolutionary movement, taking on special tasks in the resistance movement against the Marcos dictatorship and helping out till the late '90s.

She even took such small tasks as inputting into the computer Jose Maria Sison's [founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines] ten lectures, which were delivered at the UP Asian Center from April to May 1986.

In 1999, Doreen helped prepare the menu for the NDF's 25th anniversary celebration which was timed with the return to the Philippines of NDF leaders Luis Jalandoni and Coni Ledesma. She wanted to be sure the food served was in keeping with the nationalist and democratic aspirations of the revolutionary movement.

In a message read during the tribute, Coni Ledesma remembered spending an afternoon with Doreen last January, where Doreen expressed keen interest in the NDF's work, especially among overseas Filipinos. A few weeks before her death, she sent Coni several of her books on Philippine food and culture to help in the work among Filipino compatriots abroad.

In return, Doreen was well respected as an intellectual, patriot and kind comrade by the progressive people's movement. She was a sterling example of a transformed *burgis*, with her quiet but strong conviction for a Filipino culture that is at once democratic and liberative.

Her gentle presence will be sorely missed.

DOREEN FERNANDEZ

Patricia B. Licuanan
Ateneo de Manila University and Miriam College

About the Author

Patricia B. Licuanan was the Vice President of the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU). For many years she was a faculty member and Chair of the Psychology Department of ADMU. She is currently the President of Miriam College. She has occupied various important positions in civic organizations and has been in the forefront of national and international movements focusing on women's issues. Patricia Licuanan is a dear and long-time friend of Doreen Fernandez.

We had put off our regular lunch. "Let us wait until after the end of the school rush," we said. And summer was travel time so "let's do it when we get back" we said again. "Life is short" lunches we called them. But we didn't realize how short.

Our last lunch together was typical of lunches with Doreen and I know many in this room have shared this experience: Doreen introducing us to the specialties of the house; the owner or the chef coming out to make recommendations that would be prepared specially for us. And indeed the food was great.

But it was not just the good food that characterized the lunches with Doreen. More than anything else, it was the wonderful, comfortable food for the soul. There we were, Doreen, Honey Carandang and I— three mature women, women of substance we like to think, in what Honey and Erik Erikson would call our "generativity" years—sharing something read or a place traveled by or yet another endearing or infuriating *Pinoy* trait and of course some exciting discovery—usually a person doing great things or someone with tremendous potential.

And the gossip! Doreen always had the latest juicy morsels (and I am not referring to the cuisine) on the rich and famous and pretentious. This was probably the part of Doreen that Danton Remoto would fondly refer to as "acerbic, sly and wicked."

And we discussed projects, not so much what we were doing (although there was that as well) but what else we could or would do. For Doreen was always the best support for any project. Dreams and schemes that were merely a glint in our eye, an idea struggling for clarity or support was greeted by Doreen with encouragement, suggestions and offers of help. Always upbeat, even enthusiastic, Doreen was the perfect partner in an endeavor

as not only was she interested and positive, she was hardworking, fast and always delivered.

Her columns in the *Inquirer* continued to appear during periods when she was critically ill and recently even after she died. In the *Philippine Journal of Education*, a magazine for teachers which I edit and to which Doreen has been a regular contributor for almost two decades, the August issue will still carry her column, "Book Talk." You see, Doreen, unlike you and I (well, I anyway), was always ahead of her deadlines.

We had a project we were working on, Doreen and I—an edited collection of my grandmother's essays. Paz Marquez Benitez may be best known as a short story writer, but in fact she wrote only a few stories. She however wrote hundreds of essays as editor of the *Philippine Journal of Education.* Doreen and I were collecting and sorting through these essays and we planned to put them together in a book. I guess I will have to work on this project without Doreen's help. Incidentally, I remember that my grandmother, although somewhat of a loner and recluse in her later years, always welcomed and enjoyed Doreen's visits.

At this last "life is short" lunch I referred to, I recall expressing my feelings of inadequacy and regret at not having written a book. Here I was with Doreen and Honey, both such prolific authors, and I was sadly unpublished and bookless. Doreen in typical fashion offered to help by conducting a workshop for an intimate group of friends who needed an extra push to write. Or just collect and show her what I had written she said, and she would help find the book in them. That too was put off. There is no book as yet but Doreen's encouragement felt so good.

Yes, Doreen had such a way of making people feel good. Not in the superficial pleasantries fashion but in the deep affirming way as she found something to genuinely appreciate in most people—particularly her students. Both my children Carlo and Andrea had Doreen as a teacher at the Ateneo. When she had them in class and even after, she would always have nice observations and accounts about them—little vignettes to warm a mother's heart. I always thought my two laid-back children were so fortunate to have Doreen as a teacher. But listening to Doreen, bless her generous heart, you would think *she* was the lucky one.

But we were the lucky ones. We are lucky, for having had Doreen in our lives. And I thank God for that blessing.

DOREEN: A WELLSPRING OF GOODNESS

Carolina. A. Nuñez
Department of English
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
cnunez@ateneo.edu

About the Author
Carolina A. Nuñez is currently doing her PhD at the University of the Philippines. She was an active member of the Philippine English Language Teaching (PELT), a project of the British government in cooperation with the British Council. Carolina Nuñez is a dear friend of Doreen Fernandez.

5:55 a.m., Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Doreen would honk the horn once, I'd go out of the gate, and we were off to school, good weather or foul. I had offered to wait for her across the street from our house so that she would not have to turn left and then maneuver to go back to the right lane. But she refused, assuring me that it did not bother her at all. I felt uneasy. Wasn't it asking a bit too much? I wondered. She was providing me with such a convenience that I figured the least I could do was to make things easier for her by crossing the street and waiting there. Doreen seemed to think nothing of it at all.

Doreen had offered to pick me up because my house was exactly on her way to school. Actually, it was a common friend of ours who had asked Doreen for a ride home after a faculty meeting in June 1996 and we happened to be walking together on our way out. This friend knew where I lived and invited me to join them in the car. I was hesitant. He had not even asked Doreen if I could hitch a ride too! He simply assumed she'd say yes, which she did. Although I felt embarrassed at what I thought was an impropriety, the practical person in me nevertheless welcomed the convenience. Little did I know it would be the birth of a deep and lasting friendship.

Inside the car, Doreen asked where I lived. After giving her the information, she asked further, "What time do you go to school?" "About 6 a.m.," I replied. She probed, "how do you go?" "I commute." Then came the unexpected. "If you don't mind leaving a little earlier, I can pick you up at 5:55 a.m. and then we can go to school together." I was flummoxed! Why would she do that?

At the beginning, I was overwhelmed. Here was my former teacher, a well-known scholar, writer, and administrator, and now a revered colleague, driving me to and from school! Yes, she herself was at the wheel. It would take two full years before she decided to

have a driver and only because her body was telling her to slow down and give up control over some aspects of her life, especially driving.

Not only did Doreen pick me up; she also took me home unless there were some pressing reasons that made her leave school early. For instance, she had to attend board meetings either at the Cultural Center of the Philippines or at the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, both of which were at the other end of the metropolis. Or else, she had a dinner engagement and had to prepare herself. Whatever it was, she would apologize that she couldn't take me home. During those times I felt so little in front of such greatness. I was always at a loss for words. She was already doing me an immense favor of getting me to school on time and yet she'd be sorry if she could not be of further help for obvious reasons.

People may wonder why Doreen took the trouble of picking me up three times a week early morning and taking me home in the afternoon almost as often. She was not obliged to do so. The only reason I can think of is that "*the heart has its reasons that reason does not know*." What made Doreen's gesture more admirable was that it didn't last only for a few weeks or months but for almost five years, from June 1996 to December 2000. Only her near-fatal illness in December 2000 stopped our MWF morning habit. When she resumed teaching in June 2001, she had to change her schedule to Tuesdays and Thursdays, the exact opposite of mine. Nevertheless, we still managed to ride together whenever I had to be in school on those days for some meetings or consultations with students.

It took sometime before I could adjust to seeing Doreen as a simple person, down to earth, fun to be with, and genuinely concerned for my welfare and those of others. I had put her high up on a pedestal. She was like a distant star that shone brightly, inimitable, and beautiful to admire, but that was all. When she became my teacher in graduate school, she was already a household word because of her popular column. In the academe she was a highly respected scholar and critic with a string of books to her name. Who would not feel in awe before her? Yet here she was, doing many little acts of kindness hidden from the public eye. As weeks turned to months, I discovered the bundle of goodness in Doreen. Up close, I saw and experienced the love of a woman who provoked love in return.

When Doreen died in New York last June 24, 2002, some of my friends extended their condolences to me. They knew it was a big blow. I lost somebody very special, not just a treasured friend, but an affectionate second mother.

I cannot recall when I began reading Doreen perhaps because I was not a devoted follower of her columns. Neither am I a gourmet and I hardly eat out. At that time I saw only the descriptions about food and restaurants. I didn't see the cultural insights that

Doreen put into those writings. She herself admitted in an interview two or three years ago that when she began to write, she thought she would tell "them" (i.e., the restaurant owners/managers/chefs) how things should be. Only when she became older and "less arrogant" that she realized the need to put things in context, to make people aware of how everything fits into the culture, the way food is prepared, decorated, arranged on a table, served, and eaten. That was vintage Doreen, always willing to learn, and just as eager to transmit this attitude to her students.

Doreen I first met in 1988 when she became my teacher in literary research at the Ateneo graduate school. I didn't know she had just undergone a kidney transplant the previous year. Aside from a face unusually puffed up, she did not look like someone in danger of death from probable transplant rejection. She was always cheerful in class and gave research another name: fun! Her enthusiasm opened for us new vistas of Philippine literature. She devised an exciting library activity that made research no different from detective work! It was ingenious. And we, her students, discovered how library research could be intellectually stimulating, challenging, and enjoyable.

Doreen demolished my stereotype image of a VIP. Where other VIPs made lesser mortals feel insecure, she put everybody at ease. Where they expected others to be at their beck and call, she was always ready to lend a hand. She was so simple, very friendly and accommodating to everyone. But somehow the teacher's table acted as a barrier. Or perhaps it was only I who interpreted it as such. And so, I was pleasantly surprised to find a note from her in my mailbox at the English Department when I came back from a 3-month course in England in January 1996. Dated early November 1995, it was inserted inside a Mass card for my father. Doreen noted that my father died on her birthday and because she didn't have my address in the UK, she decided to simply put her words of condolences in my pigeonhole to wait for my return.

I had been teaching with the English Department for about two years then, but apart from the usual hellos during departmental meetings or chance encounters in hallways–very seldom—we did not really talk much to each other. Maybe I still played the role of a student reticent before her teacher, especially a prominent figure like Doreen. And she was perhaps too busy over at the Communications Department together with all her commitments to pay any attention to a newcomer like me. Until that touching note revealed to me a yet hidden aspect of Doreen's personality.

As our friendship deepened, Doreen also started taking me along to watch plays, listen to concerts, and, of course, to eat out. It did not always happen, but often enough the past six years to fill a lifetime of memories.

When I had major surgery in July 1999, Doreen helped to look for a substitute teacher. During my convalescence, she came to visit and brought me some food and books. My doctor told me I had cancer and needed to undergo chemotherapy. This made Doreen more attentive than ever. She took me out to eat a day or two before my chemotherapy session because afterwards, eating became a real struggle. Then the drug took its toll on my body. I lost my hair and my skin turned ashen. Doreen gave me a wig, a make-up kit, and some fancy earrings to enhance my looks. She was not exceptionally pious, but when she visited San Francisco in June 2000 for a speaking engagement, she brought me back a small vial of oil from the shrine of St. Jude in California. Maybe it will help, she said. She meant a cure for my cancer.

Many other people drew from Doreen's seemingly inexhaustible treasure chest of goodness. Last February, she wanted to honor Bien Lumbera's invitation to the *zarzuela* "Hibik at Himagsik nina Victoria Laktaw" at the Guerrero Theater in UP. It meant taking the stairs, a daunting challenge to someone whose ambulatory powers had been vitiated by various illnesses. Doreen gingerly negotiated some 80 steps up Palma Hall, clinging to the balustrade with her right hand and leaning on her nurse with the left. She was determined to give joy to her friends in theater. That evening I saw the face of true friendship.

Some people thought Doreen had the luxury of time, which explains her prodigious output—at least a dozen books, numerous scholarly and popular articles in international and local journals, plus unpublished manuscripts read at different conferences, not to mention her weekly food column. On top of these were her multiple roles as teacher (12 hours a week!), administrator, and member of various committees and boards inside and outside the Ateneo. How did she manage? By choosing her options. This meant, among other things, giving up movies and television, and getting up at 4 a.m. either to write, to edit, or to check papers. Reading fiction was her only luxury. Given Doreen's increasingly fragile health, it's a wonder how she survived those days "thinly sliced," as she put it. Discipline? Hard work? Talent? Commitment? Perhaps all these together and more. I think she was able to achieve what she did because she loved and enjoyed what she was doing.

If anybody ever thought of calling Doreen "mother of perpetual help" I would agree. She had a tremendous capacity for empathy and compassion. In fact, she was like a one-woman charitable institution, ready to give time or money or both to anybody in need. There was one Filipino writer, a long-time resident of the US, who was dying in a nursing home, apparently neglected by family and friends. When this writer died, the nurse remembered Doreen's visit some years back and called her up overseas to give her the news. Doreen felt bad that she could not even do anything for that person.

Another friend, a historian who lived abroad, had gathered a lot of data on Philippine history, but these were inadequate to complete a book. Doreen suggested he try writing fiction. He was surprised because he never thought of it, but thrilled at the idea. Do you think I can do it? He asked. Of course, said Doreen. I'm not sure how far this historian has gone into his fiction writing, but when his novel or story comes out, I'm almost sure he would acknowledge Doreen.

Doreen's generosity knew no bounds. She had a heart so big that so many people could fit in it. And yet each one she treated in a unique fashion. Ironically, the childless mother left behind numerous orphans so much so that Doreen's death triggered an outpouring of grief in print and in cyberspace. Even her very own family was overwhelmed. Doreen had woven an incredibly extensive network of relationships in her nearly 40 years of teaching and writing. She loved well and was well loved in return. As one Spanish writer put it, *amor con amor se paga*. Love is paid by love alone.

HOMILY: A FUNERAL MASS FOR DOREEN FERNANDEZ

Fr. Bernardo Ma. Perez
Cultural Center of the Philippines
July 5, 2002

About the Author
Fr. Bernardo Ma. Perez, OSB is the Prior of Montserrat Abbey and has served as the Rector of San Beda College for 24 years. He was also a member of the Board of Trustees of the CCP and of the Archdiocese of Manila's Committee on Liturgical Environment and Art. He is also on the Committee on Monuments and Sites of the NCCA.

"The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

Beloved family and friends of Doreen, dear brothers and sisters in Christ:

On Tuesday last week I was told that Doreen had passed away, and since then I have been haunted by that passage from the Book of Job in slightly altered form, "The Lord gave us Doreen, and the Lord has taken her away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

For all of us who are gathered here this afternoon and for many more who are not here with us, Doreen was a precious, irreplaceable gift from the Lord.

She was a gift to her family. As daughter, sister, aunt, wife, and foster mother, she was an embodiment of devotion: loving, caring, affirming, helping, and encouraging. She was loveable and she was loved.

She was a gift to the schools where she taught: St. Scholastica's College, where she graduated from high school and college, and where she began her career as a teacher, and the Ateneo de Manila University, where she taught for close to thirty years. There she handled a wide range of subjects, then undertook research, became an administrator, and with all these, continued to teach.

In an interview she said, "I think I am basically a teacher. Basically, completely, and thoroughly a teacher." And what a great teacher she was. In 1998 she was one of the twelve Outstanding Teachers of the Philippines named by the Metrobank Foundation. But Doreen was not only an outstanding teacher; she was outstanding in many other ways. She was, to quote Belinda Aquino, "writer, editor, critic, mentor, speaker, lecturer, expert, judge of various contests, board trustee or director, cultural icon, literary figure, and more."

She was a gift to writers: the young, budding, struggling writers whose talent she recognized and whom she led towards excellence and renown, and the venerated elders whose distinguished history she lovingly recorded.

She was a gift to her friends and it's amazing that she could make so many feel so

special. One of them wrote: "I feel so fortunate to have met you! You shine with so much great goodness, modesty and intelligence … Of all my Filipino friends, you are the Friend I Most Want To Keep." Those words came from Jose Garcia Villa.

Doreen was a gift to Filipino culture. She was an indefatigable, constantly exploring scholar. She wrote books, papers, and articles on literature, theatre, education, and of course, food. She was the editor of and one of the major contributors to the volume on theatre of the Encyclopedia of Philippine Art published by the Cultural Center of the Philippines. For her outstanding contribution to the development of Filipino culture in the twentieth century, she was named one of the 100 recipients of the Centennial Honors for the Arts conferred by the CCP in 1999.

Doreen was an immensely gifted and totally committed person, yet she was modest, gracious, amiable, good-humored, and dependable. She was, to use what might be a contradiction in terms, an even-tempered genius, with no trace of eccentricity or egotism. A wonder that she could be so cheerful in spite of all she suffered – diabetes, the effects of a kidney transplant, and virus infections.

We are told that illness and advancing years are the time when God takes back little by little the gifts that he has given us – good health, abundant energy, and even memory. Yet in her last years, Doreen continued to produce. Her last published book was *Palayok*, a work of scholarship and a work of art, and her last word on Filipino food. Early this year she began work on a book on architect and interior designer Wili Fernandez, her devoted husband and her guru in gastronomy. Doreen acknowledged that Wili was the master and she the disciple. But in this case the disciple became greater than the master.

The Lord gave us Doreen, and the Lord has taken her away, not to deprive her of the blessing of life but to give it to her in its fullness and splendor. Holy Scripture tells us that what appears as death is really the passage to eternal peace. Since in Baptism we share in the death of Christ, we shall also share in the glory of his resurrection. And because we believe in Christ as Lord and Savior, we shall, by the power of his dying and rising, conquer death. For Doreen, God's promise of eternal life has now been fulfilled.

In her last moments Doreen humbly surrendered herself to the Lord. She knew she was dying, and she was prepared for it. Like the servant in the parable, she had been given five talents, and at the final accounting, she gave back ten talents.

She was God's gift to us, and because she willingly gave herself back to him, we too should give her back to God in faith and love. As we celebrate this Eucharist for her, let us thank the Lord for the gift that she was to all of us, and let us offer her now as our gift to God, a gift most precious and pleasing to him, the gift of a complete life, rich in beauty and joy and honor and wisdom.

"The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

MOTHER DOREEN

Danton Remoto
Department of English
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
danton_ph@yahoo.com

About the Author

Danton Remoto has published books of poetry and of essays, and writes critical essays and book reviews for national publications. He is currently in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on a Ford Foundation Asia Fellowship grant for a research project on Malaysian and Philippine poetry. He and Doreen were colleagues in the Department of English and in the Manila Critics Circle.

I first read Doreen Gamboa Fernandez when she wrote a review of Nick Joaquin's *An Almanac for Manileños.* It was published in *Philippine Panorama* in the late 70s. I liked the style of writing, light but not lightweight, and the sensibility rooted in Philippine history and culture.

I first heard of Doreen as a teacher when my friend and neighbor, Erwin Rommel Dalisay, became her student in the Freshman Merit class at the Ateneo. Rommel told me how he got a B in his first composition and thought it was a bad grade, until Doreen passed around mimeographed sheets of the students' best essays, and saw his work there. Doreen marked the essays, typed them herself, and discussed them in class, workshop style. Her point was that students learnt best from reading the finest work written outside the classroom—and the finest work of their peers.

In 1979, I became a Business Management major at the Ateneo, where I belonged to the regular Freshman English section. One day, my teacher passed around a mimeographed essay written by Doreen. It was about Van Cliburn playing at the Cultural Center of the Philippines, about how the First Lady, Imelda R. Marcos, had flown tulips from Holland especially for the occasion, the pomp, the hypocrisy, the madness of it all. It was, as usual, a well-written piece. But it was 1980, and the Marcos dictatorship was still regnant in the land. So my teacher asked us to return copies of the essay to her after we had read it.

When I became the editor-in-chief of *Heights*, the Ateneo's literary journal, I changed our bulletin board into a poetry board. I typed the poems of the campus writers, asked our artists to illustrate them, then pasted them on the board. We changed the poems and the

illustrations every week. To our surprise, it became a hit. Every Monday, students would crowd in front of the *Heights* Poetry Board and read the new poems and look at the new drawings we had put up. Doreen donated delicate and beautiful Japanese paper for our board, and told the UP Writers' Workshop that summer of what we had done.

I also started the Ateneo Writers' Club and we had a poetry-writing contest. Being president also meant being fund-raiser, and with my begging bowl I did the rounds. One of our donors was Doreen. Afterward, I would run to her, when I needed help with the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride March. Later, I would call her up or e-mail her when I needed advice about what another writer called "the shipwrecks of the heart."

My friendship with Doreen deepened when we went on teacher-training workshops, when we banded together against an unfair administrator, when we went to the meetings of the Manila Critics Circle, and when we went out to eat. Once we went to the Central Luzon State University in Muñoz, Nueva Ecija to give a workshop under the Ateneo Center for English Language Teaching. Her driver, Arsenio, drove Doeren, the poet Rofel G. Brion, and myself all the way to San Jose.

"Now we know the way to San Ho-say," I sang as Rofel and Doreen giggled. Oh, how I remember Doreen giggling, then laughing that trademark laughter of hers: low and rolling, her lips smiling widely, her eyes full of light.

The teachers recognized her from her columns. Aside from writing a food column for a newspaper, she also wrote a monthly column on teaching for the *Philippine Journal of Education,* which has a wide readership. When my mother was still teaching, she was also a regular subscriber to the *PJE.* The teachers in Nueva Ecija were charmed by Doreen's humility and her common sense. "When we teach composition," she said, "we should not ask our students to write about Greece or Rome. We should ask them to write about things close to home, like their family, their friends, why, even the market."

And so the next morning, after a breakfast of Tagalog beef steak, garlic rice and a glass of Milo ("this glass of Milo reminds me of my childhood," Doreen said), we went to market. Doreen was an enthusiastic observer. She asked about the name of a fish she did not know, and then we listened to a vendor singing sweetly, to entice the customers to her table of freshly-caught fish. The next week, that vignette was already in her column.

In the mid-90's an Ateneo administrator fired three teachers up for permanency. But we thought the whole procedure was rigged, and so the whole department was in an uproar. Doreen saw the injustice of it all, and in her own way, helped us press our case. The case has since gone to court so I cannot talk about it. But I remember the time Doreen, Fr. Galdon, the administrator and I were having a meeting. The administrator had a clumsy

grasp of the English language. That day, she said, "Okay, let's have a *quickie* meeting now."

And Doreen, who disliked inelegance in language, clapped her hands and said, her eyes, sparkling: "Oh, how delicious!"

The administrator snapped: "We should be serious!"

And Doreen, bless her witty soul, opened her sleek, black bag and said, while putting the contents one by one on the table: "Okay, let's be serious now. Who's not serious?" And one by one, the table was filled with her pen, her small notebook, her memo pad, the syringe she used for her diabetic shots. And one by one, she returned these things to her sleek, black bag.

I wanted to burst out laughing.

Doreen would also drive to the meetings of the Manila Critics Circle. She would pick me up in the English Department, and we drove to Café Ysabel or the University of Santo Tomas or wherever it was the MCC would be meeting. Our group read dozens of books and chose the best books of the year for our National Book Awards. On the way, Doreen and I would update each other.

She would be reading the new novel by John Le Carre or Gabriel Garcia Marquez. She read novels voraciously, preferably newsprint because they were cheaper and lighter to carry. There would be one novel in her car, another on her work desk, and another beside her bed. She would tell me how she watched this historical play ("How atrocious, Danton!") and how she fled during the break, taking a circuitous route so as not to meet the playwright on her way out.

She never liked giving a bad review, whether of a play, a book, or a restaurant. Instead of giving a bad review, she just ignored it. On hindsight, I thought it would be better to get a negative review than to be totally ignored. But Doreen's point is that it was a waste of space—and psychic energy, I suppose—to talk about the unwatchable, the unreadable, or the inedible.

But boy, this woman had spine. During the meetings of the Manila Critics Circle, she would argue clearly, coolly, but firmly against a book or an author's style of writing or his/her documentation or the inclusion of a person in the MCC. "She writes like a schoolmarm," or "His Spanish is mistranslated," or "That social-realist novel is full of clichés," or "He needs to know more about Philippine literature!" Then we would eat—and eat well, after which, Doreen would open her bag, get her syringe, and inject herself with her diabetic shots. The macho men of the MCC would cringe.

Shayne Lumbera also told me how Doreen would visit Bien Lumbera at the Bicutan Detention Center during the early years of Martial Law. One apocryphal story went that

since only nuns and priests could go in and out of Bicutan, Doreen dressed herself as a nun so she could visit her friends. She would bring drinks, food (Doreen = food, in our collective memory), and cigarettes for Bien and company. One time, when the writer Ricky Lee collapsed from a lung problem, Doreen brought her own personal doctor—the best lung doctor in the Philippines—to Bicutan. Aside from ministering to them, Doreen also told them stories on what Ferdinand Marcos and his extravagant wife Imelda were doing to the country, on what the people are doing, in their own ways, to subvert this darkness over the land.

Doreen, of course, is not a saint. Or was now; it's still hard to talk of Doreen in the past tense. Oh the many other stories she told me about writers and artists, matrons and politicians, pretenders to the throne and mistresses of illusion. But they were so acerbic, so sly, so wicked I am reserving them for my memoirs—which I will write 50 years from now. And she told me these stories when we went out to this or that restaurant to eat. She needed a male companion to check out the men's bathroom for her restaurant review. Like my father, she knew how to eat the head of fish, savoring the gelatinous part; or nibble even the eye of a fish. She knew the pleasures of the table and the text.

I will write about these stories later, but not the catalogue of books Doreen had written. They include *The Iloilo Zarzuela: 1903-1930, In Performance,* and with Edilberto Alegre, *The Writer and His Milieu, Vols. 1 and 2, Sarap: Essays on Philippine Food, Kinilaw: A Philippine Cuisine of Freshness,* and the *Lasa* series of restaurant guides. She also wrote a book on how to conduct interviews, *Palabas: Essays on Philippine Theater, Fruits of the Philippines,* and *Palayok.* She also wrote video scripts on culture: *Tikim, Panitikan*, and *Dulaan IV: The American Colonial and Contemporary Traditions in Philippine Theater.* Moreover, she translated into English the plays of Valente Cristobal, Tony Perez, Rene O. Villanueva, and Cris Millado.

Because she had given us a universe of words, I thought that we, too, owed her a *hommage* in words. So in 1999 I asked Jonathan Chua of the Ateneo to edit a festschrift for Doreen for the Office of Research and Publications, which I used to manage. Called *Feats and Feasts,* the handsome book gathers together essays, stories, poems and interviews done by Doreen's friends. It was launched when I was studying in the U.S., and I was happy that the ORP donated the hardcover editions of the book for the launching of the Doreen G. Fernandez Chair, which would fund the training of new teachers.

I was asked to write a script for the Tribute to Doreen, Jason Lorenzana of the Communication Arts Department directed it, and the video documentary was shown during the launching of the DGF Chair. Our video documentary was brisk and breezy, full of vintage photographs bridged by Doreen's favorite songs. And I still remember Doreen's smile that night: it was shimmering with light, the eyes of the Mother Doreen we all love.

TRIBUTE TO DOREEN GAMBOA FERNANDEZ

BAYAN Public Information Department

About the Author
The Concerned Artists of the Philippines is an organization of critically oriented artists, critics, and scholars. It sponsors symposia and discussions on the socio-political dimensions of art and aesthetic forms and values. It also participates in rallies and various mobilizations with basic sectors concerning pressing national and international issues.

Following is the text of a message of condolence read during the tribute to Doreen Gamboa Hernandez organized by the Concerned Artists of the Philippines.

We are deeply saddened by the death of our dear friend Doreen. We wish to extend our sincere condolences to her mother, Alicia, her sister Della and brother Nil, to all her nieces and nephews, and to her colleagues and friends.

While we grieve Doreen's leaving us, we celebrate her life and her achievements. We are inspired by her fruitful and meaningful service to the people.

We all knew Doreen. Some of us knew her since childhood. Others since the '60's, '70's, '80's and '90's, meeting and working with her in one or more of her numerous activities and in organizations to which she belonged.

Doreen had a high sense of patriotism, manifested in her various forms of participation in the struggle for national independence and democracy. This was especially so in the field of culture.

She was a literary and cultural critic; a scholar and a promoter of the national cultural heritage. She took pride in our people and nation; she used her numerous skills to make known their admirable aspects, and in a didactic and pleasant way, to point out their weaknesses.

We admire her acute sense of social justice, profound sympathy for the poor and oppressed, and her readiness to stand up for their rights and interests.

Julie remembers approaching her for help in 1974. Doreen readily agreed to take on special tasks in the service of the people and in the resistance movement against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Julie is grateful for the advice and assistance she gave to the Free Jose Maria Sison Committee from 1982 to 1986.

Joma has always admired Doreen's progressive activism in the field of art and

literature since the early 1970s. He was elated when soon after his release from military detention in 1986, he met her and she treated him and Julie to a delicious lunch of *pagkaing masa* [food of the masses] that she loved in an Intramuros restaurant.

He felt honored when Doreen attended his lecture series on the Philippine crisis and revolution at the UP Asian Center from April to May 1986, and she subsequently compiled his ten lectures. He fondly remembers Doreen coming to Utrecht in the early 1990s to tape his narrative of experiences for her collection of oral history on the Philippine revolutionary movement. He regards Doreen as an outstanding scholar enriching the memory of our people.

Doreen, says Coni Ledesma, was part of her childhood. She was one of the older cousins Connie looked up to. They did not get to see much of each other in their adult years, but Coni would hear of her achievements, read her columns and somehow keep in touch with her that way. Doreen too continued to be interested in what Louie and she were doing. They connected again, and bonded when Doreen came to Utrecht in the early '90's, and they spent the whole day together. They were again able to spend an afternoon together in January this year, when Coni was back in Manila for a visit. She was ever interested in our work, especially in the work among overseas Filipinos. A few weeks before her death, Coni received several of her books on Philippine food and culture. She sent these to help in the work among our compatriots abroad.

Mela Castillo Zumel remembers Doreen as a warm and gentle lady *kasama* (comrade), welcoming to her home those who resisted the fascist terror. She made her home available to them not only for meetings but also for rest and recreation both for them and for their children. She remembers accompanying Doreen to a trip in Central Luzon. On the way, they talked about social relevance in paintings and how hard it was for social realist artists to gain acceptance in the mainstream world of art.

Doreen will always live in the hearts and minds of those who had the privilege of knowing and working with her. She will live on among the many Filipinos who have read her books and who, through her, will learn and be proud that they are Filipinos.

Her death is heavier than the Sierra Madre.

REMEMBERING DOREEN

Bienvenido F. Nebres, S.J.
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines

About the Author
Bienvenido F. Nebres, S.J. is a member of the National Academy of Science and Technology and of the Governing Council of the Philippine Council for Advanced Science and Technology Research and Development. He is also Vice President of the Jesuit Conference of East Asia and Oceania, and President of the Ateneo de Manila University. He holds a PhD in Mathematics from Stanford University and degrees in Theology Studies and Philosophy. Father Nebres was awarded the *Order de Palmes Academiques* by the French Government in 1981 and the Rank of Officer in the National Order of Merit of the French Republic in 2001.

Last Saturday on coming back from a workshop in Davao with our Graduate School of Business, I was jolted somewhat on finding on top of my incoming correspondence a letter from Doreen. An intimation of her continuing presence among us. It was dated May 28, but only got to me on that day. In the letter she told me she was leaving for the US the next day and would be back June 26, in time for her classes. "I signed up for the Boston College seminar on Jesuit Art and Culture," she said. And she had promised the conference organizers a report on Jesuit Music and Theater in the Philippines for a future conference. The main reason for her letter, however, was to give me a progress report on a project we have been discussing for a couple of years: A history of the Ateneo de Manila in time for our sesquicentennial, our 150th anniversary, in 2009. She attached an outline and preliminary table of contents for the history. "The Ateneo: 1859-2009, Ang Ateneo: Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas" [Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow]. We started discussing these topics in detail after her previous long illness and confinement and we will treasure her notes as an inspiration for us to carry on her commitment and dream.

Doreen is an important person in that history. She started teaching at the Ateneo in 1972, a legacy of 30 years of teaching, mentoring and leadership. I was Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences in her early years and we went together through the transitions of martial law, Filipinization (including sitting together in Filipino classes), and social conscientization at the Ateneo. We kept in touch through the years when I was away as Jesuit Provincial and President of Xavier University. She was one of the professors I saw

most often upon my return as President in 1993. How can we capture these years at the Ateneo in a few words? Let me sketch them in terms of gifts that are among her legacy to us.

First, her gift of writing and the word. Generations of Ateneans, from freshmen in her creative writing classes, to the staff of the *Guidon* where she was moderator, to graduate students and faculty and staff who had her as mentor in writing workshops, are heirs of her gift and legacy of the word. In evoking from each one the power of the word, she also helped us find ourselves and all testify to the beauty and wonder she helped them discover in people, in the world around them, in their own inner selves, in God. I thank her in a very special way for her teaching and mentoring of our Jesuit scholastics through the years, she was much loved by them and she will live on in their own ministry of the Word.

Second, her gift of our culture and people. Doreen's research and writing interests have been about us as a people: the Iloilo Zarzuela, essays on Philippine food and culture, essays on Philippine history. She has been on the editorial board of *Philippine Studies* and was recently appointed Editor-in-Chief. She would bring students, among them our Jesuit scholastics, to Angono to meet musicians and artists and be introduced to traditional foods—re-introducing us to ourselves. In our Mass for her last week—the first to be celebrated at the Church of the Gesu—I spoke about Doreen and her essays on food and culture. I was reminded of a research project of Catholic Universities some years past on "Food and Love", in French "Nourriture et Amour". When we come to think of it, we first learn love and bonding and trust at our mothers' breasts. Even in her 90s when her memory grows dim and confused, the first greeting to me of my mother is, "Have you eaten?" And, of course, how often Jesus is portrayed in the Gospels at a meal and when he wanted us to remember Him, He gave Himself to us as our Food. The Mass was especially to thank the workers who have been building the Church. In the *salu-salo* [gathering] afterwards, they said the food was especially good and asked if it was from Miss Doreen. I think Doreen would have loved that. Thank you, Doreen, for revealing us to ourselves as a people in our food and culture.

Finally, I would like to thank Doreen for her gift of wisdom and centering. Doreen was Chair of the Departments of Communication, English and Interdisciplinary Studies, a member of the University Board of Trustees, a key leader in numerous University committees through the years. As Dean in the 1970s and President in the 1990s I could always depend on her as a colleague for wise counsel, for a view to the common and the greater good, for equanimity and calmness in turmoil. In the life of an administrator, this is a priceless gift from a colleague.

When I was interviewed for a forthcoming issue of the Ateneo *Guidon*, for a tribute to Doreen who was their moderator, and was asked what would be my most lasting memory of her, I said that I was reminded of a passage from Anne Morrow Lindbergh's "Gifts from the Sea". There, she speaks of her multiple roles, as a career woman, writer and journalist, wife to a national icon, mother. In reflecting on the pulls and demands in her life she chooses the image of wheel – the many spokes are these multiple roles and demands of those around her and she herself, her most central role, to be the steady and unmoving center that holds these spokes together and allows the wheel to carry on its task. Amidst the multiple gifts and roles that Doreen has played at the Ateneo, I will remember her most for being a strong steady center in our life and our work: teaching us and mentoring us, reminding us of our legacy and values, always there for us in our need, in our work, and in our life.

Thank you, Doreen, for everything.

PARANGAL KAY DOREEN
BAYAN TRIBUTE FOR MS. DOREEN GAMBOA FERNANDEZ

Editor's Note
This piece is read by Dr. Carol Pagaduan-Araullo, vice-chairperson of BAYAN in a tribute organized by the Concerned Artists of the Philippines on July 9, 2002 at the conference hall of the Faculty Center, University of the Philippines.

On the surface, Ms. Doreen Fernandez seems an unlikely recipient of a tribute by militant national democratic mass organizations allied under the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN). Most people, including political activists and social reformers alike, only knew about Doreen as a connoisseur of the best table spreads in town. She also happened to write about food in a most delectable and engaging style that did justice to her subject matter.

But she was more than that. Even as she wrote about the delights of eating creatively and exquisitely prepared food, she also seriously researched and wrote about the distinctively Filipino in the culture of food. She did not disdain to write about what ordinary Filipinos, the masa, ate; thereby introducing their tastes and thus, their worldview and values, to students and the general reading public.

Of course, Doreen was an accomplished writer, a literary critic and an esteemed and beloved teacher to several generations of young people. Her writings bear the stamp of meticulous as well as insightful scholarship and always, a sense of what is Filipino and what is of and by the still emerging Filipino liberated culture. Her body of work constitutes an invaluable contribution to preserving our people's rich cultural heritage and passing this on to future generations.

On top of a lifetime of outstanding achievements in the relatively sedate world of the academe combined with her popularity as a "foodie," Doreen contributed her share to the life-and-death struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship in various ways, discreet and open, big and small.

In later years, she continued to render assistance to the progressive movement. An example of this was her help in providing access to Filipiniana material in the Ateneo de Manila University for the video documentary, "Sa Liyab ng Libong Sulo" [From the Flames of a Thousand Torches]. She also willingly commented on the appropriateness of the menu for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the National Democratic Front

(NDF) that was timed with the return to the Philippines of NDF leaders Coni Ledesma and Luis Jalandoni. She wanted the food served to be in keeping with the nationalist and democratic aspirations and traditions of the NDF/CPP/NPA [Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army].

BAYAN salutes Ms. Doreen Gamboa Fernandez. We are honored that she was part of our people's national democratic struggles, contributing her talent, skill, time and graciousness in the service of our people. Our people are diminished by her early passing. We extend heartfelt sympathies to her family and friends who grieve at the loss of a Filipino patriot we can all be proud of.

IN HIS OWN WORDS: AN INTERVIEW WITH FRANCISCO ARCELLANA ON JOSE GARCIA VILLA

Jonathan Chua
Department of Interdisciplinary Studies
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
jchua@ateneo.edu

About the Author

Jonathan Chua sat in Doreen Fernandez's class on literary research and wrote a thesis on Villa with her as adviser. He is editor of *Feasts and Feats*, a festschrift for Doreen Fernandez.

Editor's Note

Portions of this interview appeared in *Pen and Ink* 1 (1997): 18-22.

When Doreen G. Fernandez and National Artist Francisco Arcellana passed away earlier this year, Philippine Literature was left the poorer. Dr. Fernandez, about whom more is written elsewhere in this issue, was a chronicler of its theater and output in English; Mr. Arcellana, a creator of that literature and a bearer of its memories. Between them significant chapters of the story of Philippine Literature, its gaps and cruxes, were laid bare and glossed.

Mr. Arcellana, born 6 September 1916, was the leader of the Veronicans, a group of thirteen writers formed in 1934 who broke away from traditional themes and forms in short-story writing. Among its members were Narciso Reyes, N. V. M. Gonzalez, Estrella Alfon, and Hernando Ocampo—all of them important names in Philippine writing in English. Their stories were deemed too controversial (that is, too sexually explicit, too violent) to be published in the national magazines, so the group started its own publication called *Expressions*, with Arcellana as its editor.

Mr. Arcellana's stories, many of which were written and published in the 1930s, are known for their lyricism. The stories are collected, rather belatedly, in *Selected Stories* (1962) and *The Francisco Arcellana Sampler* (1990). In their terseness, intensity, and mystery, they are almost poetic. In such stories as "Robin in the Reading Room" and "The Trilogy of Turtles," Mr. Arcellana resorts to repetition, stream of consciousness, and startling imagery, the better to impress his insights into love and death.

These stories caught the attention of Jose Garcia Villa (1908-1997), fictionist, poet,

and critic—the most important Filipino writer in English of his generation. By the time the Veronicans were formed, Mr. Villa had already made a mark in the United States as a short-story writer and had been issuing an "annual selection" of the best Filipino short stories. Mr. Arcellana's were regularly in his honor roll. The two wrote to each other, met, and remained friends.

Both were eventually interviewed by Dr. Fernandez for the series *Writers and Their Milieu* (1984 and 1987), Villa in the first volume and Arcellana in the second. In her interview with Mr. Arcellana, Dr. Fernandez emphasized his prodigious memory—for he recalled even middle initials—and thus his value as a source of literary history. "He is the only one," she wrote rightly, "who could write the still unwritten history of contemporary Philippine literature in English."[1] However, it was Dr. Fernandez who finally put his words down for posterity—the gossip, analyses, reveries, middle initials and all.

I could not, therefore, as a graduate student writing a thesis on Jose Garcia Villa reasonably skip the opportunity to get Dr. Fernandez as thesis adviser or to interview Mr. Arcellana about his longtime friend and admirer Mr. Villa. The following is a transcript of the interview, only slightly edited, that Dr. Fernandez and I conducted. The main subject is, of course, Mr. Villa. However, in the course of the interview, Mr. Arcellana inevitably mentioned other Filipino writers and his own writings. It may be taken as an extension of his interview in *Writers*, inspired and informed by it, as informative and, I would like to believe, as faithful to its aims: "to retrieve material for literary biography" and "to lay foundations for the literary history still to be written, and to support the literary criticism ongoing."[1]

Here, then, is a bit of Philippine literary history, prepared and presented in a form that Dr. Fernandez pioneered in locally, containing data on two of the country's most important writers in English.

* * *

JC: How did your correspondence with Villa begin?

FA: He wrote to me first. Because of *Expressions* number one.[2]

JC: I notice that your stories are lyrical, which quality Villa seems to like.

---

1 *Wrtiers and Their Milieu* (Manila: De La Salle University, 1987), 35.

2 The first issue was put out in 1934.

FA: I think he is the same kind of writer. Maybe he was partial to lyricism, that kind of writing.

DGF: But did he say so to you?
FA: Yes, he did. DGF: In writing? verbally?
FA: Both. But I think … how do you put it? We just like each other, you know. As far as each other is concerned, I was probably the person closest to him in the islands.

JC: There's a letter he wrote about you that got published….

FA: He was trying to explain something that he wrote about me which was not meant for publication, which he wrote to N. V. M. [Gonzalez], which Teddy Locsin[3] published in *Free Press*. It was a beautiful letter…. He was writing about my prose. He thought it was too loose … Everything bad about prose he found in my prose. And I believed him…. And so he wrote that letter to N.V.M. and somehow Teddy got hold of it and then he printed it in the *Free Press*…. I didn't mind.[4]

JC: But he [Villa] explained to you.

FA: Yes. Villa felt so badly about it. He wrote to me about it. I wish I had that letter. He was writing me a lot of letters. He was a very good letter writer, *eh*. Very good. Very good letter writer. And I was able to collect maybe this much letters. And then Estrella [Alfon] borrowed them—she was staying at the YWCA. Before I knew it, the thing was lost. *Si Estrella*. [That's Estrella.]

JC: His letter to N. V. M. appeared in an essay you wrote. He says: "I wonder if he will pursue prose or poetry. One must make a choice. I believe that he is essentially a poet and therefore should work
hard at poetry…."[5]

FA: Ah, that's the one! That's the letter! Yes.

---

3 Teodoro M. Locsin, Sr. (b. 1914) was the editor of the *Philippines Free Press*.

4 But see below and note 6.

5 Villa, epigraph to Francisco Arcellana, "The Via Villa," *Literary Apprentice* (1948-49): 62. Did Arcellana confuse the *Literary Apprentice* with the *Free Press*?

JC: *You* wrote about Villa in that essay. And your thesis was: "But never before until now have we
had a poet who first wrote prose that was the very prose and then prose that tended to poetry and was sometimes prose and sometimes poetry…."[6] And then you said, "Now…."

FA: "Mar pacifica."

JC: "… for the purest blue in the mar pacifica of poetry, now for purity in poetry, now for the purest poetry." This was before *Volume Two*.[7] Do you think that Villa ever reached that blue?

FA: I think Villa achieved being a pure poet. But here's the problem. He has always remained self-absorbed. Yah. His poems are self-absorbed. Beyond himself there was nothing, which of course was not true. Beyond ourselves is the world! Yah, and he never broke through.

JC: Do you think he would have become a better poet if he had broken through?

FA: The trouble is [it is] a matter of temperament. He simply wasn't capable of breaking through. *You* [pointing a finger at DGF] met him.

DGF: Yah.

FA: *O* [Well], he simply wasn't capable of breaking through. In other words, he was like a child. And he is *still* a child.

JC: You wrote an essay in the *Brown Heritage* on the short story and you said that Villa "helped define [the short story], gave it direction."[8]

FA: Because you know, he made annual selections [of the best short stories]. And

6 Ibid.

7 Villa's second volume of poetry published in the United States (by New Directions, 1949), where are found the "comma poems."

8 Francisco Arcellana, "The Short Story," in *Brown Heritage*, ed. Antonio Manuud (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967), 609.

everybody was trying to make it into the selection. You know, he gave three stars—three asterisks, two asterisks, and one asterisk…. He really directed [us], although we weren't aware of it.

JC: And was the direction good or bad?

FA: You see, we were an American colony, and Villa was doing for us what Edward J. O Brien was doing for the American short story. It's that. Only that…. Of course, [at] hindsight, oh boy, I would have all the advantage. I'd say that he is a very small tributary. For one thing, I think maybe better work was being done in Tagalog. Well, I say maybe because I haven't read enough.

JC: There's a short story by Marcel Navara, Cebuano writer, in which the main character follows Villa's advice on writing stories by imitating the stories listed in the roll of honor.

FA: Nothing like that happened to us. What you described…a deliberate, conscious…. Nothing like that happened to us. For example, *ako* [in my case]—I can only speak for myself, no—I was really writing like myself. And that, I felt, was what you would call the individual voice. Villa was very full of that, *eh*.
He would speak of a writer achieving his voice. And there are not too many of us who he felt had achieved what he calls voice.

JC: Who might these be?

FA: Narsing [Narciso Reyes], N. V. M. Gonzalez, Manuel Arguilla.[9] *'Yan*. [There you go.]

JC: Were *you* influenced by Villa?

FA: Ah, yes. I mean, for a long while I couldn't tell myself apart from Villa. I mean, even writing— even speaking—you might say have traces [of Villa].

JC: So do you call yourself an angel?

9 Manuel Arguilla (1910-1944), Filipino short-story writer, most popularly known for his use of "local color" as in "How My Brother Brought Home a Wife."

FA: Well, not to that extent. I think this angel thing he got from William Blake. Yeah, he got that from William Blake. At that time I was reading Blake, too.

JC: Villa's favorite Filipino writer is Nick Joaquin, is that right?

FA: This is very interesting. Villa wanted to be close to Nick, and Nick just rebuffed him! Yes. Nick just snubbed him…. *Naawa ako kay Villa*. [I felt sorry for Villa.] He wanted, he really wanted very much to be close to Nick. He admired him [Joaquin] so much.

JC: Although Nick would write an essay about Villa.

FA: Very good essay.

JC: But I wonder how accurate it is with regard to biographical information, because he has a tendency to dramatize….

DGF: He's a very good reporter so I would suspect they are accurate.

FA: Nick interviewed F. V. R. [Philippine President Fidel V. Ramos] and published the interview in the *Graphic*, which everybody admired for being accurate, objective, precise.

JC: Do you remember Liam Kreeps?

FA: No.[10]

JC: But you mentioned him in your article.

FA: I'm losing my memory!

JC: What about your poetry?

FA: My poetry?

10 Kreeps was an Irish janitor in New York who gave Villa four dollars to help pay the rent. He died before *Have Come, Am Here* was published. Ironically, his story appears in Arcellana's essay "Fifty Years of Jose Garcia Villa," *Philippines Free Press*, 23 May 1959, 46-47.

DGF: You want to know what Villa said about Franz's poetry?

JC: Yes.

DGF [to FA]: Did Villa comment on the poems?

FA: He called my poetry—this is his exact words—"elementary verse." Elementary verse! He thought that I was *essentially* a poet. See, there's a world of difference. He thought I was essentially a poet and therefore should move to poetry. I tried to but couldn't get there. That is the situation. Yah, I tried to…but I just couldn't hack it.

JC: He says the same of Angela Manalang Gloria's poems.

FA: Angela is a very fine poet. I'm really flattered.

JC: Were you affected by his choices?

FA: The thing is, there was a need for me to say these things [the content of his poems] and so I sat down and said them as I always did. And maybe Villa was right that they were elementary…. When I was given the National Artist for "Flowers of May" I believed them [the committee], because I was saying to myself if C. P. R. [Carlos P. Romulo] can be named National Artist for "I saw the rise, I saw the fall" whatever, then I said I have the right to be named National Artist for "Flowers of May." See? Yah. You know that story, don't you? It's about this family….

JC: No. I've only read "The Mats."

FA: No wait, I'm talking about "The Mats"! I'm talking about "The Mats." Why did I say "Flowers of May"?

DGF: That's good too.

FA: No, I think "Flowers of May" was my favorite. I'm talking about "The Mats." Joaquin calls it ["The Mats"] an archetype. An archetype…whatever that means.

JC: And what did Villa say?

FA: Villa loved that story. He did.[11]

JC: It was translated into Filipino.

DGF: Where?

JC: In Sol [Soledad Reyes]'s book.[12]

FA: I think the story *is* Filipino. I think that is it's strong point. It's really a Filipino story.

DGF: It's a best-selling children's book.[13]

FA: Right!… Maybe they're doing well because of the nice artwork. Beautiful.

JC: What norms do you follow when you write?

FA: I just write the story. I don't bother about what you call norms. It's just a story. It's a matter between me and the story. It's the story that I'm trying to tell. I think it is for that reason that I have been able to write…. The stories that I want to write … ah, I just can. I mean, it's a kind of wrestling. I find myself pinned to the floor. Instead of me pinning the story, it's the story pinning me.

DGF: That must be heavy.

FA: Very heavy. Now, there's another thing. Some people say I should write a novel.

DGF: You once said you would.

FA: Well, it seems that the only way I can write now is by dictating it. I don't have a dictating machine.

---

11 The story is in Villa's Roll of Honor for 1938.

12 Isagani Cruz and Soledad Reyes, *Ang Ating Panitikan* [Our Literature] (Manila: Goodwill, 1989)

13 *The Mats*. Illustrated by Hermes Alegre (Manila: Tahanan, 1995).

DGF: I have one.

JC: Let's go back to literary norms. Were you writing with a conscious set of norms in your head?

FA: No, no notions of writing a great story or even writing a story *a la* American stories … like what's the name of this guy who writes in Cebuano?

JC: Marcel Navara.

FA: Nothing like that.

JC: Did you ever talk to Villa about the short story?

FA: He talked about voice, about the story where you hear the voice of the writer. So it can be anything. It can be … like "My Old Man" by Ernest Hemingway. You know that story? It's written in illiterate English, but that's the voice of the old man there…. It's his [Hemingway's] greatest short story. Not many people know this.

JC: I thought it was "The Killers."

FA: No, no. It is the story called … Edward J. O'Brien thinks this is his [Hemingway's] finest story…. This is drawn from a character who appears in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. This is the old man on the bridge. That is the character from which this character is drawn. What I'm saying is…Nothing technical. The way Villa selected short stories [has] nothing to do with norms. Not even technique, *eh*…. It's really a matter of feeling…. When we came up against classics like Nick's, *a, wala 'yan* [no technical norms]. I mean, no question about it. When he comes out with a statement about Nick—"the finest writer"…short stories like "Fathers and Sons" … "Three Generations"— that story, for example. That's the way I look at it. I think it's a natural thing. Villa could identify with the story. He was having problems with his own father. He could identify. It made him more comprehensible to himself. That's it. That really throws criticism out of the window. No really, the way we react to literature … I mean, there is no sense in deceiving ourselves. We don't like it because it's a great piece of work. No! We like it because it touches us. It moves us. It enables us to understand

ourselves. It makes us a better person. Nothing to do with the way it is written. Nothing to do with technique. Absolutely not.

JC: Did Villa share the same views?

FA: Ah, he thought … you know, he was talking about the test of substance and form, which he got from O'Brien. That's a lot of bull. No really, that's a lot of bull.

JC: Do you think he didn't follow these standards?

FA: *I* don't.

DGF: Do you think *he* did?

JC: When he was making those selections?

FA: According to his likes, I guess. According to his likes. Now, there's another thing about Villa. This is the thing I've wondered about. He really can't be as good as when he sits down to write what it is he wants to say vis-à-vis a work. I'm talking about criticism. A letter that he wrote to Carling [Carlos] Angeles[14] had an analysis of a poem by Hart Crane called "At Melville's Tomb." It is the finest thing I've ever read, I've ever seen. You know Hart Crane? This American poet? It's a short poem, maybe about twelve lines [long]. The first line is "Monody shall not wait the mariner." That's the first line. It's "At Melville's tomb." You know *Moby Dick*? The guy who wrote *Moby Dick*? "Monody shall not wait the mariner." Villa wrote *galing* [very good] about this lyric poem. Oh boy! Sharp, sharp…. Incidentally, you try to get hold of this controversy. Villa had a debate with Edmund Wilson about reversed consonance.

DGF: Really?

FA: *Oo*. [Yes.] Villa wrote me about this.

DGF: A written debate?

14 Carlos Angeles (1921-2000), Filipino poet.

FA: Yah, yah…. Well, it's like this. Villa said he invented reversed consonance in his poetry…. Edmund Wilson claims the same thing to discredit [Villa]. He claimed he had invented the same thing, and that essay by Wilson appeared in the *New Yorker*. Naturally, Villa had to….

DGF: Answer?

FA: No, he lost out. My goodness, the *New Yorker* and Edmund Wilson! You're not going to do anything.

DGF: Villa wrote you?

FA: He wrote me about it. He felt awful about it, of course.

DGF: So he wrote you.

FA: Yes, about that.

JC: But he never responded to Wilson?
F
A: No. He just called my attention to it, and I looked up the Wilson essay. Villa calls it "reversed consonance" and Wilson calls it by the Latin equivalent of reversed consonance. That was what convinced me…because Villa's profession of it happened much before [Wilson's]. That's how this guy Wilson is, and I think that is in keeping with Wilson's character.[15]

JC: And Villa's character?

FA: When I met Richard Wilbur for the first time, he asked me, "Ah, you're Filipino?" He had a look I couldn't stand, and I understood it only recently when I was reading an account—I don't know whose account it was. He [Wilbur] was really manifesting an … the impression he had of Villa, his prejudice against Villa. "Oh, you're Filipino," and then he

15 But Villa did write a letter exposing Wilson. The letter was published in *Western Review* (1949) and reprinted in *The Critical Villa* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 307-309.

gave me a look. Then, I understood. It was only this past year when I read this account about these people—about Wilbur, about Villa. And then I learned Wilbur's attitude towards Villa. It's like this. When Wilbur started to write poetry, Villa panned him. Yah, very savagely! Yah, Villa really panned Richard Wilbur.

DGF: Where? Was he writing specifically about his contemporaries?

FA: Villa had a school [a creative writing class]. He was teaching poetry, and he really swept the floor with Richard Wilbur.

DGF: And it got back to Wilbur?

FA: I think so.

JC: This was never published.

FA: No. But as I was saying, Wilbur gave me a look that I did not understand until I learned about this [incident]. And that was in character, because Villa was panning everyone. The only poet he cared for was William Carlos Williams who called him Little Joe. He got very close with William Carlos Williams. A lot of his letters were about William Carlos Williams. He got very close to William Carlos Williams. You know, Villa wrote me a lot of letters about William Carlos Williams.

JC: What did he say? Did he like his poetry?

FA: Yah! It was Villa who published William Carlos Williams as a fictionist for the first time…in *Clay*. Saroyan, too, and a guy by the name of Eugene Joffe. These were the guys that Villa discovered in *Clay*…. He put out three *Clay*'s…. You must read them. My copies were destroyed. There was the fire and after that there was this typhoon.[16]

JC: Villa seemed to have read H. L. Mencken a lot. He quotes from Mencken.…

FA: Mencken was knocking down people.

16 Williams and Saroyan were published in issue number 2 of *Clay*, notes on which journal are in the *Critical Villa*, 56-57.

JC: That quality he got from Mencken.

FA: Not really. I think Villa was really that way. Villa *was* really that way. He was knocking down people. He sort of enjoyed it. He's really *kuwan, eh* [like that]… a gossip, *eh*. He's a gossip. He's a gossip…. Bitchy! What I really would like to see is his *poetica*….

JC: Let's talk about the "essential difference" between prose and poetry, as Villa put it.

FA: There's poetry, of course, and then there's prose. Suppose you can write poetry. Do poetry. Really poetry. I suppose it can be done…. Have you tried reading Blake's prose? Awful! I read Milton. Awful! What I'm saying is this. That notion is correct, but there is also this other thing where you develop from prose to poetry. I do believe that poetry is the summit of language. Jimmy [Gémino] Abad[17] says that in an essay. So it is! So you work up to that. Prose is the lowest low. I mean, we can't kid ourselves. I mean, poetry is the highest possible utterance. Don't you agree? This notion of Villa is a lot of bull. If you're gifted, yeah, maybe, you can open your mouth and poetry comes out. But I think really, you work on the poem and really achieved it.

JC: What do you think of Villa's experiments? Reversed consonance?

FA: I can understand reversed consonance but this matter of sound, this matter of manipulating consonants and vowels. I think that's … gobbledygook. To make the thing very impressive, to make it a secret language to lock you out … Talk about melodies … the theme of Scheherazade. Will someone try to explain to me why I react the way I do? What he was saying about the sound of words … Sound doesn't make sense. You think sound makes sense? That's what he wants to believe. Not only do sounds make sense, they also express emotion. No, no. That is a lot of bull.

JC: The commas?

17 Gémino Abad (b. 1939), Filipino poet and critic, editor of the series of anthologies chronicling the history of Philippine poetry in English: *Man of Earth* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1989), *A Native Clearing* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1993), and *A Habit of Shores* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999).

FA: He speaks of the comma achieving the quantitative pause that he wants. That's a lot of bull. I mean, you're not going to read it the way he feels it. You're going to read it the way you want. I mean, the way you feel.

JC: Have you ever heard him read a comma poem?

FA: Villa's voice is not for reading. It's not even for talking, least of all, for singing. I heard him sing. Oh wow! Remember I told you he was singing this song "A Farewell to Arms"? And he was half a tone off. Half a tone off! He could follow the melody but he was half a tone off. I think he was tone deaf.

JC: The adaptations?

FA: The only way to describe that is a fellow running dry. I mean, the spring is drying up.

JC: Do the commas make a difference if one read the poems out loud?

FA: I don't know if I ever told you I was reading Gertrude Stein. Well, you know how I feel about Stein. And then one evening, I heard Rolando Tinio[18] reading it and I thought I understood the whole damned thing. Even as he was reading it, I really felt I understood. One thing has to be done about poetry. It has to be read. When Rolando read it I understood it.[19]

JC: How did you regard Villa in those days?

FA: He was a master. I mean we lived in anticipation of his annual selections. We looked forward to it. [A. E.] Litiatco[20] made a very big production of it. About three or four weeks before the thing was published he announced, gave the teasers and something like that…. What I'm saying, Jonathan, is that Villa and I were *not* contemporaries. People tend to think… *Footnote to Youth* was published in 1932, and I did not publish *Expressions* until

18 Tinio (1937-1997), Filipino poet, playwright, and critic.

19 See Tinio, "Villa's Values: Or, the Poet You Cannot Always Make Out, or Succeed in Liking When You Are Able To," in *Brown Heritage*, 722-738.

20 A. E. Litiatco (1906-1943) was literary editor of the *Graphic* before the Second World War.

1934. He was already a master. We were not contemporaries. He was a master and we…we read him, we worshipped him, we wanted to be like him…. He has a story called "Given Woman." I think it is one of the finest Philippine short stories. It is the story with which Villa broke into *Scriber's*. It's about this woman and this man Ponso…This guy decides to get rid of this woman, and he gives her away! He gave her away, Flora. *At saka si* Ponso. Si Ponso *yung pangalan nung lalake*. One day, he decides he wants to give her away, so … "Given Woman."

JC: Your favorite story of Villa's is "Song I Did Not Hear."

FA: Yah! You know why? It is the first gay story in Philippine writing! This is about David…

JC: No, it's Joe, Jack, and "I".

FA: No, I was thinking of another story. There's another story about David.

JC: "Untitled Story."

FA: That too is homosexual. But this one is "Song I Did Not Hear." A homosexual story. Our first one. Don't you agree? Nobody has mentioned this.

JC: They usually anthologize just "Untitled Story." "Father did not understand my love for Vi."

FA: Right. That's standard and traditional unrequited love. Not really unrequited love but love that had a lot of obstacles. But "Song I Did Not Hear" was a story about gays. Beautiful story! Really beautiful. I think it's terrific. Even the title is beautiful. "Song I Did Not Hear." It is the fourth part of the trilogy ["Wings and Blue Flame"].

JC: A tetralogy, then?

FA: Written in the same style—numbered paragraphs.

JC: Did you disagree with Villa's choices?

FA: I did, but we did not really fight…. One thing he felt very strongly about was this. If a story gave you … made it possible for you to realize, to see, to catch a glimpse of a way of life—he was very strong about that—that a story is a great story if it dramatizes or manifests a way of life. Yah…. Paz Marquez Benitez[21] had a different way of viewing it. If you read a story, she said, and if the story changes you, you become a different person because of that story, then it's a great story, which [idea] I think is more like mine. If a thing changes you and you become different forever afterwards because of the thing that you read, whether story or poem…which is what [W. H.] Auden said about the poem. You read a poem; it is a poem if it changes you, changes the way you look at things … in other words, you become a different person. You're never the same again after reading the poem…. You've read "Lay Your Sleeping Head, My Love" …

JC: "Human on my faithless arm."

FA: That's a homosexual poem!

JC: Really?

FA: Ha-hah! That's a homosexual poem. There's a stanza in that poem which gives it away, which you wouldn't understand except with that idea [of homosexuality]. There's a stanza which gives the poem away. That's a homosexual poem.

JC: I'll read it again.

FA: He said so himself.

JC: What else do you remember about Villa?

FA: He's a very proud man…. When I went to America in '56, I was walking up Fifth Avenue and who should I see but Jose Garcia Villa? I went t o him and said, "You're Villa!" We went to …

DGF: Gotham Book Mart?

21 Paz Marquez Benitez (1894-1983), short-story writer, teacher at the University of the Philippines of an entire generation of Filipino writers in English. Her story "Dead Stars" (1925) is considered the first Filipino short story in English.

FA: No, to Choc'ful of Nuts for coffee.

JC: Did he ever finish his M.A?

FA: I'm glad you asked that. He did an M.A thesis on Browning at Columbia.[22]

DGF: Oh!

FA: He wrote an essay on Browning.

JC: What about his PhD?

FA: He's a very academic man. He could be. He likes teaching.

JC: Where did he say that the short story "humanized" him?

FA: He wrote it in an essay that he wrote about himself. You see he was a visual artist. And then somehow he got hold of Sherwood Anderson. You see how meaningful it is? He gave up visual arts and he went to literature. And the reason? Because Anderson humanized him.

JC: Will he come home?

FA: This is something you should know. Villa was always saying New York is the only place to live in. See, now by implication, he's saying that New York is the only place to die in.

21 May 1996

Creative Writing Center, University of the Philippines

22 But Villa's resume does not mention an M. A. We read, "Postgraduate Work, Columbia University." According to a letter from Luis Cabalquinto, Villa's friend in New York, "Jose categorically says *no* to getting that Columbia M. A. He says he lasted only a year in the Ph.D. program he registered for. After dropping out he worked at the Columbia U. bookstore, where he met his wife" (Letter to the author, 8 October 1996).

TRIBUTE TO DOREEN GAMBOA FERNANDEZ

Baltazar N. Endriga
Cultural Center of the Philippines

About the Author

Baltazar N. Endriga was the President and is currently the Chairman of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) and Vice President for Academic Affairs of the University of the East. An accounting and business consultant, he is known to be a meticulous and passionate man in his work in the areas of culture and education. Doreen Fernandez was a member of the CCP Board of Trustees.

Doreen was outstanding in whatever she decided to do. Writer, teacher, lecturer, food and literary connoisseur, theater historian, social scientist, etc. But what made Doreen cross the line from being merely outstanding to being great (has to be parallel but now I think with this correction the original meaning has been lost) was the simplicity, humility and efficiency with which she achieved what she did. Ralph Waldo Emerson must have been thinking of someone like her when he wrote, "Nothing is more simple than greatness; indeed, to be simple is to be great."

I first came face to face with Doreen after I had known her for some time to be an accomplished and famous writer, professor, lecturer, scholar and food and theater connoisseur, when she was invited by Prof. Eric Torres to give a lecture on the Philippine social structure at Sycip, Gorres, Velayo & Co. as part of its Liberal Arts Program. Outside of her 90-minute lecture from which we learned plenty, what impressed me most was the simplicity in her demeanor, language and dress. My reaction then was "Napakasimple naman nitong professor na ito kahit siya'y napakagaling at napakatanyag." ["She's so unassuming a professor for someone so capable and famous."]

I did not know then that she came from a very prominent and wealthy *haciendero* family in Negros. Otherwise, I would have added, "at kahit napakayaman." ["… and despite her wealth."]

In the business world where appearance and artifice are essential tools of trade, the simplicity that encapsulated her capabilities and accomplishments was heartwarming if not startling.

I met Doreen next (at my first Board meeting) soon after I was unexpectedly and unceremoniously thrust into CCP's presidency through the efforts of "Popoy" del Rosario, Jr. and the acquiescence of the then Board Chairman Chinggay Lagdameo.

At Board meetings, Doreen was a quiet presence as she was not given to long-winded perorations on non-consequential matters. But her opinions and contributions, given when necessary or sought, carried a heavy weight.

Her contributions were particularly valuable on matters pertaining to culture and arts policy and in providing a historical perspective on Philippine Art Forms. She had plenty to contribute to the CCP. She wrote the section on "Literature" of the *Tuklas Sining* publication and edited the Volume on Theater of the CCP *Encyclopedia of Philippine Art*.

She shared our light moments and laughed heartily especially at Father Perez's irreverent jokes and my toneless singing.

Her real mettle was tested when the CCP charter, which every Trustee vows to protect when taking his oath of office, was wantonly violated in the pursuit of political and other non-cultural objectives of the deposed and discredited regime.

Unassuming, simply dressed, sincere, unpretentious but packing a behavioral and intellectual arsenal that could wallop any pretentious cultural parvenu, Doreen, without even being conscious of it, used this arsenal quietly, unobtrusively and so effectively in the long, difficult and costly fight that finally led to the triumph of right over wrong, the preservation of the CCP charter and the return of order and civility to the august halls of this institution.

Unknown to many, the battle was long, hard and painful. And also unknown to many, Doreen played a key role in the process in the manner she knew best. Even before we could discuss the matter, Doreen had already prepared a beautifully crafted statement setting forth the philosophical bases for the defense of the Charter.

In the months that followed, Doreen stood by my side (not behind, mind you) not in challenging the guards physically but by lending me her wordsmithing skills. Doreen's golden hand worked wonders on my dull and often intemperate text. An additional phrase inserted here and there, a word or two changed, a sentence deleted or rephrased, or added would make my prose so much more elegant, readable and more myself. That was what I admired. Her ability to make my prose sound more like me than I was capable of.

The CCP owes Doreen much and I hope the entire CCP community recognizes her quiet, unassuming behind-the-scenes contributions which served as the laser rockets that ultimately restored the CCP to its rightful place with its charter and its values intact.

Doreen, we thank you for your commitment to a good cause. I thank you personally for the lessons in humility and communication that you taught me and we hope that wherever you are now you will continue to give us your benevolent guidance.

Goodbye.