

WHEN THE PROVENANCE SPEAKS



**NANYANG
TECHNOLOGICAL
UNIVERSITY**

**WHEN THE PROVENANCE SPEAKS:
MEMORIES OF MARTIAL LAW IN THE
PHILIPPINES THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS**

BUENROSTRO IYRA SIBUCAO

2019

**BUENROSTRO IYRA SIBUCAO
WEE KIM WEE SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATION
AND INFORMATION**

2019

**WHEN THE PROVENANCE SPEAKS:
MEMORIES OF MARTIAL LAW IN THE
PHILIPPINES THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS**

BUENROSTRO IYRA SIBUCAO

BUENROSTRO IYRA SIBUCAO

Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information

A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University in partial
fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2019

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research, is free of plagiarised materials, and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

7 February 2019

.....
Date



.....
IYRA S. BUENROSTRO

SUPERVISOR DECLARATION STATEMENT

I have reviewed the content and presentation style of this thesis and declare it is free of plagiarism and of sufficient grammatical clarity to be examined. To the best of my knowledge, the research and writing are those of the candidate except as acknowledged in the Author Attribution Statement. I confirm that the investigations were conducted in accord with the ethics policies and integrity standards of Nanyang Technological University and that the research data are presented honestly and without prejudice.

12/12/2019
.....
Date

B Luyt
.....
BRENDAN LUYT

AUTHORSHIP ATTRIBUTION STATEMENT

This thesis contains materials from 2 papers published in the following peer-reviewed journal and book, and from 1 paper and 1 poster accepted at conferences in which I am listed as an author.

Some portions of Chapter 7 (pp. 252-254) are also mentioned and elaborated further in Buenrostro, I.S. & Cabbab, J.F.A. (2019). Libraries and their Role in Transitional Justice in the Philippines. *IFLA Journal*, 45(1), 5-15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0340035218805769>

The contributions of the co-authors are as follows:

- I provided the project direction and prepared the manuscript drafts.
- I provided the reframing of framework to be used.
- J.F.A. Cabbab interviewed the respondents from *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (the interview responses are for this paper, and not included in the thesis)
- I analyzed the transcripts (after transcription and coding).
- J.F.A. Cabbab helped in the analysis and revision of the manuscript.

Some portions of Chapter 7 (p. 252) are also mentioned and elaborated further in Buenrostro, I.S. & Cabbab, J.F.A. (2018). Unbound: Recollections of Librarians during Martial Law in the Philippines. In K. Adler, I. Beilin & E. Tewell (Eds.). *Reference Librarianship & Justice: History, Practice & Praxis* (pp. 56-72). Sacramento, CA.: Library Juice Press.

The contributions of the co-authors are as follows:

- I provided the project direction and prepared the manuscript drafts.
- I conducted the interviews with the Filipino librarians and analyzed the transcripts (after transcription and coding).
- J.F.A. Cabbab helped in the analysis and revision of the manuscript.

Some portions of Chapter 7 (pp. 252-254) are also mentioned and elaborated further in Buenrostro, I.S. & Cabbab, J.F.A. (2017). Persistent Resistance: Libraries in the Philippines and their Fight for Freedom and People's Rights. *83rd International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA)*

World Library and Information Congress. Wroclaw, Poland. Available via <http://library.ifla.org/1613/1/083-buenrostro-en.pdf>

The contributions of the co-authors are as follows:

- I provided the project direction and prepared the manuscript drafts.
- J.F.A. Cabbab interviewed the respondents from *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (the interview responses are for this paper, and not included in the thesis)
- I analyzed the transcripts (after transcription and coding).
- J.F.A. Cabbab helped in the analysis and revision of the manuscript.

Some portions of Chapter 2 (Description of Method and Provenance-Photographers; pp. 50-51, 56-58) are presented (poster) in Buenrostro, I.S. (2018). 'Unframing' Photographic Histories: Stories and Context Beyond the Visuals. [Poster Presentation]. *84th International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) World Library and Information Congress*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Available via <http://library.ifla.org/2367/1/p-018-buenrostro-en.jpg>

14 March 2019

.....
Date


.....
IYRA S. BUENROSTRO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the wonderful people around me, who have helped me get through and constantly reminded me how beautiful life is – and what I can do and contribute to the community as an archivist, librarian, and educator.

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Brendan Luyt, for his patience, great effort, and for always putting me on the right track.

To my respondents or “provenance”, my heartfelt thanks for the trust and for generously sharing your time and stories with me.

To all my former professors, TA supervisors, classmates, and friends at WKW-SCI, thanks for the enjoyable talks and much needed reinforcement.

To my Filipino friends in NTU and NUS, and to my housemates/Pioneer siblings – especially my PhD twin brother “Dr.” Ex Cabanda, I truly appreciate your prayers and kind words, as well as our bonding over food, endless talks and laughter.

To the ever-supportive Dean Kate Obille, and to my colleagues/second family, and former students at the School of Library and Information Studies, University of the Philippines Diliman, thanks so much for all the encouragement.

To my loving family and friends, thank you very much for your unconditional love and prayers, and for relentlessly saying, “*AJA!*”, “*Fighting!*” and “*Kaya mo ‘yan! Ikaw pa?!*”

To my Superman Dadi, Johann Frederick Cabbab, thank you for being my ultimate lifesaver, source of drive and humor, and partner in everything. I love you.

To my country and fellow Filipinos who passionately believe and fight for what is right and just, this work is for you.

And most importantly, to Almighty God, I am eternally grateful for the gift of love, wisdom and strength. To God be the glory!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY.....	iii
SUPERVISOR DECLARATION STATEMENT	iv
AUTHORSHIP ATTRIBUTION STATEMENT	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES	xiii
ABSTRACT	xiv
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction:	
Power and Hospitality in the Archives.....	1
Embracing the Power and Doing the ‘Impossible’	8
Seeing the Blind Spots: Archives and the Marginalized.....	18
Power from the Margins: Photographs and Marginalized People	23
The Power of Listening to the Voices and Memories.....	31
Building a People’s Archives.....	39
Summary of Chapters	46
CHAPTER 2	
Presentation of Case and Research Design:	
People’s Archives as Repository of Memories, Stories, and Participation..	49
Description of Method.....	50
Conceptual Framework, Scope and Limitations of the Study	53
Data Collection and Selection of Research Participants/Informants	56
Coding and Analysis	59
Ethical Considerations	61
CHAPTER 3	
Furthering Contextualities:	
Remembering the Marcos Regime	66
Mediating Memories and Narratives	67
The Marcos Regime and its (Dis)Continuity	70
Of Myths and Narratives: Martial Law, EDSA, and the Curation of Memories....	90
CHAPTER 4	
Behind the Viewfinder:	
Stories of and from the Photographers.....	105
Going Back to the Source: Finding the Photographers	107
Photographs as Counterpower	114
The Opposing Sides: State and the People.....	115
Documenting the Underdocumented	121
Persuading the Public Through Photography.....	126
Living with the Photos: How the Photos Circulated Amidst Censorship and Ownership	133

Photographs in this Chapter	143
CHAPTER 5	
Breaking Frames:	
Stories of and From the Subjects and Eyewitnesses	150
Serendipity and Connection: Finding the Subjects and Eyewitnesses.....	153
Connection with the Past.....	160
<i>Memories of Conflicts and Violence</i>	161
<i>Memories of Coping and Survival</i>	181
Connection with the Present	196
Photographs in this Chapter	207
CHAPTER 6	
Seeing Beyond the Visuals:	
Looking at Photographs as an Affective Experience	214
Finding the 'Other' Important Social Actors of EDSA	218
Fiesta Under the Shadow of Fear.....	223
Memories of the Regime.....	227
Awareness of the People's Awakening.....	230
A Sense of Religiosity and Manifestation of Miracles	233
Lessons from a Celebrating People.....	235
Photographs in this Chapter	240
CHAPTER 7	
Conclusion:	
Bringing Archives Closer to the People.....	243
Martial Law Photographs as Evidence and Memory Sites.....	244
Welcoming Strategies for the People, By the People	246
<i>Preservation</i>	249
<i>Pedagogy</i>	254
<i>Storytelling</i>	257
People's Archives and Its Continuous Work.....	262
Future Directions.....	267
APPENDIX	
List of Interviews	269
REFERENCES.....	270

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Photographs, Provenance, and Summary of Guide Questions Used During Photo Elicitation Interviews	56
Table 2. Interviewed Provenance	58

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. A Framework for Building a People's Archive	40
Figure 4.1. Demolition of Houses in Pook Ricarte, UP Diliman (1985) (Photo by Boy Bagwis)	143
Figure 4.2. Labor Strike Dispersal in Artex, Malabon (1984) (Photo by Boy Bagwis).	143
Figure 4.3. Labor Strike Dispersal in ARTEX, Malabon (1984) (Photo by Boy Bagwis)	144
Figure 4.4. Labor Strike Dispersal in Artex, Malabon (1984) (Photo by Boy Bagwis)	144
Figure 4.5. Prisoners at Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan (Photo by Lito Ocampo) ..	145
Figure 4.6. Rodolfo Benosa, 33 years. old factory worker, sole breadwinner, married with 4 children. Shown here during their 2nd week of fasting-hunger strike in Bicutan last 1982. (Photo by Lito Ocampo; Caption from Lito Ocampo as written at the back of this photo).	145
Figure 4.7. Rally that Launched the Organization of Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearances (FIND) (Photo by Lito Ocampo)	146
Figure 4.8. Soldiers of the Guerilla Unit 'Buhawi' [Tornado] in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao (1983) (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	146
Figure 4.9. Guerilla Unit 'Buhawi' [Tornado] in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983) (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	147
Figure 4.10. Guerillas in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983) (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	147
Figure 4.11. Guerillas in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983) (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	148
Figure 4.12. People in EDSA (1986) (Photo by Sonny Camarillo)	148
Figure 4.13. Nun and Marines (1986) (Photo by Sonny Camarillo)	149
Figure 4.14. War Room (1986) (Photo by Sonny Camarillo)	149
Figure 5.1. Demolition of Houses in Pook Ricarte, UP Diliman (1985) (Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.1)	207
Figure 5.2. Student activists at the forefront. (Photo by Boy Bagwis)	207
Figure 5.3. Armando Malay (1st from left) and Bonifacio "Boni" Ilagan (2nd from left) (Photo by Lito Ocampo, uncaptioned and exact date unknown)	208
Figure 5.4. Rodolfo Benosa (Photo by Lito Ocampo; Replicates Figure 4.6)	208
Figure 5.5. Danilo "Danny" Dela Fuente inside Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan Rehabilitation Center (Photo by Lito Ocampo)	209
Figure 5.6. Labor Strike Dispersal in ARTEX, Malabon (Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.4)	209
Figure 5.7. Rolando "Balut" Lumagas at the Strike Dispersal in ARTEX (Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.3)	210
Figure 5.8. Rolando "Balut" Lumagas at the Strike Dispersal in ARTEX (Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates 4.2)	210
Figure 5.9. NPA Camp in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	211
Figure 5.10. NPA Plenum in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao (Photo by Alex Baluyut)	211
Figure 5.11. Guerillas taking a break from their training (Photo by Alex Baluyut; Replicates Figure 3.10)	212
Figure 5.12. Guerillas (Photo by Alex Baluyut; Replicates Figure 3.11)	212
Figure 5.13. Celing Benosa at the FIND Rally (Photo by Lito Ocampo; Replicates Figure 4.7)	213
Figure 6.1. Sister Aida and Soldiers (Photo by Sonny Camarillo; Replicates Figure 4.13)	240

Figure 6.2. People coming to EDSA (Photo by Sonny Camarillo; Replicates Figure 4.12)	240
Figure 6.3. St. Paul Sisters Porfiria “Ping” Ocariza (left) and Terry Burias (right) leading the Rosary (Photo by Pete Reyes)	241
Figure 6.4. People Entering the Malacañang (Photo by Sonny Camarillo)	241
Figure 6.5. People Inside the Malacañang (Photo by Sonny Camarillo)	242

LIST OF APPENDICES

List of Interviews 247

ABSTRACT

This study examines the potential of photographs as performative agents of evidence and memory in building a people's archives. Based on literature and practice, the potential of photographs is not fully maximized as they are always secondary to textual records in most historical inquiries and are often sidelined by the traditional archival concepts and practices. By using the case of the photographs taken during the regime of the late president Ferdinand Marcos, this study demonstrates the reactivation and use of these photographs in the stimulation of individual memories that can contribute to a more nuanced discussion and understanding of martial law period in the Philippines.

Drawing on Verne Harris' notion of *hospitality*, I propose three strands of hospitality to be done inside and outside of the archives that can help build a people's archives – welcoming different record formats, specifically photographs; welcoming different voices, especially those coming from the margins; and welcoming strategies to proactively bring archives closer to the people. In developing this study using the proposed three strands of hospitality, I employed photo elicitation and open-ended interviews (from 2015-2017) with Filipino photographers who documented this era, the photographs' subjects and eyewitnesses, archivists, historians, and symbolic entrepreneurs. These are the members of the 're-conceptualized' provenance, appropriating Tom Nesmith's *societal provenance* and Jeanette Bastian's *co-creatorship of records*. The photographs' provenance shared their stories, experiences, and insights on the social conditions within which the photographs were produced and circulated, as well as the possible use of photographs in progressing public's historical consciousness through preservation, pedagogy, and storytelling.

The photographs of the Marcos regime and the stories that come with them serve as evidence of injustices and inequalities that prevailed during the regime, which have continued even after Marcos' rule. As memory sites, these photographs are instrumental in recounting not only the provenance's painful memories and their stories of survival, but also in realizing their and other people's courage and unity, certain manifestations of Filipino culture and political psychology, and ways to address the current and persisting problems in Philippine society. The study's findings strengthen the potential of photographs to act as evidence and memory sites – or spaces that unfold the continuities and discontinuities of the past to the present, and conjure the people's knowledge, memories, feelings, and experiences of the events and people documented. Moreover, this study shows that listening to the provenance is both a contextualization method and an act of bearing witness to the people in the margins whose voices are usually silenced.

This study therefore suggests that this memory work in building a people's archives involving photographs and provenance humanizes the traditionally impassive and 'neutral' archives. The work of archivists may not completely eradicate ignorance and prevent another form of dictatorship, but I argue that this method of looking, or rather, 'listening' to the memories and stories evoked by photographs can be employed in different settings to further challenge the status quo that widens the gap between the powerful and powerless; to respond to the call of justice; and to protect the people from the increasing apathy and unresponsiveness to people's struggles.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Power and Hospitality in the Archives

“Even as traditional memory disappears, we feel obliged assiduously to collect remains, testimonies, documents, images, speeches, any visible signs of what has been, as if this burgeoning dossier were to be called upon to furnish some proof to who knows what tribunal of history.”

Pierre Nora, 1989,
“Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”

Pierre Nora’s influential concept of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory refers to spaces where memories are formed and negotiated. These could be physical or non-physical sites where objects or symbols from and about the past operate both as evidence and guides that suggest meanings, recollections and sentiments. The politics of memory is visibly at play in these memory spaces. While there are favored memories or those that are chosen to be continuously remembered, there are also repressed memories that are either passively waiting to be brought back to the present or completely silenced. Pierre Nora (1989) and Jacques Derrida (1995) have argued that all acts of remembrance, archiving and documentation of human experience are socially and politically mediated. There is no accidental archives or memory space. There is always an instinctive drive to control memories through practices and objects such as organizing parades, building memorials, curating exhibitions, and preserving archives. People have an insatiable desire to create, collect and keep records that will help them keep order and commit significant events and personalities to their and other people’s memories. Memory sites or spaces intend to homogenize memories within a dominant framework or script reflecting a cause or ideology. Thus, efforts to recollect and form collective memories in truth-seeking and memorial projects are grounded in a politics of asserting rights to historicity (French, 2012). Whoever holds these

memory spaces has the power to control the present and how the present sees the past. The memories arising from these memory spaces help shape people's historical consciousness, and make present and future campaigns successful.

In the case of the Philippines, the dictatorial rule of President Ferdinand Marcos from 1972-1986 is said to be the darkest era in the country's recent history – and currently highly contested. Under the Marcos regime between 1972-1985, 70,000 people were incarcerated, 35,000 were tortured, 3,257 were killed, 737 disappeared – some 2,520 or 77 percent of all victims were “salvaged” (McCoy, 2001, p. 131). According to McCoy, the word “salvage” or “salvaged” started to have another meaning under the regime – instead of relating it to “rescue,” its meaning evolved to express the phenomenon of bodies that were “tortured, mutilated, and dumped on a roadside for public display” turning this intimidating act into a “theater state of terror” (p.131). In the face of the documented (and undocumented) cases of human rights violations committed under this regime as well as the plundered nation's wealth¹, which have been expected to leave an indelible mark in public's memory, the collective memories and views of the Filipinos of martial law remain polarized.

After the dissolution of martial rule in the country in 1981 and the People Power Revolution in 1986 that deposed the Marcos family from power, anti-Marcos books recounting personal experiences, incarceration, lives and struggles of political leaders and details of stories of volunteerism during and after martial law

¹ Based on the United Nations and World Bank's Stolen Asset Recovery (StAR) Initiative Report published in 2007, Marcos embezzled between \$5 Billion to \$10 Billion. In the same report, Professor Leonor Briones stated that Marcos amassed ill-gotten wealth through his “outright takeover of large private enterprises; creation of state-owned monopolies in vital sectors of the economy; awarding government loans to private individuals acting as fronts for Marcos or his cronies; direct raiding of the public treasury and government financial institutions; kickback and commissions from firms working in the Philippines; and skimming off foreign aid and other forms of international assistance” (pp. 20-21). Full report available at https://www.unodc.org/pdf/Star_Report.pdf.

were published (De Vera, 2012). But even during the time of Marcos, there were attempts made by the government machinery to homogenize collective memory and engender a good public image. The government's information and communication arm, the National Media Production Center (NMPC)² was founded in 1954 with a mandate to produce information and educational materials about the government. Under the Marcos regime, the NMPC was converted into a "well-endowed agency and used for political propaganda and image-building" (Rosario-Braid & Tuazon, 1999, p. 304). Since the international press kept an eye on the Marcos government, the Marcos government's public relations staff did their best to improve the regime's image by giving an impression to outside observers that its reforms provided peace, orderliness, discipline, economic advances, and political stability (Fagan, 1975/2000). The government made sure to 'sanitize' public information that would circulate inside and outside of the country. Aside from curfew and absolute military power, censorship measures were implemented (General Order No. 4, 1972; Letter of Instructions No. 1, 1972) resulting in the closure of several media outlets, strict control of newspapers, magazines and student publications, and military raids of private residences, printing presses, universities, and even libraries. Obviously, creating and keeping any documentation against the dictatorial government during that time would have put someone's life in danger. Marcos also commissioned a group of prominent scholars, mostly faculty members from the University of the Philippines whose graduate and post-graduate degrees were obtained from distinguished universities abroad, to write a 19-volume national history (which eventually was reduced to a two-volume abridgment). Despite the presence of a team of historians and researchers, Marcos installed himself as the main author of this scholarly work. Historian Rommel

² It was abolished after the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986. The succeeding president, Corazon Aquino, founded the Philippine Information Agency (PIA). For more information about the PIA, visit <http://pia.gov.ph/>.

Curaming (2006) maintained that there was no acknowledged rationale behind this scholarly undertaking and for not mentioning the names of those who were part of the team, but the most popular notion was the one with Marcos' concern to perpetuate himself in power and to persuade the future generations of Filipinos that what he did was right. The two-volume work focuses on the development of the Filipino nation-state from a pre-Hispanic past to its full realization in Marcos' New Society.³ Marcos, who had a deep interest in history and was obsessed with how he would be depicted in the future, clearly knew that "a history that is necessary to serve the purpose – a history that could withstand time and critical scrutiny – could only be written by an army of brilliant scholars" (Curaming, 2006, p. 83).

Indeed, Marcos left a legacy behind. Although the Marcoses left Malacañang more than three decades ago, their influence and 'stories' are still imprinted in the pages of history, esteemed in various memorial sites, and etched in people's memories. For example, in a recently published biography of Cesar Virata, Marcos' finance minister, Sicat (2014) discusses the economy during the martial law period, and the success of Marcos as a social and political reformer. Another example is to be found in the memory sites located in Ilocos where the celebration of Marcos' birthday every year through festivities and commemorative activities takes place at the former presidential residence (Arzadon, 2012). Shrines and museums were also established to commemorate the life and works of Marcos in his hometown in Sarrat, Ilocos Norte and his preserved remains, more than two decades after his death in 1989, were displayed at the Marcos mausoleum in Batac, Ilocos Norte

³ New Society or *Bagong Lipunan* was the main ideology of the Marcos regime. In its core was to save the republic from its sickness caused by the previous political rulers, poverty, and threats from both the left and right wing. Several publications released by the National Media Production Center (NMPC) such as *One Year of the New Society* (1973), *The Philippines: A Nation Reborn* (1976), *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines II: The Rebellion of the Poor* (1976), and *Primer: Notes on the New Society* (1976) became vehicles to propagate this ideology.

(Zambrano, 2011) until his controversial hero's burial at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* or Heroes Cemetery on November 18, 2016 (Paddock, 2016). The protests that took place after the decision was made to give Marcos a hero's burial further proves how divided the country's view is towards the Marcoses. However, there is also a gray area in the middle wherein people do not know what position to take, or simply do not care.

Even before Marcos' burial, there had already been discussions that made different acts of remembering and forgetting more visible. Filipino journalist Raissa Robles (2016) who investigated the gross human rights violations committed under the Marcos regime calls for a more aggressive approach to produce materials dealing with the martial law period because of the "appalling amnesia and ignorance" of the Filipinos today, and because the Marcos regime was a "despicable period masked by displays of art, culture, and infrastructure" (xv). Primary sources or records are needed in shaping people's historical consciousness and making various movements successful. Records are used in the production of secondary sources, documentaries, curation of exhibitions, and other forms of dissemination of evidence and information. More importantly, records, as memory spaces, have an inherent power to trigger memories and raise people's historical consciousness by informing them of what transpired in the past and the plight of ordinary people during those times. One of the most effective and widely used forms of documentation is photography. Since the Paris Commune of 1871, the first political uprising documented by camera, photography and the photographic medium itself have been used as weapons in various class struggles and political resistance (English, 1983; Memou, 2013; Ohn & Hardt, 1980). Photographs have been used as symbols and vital vehicles of persuasion by people's movements seeking sympathy, public awareness, as well as help in launching demonstrations and even

revolutions. The pervasive use of cameras in times of political mayhem has in fact produced some of the most popular and iconic photographs in the history of twentieth-century photography (Memou, 2013).

Photographs as records prevent collective amnesia as they help fill in the gaps that written or textual records do not or cannot completely convey. Moreover, as records, photographs are not static. The images may have been frozen in time, but photographs carry forward shifting meanings and memories based on the context of their usage and their viewers. But like all other memory spaces, photographs also have limitations that prevent them from serving as complete proof that a given thing or event happened. The evidentiality of photographs that suggests their origin, function, and content will largely depend on how the creator frames an event in his photographic medium, a point to which I shall return. Despite the photographs' narrow transparency, Susan Sontag (1973) argues that photographs have a "more innocent, and therefore more accurate relation to visible reality than do other mimetic objects" (p. 3). This rendered accuracy and reality adds to the photographs' agency to hold their position as a believable bridge that links the past to the present, and vice versa.

The process of taking or 'creating' photographs is an event itself that incites power over memories. As Sontag (1973) puts it, photography is a "social rite, a defense against anxiety, and a tool of power" where the photographer mediates documentation and situates himself and the subject in an "image-world that bids to outlast us all" (p.5-8). Besides the photographer's power to create tangible evidence of the past, the photographs' power over memories also rests on the ease of their reproduction such that they can be published online or in newspapers, magazines, and books, displayed in museums and galleries, and preserved in

libraries or archives. The reproducibility of photographs results in wider circulation of this visual evidence, which also invites further layers of interpretations, meanings and stories to be heard and told. Thus, it is that while performing their function as evidence and memory spaces, photographs also serve as “interrogatory tools”(Edwards, 2001, p. 8). Photographs can be further used to question and understand the social conditions in which they were created and circulated. These social conditions are obviously not standalone situations as they are deeply interlaced with the lives and experiences of individuals and communities. Photographs prompt and generate life stories that let the “repressed or suppressed memories” not be completely forgotten or undermined by “master memories” or dominant narratives (Freund & Thomson, 2011, p. 5). These individual memories and narratives constitute oral history, which according to literary scholar and oral historian Alessandro Portelli is “not only about the event” but “about the place and meaning of the event within the lives of the tellers” (n.d., p. 2). The performative agency of photographs enables various meaning-making activities for the viewers (Edwards, 2001) – ranging from interpreting photographs to grasping their own individual thoughts, memories and feelings about themselves and their purpose, the decisions they have made, and their perceived place within the wider social milieu.

Photographs are loaded with meanings, representations, and memories. As *lieux de memoire*, memories crystallize in photographs – but unlike Pierre Nora’s notion of memory sites, photographs do not necessarily homogenize memories and meanings. Photographs’ meanings are never linear, just like the memories and feelings they evoke to their viewers. The creators, subjects, viewers, and future viewers would have a different reading and ‘experience’ of the photographs. Thus, photographs are not only means to complete or end an inquiry, but these resources

engender psychological responses, instigate political engagement, and invite more questions. The affective power and impact of photographs on people and their testimonies further heighten not only the contextualization of the photographs as historical records, but also reinforce the agency of the individuals and community that create or co-create these records. It is likely, therefore, that photographs during the martial law era under the Marcos regime could lead to a rich discussion and more reflexive understanding of the memories and experiences of people who lived through this period. Attention to these private or individual memories of people is also a political stance but often disregarded in the dominant history, historical surveys and narrative (Freund & Thomson, 2011). This potential of photographs has to be activated but it is unlikely to be achieved without the work of archivists and their collaboration with the community they create, serve, and intend to help and transform. Archivists have the influence and power to generate a space for discourses and negotiation of individual and collective memories through these resources.

Embracing the Power and Doing the 'Impossible'

In the past decade, there has been a growing attention given to the power of archives and role of archivists in society (Cook & Schwartz, 2002; Harris, 2002; Jimerson, 2003, 2009; Kaplan, 2002; Ketelaar, 2002). The definition of power associated with the assemblage of evidentiary sources mostly lies on the capability of archives as an institution to conjure an image of authority, truthfulness in upholding facts, clarity, and social memory. Archives have been used as implements of social and political power through their provision of control and access to information. As Schwartz and Cook (2002) state:

Archives have the power to privilege and to marginalize. They can be a tool of hegemony; they can be a tool of resistance. They both reflect and constitute power relations. They are a product

of society's need for information, and the abundance and circulation of documents reflects the importance placed on information in society. They are the basis for and validation of the stories we tell ourselves, the story-telling narratives that give cohesion and meaning to individuals, groups, and societies.
(p.13)

However, this same power calls the archivists and their functions into question – particularly concerning the archivists' control of what to preserve and what to construe from it. The realization of power ascribed to archiving as a preservation process and a space for validation as well as contestation implores the archivists to re-evaluate their purpose. As active shapers of social memory and documenters of society, Verne Harris (1996) stresses that both the archives and archivists should subject themselves to a “high level of transparency and accountability” and not let the state “manipulate them to promote particular narratives” (p.1). For Harris, archives should fulfill their heritage functions and at the same time identify themselves as a democratic space where various voices are documented and heard. While embracing power and diversity, archives must be taken to the people by establishing links with the public (Blais & Enns, 1990). This redefinition of archives as being a *people's archives* is what Ketelaar (1992) advocates: “archives of the people, by the people, for the people” (p.5). A people's archives is a “living archive” established for the causes of “truths, histories and memories” (Ketelaar, 2009, p. 121). Ketelaar (2009) maintains that creating these living archives does not only contribute to historiography but they prevent the probability of denial – denial of people's rights, justice, representations, history, identity, and agency. More importantly, a people's archives is a growing and ever-evolving space that continuously finds ways to fulfill its purpose and different possibilities as well as impossibilities.

Verne Harris' notion of the 'impossible' includes two key things –a call of justice and contextualization of records. Harris (2007) believes that in traditional archiving, these two are impossible because the call of justice, even though it is “a calling more important than any other calling” (p.248), is normally not within the boundaries of the record itself and the archival or recordmaking theory. Moreover, contextualization of records entails an endless work for the archivists, deeply affected by culture, politics, and a number of practical considerations. Even in some archives that have the intent and openness to engage in 'hospitality' to achieve these impossibilities, Harris (2018) himself had critically acknowledged that this valiant objective of inviting and listening to voices of a particular group likewise creates silences to some groups. Harris adds that these silences will result in the absence of space for competing narratives. In the same vein, Cox (2009) urges archivists to rethink their efforts, especially their advocacy and motivation of building independent grassroots archives as these can also be seen as an act of exclusiveness of the community itself and exertion of power against another group. While this act of privileging and marginalization could not be entirely avoided, essential themes and insights from community archives critically interrogate the existing practices, traditional conceptions and power relations that cultivate marginalization and the archives' inability to have a more humanistic dimension.

Community archives initiatives inform both archival theory and practice of the many ways to create more spaces for historical possibilities, social justice and human rights work (Bastian & Alexander, 2009; Caswell, 2014d; Cifor & Gilliland, 2016; Flinn, 2011). Literature on human rights archives in connection with community archives has explored how societies have used records to document abuses of power, and how people confront and deal with these exploitations, their pasts and displacements within and outside of their community (Caswell, 2014b;

Caswell, Punzalan, & Sangwand, 2017). The concept of 'community' in these independent archiving initiatives is based on the "self-identification by the participants", and their "motivation", such as "to preserve and tell their own hidden stories (Flinn, 2011, p. 7). As an important form of activism done outside the control of government, commercial entities or mainstream institutions, community archives are built "bottom-up" by the members who are united according to "class, race, ethnicity, gender or sexual preference, locality, social and/or political agenda and so forth" (Vukliš & Gilliland, 2016, p. 18). Most of their activities focus on the collection of records of various formats for the enrichment of social identity, documentation of activities and voices of a particular group, appropriate recognition of the underrepresented and annihilated, and campaign for the rights and welfare of the marginalized (Caswell, 2014c; Flinn, 2007, 2011; Vukliš & Gilliland, 2016). Thus, numerous discussions and undertakings of community archives instruct the archivists to come to terms with their important yet sometimes paradoxical roles in bridging the gaps and resolving the tensions and silences brought about by bureaucracy, inequality of power, particular advocacy and agenda, ethical imperatives, and people's memories and sentiments. Openness, tolerance, and sincere invitation for a wider participation of not only the 'experts' but those who are not traditionally included in the creation and contextualization of the mainstream archives are therefore needed in this collective action. Harris' anticipation and fervent encouragement for the archivists to "do the impossible" and "welcome multiple, competing voices and stories into the archive, valuing their richness and diversity" (Marshall, 2008, p. 563) can be made possible as long as there is an acceptance among the archivists of their power to stand for their advocacy and its accompanying potentials and boundaries.

In exercising the power of archives to do the 'impossible', archivists are also urged to start seeing and accepting a paradigm shift that requires them to move away "from identifying themselves as passive guardians of an inherited legacy to celebrating their role in actively shaping collective (or social) memory" (Cook, 2001, p. 4). For archivists to fulfill their social role in responding to the call of justice and the need for more contextualization, they must not be constrained by orthodox archival ideas and practices that reflect a fixation to physical accumulations while sustaining the status quo in appraising, describing, and preserving records. Hilary Jenkinson (1922), in his highly-influential work, *A Manual of Archive Administration*, emphasized the need to follow the core principles of archiving in order to preserve the integrity of physical records according to the process and functions that produce them. This would be done by not letting the archivists intervene with the original order and provenance of the materials. The traditional archival approaches that underpin the passivity, neutrality and objectivity of archivists in building, managing, and describing their collection as codified by Muller, Feith, Fruin & Leavitt (1898), Jenkinson (1922), and Schellenberg (1956) have already been critiqued by scholars within and outside the archival field. For example, the traditional definition of provenance being the single origin or creator of a record, and a tool to physically organize and describe records has been challenged by different archival scholars. Instead of fixing the concept of provenance as an organizing principle and attributing the records to just a handful of people or formal institutions, archival scholars had turned their attention to the records' sociohistorical context as the core of provenance as well as the actors involved in the formation and evolution of records.

Drawing on the principles of archaeology and museology, Millar (2002) articulates the importance of having an extensive contextualization of records that

would include the creator history, records history, and custodial history. According to Millar, the Canadian Rules for Archival Description (RAD), despite its strengths and practicality, should be expanded to accommodate these contexts and move its focus from the traditional *respect des fonds* (original order) to *respect des provenance*. In dealing with records that have multiple or problematic origins and ownership such as postcolonial records, Bastian (2003) compels archivists to include the subjects of records in the provenance. The case of the archives of the United States Virgin Islands, a former colony of Denmark, has shown that the Virgin Islanders had difficulty accessing their *own* records which affected the writing and construction of their own collective memory and history. For Bastian, broadening the scope of provenance from the creators to the subjects is one way to address the issue of ownership, attribution, and context between the postcolonial states and former colonizers. This kind of accommodation entails an active relationship between the two groups and other stakeholders that would want to establish their history and identity through a more inclusive archives (Bastian, 2003, 2006). In Indigenous contexts, Iacovino (2010) suggests a participant model in which the provenance includes the subjects – Australian aborigines, for instance – as co-creators of the aboriginal community records who correspondingly share responsibilities related to ethics, rights and privacy, and ownership. Iacovino likewise links this participant model to human rights and social justice initiatives and other non-Indigenous contexts. As the concept of provenance is being expanded to be more societal, inclusive and participatory, Caswell (2014a) examines the Tuol Sleng mugshots in Cambodia produced under the Khmer Rouge as records that were co-created by active participants that constitute a *community of records*. This community of records, following Bastian's (2003) notion of different actors or agents that simultaneously create and give meaning to the records, includes the victims that were documented in and by these photographs

as co-creators that constitute the provenance. Finding out the lives of the victims and/or their surviving families or relatives is an opportunity to uncover these marginalized voices and narratives that had been silenced for many years. Caswell also analyzes the social life of the mugshots and the narratives associated with them – from being tools of Khmer Rouge bureaucracy to becoming commodities sold by the survivors. This shows that the meanings and stories of, from and by the records are continuously changing and growing; and so is the provenance. Because of the equivocal nature and ever-shifting contexts of records, Nesmith (1999) argues that “the full origins of the record elude us” (p.141). Hence, instead of viewing provenance as a fixed and single entity or origin of a record, Nesmith (1999) puts forward a more dynamic, evolving and context-rich reconceptualization of provenance that includes:

the social and technical processes of the records’ inscription, transmission, contextualization, and interpretation which account for its existence, characteristics, and continuing history.
(p.146)

In view of societal provenance, Nesmith exhorts archivists to integrate societal context in greater detail into the descriptive systems. This can be done in form of contextual essays⁴ that could help the readers and potential users to better understand the life of the records and at the same time invite participation from more people to describe or insert more stories or context into the description. Moreover, Nesmith (2006) argues that aside from the concept of provenance, other core functions of archiving, particularly description, have to be re-assessed. Traditional description only calls for a limited amount of intervention from archivists and little contextual information for and about the records. As

⁴ Some examples of the application of societal provenance through providing contextual essays can be found here: “Florence Kirk: Letters from China, 1932-1950” available at <http://ourspace.uregina.ca/FlorenceKirk/index.jsp> and “Research and presentations of Mark Vajcner, University Archivist of University of Regina” available at <https://ourspace.uregina.ca/handle/10294/307>. These were recommended by Dr. Thomas Nesmith himself during our conversations (personal and e-mail) when he visited the Philippines last November, 2018.

provenance, description, and contextualization are very much enmeshed with one another, Nesmith writes:

Description should be seen as the action mediated by archivists of researching and representing the multi-faceted contextuality or history of records or “archival narrative” about them) which enables records and knowledge to be made through archiving.
(2006, p. 270)

In accepting these new re-conceptualizations, archives should be seen as participatory, context-rich, non-monolithic, and always expanding. Also, reading Michel Foucault’s (2002) *Archaeology of Knowledge* helps one to challenge the conventional approaches and role of archives. More than being a physical place for further accruals of data and documents of individuals and societies, Foucault maintains that the archives is a larger system comprised of a network of actors and events interlaced and continually working together to generate a space for discourses and historical moment. This suggests the infinite growth of archives, not just in the physical sense but in its employment of novel practices and conception of what will be documented, preserved and remembered. Drawing on Foucault’s view of the discursive function of archives, Derrida (1995) posits that “archivization produces as much as it records the event” (p. 17). The process of archiving itself directly affects archives – how it will be perceived and interpreted by the users and the role it will play in the future. The process of *archivization* entails depiction of a historical moment or an agenda. Archives and all the processes involved in it cannot be therefore treated separately from the image a society is trying to establish or commemorate. Hence, the power of archives brought forward by the agency of both the archives as institutions and evidentiary materials is complemented by the power of the archivists to shape the present archives for the future.

Schwartz and Cook (2002) reiterate that for many years, archivists have been essentially denying their power because the “power to mediate the record, power over access, power over individual rights and freedoms, over collective memory and national identity – is a concept largely absent from the traditional archival perspective” (p.5). Consequently, this denial of power has forced archival practice to adhere to the “central professional myth of the past century that the archivist is (or should strive to be) an objective, neutral, passive (if not impotent, then self-restrained) keeper of truth...that many users of archives accept this professional self-image without question” (Schwartz & Cook, 2002, p. 5). The illusions of passiveness and neutrality in the archives have become *blind spots* that keep archivists from fully embracing their power to help the people through records. As archivists deal with the powerful sources of knowledge and society’s memory, Jimerson (2009) asserts that it is difficult for archivists not to leave their own imprint or trace on these records. Despite the assumed neutrality of the archivists, the notion and practice of appraisal, selection, and preservation of primary sources in the archives show that archives have been serving some groups while neglecting others. Most of the collections of papers and memoirs selected and preserved in the archives overlook “the impotent and the obscure” and are distinctively partial to “the important and powerful”(Zinn, 1977, p. 21). The contrived neutrality of archives sets the stage for the powerful to be seen, heard and remembered – and this leaves a “great void in the collective memory” (Carter, 2006, p. 221). The empathy to provide a space for groups that are traditionally silenced and neglected should be a part of the archivists’ agenda to offset the prevailing inclination of people and memory institutions to “glorify important people, powerful people” (Zinn, 1977, pp. 24–25) . Hence, instead of being blinded by the notion of neutrality and purely concerning themselves with issues that detach them from the human dimension of their profession, Jimerson (2007)

stresses that archivists must recognize and fulfill their important role in promoting a “richer human experience of understanding and compassion” as they “provide resources for people to examine the past, to comprehend the present, and to prepare for a better future” (p.253).

Using the power of archives and archivists to do the impossible while acknowledging the inevitable politics, disagreements, and people’s responses and sentiments, archivists can enhance and reactivate the records through their *hospitality* by reflecting the stories of those who are marginalized. Welcoming voices, especially those coming from the ‘other’ or those who are marginalized, necessitates hospitality from the part of the archivist as Harris (2002) writes, “They [archivists] respect every “other,” invite every “other” in to the archive. So that whether they are making records available, or describing records, or appraising record-keeping systems, they listen intently for the voices of those who are marginalized or excluded by prevailing relations of power [emphasis in the original]” (pp. 85-86). Archives can serve as an avenue where their voices could be heard (Caswell, 2014a; Jimerson, 2009). This act of bearing witness to these groups whose voices had been denied for many years transforms the archives from being a space for keeping records into a space for reconciliation, accountability, and justice (Blanco-Rivera, 2009). Through listening to their voices, we are acknowledging various standpoints while examining the privileged views and images that may have been enlarging societal gaps, oppression, and even trauma. The compelling need for a more affective, humanistic and emancipatory engagement in the archives has been a recurring theme in various critical archival studies discussions – notably in community archiving and its social justice and human rights agenda (Caswell et al., 2017; Cifor & Gilliland, 2016; Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm, & Wallace, 2013; Flinn, 2007). At this juncture, embracing the power

does not mean that archivists should mainly stand as technical experts or historical researchers listening to these voices. Archivists who embrace their power over memory and records must stand as responsible “co-witnesses” (Punzalan, 2009, p. 210). Inspired by anthropologist Ruth Behar’s idea of the vulnerable observer, Punzalan situates archival work as an opening for archivists to “experience and witness how a community comes to terms with its past by repurposing its archives” (2009, p.210). As co-witnesses, archivists have to go further than their memory and historical agenda. Archivists should step out of their comfort, neutral and objective zones where they can be more compassionate, ethically conscious and obligated to facilitate social justice work and purposes. While archivists witness the sentiments and pain of affected individuals and communities, they are implicated and tangled in a complex web of “affective relations” (Cifor, 2016, p. 9). These affective relations take account of how records and recordkeeping systems incite psychological impact and impression on individuals and communities along with the prevailing power and structures that enact these responses (Cifor, 2016; Cifor & Gilliland, 2016). Archivist must therefore be sensitive with the actual needs and views of the community about its history and identity, and how the members want their *own* records to be used and interpreted, and how *they* as part of the life of the records and the larger society would be portrayed and understood. I argue that these sensibilities do not automatically come along with the inherent power of archives. There are blind spots that keep the archivists from fulfilling their humanistic goals and sociopolitical advocacy. Further steps are therefore required for archivists to expose themselves to these vulnerabilities that would facilitate their learning and understanding of the community that they want to help and transform.

Seeing the Blind Spots: Archives and the Marginalized

Records are material objects with social life (Caswell, 2014a). The social life of a record manifests its capacity to carry out an activity or a purpose. What a record can do is also detailed in the taxonomy of record values put forward by Theodore Schellenberg (1956), a leading proponent of modern archiving, which categorizes record usage based on primary and secondary values. Primary values are the uses of records to the original creators such as for evidential, informational, legal and administrative purposes. Records act as evidence, tools for information, and instruments to facilitate transactions and meet legal obligations. On the other hand, secondary values refer to the mostly unforeseen uses of records to people other than the original creators. The historical, cultural and symbolic dimensions of records are regarded as secondary values or uses of records, and they could be identified through the help and active participation of archivists. The archivists serve as mediators between the users and archives. Considering the role of archivists as intermediaries, Ketelaar (2002) raises the point that archives may be “complete and comprehensive, secure and reliable, but to release their power, they need an archivist. Is such mediation the power of the archivist? What other powers may the archivist have?” (p.223).

Through the core archival functions or archivization, such as appraisal, description, and preservation and access, the archivists can shape the records of our future. For instance, the presumed first task of archivists, archival selection, includes appraisal and acquisition of records deemed worthy of preservation. Through these preserved records in the archives, segments of people’s history and heritage are imparted to the future. Although these archives are just ‘slivers’ of reality, as Harris (2002) puts it, they are indispensable to scholarly inquiry into the past by historians, sociologists, geographers, demographers, and others. Ultimately, society relies on these scholars who use archival records to make the

past more comprehensible and relevant to the present and future (Ham, 1993). From here, the ostensibly standard and technical job of the archivists molds what will be regarded important in the future. For Foucault (2002), archives are not merely groups or collections of static objects of knowledge, but rather sets of interactions between the materials, people and events that transform the “monuments of the past...into documents”, and “documents into monuments” (p.7). Monuments are either the memorial itself or the process of commemoration of people and/or events. What had been decided to be committed to social memory would be reflected in the documents preserved in the archives, and whatever had been preserved in the archives would have a higher chance to be remembered and included in social memory and history. The power of archives and archivists may be perceived in their act of inclusion, but the “power to exclude is a fundamental aspect of the archive,” where there are “distortions, omissions, erasures, and silences...Not every story is told” (Carter, 2006, p. 216). This is an indication that this power can be a double-edged sword that cuts through the limits of remembering and forgetting, revealing and burying, and listening and silencing voices and narratives.

Given the prevailing acts of inclusion and exclusion in the archives, Caswell (2014b) raises, “what does it mean to be omitted from history textbooks? What are the implications of not being able to find any (or very few) traces of the past left by people who look like you, share your cultural background, or speak the same native language tongue? What impact do these archival absences have on how you might understand your place in society?” (p26). Coined by feminist media scholars in the 1970s, symbolic annihilation takes place when members of marginalized groups are under or misrepresented, defamed or deliberately obliterated in various media platforms (Caswell, 2014c). Symbolic annihilation, according to Caswell (2014b),

is almost always present in the mainstream archives. For instance, she discovered in one project that American archives had been largely disregarding South Asian Americans despite their historical and cultural significance. Because of this alarming archival silence and absence, Caswell and her colleague, whose parents are immigrants from India, initiated the formation of the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA) that aims to offset this kind of alienation. SAADA's policies and operations are not administered by any institutional repository or academic institution. It is run by an independent board of directors of academics, scholars of South Asian history, lawyer, and a nonprofit fundraising professional – all, except one, are of South Asian descent. This independent, free-for-all community archives currently holds the world's biggest collection of digitized materials about South Asian American history. Also being subjected to symbolic annihilation, black women have been denied of representation and agency in the construction and discussion of postcolonial South African history (McEwan, 2003). This situation calls for a radical attempt to amend this gap as part of the nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's fight for social justice. McEwan (2003) further argues that despite the existence of a truth commission to remunerate the victims of extreme human rights violations, black women's stories of their everyday struggles remain negated. With this, the potential of building a post-colonial archives for South Africa has been put forward through *Amazwi Abesifazane* Memory Cloths Programme, a community rehabilitation initiative for the healing and recovery of the marginalized victims (McEwan, 2003) Indeed, the mediation of archivists in the social life of the records plays a major role in addressing the silences, absences, problems with representations and injustices.

While a complete record of the past that will adequately represent all groups is unlikely, Derrida (1995) nonetheless underscores that, "the archivist

produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future” (p. 45). Dealing with materials of the past and the memories associated with them may have been the touchstone of archiving, yet archives are really about the future – the stories to be told from and about the records and the context surrounding them. Harris (2018) clarifies that archival work and the transformations it brings is a continuous process. If the past and present initiatives to capture the widest possible range of voices, stories and representations are not as far-reaching or not the most-fitting response to the call of justice, it does not mean that these efforts are futile. Harris states that, “failure is not necessarily an ending” (2018, p. 196). It is almost impossible to achieve finality in capturing and describing records for present and future use because, as Duff and Harris (2002) write:

records are always in the process of being made, that “their” stories are never ending, and that the stories of those who are conventionally called records creators, records managers, archivists, users and so on are (shifting, intermingling) parts of bigger stories understandable only in the ever-changing broader contexts of society [emphasis in the original]” (p.265).

Records are continuously evolving. The lives and functions of records will not cease once they are placed and preserved within the jurisdiction of the archives. Records will continue their journey or in some cases move in a new direction depending on how they will be described, contextualized and used by archivists and their various users. For instance, there are records originally created for the operations and information dissemination, such as the leprosy records in Culion, Philippines. These records later became the nuclei for the commemorative centennial celebrations that were initially unimaginable to take place when these records and institution were founded in 1906 in an isolated island (Punzalan, 2009). Records are created and used simultaneously as they are preserved as

evidence of a particular social activity by “disembedding them from their immediate context of creation, and providing them with ever broadening layers of contextual metadata” (McKemmish, 2001, p. 336). The shifting layers of metadata resulting from the process of description are what Duff and Harris (2002) claim a manifestation of power “to make and remake records and to determine how they will be used and remade in the future” (p. 272). Adopting a paradigm where power and hospitality thrive in the archives allows the archivists to actively seek for more opportunities to repurpose the records rather than passively deal with the records and community they are supposed to be supporting. In this way archivists can fulfill their mission – as Derrida puts it – to produce more archives for the future.

Power from the Margins: Photographs and Marginalized People

The use, remaking and reactivation of records in and for the future are mostly associated with the writing, understanding, and even maneuvering of history and representations. As much as archivists shape the future through the materials they are collecting and preserving, they are also being shaped and influenced by the views and practices of the community they are serving. For instance, in serving a community of professional historians, textual records are the primary corroborating evidence and preferred record type. Textual records have attained their dominant place in historiography due to the widespread acceptance of Leopold von Ranke’s conception of history and historiography as empirical science. Braw (2007) affirms that Ranke, being the founder of modern historical science, is known to be the proponent of the use of not just authentic primary sources in the writing of history but original ones. Historians relying on an explanation of the world that drew on Ranke as well as Newton, Comte, and Darwin see the truth value of history as a consequence of appropriately employed scientific methods in their research (Breisach, 2007). Part of the scientific practice of writing history and

achieving historical rigor from this perspective is a critical reading of sources, especially texts (Blouin & Rosenberg, 2011). Because of this scientific view of history, written records have taken the high ground in historical research compared to other forms of resources, such as photographs. Even though photographs are similar to textual records, in terms of their being ocular or visual by nature, within the category of ocular or sight-transmitted information, text has remained dominant over other visual forms in sheer volume, and their acknowledgment for being trustworthy as a medium of representation (Achterberg, 2007). For many years, textual records have been caught up in a dense discursive network that objectifies the writing of history, ascribing them high evidential status. As Ranke put forward the objectivity of truth in historical research, he literally meant that the truth was in the object, or the record itself (Blouin & Rosenberg, 2011). It is the inherent characteristics of textual records in the archives and their extensive acknowledgment that make textual records hold their primacy over photographs as evidence of history. On the other hand, the acceptance of photographs as evidence does not depend on their intrinsic quality as visual documentation but on how powerful the institutions working to establish the authenticity and credibility of certain photographs as evidence of reality are (Tagg, 1998, cited in Tinkler, 2013, p.6). Different from the ascribed evidential status of textual records, the notion of photographs as representations of reality are often rejected by scholars and they can only be considered as partial and complex evidence that have to be evaluated rather than be accepted as evidence (Tinkler, 2013).

As a result, much literature on modern historiography disregards the use of photographs. For instance, McDowell's (2002) work in historical research discusses different primary sources that can be used such as unpublished

documents, letters and diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, business records, among others that are predominantly textual or written records. Although there is some mention of photographs as potential sources for historical research, they are merely seen and treated as illustrative materials to highlight conclusions or to prove a point. McDowell does not even offer an approach to reading and understanding photographs other than seeing them as visual stimuli that accompany written words. Like McDowell, Danto (2008) also emphasizes the use of primary sources in historiography. Primary sources are the “preferred elements in historical research,” that “modern historians favor primary sources, whether accurate or not, because they add new facts or ideas to historical questions” (Danto, 2008, p. 61). This assertion implies the potential of having multi-perspective analysis, but Danto’s category of primary sources only includes firsthand accounts contained in manuscripts, letters, diaries, court records, trial transcripts and other documentary materials that are all textual by nature. Photographs are categorized as nontraditional sources along with other audiovisual resources such as films, videos, music and songs, which according to the author, generally constitute oral history. Danto expresses her reservation on these nontraditional sources by stating that these may be “questionable as primary sources, and the authenticity of their information should always be corroborated with other documentary evidence” (2008, p.84). Tellingly, their advice reveals the dominant historiographical mindset: that these resources, including photographs, can only be used as evidence for historical research as long as they are verified using other documentary evidence. Moreover, photographs are again only seen as illustrative elements on the periphery of historical research dominated by textual records as they “nevertheless...add energy and cultural substance to the historical record” (Danto, 2008, p. 84). Unfortunately, photographs are always regarded as mere accessories to the more trustworthy and exact textual sources. Further, Tosh (2010)

discriminatingly maintains the dominance of textual sources in historical research and argues their precision regarding time, place, and authorship, as well as their authority for “they [textual or written sources] reveal the thoughts and action of individual men and women as no other source can do” (p.90). Tosh’s restricted view of historiography is seen in the two chapters of his work dedicated to the classification and analysis of written primary sources. Although he briefly discussed photography and film in a section on cultural evidence, Tosh mainly provides a historical background of the emergence of film and photography in popular culture in the mid to late 19th century. He does not even provide a clear answer to the question he posed at the beginning of this section: “How have historians made use of this resource?” (Tosh, 2010, p. 256). Tosh simply concludes that “photography and film are taken more seriously than they used to be, both as uniquely revealing sources and as significant features of popular culture” (p.257). Thus, the use of photographs is not maximized, so that as Holliday (2000) argues, “visual representations...have been largely ignored in the social sciences” (cited in Rose, 2014, p.24). Photographs are mainly used to support the narrative found in textual records and not as the main primary sources to draw history from. Lesy (2007) expresses that “historians, trained to read and write – and only to read and write – from an early age avoid photo archives the way people who do not know how to swim avoid the water” (para. 14). Seeing how photographs are marginalized as records and evidence, Schwartz (2002) labels archivists and historians as more “drawn to words and sentences and documents which like their largely chronological agendas, present information and construct meaning in a linear, orderly way” (p.145).

It seems that not only certain voices are being marginalized in the archives, but also records ‘other’ than textual records. The traditional work of archivists has

been bound up with paper-based or textual records. Even the descriptive standards in the archives show their bias or what Schwartz (2002) calls 'linguistic othering' that marginalize non-textual records such as categorizing them as merely graphic materials. This othering or marginalization privileges the textual or bibliographic records as the norm, while making use of the term 'non-textual records' to label photographs, in effect rendering them as 'others' (Schwartz, 2002). It appears that photographs are expected to be described and catalogued using standards that are applicable to the more dominant medium - the written medium or text. Recognizing the marginalization and linguistic othering that Schwartz has put forward, Benson (2010) observes that the existing standards which are not specifically made for photographs limit the role of archivists as they do not participate in the construction of photographic meanings. These standards sustain an orthodox archives where archivists are only expected to describe the content and standardize the descriptive data for interoperability, but not to enquire into the conceptual underpinning of photographs. As a result, archivists often overlook the distinctiveness of photographs as resources filled with unexplored potential. Archivists can continuously enhance and reactivate these photographic records without being limited by the traditional practices. As Ketelaar (2001) brings to the fore,

Every interaction, intervention, interrogation, and interpretation by creator, user, and archivist is an activation of the record. The archive is an infinite activation of the record. Each activation leaves fingerprints which are attributes to the archive's infinite meaning.

(p.7)

One of the biggest potentials of photographs that could therefore be cultivated or *reactivated* is their capacity to document and stand for the marginalized sectors and be in the public sphere where "all aspects of society can be represented and framed for judgment in respect to a just and sustainable social

contract”(Hariman & Lucaites, 2016, p. 11). Photography, from its invention up to its industrialization leading to its widespread use, holds a promise to “democratize all experiences by translating them into images” (Sontag, 1973, p. 4). As a public or mass art form, Sontag (1973) argues that photography is not performed by most people as an art, but rather as a habitual social activity or participation that intends to capture the “largest possible number of subjects” (p.4). Photography possesses such liberty in terms of documentation and imaginative expression because unlike other art forms such as painting and literature, photography produces visual resources that are “minute, fragmentary, cheap...having the most rudimentary syntax, and otherwise lacking most of the semantic and artistic resources of literature and other arts” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2016, p. 12). The ease of production and reproduction of photographs encourages more people to purposely engage in photography for various reasons ranging from the creation of personal archives to shaping public perceptions and addressing civic and political issues. Photographs are used as tools to document human experiences including those in relation to oppression. For example, Subedi (2013) utilized photography to document the everyday lives of a Bhutanese refugee community in a mid-western city in the United States. Subedi discovered the poor living condition of the refugees and through photographs, he disclosed the racial oppression and damaged spaces in their current domicile that afflicted them. As there was little discussion on the circumstances of the recent refugees, and most of the time these minorities were depicted as a problem, Subedi soundly suggests that “photographs can be used in classrooms as a supplementary (and radical) knowledge to speak to the broader issues such as displacement and oppression” (2013, p.297). Photographs are also used to challenge the dominant narratives that leave a legacy in public memories and knowledge for many years. For instance, in the photographs of American photographer Esther Bubley, working-class women in the 1930’s were depicted in

radically different ways from the mainstream conception of femininity during the Depression era and the patriotic official wartime narratives that marked the beginning of the Second World war (Ellis, 1996). Bublely, according to Ellis (1996), showed how working-class women were disadvantaged, repressed, and confined outside the prevailing middle class point of view that dictated the ‘appropriate’ representation of women. Photographs showing a woman cleaning a bus and a woman sitting alone in a restaurant bar waiting for a pick up sent subtle subversive messages as these depictions were “beyond the middle-class conventions acceptability and appearance”, as such, working-class women were given their “own individualized senses of identity and personal self-expression” which were absent in women’s representations during that time (Ellis, 1996, p. 89). These are some examples where photographs were used as instruments to generate and advance ‘Idea Counterpower,’ appropriating the term coined by Tim Gee (2011). Idea counterpower refers to the “practice of forming ideas that challenge the status quo and then communicating them” (Gee, 2011, p. 19). These ideas come from or represent the power from below, which has been conventionally neglected, ridiculed, or even abused by the powerful few. With photographs, these ideas are not only informing their audience about certain people and events, but are also stimulating a “change of worldview” (Gee, 2011, p. 20)⁵. Another related study of photographs’ ability to document and help the marginalized is Lydon’s (2010) examination of how the photographic archives of Australian aborigines help recover family memories and stories that were lost due to dislodgment and colonialism. Lydon discovered that not only do these photographic records, some of which were repatriated, help rebuild the indigenous memory of the Aborigines but that they are also *recuperative*. Lydon explains, “enmeshed with Indigenous

⁵ More discussion and examples of photographs as counterpower are in Chapter 4.

narratives, photographs may serve a range of recuperative purposes, confronting the sometimes the degrading circumstances in which they were produced” (2010, p.179). The Aborigines see beyond the distressing images of suffering of their colonial past and find these images important to them and to other viewers in establishing Aboriginal identities and connections with their own community.

Because photography suspends its subject in time, the spectator can return to an image and reflect on this sliver of the past. As photographs hold certain recorded moments in stillness, these images perturb or trouble the present with nostalgia as well as neglected memories and histories (Kuhn & McAllister, 2006). Photographs are not the memories themselves but they are touchstones (Millar, 2006) or evocations (Mjaaland, 2009) that bring about feelings, recollections, and understanding which could lead to endless enhancement and reactivation of these records. With these capabilities of photographs to evoke memories, unfold stories, and give voice to the marginalized, archivists now have a further means to assert their power by challenging another element that fortifies the status quo in archival theory and practice – the disregard of photographs in the archives. The gaps and silences caused by the exclusion of some voices, as well as photographic resources, need to be addressed. In building community archives that would be for the service of the people, Caswell (2014b) maintains that two key principles are to include a “multiplicity of voices and formats, including those not traditionally found in mainstream archives...” and that the act of collecting materials in the archives is not merely for posterity but a “form of activism” (p. 31). These principles are considered necessary in resisting symbolic annihilation in the archives where marginalized groups are absent, mis/underrepresented, maligned or trivialized in the mainstream archives (Caswell, 2014c). It can be said that photographs are also victims of this annihilation, as they have not been given much attention by the

archivists and even the users. The 'hidden stories' coming from these 'annihilated' social groups and resources also have "great power as a pragmatic tool for challenging these partial narratives, unifying social groups, and mobilizing social movements to bring about desired political and social transformations" (Flinn, 2011, p. 4). The power of photographs to serve as evidence and spaces that evoke recollections and association of oneself with historical moments must be recognized. By committing to the view of photographs being powerful resources that will help develop the community of the marginalized in the archives, archivists are in one way responding to the call of justice and hence doing the impossible – contextualization of records and accommodation of various voices from the community.

The Power of Listening to the Voices and Memories

As archivists help in the preparation for a 'better future' through an 'archives for the future', the need to create a space that will act as a counterbalance to the groups and factors responsible for archival silences and denial of rights and justice is becoming more evident and compelling. One way of doing so is by *enhancing the records* through the archivists' active involvement with the construction and communication of stories of human conditions. These stories encompass the tacit narratives – interests, hopes, and fears of people interacting with the records, which give records their meanings and purpose (Ketelaar, 2001). Embracing the power of archives, however, is not enough to build a people's archives that will accommodate more voices into its democratic space. As discussed earlier, the power in the archives enables both inclusion and exclusion of voices. It is unlikely to reflect and listen to all the voices and elements of society, hence archives have the tendency to create "silences" – and these silences "haunt every archives"

(Carter, 2006, p. 217). Thus, this power should be accorded with hospitality which fundamentally involves responsible co-witnessing and active listening. I argue that conducting oral history interviews, specifically involving *photo elicitation*, with various members of a community is an affective tool to reflexively make sense of their purpose and direction as a community of records. This community of records includes the creators, subjects, and other stakeholders – or the reconceptualized provenance – whose voices must be heard to know not only the context and meanings of their own records, but to discuss the decisions to be made for their records that would shape how others and the future will see and understand them. In this study, I further extend the provenance to not only include the creators or photographers and subjects. The reconceptualized provenance also involves archivists, symbolic entrepreneurs, and historians. This group is responsible for the reconstruction of history and people's collective memory. Together with archivists and historians who are professionally trained in historiography and possess historical accountability, symbolic entrepreneurs are the ones responsible for the framing and commemoration of people and particular events in our history that engage and install resources in mobilizing activities to persuade others to join them in their commemoration (Armstrong & Cragg, 2006). The symbolic entrepreneurs are expected to hold adequate mnemonic capacity in creating commemorative vehicles and frame events that can urge the public to memorialize, join a cause, and participate in social movements (Armstrong & Cragg, 2006; Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986; Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002). They play a significant part in group actions that articulate problematic situations and campaign for political and/or economic reform (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Through listening to their voices, the provenance and their memories and stories will now be part of the historical record that fill in the gaps of history and collective memory, and at the same time support human rights and social justice work. In recent decades, memory activism has become a new approach to peace activism where tensions and nuisances in confronting a contested past are being brought to the fore through commemoration and public discussions (Gutman, 2017a). Oral history as memory work plays a significant part in memory activism or the advocacy to reform how the past is remembered and represented (Gutman, 2017b; Holc, 2012). In the archival context, oral history is being used mostly for political ends such as for the documentation of human rights, implementation of public history-making activities, and enforcement of archival activism (Caswell, 2014b; Flinn, 2011; Iacovino, 2010; Kelleher, Sangwand, Wood, & Kamuronsi, 2010). With the potential of oral history in education and social and political engagement, Flinn (2011) remarks, “when informed by a clear political agenda and perspective, the capturing of oral histories and community memories can be used to empower the community in challenging the narratives that are falsely representing them and may be used against them” (p.10). However, not all of these oral history initiatives in the archives use photographs or photo elicitation method to generate stories. Linking oral history with photographs, Edwards (2006) asserts, “photographs and voice are integral to the performance of one another, connecting, extending and integrating ways of telling histories” (p.37). Oral history and photographs may have a longstanding relationship, yet the use of photographs in oral history is mostly focused on interpreting photographs as historical sources that provide information about the past (Freund & Thomson, 2011). Photographs have only been used as illustrations that support or validate particular historical claims. This traditional view and use of photographs in oral history only reinforces ‘othering’ and the inferiority of photographs as records. Oral historians may have

been using photographs as triggers of memory, but they seldom ponder the reason “why” they are incorporating these visual records into their interviews and historical inquiries (Freund & Thomson, 2011, p. 2). In the case of this study, photographs are being incorporated in oral history to fill in the gaps and silences in the collective memory of a contested era in the Philippine history, listen to and understand the stories and experiences of those who are traditionally excluded in the pages of history texts and memory sites, and to strengthen the potential and performative agency of photographs as evidence and memory sites that respond to the call of justice and continuous contextualization.

While interviews can methodically obtain narratives from the participants, visual anthropologist John Collier (1957) observes that based on his two experiments of doing regular interviews (without photos) and photo interviews (photo elicitation), incorporating photographs into the process lessens the tension between the subject and the interviewer. Collier claims that when photographs are incorporated into the interview process, “both interviewer and informant fastened their attention on the pictures, which relieved the strain of being questioned directly” (p. 849). In a people’s archives where multiple voices and memories laden with emotions, pain and inhibitions are being accommodated, ethical and thoughtfully-planned strategies are necessary to put the participants (the interviewer/archivist and informant) at ease and on an equal footing. As mentioned earlier, archivists performing hospitality should not largely stand as technical experts or historical researchers but as co-witnesses and active listeners. It is the archivists’ obligation to be conscious of ethical imperatives and must take into consideration the well-being of the people they are interviewing or intend to interview. For Portelli, “an interview is primarily a learning situation for the interviewer, especially if the motivation is highly political” (n.d., p. 7). Since

archives are political by nature, Cook (2001) asserts that archivists must start to accept that “nothing is neutral. Nothing is impartial. Nothing is objective. Everything is shaped, presented, represented, re-presented, symbolized, signified, signed, constructed by the speaker, photographer, writer, for a set purpose” (p.7). Since the purpose of records and the communities interacting with them are never static and linear, as part of their historical and ethical responsibilities, archivists must be more open and receptive to the differences and disruptions in the people’s stories. For example, individual memories and stories may or may not fit into the prevailing collective narratives and the conventions that set the templates or scripts for them– or may appear to be false or wrong (Antze & Lambek, 1996; Green, 2004). But these wrong tales share the same spotlight with the accepted fragments of facts and collective memory. These wrong tales, according to Portelli, are not necessarily weak accounts. Portelli (1991) maintains that memories articulated in the oral sources are not always correct and fully reliable, but they, including the wrong tales and multiple versions of an event being reminisced, are very significant because “they allow us to recognize the interests of the tellers, and the dreams and desires beneath them,” and these “errors, inventions, and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings” (Portelli, 1991, p. 2). With people’s archives being open and less about the past than the present and future, Morris-Suzuki (2005) argues that our engagement with the past should concentrate more on how people in the present process and make sense of their past, and not merely on how true a particular representation is. History, for Morris-Suzuki, does not yield a “single authoritative historical truth,” but it requires an open-ended “historical truthfulness” in which there is an effort to understand people’s evolving responses to and relationship with events, mediations, narratives, and images of the past (2005, pp. 27-28). Therefore, in the performance of oral history, the interviewees must be assured that their shifting narratives,

which may not fit the publicly-accepted truth, are important and should not become a cause of any form of anxiety (Rickard, 1998).

With the power and capability of archivists to be responsible co-witnesses that can help shape the creation, repurposing and reactivation of records and their meanings, I would like to put forward in this study the use of oral history as an archival performance in a people's archives. Resonating Harris' conception of hospitality that focuses on the invitation of voices into the archives to allow negotiations of memories, representations and justice work, I argue that this art of listening coupled with co-witnessing is going to be a mutual experience between the archivists and community – and the future communities that will be heard, recognized, and will benefit from a people's archives. Besides being a listening art, oral history enabled by photographs is also an act of continuity of particular ideologies or agenda that would allow the people's archives to constantly acknowledge possibilities, impossibilities, and divergences, and most importantly, to touch upon complex human issues. I also maintain that incorporating the continuous discovery of drawbacks and blind spots in the archives and properly addressing them are an exercise of archival power and hospitality. Moreover, the inclusion of oral history as prompted by photographs does not only report the stories of the provenance and/or the marginalized individuals or communities, but help us understand the affective relations emanating from the various interactions during and after interviews. These interactions – provenance with their photographs, provenance with the archivists or interviewers, provenance with themselves and the wider community and society – allow the participants of oral history to deeply reflect on their experiences either as narrators or listeners, enrich the description of photographs as records through the contextualities provided by these experiences, and let alternative life stories and histories to surface based on

both collective and individual memories. Therefore, with the responsible mediation of archivists and careful use of photographs as interlocutors or tools to spark memories and narratives, oral history is a mutual experience where there is an equal participation in creating stories and meanings that will in turn help build a people's archives.

Thus, this qualitative work is a case study of photographs that explores how the notion of hospitality can enhance the potential of records and fill in the gaps and silences in the collective memory of martial law in the Philippines under the Marcos regime. Through hospitality, the ubiquitous yet often disregarded or underexplored photographic records are reactivated and used to invite individual memories and more nuanced discussion of what transpired in the past and how this past transcends and operates in the present. The photographs are reactivated because they have already been previously used by their original creators or photographers for various functions (documentation, propaganda, raising public awareness, and so forth), and this time the photographs are being reused and repurposed in photo elicitation interviews or conversations, not necessarily to push memories and views onto the members of the provenance, but to pull or excavate more memories and stories that are beyond the photograph's frames. These stories will add more texture to the understanding of the dominant narrative and claimed historical truths of the martial law era. These stories also uncover the provenance's self-perception and self-portrayal in the sphere of the dominant collective memory.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the generated stories or oral sources resulting from oral history interviews are "not found but co-created by historians" (Portelli, n.d., p. 1). Archivists, just like oral historians, also co-create these oral

sources. These oral sources are not simply by-products of interviews where a set of guide questions have been answered by the interviewees for a specific objective. Oral history is a “listening art” that is dependent on different relationships that include a “shared common ground” where both interviewee and interviewer are “listeners that accept each other critically” (Portelli, n.d., p. 2). Approaches on how to invite and listen to these voices are needed, similar to how oral historians thoroughly think about the questions to be asked because most of the time, “the most important information lies outside what both the historian and narrator think of as historically relevant” (Portelli, n.d., p. 1). These tacit narratives can be made explicit and in turn activate the photographs as records and as instruments that will stand for the marginalized. This reactivation through listening will elevate the photographs to be more than evidence and documentations of the past, but as records for the future that will continuously invite and generate more interpretations, questions, memory-creation processes, and instruments of resolution and justice. The resolution and justice may not be in a form of retribution or punishment of the transgressors, but it is the empathy and emotional response brought forward by this reactivation that can reinforce altruism and strong determination for political engagement that seeks to maintain fairness and address the cause of harm (Cropanzano, Stein, & Nadisic, 2010; Payne, 2011).

The reactivation of photographs as evidence and memory sites is therefore a two-way reflexive process: the provenance’s stories beyond the visual narrative will help enhance the context of the photographs and their potential to be used for information, commemoration and historical inquiries; and the interaction between the provenance and the photos gives the latter an ‘opening’ for memories to ripple back and forth and reflectively situate themselves not only in stories behind the photographs, but in the wider and dominant discourses of the period and social

conditions within which the photographs had been produced and circulated. What do they remember? How do they remember the regime and themselves in relation to the present? How do photographs help them reflect? The approach being put forward by this study is one way to answer these questions and bridge the gaps between the photographs and their provenance and context, event and people, past and present, collective and individual memories, and archives and their social justice agenda.

Building a People's Archives

In engaging archivists to do the important task of building archives and bringing them closer to people, archivists must make sense of their historical and social responsibilities because archives do not only provide materials for historical research but they also give opportunities for the public to know and exercise their rights which is essential to a democratic society (Ketelaar, 1992). Returning to Ketelaar's (1992) conception of a *people's archives that is by the people, for the people*, archivists are urged to use their power to build a people's archives that will give voice to the silenced and marginalized in the master narrative or official history and will explore the full potential of records regardless of format. A people's archives is also a space that prevents the denial of people's rights, justice, representations, history, identity, and agency (Ketelaar, 2009). Epistemologically and methodologically, how can hospitality facilitate the building of a people's archives? How can it be done and who will do it? Most importantly, what issues and other blind spots can be discovered and confronted when hospitality is put into practice? By using the case of select martial law photographs under the Marcos regime, I attempt to address these questions. Predicated by the archival discourses on power and social justice agenda, as well as the gaps and silences in the collective memory of this contested era that need to be addressed, I propose three strands of

hospitality to be done inside and even outside of the walls of archives – *welcoming different record formats*, specifically photographs; *welcoming different voices*, especially those coming from the margins; and *welcoming strategies* to proactively bring archives closer to the people (See Figure 1.1). In building a people’s archives fostered by hospitality, these three strands are tied together by the archivists’ engagement with oral history – along with the engendered memories, stories, as well as the various forms of affects that emerge during the interactions between archivists, provenance, and records (photographs).

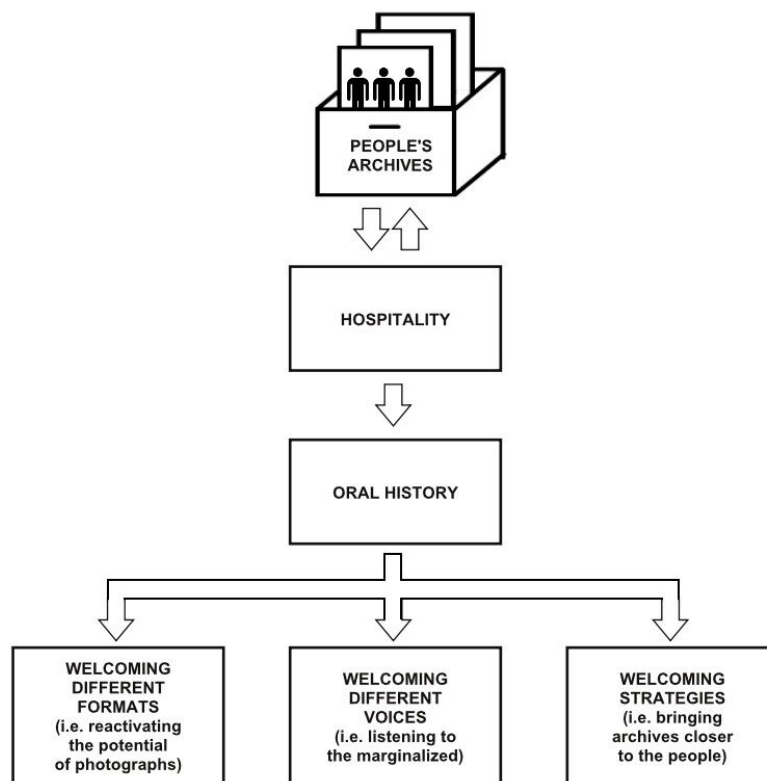


Figure 1.1. A Framework for Building a People's Archive

In the first strand, photographs are reactivated as evidential resources and at the same time invite participation from the marginalized community in the formation of their own memory that may have been suppressed or restricted for

many years. Photographs' meanings and stories are subject to negotiation and exchange among different actors and this act strengthens the intrinsic position of the photographs in instituting alternative memories and histories (Edwards, 2006). Whether photographs are created to freeze fleeting moments for personal remembrance or to document an occurrence for evidentiary, informational and historical purposes, these visual materials are powerful records of human experience that signify diverse perspectives. These records of human experience embrace a "complex range of phenomena" and their analysis involves a "search for pattern and meaning...that may build on both the tangible character of visual records and on our varied 'lenses' of personal and cultural identity and experience" (Collier, 2001, p. 35). The photographs, therefore, give so much room for various meanings and stories that one cannot simply have a linear reading, impression, or even feeling towards these materials and their temporalities. The people's experience of being informed and reminded of their past through these photographic records could generate remarkable narratives and contexts that are not normally captured in the traditional practices in the archives. With the archivists' hospitality, as Verne Harris puts it, the old views and practices that privilege the dominant narratives of the powerful are to be avoided to let more voices and stories in. As Naguib (2008) positions photographs as devices for storytelling, she regards photo archives regardless of how small or personal as an "imagined community that includes people who are unrelated, who lived in completely different epochs and places, belong to different social classes, or have no connection whatsoever. Still, they are on some level part of the same story" (p. 239). This imagined community is connected by the stories and photographs as the actors situate themselves as viewers and/or parts of the story and context of the photographs. Thus, photographs are not only memory triggers, but they are conduits that link more people together.

Since the intersection of oral history and photography lies on the production of evidence, memories, and engagement in storytelling (Freund & Thomson, 2011), in the second strand of hospitality, more voices can be invited and accommodated especially from those who have been traditionally silenced and disregarded by existing authority and structures. The interaction of individuals with photographs and memories is by itself discursive, but can be further enabled by the archivists' hospitality. Hospitality allows for the creation of a people's archives as it recognizes that records and archives can never be complete representations of the past and can only provide slivers of facts and reality (Derrida, 1995; Harris, 2002; Ketelaar, 1992). Hospitality facilitates infinite interpretation, reinterpretation, construction, and reconstruction of the past. I have argued earlier that hospitality in the archives is also manifested in the archivists' acknowledgment of the blind spots, boundaries, possibilities and impossibilities of the archival work or in Derrida's (1995) term, *archivization*. While embracing the inherent power and politics of archives, hospitality is likewise evident in the performance of oral history, especially when dealing with contested pasts and protracted transitions from political upheavals and painful pasts. Engaging in oral history is not merely a heritage function but it is also a political undertaking with the use of memories. For scholars advocating critical archival studies and praxis, all archival work is political – whether it supports a dominant structure and power such as the state, predominant ideology and legacy, or challenges the status quo to implement social changes especially for the recognition and welfare of less powerful communities (Caswell et al., 2017; Derrida, 1995; Duff et al., 2013; Flinn, 2011; Harris, 2007, 2018; Jimerson, 2009; Ketelaar, 1992, 2009; Nesmith, 2006). The rising social justice standpoint in the archives, which focuses on how power and wealth are distributed in the society, has directly affected the

discourses on how archivists of today should rethink their purpose and transform their roles from being neutral, passive and impartial custodians into activists committed to serving the people in the margins (Duff et al., 2013; Gilliland, 2011; Novak, 2013).

The power of listening therefore gives an opening for the archivists to serve as co-witnesses to the individual experiences and memories of people. I maintain in this study that individual remembering is as important as collective remembering, especially the provenance of photographs– who created and were in the sites of memories or ‘frames’ used to incite ideals, public awareness, and social movements. The limited reading and interpretation of photographs silenced many stories behind, within and outside of their frames – and kept the supposedly visible elements of the photographs invisible. This is the irony of photographs used to convey strong messages of persuasion – those who are responsible for the origin, message and circulation of these evidence and vehicles of memory rarely speak, or are never seen and heard. Through listening and the shared experience brought by oral history, the individual recollections of the photographs’ provenance do not only give context and description to what is in the frames, but also retell their thoughts and movements in relation with other people, the Marcos regime, and the present time. This affective and reflective stance of the provenance when they interact, look or revisit the photographs while they reconnect their experience to what happened and happens around them is an act of understanding history, reconstruction of memory, and more importantly, a representation of themselves. Relating to what Pierre Nora (1989) has stated about people recalling their past, “the task of remembering makes everyone his own historian” (p. 15).

Echoing the foresight of a people's archives, Hall (2005) asserts that in telling people's stories and identifying what is heritage for modern post-national, post-identity societies, there is a need for a more inclusive historical narrative and democratized process of rethinking and rewriting "the margins into the center, the outside into the inside" (p.28). Hence, in bringing archives closer to people or opening up the archives for the marginalized, more inclusive and participatory strategies should be adapted. The third strand draws on the insights and principles of community archives. However, this does not mean that the traditional approaches in archiving ought to be completely replaced by the activities of community archives. The traditional archival work such as acquisition, description and preservation should still be in place, except that the purpose and motivation for the archivization are more driven towards becoming tolerant, transformative and participatory spaces for people. I also envision people's archives to be actively collaborating with different non-governmental organizations and other independent institutions as well as more community archives that share the same vision. In terms of having collaborations, a people's archives must take on Flinn's (2011) participatory approach in community archiving that involves a more progressive and active partnership with various social movements. Social movements create, maintain, and transmit ideas to address injustices, seek solutions to problems, and acquire support from the people while motivating them to help improve their current situation (Benford & Snow, 2000). Social movements, however, are not only responding to current issues, but they are largely dependent on past events, experiences, and specific local and national contexts (Abăseacă, 2018). Social movement actors likewise operate as *symbolic entrepreneurs* (Armstrong & Cragge, 2006) doing memory activism as they concern themselves on how to frame events and issues to achieve a stronger resonance (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). Being symbolic entrepreneurs is not necessarily

concerned with making profits through people's recollections and participation, but it is about staying immersed in various memory work to mobilize people and launch commemorative activities for a certain cause or advocacy (Armstrong & Crago, 2006). The memory work done by symbolic entrepreneurs outside of the archives can be merged with various archival initiatives, enabling the archivists to reach out to more communities and take archives closer to the people. Such ideas and strategies, especially collaboration, indicate the path that archivists should take in exploring ways to constantly activate the evidential potential and use of different types of records in representing those that have been usually omitted or were never heard of. With all these collaborations and continuous discoveries of various potentials to fill in the silences and do the impossibilities of call of justice and contextualization of records, I argue that a people's archives should be viewed as an archives embracing more sorts of community archives and social movement work that involves ethical listening and communication, preservation initiatives, and public education. Nevertheless, realizing a vision for justice, especially for societies or communities transitioning from a painful past, is not simple. In understanding a highly disputed past, more voices, memories, and perspectives should be accommodated continuously. And even in the future when the transgressors are ready and willing to speak and share their stance, a people's archives should also be ready to listen.

Building on memory work in a people's archives and with the prevailing collective memory or narrative of martial law in the Philippines, I argue that remembering and understanding this contested era should not be oversimplified. Archivists may already have an overriding plan or even a 'story board' for the collection and the subsequent accruals of stories from the community. But archivists must keep in mind that oral history does not only unfold past meanings,

because there are more meanings being developed during interviews (Freund & Thomson, 2011). A people's archives subsists in these continuous acts of meaning-making – constantly exploring more opportunities to promote understanding and further contextualities. This mirrors Nesmith's (2006) notion of archival work not only as a process of gathering and preserving records, but an act of records and knowledge creation through multi-faceted contexts. These contexts that come from the history surrounding the creation, use and archivists' various forms of inscriptions onto the records essentially reflect the societal provenance. To further push societal provenance and the search for new contextualities, I argue that archival work, particularly in a people's archives, entails continuous engagement with various acts of memory work enabled by hospitality. The memories and stories of people as they interact with and get affected by the records (in this case, photographs) in particular temporalities should also be included as part of the manifold meanings and contexts that figure the historical records as well as their use and purpose.

Summary of Chapters

The succeeding chapters seek to present and understand how hospitality can create a space for the marginalized and how the potential of photographs as sites of memories can be maximized and continuously enhanced and activated. Chapter 2 details the methodology on how to apply the three strands of hospitality in the archives to add to the study and discourse of the martial law period in the Philippines. Drawing on the concepts of archival hospitality (Harris, 2007), societal provenance (Nesmith, 1999, 2007), co-creatorship of records (Bastian, 2003), and people's archives and reactivation of records (Ketelaar, 1992, 2001), I will uncover the stories, experiences and memories of the provenance as triggered by the photographic records. Through oral history interviews enabled by photo

elicitation, where photographs are used as stimuli or touchstones that prompt responses from the participants, this study brings the photographs and provenance to the forefront of building a people's archives. As photo elicitation "mines deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews" (Harper, 2002, pp. 22-23), I argue that this method, although originated from the field of anthropology, is a good strategy to establish hospitality in the archives that will activate the agency of photographs as evidence and memory sites, bring out the stories from the margins, enrich people's understanding of a contested period in history, and take the archives closer to the people. Chapter 3 addresses how mediation and homogenization of memories in different memory sites lead to the exclusion of some memories and stories that are deemed not qualified as important or are not aligned with a group's ideology. Within this context, I discuss the current collective memories of martial law and the Marcoses in the Philippines and how these memories are mediated by different groups. To put things into context, this chapter also provides an overview of martial law in the Philippines under the Marcos regime, and the events following the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986 that overthrew the dictatorial rule. The historical overview combined with the country's political structure, distribution of power and current circumstances are some of the factors that lead to the creation of sites of memories that shape or mediate the collective and individual memories. These social settings and conditions, according to Nesmith's (2007) concept of societal provenance, are the shapers of what information may be known, recorded, and propagated.

The bulk of the study's findings are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 to 6. The photographs used in the discussion are appended at the *end* of each chapter. These chapters unfold the recollections and contextualization of the

provenance. The provenance, or societal provenance, consists of those who were directly involved in the production, composition and retelling of the stories behind and beyond the photographs' frames. Both photographers and their subjects share their memories and stories that further contextualize the photographs and the historical period in which these photographs were produced. The emergent themes of these chapters cover the different narratives of conflict, tension, and trauma of the freelance photographers who some of them were subjected to the violence of martial rule, marginalized working class, members of the underground movement, ex-political detainees, and ordinary people – who fought for their and the country's freedom. In the concluding chapter, Chapter 7 provides the interpretations and views of other essential members of the provenance – the archivists, symbolic entrepreneurs, and historians. Their views will be juxtaposed not only with their traditional roles as actors and practitioners in-charge of history, memory sites, and advocacy, but with their own personal background and experience as they saw and interacted with the photographs. This chapter presents how historians, archivists and symbolic entrepreneurs see the possibilities of utilizing the photographs in providing evidence and retelling the memories of martial law not only to give justice to the victims, many of whom have been silent for many years, but also to protect the Philippines and its people from different forms of corruption and impunity.

CHAPTER 2

Presentation of Case and Research Design: People's Archives as Repository of Memories, Stories, and Participation

"Does the archivist have a moral obligation to engage the marginalized and excluded voices in records? Is archivist a storyteller?"

Wendy M. Duff and Verne Harris, 2002,
"Stories and Names: Archival Description as
Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings"

Like in all phases of history, the martial law period under the Marcos regime has multiple sides and these slivers of stories will never have a definite conclusion. As Buendia (2013) puts it, "the writing of history will never be monopolized by the victors; even the vanquished have a history to write" (p. 200). Buendia further argues that many individuals who are "delinked from the bourgeois network" continue to "persist in creating their own history" (p. 204). This is not to say, however, that the narratives produced by the dominant social institutions are erroneous, injuring, and therefore must be extinguished from the pages of history and collective sensibilities. Perhaps many of the people's memories may have already appropriated a dominant framework, script or template – but the indefiniteness of memories as well as the formation and cultivation of archives as memory sites and evidence calls for a flexible and evolving approach that is at the same time reflective. What matters more is to have a consciousness that there are manifold subjectivities of this period, including the stories of people waiting to be touched upon and uncovered. These stories can give us hope that past mistakes will not be committed again in the present and future.

In the previous chapter, I discussed about the power of archives and archivists in shaping and building history and memory, and in fostering a democratic space. As evidence and memory spaces, photographs have an

understated performative agency that can be enhanced and continuously activated to facilitate the invitation of more voices and uncovering of memories (including the repressed ones) of individuals who have been traditionally silenced and marginalized. These individuals, as Buendia puts it, have a history to write – and more importantly, personal stories and experiences that have to be heard. In this chapter, I detail the methods employed following a framework for a people’s archives with the proposed strands of hospitality discussed in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1). Chapter 2 also outlines the profiles of the members of the provenance whose stories, memories and experiences are usually marginalized in the master narrative or official accounts. Lastly, I discuss the ethical considerations of this study. All aspects of the approach being put forward by this study involves shared participation between the researcher (myself) and the key respondents or provenance as well as the martial law photographs as evidence and memory sites.

Description of Method

Through *photo elicitation* or incorporating photographs into the research interviews, more narratives and experiences are revealed while empowering the research participants (Harper, 2002; Pollak, 2017; Rose, 2012). The photographs, being more than visual representations of the past, mediate people’s memories by offering a glimpse of the past and triggering remembrance, emotions, stories and experiences of both the creators and spectators. The memories of the main participants of this study – the *re-conceptualized provenance* – give life to often overlooked photographs as they are reflexively contextualized based on the provenance or participants’ personal accounts as they see or ‘interact’ with the photographs. This study positions provenance as not limited to the origin (creator or photographer) of the record, but follows the notion of Nesmith’s (1999, 2007) societal provenance and Bastian’s (2003) co-creatorship of records, as it includes

the participants or actors responsible for the production and use of photographs. These are the *photographers, subjects or eyewitnesses* of the phenomenon being captured, the *users or researchers* such as *historians* and *symbolic entrepreneurs* (Armstrong & Cragg, 2006) who are responsible for the writing of history and forming of collective memory or popular accounts of history, respectively, and the *archivists* who are accountable for the physical and intellectual control of the photographs and other forms of records.

I employed semi-structured or open-ended interviews to uncover the provenance's stories, perspectives and memories evoked by the photographs. I chose semi-structured or open-ended interviews as they allow for probing and are flexible enough to establish good rapport with the participants. Noaks and Wincup (2004) note that in open-ended interviews, good rapport and active listening allow the participants to have the "freedom to talk and ascribe meanings" (cited in Silverman, 2006, p.110). Moreover, open-ended interviews are a perfect complement to photo elicitation, as visual anthropologist John Collier (1957) puts it, the use of photographs as stimuli in interviews helps subjects or participants conquer fatigue and repetition of conventional interviews while obtaining longer, comprehensive and more inclusive collaboration (cited in Harper, 2002). The use of photographs in open-ended interviews will "break the frame" (Harper, 2002, p.20) as the participants become more reflective and open to conversations beyond the visual elements of the photographs – and this is central to the contextualization and reactivation of photographs to further represent and capture memories and voices from the margins. Photo elicitation allows the participants to assemble a shared understanding of the subject matter or experience being discussed in such level of familiarity and profundity that is not easily provided by other methods like surveys, questionnaires and focus group discussions (Bedi &

Webb, 2017). When remembering with images, participants are more inclined to tell other sides of their life story, social norms and cultural values that are often undermined by official histories and other people's counter-memories (Freund & Thomson, 2011). Because of the reflexive and participatory nature of photo elicitation, this method has been used in many inquiries to know the histories and lives of people belonging to vulnerable communities such as migrant families (Thompson, 2011; Thomson, 2011), political and subversive groups (Bersch & Grant, 2011; Schiebel & Robel, 2011), and children (Dockett, Einarsdottir, & Perry, 2017).

As part of the reflexivity of this method where it fosters a common ground for sharing of personal thoughts, feelings and experiences between myself as the interviewer/researcher and the respondents (provenance), it is important to locate myself as a participant in the interview process. As a co-witness and listener, I put myself in a situation where I did not aim to stand as an expert but someone who would learn from this mutual experience with the provenance. Listening to them was both a personal and historical experience for me, because I am part of the generation that did not experience the Marcos regime or was too young to even remember what transpired during the EDSA People Power Revolution. I am a Filipino, born in 1984, two years before the revolution that deposed Marcos and his family from their seat of power. I certainly did not have a clear idea of what was life like during that period – why my father had a black and white photo of himself with lots of people in a demonstration in EDSA, why some of my relatives had fond memories of how peaceful martial period was, and how come most of my college professors at the University of the Philippines disdained this era and the Marcos family. I grew up reading history textbooks that were, unfortunately, mainly focused on the Spanish, American and Japanese occupation in the Philippines, and

with only a few pages devoted to the martial law period. Now, as an archivist who is co-witnessing, listening and striving to embrace the responsibility of doing the impossibilities of justice and contextualization of records through their social life deeply shaped by sociohistorical conditions and the various forms of affects and memories of people, I try to fill in these gaps and heed the silences of this era.

By the end of this case study, my interviews with the provenance reflecting their perspectives and memories of and about what the martial law photographs signify demonstrate how archivists can strengthen the evidentiary and evocation capabilities of photographs in shaping collective memory and history, uncovering individual stories and memories, and bringing the archives closer to the people.

Conceptual Framework, Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study develops a framework for building a people's archives that provides space for the documentation and representation of the marginalized (see Figure 1.1). This framework shows the general components that can help archivists in understanding and using their power to continuously enhance and reactivate records as evidence and sites of memories. These components allow the archivists and users to see and treat archives as an event where they can 'experience' the stories behind the records (i.e. photographs) through the provenance's narratives, rather than as objects that pose an impression of finality and rigidity caused by the constraints set by traditional descriptive practices. This case study focuses on the *photographs* as the 'other' format, the voices coming from the *re-conceptualized provenance* which are traditionally excluded in the official or master narratives as well as in the conventional archival description, and the *strategy(ies)* of bringing archives closer to the people by borrowing methods from other fields and taking

into consideration the suggestions of historians, archivists, and symbolic entrepreneurs.

This framework for a people's archives serves as my guide in choosing the participants and designing the research instrument for this preliminary investigation of martial law photographs as evidence and sites of memory. I argue that this is just a preliminary effort as there will be other voices and photographs (and other records) that can and should come into the archives that will potentially be used for further studies. The components and sub-components of this framework may be repeatedly used for the continuous enhancement and reactivation of records and archives.

Once more, since representations can never be absolutely finite and "memory as narrative is not to imply a set of fixed and bounded texts" (Antze & Lambek, 1996, p. xix), this study only offers a starting point from which further methods and contextualization that will discover the full origins of records that have been used as evidence and touchstones of memories and narratives can carry on. The examination of photographs and memories entails continuous work, which are guided by the following questions: How do people build and maintain collective memory? How do people use, receive and perceive photographs in relation to politics and memory, and politics of memory? How do people collectively remember? Given the collective memory and photographs available, how do individuals remember the event and reveal themselves in their stories?

The provenance-photograph interaction helps in the continuous enhancement and reactivation of photographs to reveal the different voices and perspectives of not only the creators, but all other stakeholders (provenance) that

can contribute to the study and discussion of history and memories associated with and represented by the photographic records. The provenance's interaction or experience with the photographs could be related to their memories of the actual creation of the document, familiar visual cues, people from their past, their past and present dealings with the circumstances related to the event depicted by the photographs, and they portray and situate themselves in the wider and more dominant narrative of martial law. This act of engaging the provenance as creators, subjects, and audience allows the archives to open as a space where hospitality is visibly at play.

Contextualizing and making sense of photographs were done by asking questions that are categorized into two types of experience of the provenance – their past experiences as evoked by the photographs which basically generate both historical and episodic memories; and the experience caused or triggered by their current interaction with the photographs. The provenance speaks about their memories, experiences, what they know, feel or learn as they see the photographs. Putting these methods of open-ended interviews and document analysis in the archival context, I argue that through this method archivists may start to create a space for the narratives that are often excluded in the mainstream archives and memory sites that contribute to the dominant collective memory and narrative. Below is a summary of the photographs and provenance involved in this study and the guide questions used during interviews (See Table 1).

Table 1. Number of Photographs, Provenance, and Summary of Guide Questions Used During Photo Elicitation Interviews

Photographs	Sources of Individual Memories	Summary of Guide Questions
Photographs of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political Detainees & Family (5 photos) - Demolition & resistance of the urban poor (2 photos) - Labor strike dispersal (3 photos) - Armed movement in Mindanao (6 photos) - EDSA People Power Revolution (6 photos) 	Provenance: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Photographers (9; 4 photographers personally provided photos for this project, as discussed in Chapter 4) - Actual subjects and eyewitnesses (10) - Historians (3) - Symbolic entrepreneurs (4) - Archivists (4) 	Personal Profile: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Affiliation (past and current) - Work/responsibilities during martial law Memories of past experiences (through photo elicitation): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Atmosphere and stories that they remember or depicted in the photographs - Production of photographs - People, places, and events - Striking elements of photos or visual cues Current experience brought by photograph interaction (through photo elicitation) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feelings or emotions as they see the photos - Striking elements of photos or visual cues - The message of photos

Data Collection and Selection of Research Participants/Informants

Data about and from the photographs are collected through interviews with the provenance. Rose (2012) categorizes the types of photos that can be used in photo elicitation interviews: (1) photos taken by the researcher; (2) images found elsewhere; or (3) images taken by the research participants which will be the core of discussion during interviews. Most of the studies involving photo elicitation ask and let the research participants take photographs based on a specific research agenda, theme or event and the generated visual materials will be discussed with the researcher. However, in this study, the photographs used in photo elicitation interviews were already taken during the Marcos regime by the first tier of research participants or provenance, the photographers. They took these photographs for various reasons, under different circumstances, and obviously not

for the purpose of this research. The photographers chose the photographs to be studied from their own personal collection. Since this study does not aim to look for a representative sample of photographs that directly represents martial law as a period in Philippine history, neither to standardize their descriptions and meanings, I gave the photographers the freedom to choose the photographs which they think were significant to them. With their photographs as the starting point of conversations, the photographers could better articulate their thoughts, feelings, and experiences that usually remain absent in the frames of their generated visual materials (Rose, 2012).

I then started to search for the subjects and eyewitnesses of the photographs provided, most of whom were not aware that these photographs exist. I also interviewed historians specializing on the subject matter of the photographs (e.g. labor system in the Philippines, social movements, and insurgency, and their use of photographs in historiography and pedagogy), as well as archivists and symbolic entrepreneurs responsible for various commemorative acts (Armstrong & Crage, 2006). Historians, archivists, and symbolic entrepreneurs have experienced dealing with similar materials related to martial law but often face several challenges and restrictions.

Similarly, since this study does not aim to come up with a generalization or a standardized description of photographs and memories of the martial law period, a large representative sample of research participants is not needed. Qualitative research tends to focus on small samples and the sampling done is generally purposive where subjects or cases to be investigated are specifically chosen because of some characteristic of interest to the researcher (Hogan, Dolan, & Donnelly, 2009). To identify the specific research participants to be interviewed, I

made use of the *snowball sampling method*, also known as *chain referral*. Snowball sampling is used both in qualitative and quantitative research to access potential interviews and to find participants for surveys (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). Snowball sampling is a type of nonprobability sampling method used for studies where members of the target population are difficult to locate (Babbie, 2007). Babbie (2007) explains that in this method, a researcher collects data from a small number of the target population, and these individuals provide information to the researcher on how to locate other possible participant/s. Moreover, because the samples generated are less representative, snowball sampling is used primarily for exploratory purposes (Babbie, 2007), which makes this method appropriate for this study. As this study is purely inductive, the dominant themes emerged in the later part of the study. Below is the list of the names of the participants or interviewed provenance (See Table 2).

Table 2. Interviewed Provenance

Photographers	Subjects/Eyewitnesses	Historians	Symbolic Entrepreneurs	Archivists
1.Boy Bagwis	1.Rodolfo and Celina	1.Ricardo	1.Amaryllis 'Marie' Hilao of SELDA	1.Emma Rey of House of Representatives
2.Lito Ocampo	Benosa	Jose	2.Nenita Gonzaga of KMU	Library and Archives
3.Alex Baluyut	2.Rolando and Loida Lumagas	2.Ferdinand Llanes	3.Sunshine Serrano of Task Force Detainees	2.Salvacion Arlante of the University of the Philippines
4.Sonny Camarillo	3.Felix Pariñas	3.Juvanni 'Juv'	4.Celso Santiago, Jr. of EPPC	Diliman Main Library
5.Ed Santiago	4.Bonifacio Ilagan	Caballero		3.Rodolfo Tarlit of the University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library
6.Mon Ramirez	5.Danilo dela Fuente			4.Mercy Servida of Lopez Museum
7.Gil Nartea	6.Ricardo Jose			
8.Jess Tan	7.Sr.Aida Velasquez			
9.Pete Reyes	8.Mila Aguilar			

Coding and Analysis

In making sense of the stories and information gathered from the interviews, I repeatedly went through the voice recordings and transcripts that I had gathered and put together from 2015-2017. I also took note of the various tones and emotions that surfaced during the conversations, especially how the respondents or members of the provenance were affected by the photographs shown to them. I also observed how I reacted as the interviewer, which made me find ways to further tackle a number of unclear points in the next interviews, and more importantly, it helped me to be more attentive, thoughtful and sensitive when it comes to probing into their private lives and ideals. I took into consideration the role of affect in the course of interviews and reactivation of photographs. As photographs perform their agency as evidence and memory spaces that trigger memories of those who use and view them, they more importantly engender psychological and physiological responses. Records being repositories of affect, Cifor (2016) convincingly explores the potential of affective relations in examining the archival functions while confronting the different aspects of human rights and social justice principles and goals. These subjectivities are mostly ignored in the traditional archival functions veiled under the pretense of neutrality and detachment from the human dimensions of archival work. The participation of more people and their psychological responses offer many opportunities for the archivists to address gaps such as what the community really wants to see in the collection, and how the community perceives itself within and outside of their social world in the context of advocating rights, recognition, and commemoration. This is especially evident in Chapter 6, where the photographs during the end of the martial law period did not only bring out the memories of how people overthrew a dictator, but they also evoked memories of the years when democracy was not in the hands of people. This signifies that the photographs of the revolution are not simply depictions of a

celebrating people who ousted a dictator, but these are reminiscences of a social and political disruption that people should try to circumvent in the succeeding years. The photographs may have frozen in time this historic event that reestablished democracy and ended a repressive rule but in reality, the fight for democracy and people's rights never ends.

To determine the themes to be used for the categories of discussion and analysis, I reviewed the interview transcripts and performed coding. The original transcripts are in a mixture of Tagalog (one of the major languages in the Philippines and the basis of the country's national language) and English. However, some segments were translated into English if they needed to be quoted and included in the discussion to substantiate important points and themes. I was fully aware that some contexts could be lost because of translation. To minimize this effect, I decided to retain some Tagalog words or phrases and added their literal translations, either in footnotes or in parentheses. The codes that I used for analysis are all written in English. Through qualitative coding, the process of classifying, determining and explaining what the data are about (Charmaz, 2006), I identified different segments of data that categorized the exchange of ideas and conversations that I had with the members of the provenance. Following the general question that Charmaz introduces when coding qualitative data, "Which theoretical categories might these statements indicate?" (2006, p. 45), I came up with a number of codes, which I either subdivided, expanded, combined with other codes, or sometimes removed in case of redundancy. Since the flow of the conversations basically evolved around the general questions on memories of past experiences and current experiences as evoked by the photographs, some codes generated were: *recalling the actual event in the photo, identifying familiar cues (people, place, things such as pieces of clothing, tools and signages), describing the*

overall atmosphere of the event, expressing feelings upon seeing the photo, recalling feelings that they had during the event, and relating present experiences to the past or vice versa. The themes that the following chapters cover are based on these codes that indicate different narratives of conflict, tension, and distress of the freelance photographers, marginalized working class, members of the underground movement, ex-political detainees, and ordinary people who joined mobilizations for democracy at their personal capacity.

Ethical Considerations

Oral history interviews may be considered by many as a form of therapy. For instance, in Rickard's (1998) inquiry on the feelings and perceptions of the interviewees on being interviewed. Rickard's group of interviewees consists of people diagnosed with AIDS. In this context where trauma and taboo have obvious effects on how the participants will share their life histories and unravel their inner selves to the interviewer, several ethical imperatives have to be carefully observed. With this in mind, I tried to create a neutral setting for the interviews by letting them choose where to hold the interviews. Sometimes the respondents would choose the comforts of their home, a cafeteria near their workplace, a favorite restaurant or coffee shop, or a fast food chain that is very familiar to them. I opted for this because it was part of my mission to not make the respondents feel that I, the researcher/interviewer, had the sole control in this process. I wanted to make them as comfortable and relaxed as possible, and not see me as an intruding investigator who only wanted to extract information from them.

Before, during and after my interviews, I made sure to address the common ethical concerns such as informed consent, confidentiality, consequences, and role of the researcher (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008). I sought approval from the

Institutional Review Boards (IRB) of NTU⁶ in 2015, which covered my research objectives, research significance, target participants or respondents, methodology, research instruments, guide questions, and informed consent form. The participants signed the informed consent form after I explained to them the nature and objective of my research. None of them was subjected to any harm, and their participation was voluntary. No monetary incentive was also given to the participants, except for small tokens of appreciation. I also informed them that our conversations would be recorded and transcribed, and I could give them copies of the audio recordings and transcriptions upon their request. As of the time of writing, no one requested for copies. Aside from personal interviews, I also communicated with some of them through e-mails and social media applications such as Facebook Messenger (e.g. brief interview with photographer Pete Reyes who is now based in the United States).

I also determined whether they wanted to be identified; and for the photographers, if they would allow their photographs to be included in my project. At first, I did not expect that the respondents would want to identify themselves because of confidentiality issues or even for their safety, especially those who are still very much involved in left-wing movements and activities. But I presume that being involved in these progressive undertakings only strengthens their desire to be identified in studies like this for a better and deeper resonance of their social and political advocacy. Being identified may not bring retribution justice for them at this time, but publicly acknowledging the past wrongdoings of the state is a performance of human rights. As Payne (2011) has argued, interviews involving

⁶ IRB-2015-07-015

the names, memories and emotions of people involved in an event stimulate political engagement and awareness.

While all the participants wanted to be identified and agreed to mention their real names and affiliations, I remained mindful about confidentiality and discretion by informing them of the possible use of the data I obtained from them. This is the *alternative approach* put forward by Kaiser (2009), which lets the respondents or participants properly informed of the potential use of their data such as in publications and conference presentations. It is also indicated in this study's consent form that all photos and documentations (e.g. photographer's curriculum vitae and brochures) shared with the researcher will be cited or credited to them accordingly. This alternative approach is useful for studies that are not using the "dominant approach" that is usually exercised in studies wherein respondents are "unidentifiable" (Kaiser, 2009, p. 1634). This approach makes the respondents sense the value of their contribution and participation rather than silencing and denying them of their part in the research process and authority over their data (Kaiser, 2009). The participants being identified also increased the rigor of the discussion and points that this study was trying to substantiate. As for the consequences of this study and my role as the researcher, I followed what Creswell (2007) stated about the researchers being a key instrument who collects data, observes people's behavior, conducts and codes interviews. Aside from having my research plan, guide questions and voice recorder, I have mentioned earlier that I chose to stand as a listener and learner who wanted to learn more and deepen her archival advocacy.

I was also fully aware that speaking about their past and disclosing parts of themselves with a stranger could possibly cause anxiety and discomfort. Showing

the photographs of abuses may also cause distress to the victims as this act will open some unhealed wounds and reinforce what Sontag (2003) called as photographic voyeurism. Michelle Caswell also grappled on this ethical issue, when she was examining the Tuol Sleng mugshots. She provides a very persuasive argument on the ethics of looking at these violent images, that we have to “look at violent images as long as we do so in appropriate context” (2014a, p. 163). On equal footing, the participants can look at photos not only as an artwork that desensitize the viewers, but as records that have rich and ongoing provenance and context – including the very moment that the archivists and subjects are interacting and being affected by the sight of the photographs at a particular time. Another is using photos as a third subject that will not make the subjects feel that they are being interrogated. I would usually start with “tell me about this photo ” which, according to Freund and Thiessen, is a fundamental way to set the tone of the interview where the subjects would feel a bit of detachment from the image and their painful past before drawing closer to their emotional connection to the photo and the event it depicts (2011, p. 30). I was also extra sensitive of the non-verbal cues that sent me signals like if they were trying to avoid a topic or did not want to talk anymore.

Looking at photographs involves both reliving and relieving. What I discovered in the course of the oral history interviews using photo elicitation is that, photos do not only open wounds but they also serve as balm to heal some wounds. For instance, the People Power Revolution photos brought hope and at the same time challenges to continue to value our freedom and be more mindful of the forces that persistently create inequalities and abuses. This holds especially true in the current context where some societal and structural problems persisted. This shows that the affective relations can bring various responses that may help us understand what the people really believe and feel, and what they want to attain.

CHAPTER 3

Furthering Contextualities: Remembering the Marcos Regime

"Remembrance is the only antidote to the return of authoritarian rule."

Luis V. Teodoro

Journalist and Ex-Political Detainee from 1972-73

More than four decades have passed since the imposition of martial rule in the Philippines under the Marcos regime – yet the battle for its representation and understanding is far from over. Given the selectiveness of historical representation, where some topics or events are deemed more worthy of representation than others, a complex work of narration requiring the interpretation, collation, and portrayal of events ensues after materials of memory and history are collated (Rigney, 2002). This complex work of representation and narration is fundamentally driven by a conflation of power and agencies – including the interlocutors, vehicles, sites and instruments used to transmit the memory and prevailing narrative, and how people in the present respond to these.

In a people's archives that builds on the power of hospitality and memory, multi-faceted contexts are needed to bring about more discussions and nuanced understanding of the past. Nesmith's societal provenance is visibly at play in this perspective, and can be pushed beyond their history of creation, use and custodianship, to include the sociohistorical context that might have implications on how records affect their users or viewers. For example, records may induce memories, help the viewers rediscover themselves, and reconnect with people and some already gone places, relationships and beliefs. For photographs, looking at them may cause anxiety for some but may be therapeutic or recuperative for others.

To better understand the dynamics of memory construction and meaning-making, I detail in this chapter the evidence of the current collective memory of martial law in the Philippines as consolidated and mediated in different spaces or sites of memory. It has been consistently argued in this study that a people's archives opens a space for more voices and memories – both collective and individual. This space will help conjure rich memories of this historical period and lead to further discourses and negotiations. Since memories of people are always shifting and malleable, I also look at the forces, including the major events, culture and political economy of the Philippines that drive the polarization or differences of understanding, memories and narratives of the martial law era.

Mediating Memories and Narratives

In opening a space for different kinds of remembering and commemoration, it is just necessary to know how people remember. French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who put forward the concept of collective memory, argues that present concerns have a significant impact on how memories are organized, understood, and contextualized. Halbwachs (1992) emphasizes that collective memory is more than remembering, rather it is a mediated and reassembled past because:

The past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present. It is necessary to show, besides, that the collective frameworks of memory are not constructed after the fact by the combination of individual recollections; nor are they empty forms where recollections coming from elsewhere would insert themselves. Collective frameworks are, to the contrary, precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society.
(p.40)

The way people perceive and deliberate recent and distant events is largely affected by current needs and circumstances, as well as their relationship to their

community and society (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). It is in the present time and society where individuals recall and localize their memories. The importance of the present-day in shaping people's remembrance of the past is further reiterated in Pierre Nora's conception of *lieux de mémoire*. All these deliberate acts of creating tangible, symbolic markings and rhetorical constructions help people recall and regiment their views towards a historic period, certain personalities, and events. Therefore, it is the society that provides framework for the "beliefs and behaviors and recollections" of people that will fit the current or predominant thoughts and needs (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997, p. 4). This framework or convention dictates, which Green (2004) calls, the *scripts* or *templates* of memory in which individual recollections fit. The popular memory brought forward by different memory spaces and vehicles affects the formation of individual memories while being constrained by the conventions and narrative products such as myths. These myths and certain images of the past are basically told and shaped by various institutions ranging from "domain experts, market forces, and power of the state" (Antze & Lambek, 1996, pp. xvii-xviii).

Furthermore, people tend to remember events that are emotionally-charged, and more importantly, if they caused major alterations in the existing structure or represented long-term change in people's lives (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). In the case of martial law era in the Philippines, two significant alterations in the political and social scene took place – one was the temporary death of democracy in 1972 and the other was its revival in 1986. The memories of these two events still affect the present social and political situation in the country, as Claudio (2013) points out, "the ghosts of Marcos period and People Power continue to loom over the Philippines. The democratic identity of the post-authoritarian Philippine state is one shaped by the collective experience of dictatorship and its collapse" (p.5).

Martial law under the Marcos regime, therefore, is always connected with the EDSA People Power Revolution. Remembering one cannot be done without remembering the other. Thus, if the process of remembering appropriates a certain framework, script or template, what exactly are the institutions that have control over the memory acts related to martial law? In the Philippine society, where does this power come from?

In a democratic society, the power literally comes from the people. But this does not mean that everyone is given the power to mediate the dominant memory or narrative of a certain period in history. In the Philippines, political power is distributed among influential people, specifically clans or families – a main characterization of elite or patrimonial democracy dominating the country (Quimpo, 2008). In a pioneering study on the nature of elite/patrimonial democracy framework in the Philippines, Dante Simbulan (1965) attributed the origin of the Philippines' two major parties to the American model, but argued that the power relations in the Philippine society are basically affected by or rather based on social organization, especially family groupings. Blocs composed of elite families and political dynasties run the party organizations and tend to only serve the interests of these family groupings or the modern *principalia*⁷ (cited in Quimpo, 2008). The democratic values in the Philippine political system have both “foreign and indigenous seeds,” in which the respect for the rule of law and achievements is combined with the importance of family, child rearing, and respect for elders (Wurfel, 1988, p. 43). As “the strongest unit of society,” Jean Grossholtz observed that “the communal values of the family are often in conflict with the impersonal values of institutions of the larger society” (McCoy, 1994, p. 1). Despite this conflict

⁷ Noble or ruling class during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines.

of interest, the concept of family holds a high relevance in the political system and distribution of power and wealth in the Philippines, making the elite families deeply entrenched in the democratic system in the Philippines.

Since it is society that provides the framework for the remembrance and understanding of the past that suits the current state, I argue that the 'elite family framework' that drives the elite/patrimonial democracy also drives the collective memories of people. The elite families who are central in the prevailing martial law narrative are the Marcos and Aquino families. The collective memory of martial law is divided as it parallels with the division or clash between these two families that played major roles in the 'alteration' of the societal structure and lives of the Filipino people. But, even with the elite families' significant influence on Philippine economic and political history, McCoy (1994) remarks that the paradigm of elite families is often disregarded by historians and social scientists. In the succeeding section, I discuss the Marcos regime and the political economy of the Philippines during and after the dictatorial rule which explains the distribution of power in the country. This power does not only affect the unequal allocation of wealth and resources in the country, but it also shapes the public understanding and collective memory of people. Lastly, I present the prevailing dichotomy in the collective memory and narrative of martial law era as represented and mediated in different memory spaces.

The Marcos Regime and its (Dis)Continuity

The Philippines suffers from severe economic inequality, which is the result of the "very nature of Philippine economic development and state intervention" (Wurfel, 1988, p. 56). The state is expected to foster economic growth but it also generates

“profit for some and poverty for others” (Wurfel, 1988, p. 74). Wurfel argues that economic growth and state intervention do not reduce the power of the economic elite and the constitutional structure and political processes even fortify elite competition. The culture of patronage and clientelism has existed in the Philippines for so long that kinship is now regarded more important than any other loci of loyalty. After reviewing the literature on the prevailing power of the oligarchs in the Philippines, Hutchcroft (1991) deduces that the “political administration in the Philippines is often treated as a personal affair. Patrimonial features endure, as the highly arbitrary personal discretion of oligarchs currently in power largely determines the assignment of privileges granted by the state” (p. 447).

Postwar developments and pre-martial law democracy did not bring much change to the distribution of political and economic power in the Philippines that developed over the course of the American period of colonial rule (Bello & Elinson, 1981). However, it is worth noting that the Philippines in the 1950’s and early 1960’s was seen as the “jewel” among Southeast Asian nations, and viewed as likely to join the ranks of the newly industrializing countries (NICs) (Angeles, 1992, p. 90). Its annual growth rates of 6 to 10 percent brought about by import-substitution industrialization (ISI) made the country the “envy of Southeast Asia” (Bello et al., 2004, p. 9), between 1950-62, marking it as the most promising country for capitalist modernization in the region (Rivera, 1994). But several years later, all other NICs such as South Korea and Taiwan, and Southeast Asian nations, including Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia, surpassed the Philippines – the ‘rising’ nation that these countries were once looking up to (Angeles, 1992; Rivera, 1994).

The manufacturing growth in the Philippines began to slow down in the late 1960’s and stagnate by the 1970’s and 1980’s (Bello et al., 2004; Rivera, 1994).

Scholars have provided a number of reasons why the Philippines missed the opportunity to bring in more capital and industrialization as a prospective NIC. One reason is that the Philippines shifted from ISI to export-oriented industrialization (EOI), a driver for economic growth of NICs, a decade later than South Korea and Taiwan (Angeles, 1992). This delay was caused by the weak influence of the technocrats who helped develop Marcos' economic strategy based on IMF/World Bank's advice (Dubsky, 1993), and, again, the resistance of the local ISI manufacturing class, which was also supported by the nationalist movement in the 1960's (Rivera, 1994). It must be understood that the dominant faction of the people controlling ISI consisted of landed capitalists, who later diversified into manufacturing activities when EOI was officially in place during the Marcos regime (Rivera, 1994). Also, agriculture could have been the country's "resource reservoir" that would fuel the development of urban industrial activities (Angeles, 1992, p. 92). However, the landlords and Marcos' cronies who had vested interests in this sector, continued to resist a genuine and redistributive land reform program, and later ventured into becoming merchants and industrialists. As remuneration for shifting their activities to EOI, they received generous repayment packages and foreign loans, which merely went to unproductive investments, unnecessary spending, and the settlement of maturing loans (Angeles, 1992). They continued to dominate the economy, unlike in other NICs where landlordism was decisively weakened and massive land reform was implemented (Bello et al., 2004; Rivera, 1994). But economic development would not take place without simultaneously cultivating the country's industry and agriculture (Angeles, 1992), and the Philippines, being a weak state controlled by the elite since its colonial history, was not decisive and strong enough to intervene (Rivera, 1994). There was a shift in the country's economic model, yet the country took a different development path still hinged on its old patronage culture and political and class structure.

Bello and Ellison (1981) recount that in 1970, 55 percent of the national income was controlled by five percent of the population. This tellingly illustrates the concentration of power in the hands of the few, and what Benedict Anderson (1988) points out in his widely cited paper “Cacique Democracy in the Philippines,” that the rule of the elite class⁸ reached its peak during the period of 1954-1972, which was also the time when Ferdinand Marcos and Corazon Aquino’s husband, Benigno Aquino, Jr. rose to national prominence. But unlike Aquino, Jr., who was from a key political dynasty in Central Luzon⁹, Marcos came from the “lower fringes of oligarchy” (Anderson, 1988, p. 20). This was the social, economic, and political state of the Philippines when Marcos assumed power as president in 1965 and 1969.

A native of Sarrat, Ilocos Norte¹⁰, Ferdinand Marcos was a two-time Congressman-elect of Ilocos (1949 and 1953). With the outstanding support of his wife, Imelda Romualdez Marcos¹¹, he ran and won in the 1959 Senatorial race, and

⁸ In his article, Anderson explains the roots and subsistence of *cacique* democracy in the Philippines, from the country’s colonial history up to the post-authoritarian rule of Corazon Aquino. The ruling *caciques* primarily consisted of *mestizos* – a mixture of Filipino and foreign ancestry (i.e. Spanish and Chinese). While Iletto (2017) agrees with the exploitative tendencies of the caciques, he finds Anderson’s framework deterministic. Iletto argues that there is a more nuanced internal structure within this class, where in fact, the caciques compete against each other. Citing the work of Filipino historian Patricio Abinales, Iletto states some instances where mestizo caciques used their power, influence and education to express the demands of the common Filipinos. Some of them even turned into revolutionary leaders. Iletto then infers that “the literature on *caciquism* is divided into whether a revolution is an expression of *caciquism* or whether in fact it was also a revolt against *caciquism*” (p. 291).

⁹ The largest rice producing region in the Philippines. It is located in Luzon, the largest and most populous island in the Philippines.

¹⁰ A province in the northern Philippines.

¹¹ During his campaigns, Marcos would constantly brag that his “secret weapon” was his beautiful and charming wife, Imelda (Rafael, 1990). When Marcos was elected president, the former beauty queen turned First Lady became actively involved in national affairs. Dubbed as a patron of arts and culture, Imelda appropriated money from the government, local businesses, and U.S. special funds to build the Cultural Center of the Philippines, Folk Arts Theater, Philippine International Convention Center, and so forth (Seagrave, 1988). Senator Benigno Aquino, one of Marcos’ staunchest opponents, critically questioned Imelda’s activities and especially the luxurious Cultural Center of the Philippines at a time “when so many Filipinos were starving or barely subsisting in squalid poverty,” and added that Imelda reminded him of Eva Peron (Seagrave, 1988, p. 198). Imelda Marcos thus became well-known for her flamboyant display of beauty and extravagance to the point that the word *Imeldific*, which is defined by Oxford Dictionary as, “ostentatiously extravagant, sometimes to the point of vulgarity,” was coined after her. This extravagance and the Marcoses’ edifice complex was analyzed by Gerard Lico (2003) in his book entitled “Edifice Complex: Power, Myth and Marcos State Architecture.” Using the different structures built under the Marcos regime as evidence, Lico argues that the Marcoses’ edifice complex is a manifestation of their desire to legitimize their power and control.

became the Senate minority floor leader and member of the Senate Appropriations Committee (Rodriguez, 1985). In 1965, Marcos ran for president against the Liberal Party's Diosdado Macapagal.¹² During the campaign period, Marcos' biography, *For Every Tear a Victory*, which showed off his wartime exploits during World War II, was published and became immensely popular (McDougald, 1987).¹³ The Marcos war myth, the persuasive power of his wife, Imelda, and vote buying all contributed to his success in the 1965 presidential election (Rodriguez, 1985; Seagrave, 1988). In the face of exploding population growth, a stagnant national economy, and political system greatly controlled by the educated elite, landed aristocrats, and political dynasties, Marcos immediately declared a crisis in the country's economy and proclaimed a "strategy of austerity" in all government expenses (Rodriguez, 1985, p. 23).

The country saw some economic progress from 1965-1969. After 1965, there was an annual growth of 5.8 percent in GNP as well as growth in agriculture, fishery, and forestry (Rodriguez, 1985). Although elected to a second term in 1969,¹⁴ his campaign was controversial. Wurfel (1988) regards the 1969 presidential elections as a "devastating blow to the electoral process" because even

¹² Ferdinand Marcos was formerly under the Liberal Party when he ran and won as Congressman and Senator. Because of his political ambition, he then later joined its contender, the Nacionalista Party. Rodriguez (1985) reported, "Ferdinand Marcos was then president of the senate from the Liberal Party, under President Macapagal. He [Marcos] wanted to be a candidate for president for the reason stated above [Macapagal was the top man of the party and wanted reelection] he could not be nominated by the Liberal Party. He, therefore, worked out a plan whereby early in 1965 he developed a disagreement with President Macapagal, bolted his party and joined the Nacionalista Party" (p. 16).

¹³ In a report published by Jeff Gerth and Joel Brinkley in 1986, this claim was discredited based on the US Army records. For the full electronic version of the article see <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/01/23/world/marcos-s-war-time-role-discredited-in-us-files.html>. Also, in a series of articles published in WE Forum, an opposition newspaper ran by Editor Joe Burgos, Ret. Col. Bonifacio Gillego made public his investigative work on the Marcos war myth – his guerilla activities and receipt of Medals for Valor. These articles questioning Marcos being a war hero caused the arrest of Joe Burgos and his staffers in 1982, and closure of the newspaper. Take note that in 1982, martial law was already lifted and democracy was 'supposedly' reinstated. For further details refer to <http://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/07/04/16/file-no-60-debunking-the-marcos-war-myth> and <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1982/12/17/Newspaper-shut-for-questioning-Marcos-war-record/7382408949200/>.

¹⁴ Marcos was the only president who won re-election in the Third Republic of the Philippines. For a graphical summary of the 1969 Presidential Elections Data, see the 1969 Elections Data provided by the Malacañan Palace Presidential Museum & Library at <http://malacanang.gov.ph/74706-elections-of-1969/>.

with their popularity, both presidential candidates, President Marcos and Senator Sergio Osmeña, Jr. were accused of corruption on a massive scale while none of them presented “clear-cut policy alternatives” to address the increasing poverty and people’s frustration with existing political institutions (pp. 16-17). Knowing that his popularity was already declining, Marcos was all the same very determined to win and resorted to the “dirtiest election campaign in Philippine political history” employing “goons, guns, and gold” to secure more votes (Rodriguez, 1985, p. 35). Vote buying was rampant so that despite being politically aware, Kann (1974) claimed that many very poor Filipinos sold their votes to political contenders – who were mostly from the elite, ruling families – for a few pesos because their democratic rights, specifically suffrage, were seen as useless luxuries. Still, Marcos gained enough elite support (Tiglao, 1988), and won by outspending his opponent. But, the overspending during that election drained the government treasury and caused inflation and a drastic peso devaluation in 1970 (Rodriguez, 1985). While many Filipinos continued to support Marcos, growing economic discontent¹⁵ (Daroy, 1988), and political crisis led to more protests and demonstrations from students, workers, and peasants. These groups objected against graft and corruption in the government, high oil prices, regression of the economy, and the re-election of Marcos in 1969. Most of these demonstrations ended violently as the police and military used brute force to disperse them. This period of social unrest from January to March 1970 would be known later as the

¹⁵ Daroy (1988) stated that based on a report from the Bureau of Census and Statistics (No. 62, April 1968), 7 out of every 10 families belonged to the low income group, 2 to the middle group, and only 1 to the high income group. There was also a visible decline in the real wages in both urban and rural areas. He further explained, “real wages dropped by 8% between 1962 and 1964 and by 30% between 1970 and 1974. Both these periods were marked by relatively high rates of inflation occasioned by the devaluation of the peso in 1962 and 1970” (p.12). It was also reported by the Senate Committee on Economic Affairs that out of 12 million labor force in the Philippines in 1969, a million were unemployed. In the following year, a labor leader accounted that 3 million were unemployed. The internal debt of the Philippines was 6 billion pesos and the external debt was \$1.9 billion, the cost of living continued to rise as the peso devalued which caused the increase of all basic commodities by approximately 40% (Brillantes, 1987, p.6). The *Melchor Report* prepared by the then Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor detailed the plunging economy before the imposition of martial law in 1972.

First Quarter Storm.¹⁶ Mobilizations against the Marcos government did not only take place on public streets. Universities also became grounds for various acts of defiance. One notable instance was the *Diliman Commune* where students, faculty members and residents of the university, and transport workers, staged an uprising and barricaded themselves inside the campus of the University of the Philippines Diliman from February 1 to 9, 1971, to protest the increase in oil prices and military presence inside the university.¹⁷ A few months later, on August 21, 1971, hand grenades were thrown at the stage of the Plaza Miranda¹⁸ during the campaign rally of the Liberal Party¹⁹ resulting in several deaths and injuries²⁰ (Daroy, 1988). What followed these unfortunate events was the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. There were already speculations that martial law would soon be declared, including the disclosure by Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Marcos' strongest critic, of the *Oplan Sagittarius* – a top-secret military plan drawn under the orders of President Marcos to impose martial law (Tiglaio, 1988).

Indeed, in the evening of September 23, 1972, Marcos publicly announced on national television that he had declared martial law. His signed Proclamation

¹⁶ For further discussion of this period, see Jose F. Lacaba, *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage: The First Quarter Storm & Related Events* (Manila: Anvil Pub., 2003). See also Nathan Gilbert Quimpo, "Watching the Storm," in *Subversive Lives: A Family Memoir of the Marcos Years*, eds. Susan F. Quimpo and Nathan Gilbert Quimpo (Mandaluyong City, Manila: Anvil Pub., 2012), 45-58.

¹⁷ The University of the Philippines (UP), then and now, is a hotbed of militant activism in the Philippines. Many members of the community of the premier state university are actively involved in various social and political issues. For further reading on the radical movements in the university, see Bienvenido Lumbea et al., eds., *Serve the People: Ang Kasaysayan ng Radikal na Kilusan sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas* (Quezon City: IBON Foundation, Inc., 2008).

¹⁸ Plaza Miranda is a public square near the Malacañan Palace (presidential palace) where political rallies are always held. For more information about its history, see <http://malacanang.gov.ph/75022-defend-it-at-plaza-miranda-a-history-of-the-countrys-foremost-public-square/>.

¹⁹ The breakaway 'liberal wing' of the Nacionalista Party. Marcos led the Nacionalista Party from 1965-1972 after he left the Liberal Party.

²⁰ Primitivo Mijares, Marcos' former pressman, implied in his book *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos* (1976), that the Plaza Miranda bombing was plotted by Marcos. However, it was later revealed and admitted by an ex-member of the Communist Party of the Philippines that the communists were responsible. For more details, see Gregg Jones' full article published in 1989: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/08/04/ex-communists-party-behind-manila-bombing/b987c165-4f26-4609-aeb5-cd05134c0cec/?utm_term=.910428ce5afc.

No. 1081²¹ officially placing the entire country under martial rule. Marcos assumed all powers of government (General Order No. 1, 1972) and authorized the military to arrest personalities including journalists, political activists and militant students who were explicitly against his administration (General Order No. 2, 1972). Marcos justified martial rule as his constitutional response to the “state of anarchy and lawlessness, chaos and disorder, turmoil and destruction of a magnitude equivalent to an actual war between the forces of our duly constituted government and the New People’s Army and their satellite organizations,” and to disturbances in Mindanao and Sulu “resulting from the unsettled conflict between certain elements of the Christian and Muslim population of Mindanao and Sulu” (Proclamation No. 1081, s. 1972, paras. 22–23).

Marcos declared that the existing crisis and social unrest were the main causes why he had to impose martial law. He affirmed that for him to save and protect the country, he needed to use his emergency powers as stipulated in Article VII, Section 10 of the 1935 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines:

The President shall be commander-in-chief of all armed forces of the Philippines and, whenever it becomes necessary, he may call out such armed forces to prevent lawless violence, invasion, insurrection or rebellion. In case of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, he may suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law.

In the initial years of his dictatorial rule, the Philippines experienced economic growth of 6.5 percent per annum (Timberman, 1991). Marcos had strong

²¹ Mijares (1976) recounted that Marcos spoke in a historians’ convention and told them that he signed the proclamation on September 17. However, because of Marcos’ strong numerological beliefs, he made September 21 the official date of the proclamation document, because 21 is divisible by 7 – his lucky number. This “Marcos Style” to “shoot first, explain later” was common during his presidency. For further reading on Marcos’ dictatorship as ‘exposed’ by his former pressman (who disappeared after the publication of this book), read Primitivo Mijares, *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos* (San Francisco: Union Square Pub., 1976).

support at this time and most Filipinos did not oppose him (Kann, 1974). Following a series of referenda held in January 1973, July 1973, and February 1975, Ocampo (1976) reported that a great majority of voters expressed their satisfaction and approval of the regime. Ocampo observed that although there were critics who questioned and doubted the results, there were also Filipinos who expressed a “wait-and-see” stance towards the regime and hoped that it would fulfill its promises. Filipinos appeared to have accepted and tolerated authoritarianism not because they were “ignorant about democracy”, but because of “certain bitter experiences” with the existing system and politicians who perverted that system (Kann, 1974, p. 614).

Marcos, after being re-elected in 1969, challenged the existing inter-elite competition or the “equilibrium” of the system that allowed each elite faction to take turns to control the government machinery (Bello & Elinson, 1981, p. 6). And for many, it seemed that Marcos was the right person to challenge this system, because he, despite his political following from among the Ilocanos, had no independent oligarchic base and less wealth compared to the old elite families and political dynasties (Miranda, 2001). Moreover, he was “skilled at political manipulation”, and able to maintain close ties with the Americans (Wurfel, 1988, p. 16) so that Filipinos, including some members of the elite and many from the middle class, hoped that Marcos could bring change to the country. Marcos declared a *democratic revolution* or *revolution from the center* that would eliminate communism and oligarchic rule in the country – but his targets were selective (Hutchcroft, 1991). Marcos did not completely overturn the established social structure, leaving those oligarchs who “bent with the wind and eschewed politics for the pursuit of gain” mostly untouched (Anderson, 1988, p. 22). As he targetted his strongest rivals such as Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., Eugenio Lopez

(head of an influential dynasty based in Iloilo) and the Osmeñas (whose estates were put up for redistribution as part of a land reform package), and not the elite segments that would hinder his new approach of economic development, Marcos created new oligarchs (Anderson, 1988; Hutchcroft, 1991). The new oligarchy did not necessarily replace the old one, because this new group was a “mixed bag” of cronies who were relatives of Ferdinand and Imelda, preferred old oligarchs, and some “new men” – making Marcos the *Supreme Cacique* (Anderson, 1988, p. 22). This new political framework monopolized by Marcos’ new elite faction gained the “nuptial blessing” from the U.S., which was eager to protect its economic and military interests (Bello & Elinson, 1981, pp. 7–8).

In his new framework, Marcos also surrounded himself with technocrats. Marcos’ recruitment and hiring of technocrats, who had expertise in economics and finance and shared the same development perspective as he did, secured support from the U.S. and IMF/World Bank (Tadem, 2015). Marcos and his technocrats intended to open the Philippines to foreign investments, and this matched with the U.S. and IMF/World Bank’s “development paradigm of liberalization and increasing foreign investment in the country to ward off communism” (Tadem, 2015, pp. 548–549). But economic policy-making in the country was not only in the hands of the state, Marcos’ technocrats, and international institutions. They, the transnationalists, wanted structural adjustment that would boost free international flows of goods and capital, but were challenged by the nationalists engaged in domestic economic activities and who openly opposed global free trade (Broad, 1988). The lengthy debates between the transnationalists and nationalists, who owned big corporations and vast amounts of lands, demonstrate the “weak separation of the ‘private’ and ‘official’ spheres” in the Philippines (Hutchcroft, 1991, p. 440). Eventually, the technocrats, having fewer resources to resist the

demands of the private interests, were forced to compromise in order to realize the structural adjustment endorsed by the IMF, World Bank, and the U.S. government.

Implementing this economic adjustment to fully commit to export-oriented industrialization necessitated financial capital, and it was the IMF/World Bank that provided huge loans to those shifting to export-oriented industries (Broad, 1988). Marcos may have been the *Supreme Cacique* who challenged the reigning oligarchy and favored certain elite segments at the same time, but he did not have full control of the economy and even less of the institutions that lubricated the state machinery – the IMF and World Bank. When the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cartel imposed oil embargoes in 1973 and 1979, many oil-import dependent countries such as the U.S. and Philippines were direly affected. Between 1971 to 1981, oil products rose on average by 1286% with a corresponding increase in living expenses for such items as food, school fees, transportation, medicine, water, and electricity (Villegas, 1983). Unfortunately, wages could not keep up with the rising cost of living. Marcos and his technocrats' answer to the emerging crisis was to further increase exports and international borrowing—especially through enormous loans from the IMF and World Bank that were supposed to pave the way for massive inflows of foreign capital. This inflow did not materialize because the Philippines had already missed the 1960's tide of the newly industrialized countries (Bello et al., 2004; Hutchcroft, 1991; Wurfel, 1988). While structural adjustment promoted growth in other countries such as Brazil, South Korea, and Singapore in earlier years, this strategy failed in the Philippines in the 1980's because of the stagnation of world trade and the resulting fierce competition among exporting developing countries coupled with a collapse of prices of export products such as coconut and sugar (Broad, 1988; Curaming & Claudio, 2010).

Marcos still asserted a strong grip on power in the face of a dwindling economy, massive protests from left-wing organizations and dissatisfied oligarchs while consistently “testing” his constitutional powers by using the military and police to threaten dissenting forces (Daroy, 1988, p. 22). Through Marcos’ ideology of *New Society* or *Bagong Lipunan*, Marcos pushed for a more ‘disciplined’ and ‘reformed’ Philippines. However, the supposed reform and disciplinary measures carried out by the government and the military led to thousands of gross human rights violations. Marcos’ ideology and economic strategy did not clearly solve the country’s systemic problems. The supposed economic prosperity of the regime was in fact a “debt-driven growth” that eventually led the Philippines to economic depression and eventually, the regime’s downfall (Tiglao, 1988, p. 40). However, these situations were never reflected in the official accounts or publications of the government. In *The Philippines: A Nation Reborn* (1976), Marcos maintained that the ‘command society’ had gained widespread support and that he should have done it earlier for the good of the country:

...as a matter of fact, the most criticism of my decision was why it took me so long. But the entire matter was, of course, not in my will but in the circumstances. All the same, this further indicates another profound sentiment: our people want to start all over again, to arrive at a new covenant of existence
(para.4).

In line with this thinking that reforms had succeeded, on 17 January 1981, with the issuance of Proclamation 2045²², Marcos finally lifted martial law, but continued to rule the country as a dictator (Diokno, 1988; Rodriguez, 1985). A day prior to the lifting of martial law, Marcos seemed to make sure that martial law

²² For the full text of his speech, see <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1981/01/17/speech-of-president-marcos-during-the-termination-of-martial-law/>.

would still be in force by secretly signing two presidential decrees, P.D. 1834 and P.D. 1835, that made subversion, rebellion, sedition, and other political crimes capital offenses (Diokno, 1988). Marcos stated in his speech terminating martial law that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus would be retained, and all his proclamations and orders as the incumbent president remained valid and legal, even after the revocation of martial law. The arrests, tortures and summary executions continued, but protest movements against the regime undauntedly persisted. Because of the increasing abuse of civilians, a worsening economy, growing opposition of the old oligarchy from the pre-martial law years, and assassination of opposition leader Sen. Benigno Aquino, Jr. in 1983, the Filipinos started to express their displeasure and loss of confidence in Marcos' presidency.

The Philippines plunged into the worst crisis in its history with a decline in GNP of 6.8 percent in 1984 and 3.8 percent in 1985, a further devalued peso, additional taxes that contributed to an increase in prices, more foreign debts, and escalating poverty due to a severe increase in unemployment (David, 1996; Rodriguez, 1985; Solon & Floro, 1993). By the end of 1985, real GDP had declined to 1975 levels (David, 1996; Rodriguez, 1985; Solon & Floro, 1993). As the economic and political situation in the Philippines became more unstable from 1983-1985, the United States became alarmed and pressured Marcos to reform (Curaming & Claudio, 2010). In response, Marcos declared in November 1985 that a snap election would be held in February 1986, which eventually set the stage for the widow of Benigno Aquino, Jr., Cory Aquino. The final count of the elections results was rigged, and Marcos was declared as the winner. Marcos underestimated the popularity of Aquino, so that he did not expect that the outcome of the snap election would be fatal to his regime (Curaming & Claudio, 2010). People

protested, held prayer rallies, and two weeks later, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Vice Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos defected to the widow's side (David, 1996). While massive support was materializing around Cory Aquino, the radical left, while playing a significant role in the anti-Marcos struggle for more than a decade, chose to boycott the election as they thought it was merely a "noisy and empty political battle" between the conflicting ruling classes (Quimpo, 2016, p. 128). On February 22-25, 1986, thousands of people gathered in EDSA after Manila Archbishop Cardinal Sin appealed to the public for mass support to object to the fraudulent election results and protect the rebel soldiers withdrawing from the regime. The People Power Revolution, also known as the EDSA Revolution, ended the Marcos dictatorship. The Marcos family fled the Malacañang Palace, flying to Hawaii courtesy of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Corazon "Cory" Aquino, widow of Benigno Aquino, Jr., was declared the president and democracy was officially restored. Cory Aquino then formed her cabinet, lifted the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus throughout the country, announced the unconditional release of political prisoners, created the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG), the Presidential Commission on Human Rights (PCHR), and a Constitutional Commission to draft a new constitution (Javate-De Dios, Daroy, & Kalaw-Tirol, 1988).

What followed the EDSA People Power Revolution was an era of uncertainty. There were high hopes and expectations for the Cory Aquino presidency and the newly restored democracy. The People Power Revolution became an iconic event that inspired revolutions in different parts of the world such as the student protests leading to free elections in South Korea in 1987, and the 1998 peaceful demonstration and 1999 coup in Pakistan, among other movements (Thompson, 2000, cited in Manzanilla, 2016, pp. 19-20). With this

worldwide recognition, the question whether it substantially altered the structure of the Philippines continually haunts the memories and understanding of the EDSA People Power Revolution, the Marcos regime and the subsequent administrations. Four issues confronted the post-authoritarian/post-EDSA/Cory Aquino administration: foreign debt, agrarian reform, crony properties, and human rights (David, 1996).

The economy was in shambles as a result of structural adjustment done with the blessing of the U.S. and IMF/World Bank as it failed to account for the global recession of the mid-1980's, which consequently severely damaged local industries and increased the foreign debt from \$21 billion in 1981 to \$26 billion in 1986 (Bello et al., 2004). Despite the advice of some Filipino economists from the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) and University of the Philippines School of Economics to abandon the debt repayment schedule set by the foreign creditors, the post-Marcos and post-EDSA People Power Revolution economy persisted to be driven by debt repayment, or "model debtor strategy" instituted by Cory Aquino's Proclamation 50 that honored "all of the Philippines' debt, including odious ones like those contracted to build the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant as well as the so-called behest loans made by cronies of the Marcos dictatorship" (Bello et al., 2004, pp. 14-15). David (1996) argues that when Aquino swore to honor all the foreign debts that Marcos accumulated during his term, she failed to use the revolutionary character of her new government to free her constituents from the trouble and burden of paying debts that were not ethically theirs. Instead, during the Aquino administration debt repayment ate up to 50 percent of the national budget, and new debt was piled on to past debt (from PHP 625.6 billion in 1986, public debt rose to PHP 945.2 billion in 1991) in order to pay interest on the previous debt (Bello et al., 2004).

Alongside the foreign debt was the land problem, a persistent issue dating back to colonial times. These perennial land issues in the Philippines remained unresolved under the new administration. Agrarian reform was left in the hands of the Congress, where the members were mostly landowners like Cory Aquino herself (David, 1996). The peasants continued asking for a redistributive land reform, and these movements usually ended with violence. The bloodiest of these was the *Mendiola Massacre* on January 22, 1987 when more than 10,000 farmers from different parts of the country assembled and marched to Mendiola Street near the Malacañang Palace in Manila. Thirteen farmers were killed by the military and several others were injured. Such an irony to the supposedly revolutionary government proclaimed by Cory Aquino, this tragedy happened barely a year after the EDSA People Power Revolution. Cory Aquino offered her apologies and condolences to the victims, but like other cases of state violence in the Philippines, nobody was punished for the death of the farmers (Curaming, 2013). Another example of agrarian-related violence was the massacre at Hacienda Luisita in Tarlac in 2004, where several striking sugar plantation workers were fatally shot and wounded²³. Hacienda Luisita is one of the largest sugar plantations in the Philippines owned by the Cojuangco clan. Besides, it should not be forgotten that Cory Aquino is a Cojuangco, a *cacique*, and was the treasurer of the Cojuangco family holding company for thirteen years (Anderson, 1988). Aquino played safe on the issues of agrarian reform, and her indecisiveness is explained by her protection of her own family's interests, and her uncertainty of the impact of radical redistributive land program on agricultural production (David, 1996).

²³ For the full timeline of the *Hacienda Luisita* struggle, visit http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/276798/For-Land-Justice-Hacienda-Luisita/#vars!date=1881-04-02_09:46:43!. This timeline was created by the *Luisita* Watch, a network of individuals and organizations established to advocate the cause of the farm workers for genuine land reform and justice. For more information, visit <https://luisitawatch.wordpress.com>.

Under Marcos' two-decade rule, his family and its cronies amassed at least \$10.5 billion in various assets around the world. (David, 1996; Garcia, 2016). The Cory Aquino government immediately created the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) after the EDSA revolution to investigate and recover this ill-gotten wealth. The PCGG²⁴ is mandated to freeze and sequester these illegally-acquired assets, and return the stolen wealth to the national treasury. Until now, the PCGG has not completed its task, and as of 2015 there were still civil cases filed against 19 parties to recover illegal assets worth PHP 32 billion (Lustre, 2016). The recovery of these assets was slowed down by several factors including the mismanagement of PCGG, the different laws and jurisdictions where the bulk of the hidden assets²⁵ were located such as in the U.S., Switzerland, Germany, Singapore, offshore banks in Liechtenstein, the Cayman Islands, and Hong Kong, and the post-Marcos Philippine government's position that the recovered money should go to the agrarian reform, based on the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP)²⁶ and not to the various claimants or plaintiffs (Garcia, 2016). Garcia posits that the foreign courts wanted to have an assurance that the returned ill-gotten funds would go to the victims who suffered under the previous regime, and not to

²⁴ For the total amount of recovered wealth, see the PCGG annual reports available at <https://pcgg.gov.ph/category/publications/annual-reports/>

²⁵ In March 1968, Ferdinand and Imelda opened four bank accounts at the Crédit Suisse in Zurich under the aliases William Saunders and Jane Ryan. There is evidence that they later opened more than half a dozen secret accounts in Switzerland (Seagrave, 1988). Citing a report from Atlanta Constitution newspaper, McDougald (1987) stated that \$950,000 was deposited in the first four bank accounts, while Marcos had only declared his assets to \$30,000 and his annual salary as president only amounted to \$5,600 (p. 119). Seagrave (1988) further mentioned that over the years, the amount deposited increased to \$1.5 billion to as much as \$5 billion. Aside from using aliases, Marcos also used some elaborate code to authenticate all the messages and they sent to the Swiss bankers. Marcos, being a strong believer of numerology, had his favorite number "7" in his account numbers.

²⁶ According to Sec. 63(b) of the Republic Act 6657 or Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1988, one of the sources of funding or appropriations will come from "all receipts from assets recovered and from sales of ill-gotten wealth recovered through the Presidential Commission on Good Government" or PCGG. According to the 2013 PCGG annual report, the recovered wealth had been used for the implementation of different CARP-related projects such as construction of farm-to-market roads, bridges, provisions for electricity and postharvest facilities, water supply systems credit assistance, and trainings.

the CARP. Until now, no member of the Marcos family or anyone from the Marcos regime has been prosecuted for stealing – and for violating human rights.

During the Marcos regime, officers of the elite anti-subversion units of the military such as the Philippine Constabulary (under the command of General Fidel Ramos, who succeeded Cory Aquino as President in 1992) and the Metrocom Intelligence Security Group employed violent and coercive measures against the regime's enemies (McCoy, 2001). The theater of terror staged by the regime left the country with thousands of unresolved human rights violations. No justice was given to those who died, disappeared, and suffered. No Truth Commission, such as what was formed in South Africa after the abolition of apartheid, was established. Among the nations that established Truth Commissions in the course of political transitions, the Philippines is one of the few countries that did not complete the commission report despite the institution of a Presidential Committee on Human Rights in 1986-87 (Christie, 2000). The work was unfinished and there were no prosecutions either. Truth Commissions are needed for the healing and reconciliation process to work and their success is a reflection of "national will" and a "national commitment to fully understand and learn from the country's difficult, sometimes very controversial and often quite painful history" (Hayner, 2006, p. 296). The cases dragged on in court and not one perpetrator was convicted, which David (1996) presumes was a deliberate act of the Cory Aquino government to avoid implicating the chief of the Constabulary Unit and the martial law administrator, who were none other than General Fidel Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, respectively. David further explains that incriminating these so-called heroes of the EDSA revolution would have only aggravated the "already polarized situation between the civilian leadership and the young officers of the RAM (Reform the Armed Forces Movement)" (1996, p. 16). Human rights

violations continued even after the martial law years. While many were still crying for justice for the offenses and wrongdoings of the Marcos regime, impunity still reigned in the following administrations. Kessler (1989) provides a summary of human rights violations in the Philippines from 1975-1988²⁷ based on the data provided by the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), a leading non-governmental human rights group in the country. In the first two years of Cory's presidency (1986-88), there was already a total of 10,882 arrests, and 731 disappearances and extrajudicial killings. These numbers are not too far from the 21,561 arrests, and 3,257 deaths and disappearances under the Marcos regime which lasted for more than a decade. In terms of the yearly averages of arrests, disappearances and deaths, the Marcos regime had 2,396 arrests and 288 disappearances, while the Aquino regime had 4,664 arrests and 313 disappearances and deaths per year. As Padilla (2001) reflects on the effect of these abuses individually and collectively, he maintains that, "human rights violations do not only scar the individual, but they in fact scar the very soul of a nation" (p. 147).

The Marcos dictatorship was over, yet the same old issues continued to loom over the Cory Aquino presidency and succeeding governments. As David (1996) writes, "the termination of the dictatorship was never a clean break. There are discontinuities as well as continuities: some old faces in new roles, some new faces in an unchanged bureaucracy" (p. 19). In the midst of debates on the legacy

²⁷ To see the complete table, refer to page 137 of *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines* by Richard J. Kessler (Connecticut: Yale University Press). Kessler noted that the figures did not include the NPA (New People's Army, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines) killings. Other non-governmental organizations such as Karapatan and Task Force Detainees have continued documenting human rights violations in the country, including arrests and detention of political activists, organizers, human rights workers, as well as peasants, workers, and ordinary civilians. In the more recent, post-Cory Aquino's administrations, Karapatan traced that the Arroyo administration (2001-2010) had the highest number of deaths (1,205). But this has been surpassed by the Duterte administration with approximately 7,000 deaths in just a few months after he declared his war on drugs campaign in July 2016. For more information, visit Karapatan: Alliance for the Advancement of People's Rights at <http://www.karapatan.org>, Task Force Detainees of the Philippines at <http://www.tfdp.net>, and Human Rights Watch at <https://www.hrw.org/tag/philippines-war-drugs>.

and consequences of the EDSA Revolution, Hau (2016) deduces that most scholars agree that the revolutionary potential of this revolution failed people's expectations for change. The Cory Aquino government is seen as a restoration of elite democracy (Anderson, 1988; Bello & Elinson, 1981; Hutchcroft, 1991).

Thirty years after the EDSA Revolution, the son and namesake of the former dictator ran for the second-highest position of the executive branch of the Philippine government. Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos, Jr., who was elected Senator in 2010, clamored for an end to personality-based politics and appealed to the Filipino people, "I humbly ask them to judge whether or not I am worthy of their trust to be Vice President on the strength of my performance as a public servant in the last 26 years: first as former Vice Governor and Governor of Ilocos Norte, then as Representative of the 2nd District of Ilocos Norte and, finally, as Senator of the country" (Dioquino, 2015, para. 20). Apart from Bongbong Marcos' career as a public servant for 26 years, the former first lady Imelda Marcos and her daughter, Imee, were also elected into office – both became Congresswomen of Ilocos Norte in succession, and the latter is currently serving her third term as the provincial governor of Ilocos Norte. Even with all the unsettled allegations and issues of injustice and ill-gotten wealth, the Marcoses have reclaimed their place in Philippine politics following the patriarch's death in Hawaii in 1989 and the family's return to the Philippines in 1991. Also, until now, the Marcos family has never apologized nor acknowledged their crimes committed on the Filipino people.²⁸

²⁸ In an interview with Senator Bongbong Marcos, he said, "*Kung meron akong sinaktan* [If I hurt anyone], I will always say sorry, but what I've been guilty of to apologize about? Will I say sorry for the thousands and thousands of kilometers that were built? Will I say sorry for the power generation? Will I say sorry for the highest literacy rate in Asia? What am I to say sorry about?" To see the interview, visit <http://news.abs-cbn.com/halalan2016/nation/08/26/15/bongbong-marcos-era-what-am-i-say-sorry>.

The Aquino family has likewise managed to maintain its influence through the nostalgia surrounding the 'martyrdom' of Benigno Aquino Jr., EDSA People Power Revolution, and 'Cory Magic' – especially after the death of Cory Aquino in 2009 due to colon cancer. The son of Benigno and Cory, Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino III, who was then a Liberal Party senator, was persuaded by Aquino supporters to run for the presidency in the 2010 national elections (Claudio, 2013). Claudio explains that this appeal coming from the Aquino supporters was rather a symbolic act of challenging the incumbent president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, who was then lobbying to amend the constitution. There were speculations that the reason behind the proposed charter change was Arroyo’s grand plan to stay in power after her term. These speculations as well as accusations of corruption, electoral fraud, and extra-judicial killings made Arroyo highly detested so that she was frequently compared to Marcos (Claudio, 2013). The younger Aquino won, and at the end of his term in 2016, the younger Marcos ran for vice president. It seems that the narratives of these two families, Marcos and Aquino, are destined to leave indelible marks in the collective memory of the Filipinos. The framework or scripts of the dominant narratives will therefore remain under the control of these people in power, neglecting once again those who do not belong to the higher stratum of Philippine society.

Of Myths and Narratives: Martial Law, EDSA, and the Curation of Memories

The representation of the years of martial law is addressed in different sites of memory. The dichotomy of the current collective memory or master narrative depicted in these sites mainly involves the *Marcos myths*, which are either pro or anti-Marcos narratives, and the *People Power Revolution myths*, which are basically constituted by the *Cory Aquino myth* (Claudio, 2013). Aside from the pro-

Marcos representations seen in Ilocos and in posts and photographs being circulated in social media, the prevailing narrative of martial law is dominated by the memories of torture and victimization, commemoration of key personalities, the alliance of government and civil society to oust the dictator, and the role of the Left and various social movements in the struggle against Marcos (Diokno, 2001; Quimpo, 2008; Wahyudi, 2014); and EDSA as the return of democracy, symbol of unity, and a period of people's empowerment (Anderson, 1988; Claudio, 2013; Curaming & Claudio, 2010; Diokno, 2001; Quimpo, 2008; Wahyudi, 2014). As stated in the earlier discussion, these myths and narratives shaped by templates or scripts have a tendency to be controlled and manufactured by those in power. In the Philippines, with its highly patrimonial, elitist and *cacique*-driven system, the memory and understanding of people towards an event and those individuals associated with it would also be driven by their own personal affairs, affinity and loyalty to a certain institution and its ideology, community, and/or family.

Therefore, it is not a surprise to see the strong support for Marcos in his hometown in Sarrat and Batac, Ilocos Norte, a region known as the 'solid north' because of the people's tendency to have a strong and unified electoral vote and support for certain political candidates. In this region, Marcos is called *Apo*, which means "God" in the Ilokano language, or *Apo Lakay*, or "highly respected or venerated elder." Also, Marcos' memory sites, such as the preserved ancestral house of his family, former elementary classroom, presidential center, Marcos' mausoleum, museums and monuments, were strategically built in this area. Marcos' mother, Doña Josefa Edralin Marcos, is depicted as a "Symbol of a Filipino Mother" in all the exhibits and artifacts displayed in the old ancestral house. The classroom, which had been turned into a mini-museum, where the young Marcos spent his first grade in Sarrat South Central Elementary School, puts his class

photos on display as well as the short story of “Andy the Ant” that Marcos allegedly wrote when he was still in primary school. Interestingly, even the brief history of the school posted in its hallway includes the story of the brilliant, young Marcos:

The damaged structure, rebuilt in 1904, was turned in a school which served as the first grade school of the young Ferdinand Marcos or “Andy” on 1923, the school bore witness to the brilliance of a national genius at the young age of six. His teachers could always rely on the brightness of Andy when nobody else could answer their questions. Possessing a formidable memory, he was able to win speech contests as well.

There is also a newly erected monument of Marcos in front of the town’s municipal hall in addition to the old arch entrance to the town with “Welcome to Sarrat, the birthplace of President Ferdinand Marcos.” The museum beside Marcos’ mausoleum, the President Ferdinand Marcos Presidential center, has been constantly renovated and updated to house more collections, and to accommodate more visitors. It narrates Marcos’ life history, achievements and romance with First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos, complete with posters, photographs and memorabilia. One distinct segment of this museum depicts Marcos as a war hero. Placed alongside primary records, such as newspapers (for example, *Manila Bulletin* and *Tribune*) and old photographs of Douglas MacArthur and Bataan during the World War II, are a portrait of a young Marcos in uniform with medals pinned on his chest, and framed medals of valor of the late president that would build the context of Marcos as a war hero. He is not simply a war hero, but a hero with a heart and conscience as illustrated in one of the captions describing the dreadful Bataan Death March:

Stories about the Death March have been filled with pain, trauma and desolation. From Bataan, over a hundred men marched on foot to Capas, Tarlac. Ferdinand Marcos was one of them. He vividly recalled images of what used to be a group of tough soldiers who were now a line of wounded, filthy, broken men. Many died along the way due to starvation, while the rest were weakened by malaria, dysentery and beri-beri. The line was constantly checked and counted and if one was found missing, 10 men were singled out and killed. Ferdinand saw opportunities to escape but he returned repeatedly as his conscience dictated. He looked

on the Death March as a defining moment that imbibed in him a deeper reverence for life and freedom.

Another memory site is the World Peace Center Marcos Photo Gallery, which is just a few meters away from the Marcos Mausoleum and Presidential Center. This gallery contains hundreds of photographs of Marcos, his wife Imelda, and family. Upon entrance to the gallery is a huge panel board with facsimiles of old newspapers with Imelda Marcos in the headlines. On the other side of the panel are photographs of Marcos and a poster which has the only mention or reference to martial law among all the visuals displayed in the gallery:

President Marcos respected the Rule of Law during the period of Martial Law, ensured Due Process of Law and the Protection of Human Rights as embodied in his Letter of Instruction No. 7772, 1125, 1125-A and 1211.

He did not implement a Death Penalty to a Filipino during and after Martial Law.

He did not use power to hurt or kill those who betrayed him but he used power selflessly for peace and love.

President Marcos is a Man of Peace.

All the photos and posters in the gallery exalt the Marcoses, especially Ferdinand and Imelda. Ardivilla (2016) points out that the Marcoses' use of "carefully orchestrated" images that depict them as "heroic, cosmopolitan, elegant, determined, worthy of pedestals, was a clever strategy to "cement their grip on power" and commit it to the "public's imagination" (p. 85). The Marcos myth is comprised of a "juxtaposition of images of primordial strength with eternal beauty" and a main storyline or "single vantage point" for all the Marcos' memory sites in Ilocos, that Ferdinand Marcos was destined to be a President of the Philippines (Rafael, 1990, pp. 283–286).

The other side of this Marcos myth is the aversion to Marcos and his family, and his dictatorial regime. The 1987 Philippine Constitution's Bill of Rights was evidence of the aversion towards martial law and the atrocities associated with it as it explicitly guaranteed the protection of the Filipino people against human rights violations perpetrated by State authorities. While Marcos is considered the most corrupt and wicked president in Philippine history by many, the soft-spoken Cory Aquino, on the other hand, is seen as the pious wife of the late Senator Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino and had the "divine right" to govern the country (Guillermo, 2016, p. 77) and replace a dictator.

As everyone can be a hero in their own story, like other influential and powerful personalities, the Aquinos also have their own museum in their hometown in Tarlac. Portrayed as 'icons of democracy,' the materials displayed in the museum chronicle the Aquinos' fight for democracy. Two separate websites²⁹ are likewise maintained for them. Featuring old photographs of their life and work, the narrative is essentially the same: they are the heroes of EDSA and all their hard work and sacrifices led to the restoration of democracy from the hands of a brutal dictator. Dubbed as the 'Wonder Boy of Philippine Politics,' Ninoy Aquino is portrayed as a hero who courageously fought for the country's freedom, was imprisoned, and died as a martyr. In a short video documentary, which is also featured in Ninoy's website, there are clips of his interview inside the China Airlines airplane before he was assassinated. Ninoy fearlessly said that he had to return to the Philippines, despite the imminent danger to his life, because "I have to suffer with my people," and, "the Filipino is worth dying for" ("Ninoy Aquino," 2011). His death in 1983 on the Manila International Airport tarmac gave birth to the People

²⁹ <http://www.ninoyaquino.ph> and <https://coryaquino.ph>

Power Revolution. After his death, his widow, Cory Aquino, led the country by “choosing the right and principled position.” In her own website, the morally upright Cory is described as:

To the world, she is the widow in yellow who toppled a dictatorship in a stirring show of People Power in 1986. To her native Philippines, she is the courageous president who single-mindedly restored the institutions of democracy. But to herself, Cory Aquino is a plain housewife who could not refuse her country’s call to service. (“Cory Aquino Website,” 2010, para. 1)

Just like the Marcos family’s residence, the Aquino’s ancestral house in Concepcion, Tarlac, also known as the Balé Aquino, has become a historical and tourist spot. The pre-war mansion of the Aquino family was recognized as a national historical landmark in 1987 by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. Public places were also named after Ninoy such as the Ninoy Aquino Freedom Park in Dumaguete City, and the Ninoy Aquino International Airport in Pasay, Manila. It is also notable to mention that the 500-peso note has the face of Ninoy on it, and in 2010 the *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas* (Central Bank of the Philippines) issued a new 500-peso note with both the faces of Ninoy and Cory. There are also several monuments and statues in different parts of the country dedicated to the couple. Ninoy’s first bronze statue was built in Aquino’s hometown in Concepcion, Tarlac. Three more statues of Ninoy were erected in Metro Manila, one is in Makati, another one in EDSA, and in Manila, which was built beside Cory Aquino’s statue also known as the “Cory Aquino Memorial Shrine.” Cory’s statue was unveiled in 2010 during the celebration of her 77th birth anniversary, almost a year after her death in 2009. In the marker, she is described as *Ina ng Demokrasya* or Mother of Democracy, who courageously ran against the dictator Marcos.

Another site of memory that showcases the dominant narrative of the martial law years and the success of the bloodless revolution is the *Bantayog ng mga*

Bayani. This memory site was founded right after the EDSA Revolution, and as it envisions itself to be the “leading organization on the martial law years,” it puts up special exhibits including a tribute to Corazon Aquino (“Bantayog ng mga Bayani - Remembering Martial Law Martyrs and Heroes,” n.d.). Currently, *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* has three sections: The Bantayog Research and Documentation Committee, The Bantayog Museum, and The Bantayog Library. This memorial site has a Wall of Remembrance inscribed with the martial law martyrs’ names, and a key section in the museum recounting the EDSA People Power Revolution. The Research and Documentation Committee is in charge of gathering and verifying stories and records of those who get nominated or will be included in the list of the martyrs or heroes whose names would be inscribed on the wall. Every now and then, Bantayog holds special events such as film showing, plays, and concerts as part of their commemoration of the sacrifices of the people who died during the dictatorial regime.

In addition to the abovementioned efforts to produce the martial law and People Power narratives and commemorations is the creation of various documentaries and films³⁰ that show the situation and cruelties of the dictatorial regime. Also, both government and non-governmental organizations established memory sites, special collections, and agencies to acknowledge the people’s struggle in fighting dictatorship and human rights violations. The Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), which was founded in 1974 to help political detainees by members of the Catholic church and church workers, established its own museum namely, *Museum of Courage and Resistance* in 1999. The small

³⁰ These are *Maynila sa Kuko ng Liwanag* by Lino Brocka (1975), *Batch '81*, and *Sister Stella L.* by Mike de Leon (1982 and 1984, respectively), *Dekada '70* by Chito Roño (2002), *Sigwa* by Joel Lamangan (2010), and so forth. Some of the film directors were also incarcerated, such as Lino Brocka and Joel Lamangan, during the martial law years because their movies were deemed by the Marcos government subversive and because of their political activism and affiliations.

museum displays memorabilia such as handwritten letters, poems, campaign posters, prison shirts, and handicrafts made by martial law prisoners, mostly donated by former political detainees and their families. TFDP is more than a memory site, because it is actively working with different national and international human rights organizations such as the Commission on Human Rights, and Amnesty International for the documentation of various forms of human rights violations under different regimes.

In 1999, former president Joseph Estrada issued Executive Order No. 82, titled, "Institutionalizing the Legacy of the EDSA People Power Revolution by Creating an EDSA People Power Commission to Perpetuate and Propagate the Spirit of EDSA." This Commission or EPPC is mandated to plan and execute commemorative activities every February 25. February 25 is a special non-working holiday in the Philippines to memorialize the revolution that overthrew the Marcos dictatorship. In 2004, Republic Act 9256 was signed into law declaring August 21 of every year as "Ninoy Aquino Day." This special non-working holiday remembers the assassination of Ninoy Aquino on August 21, 1983. In 2016, the Philippines celebrated the 30th anniversary of the People Power Revolution. The EPPC set up an experiential museum at Camp Aguinaldo, that brought together stories of martyrdom, torture, and suffering under the Marcos regime. The narrative of EDSA featured in this museum purposely included the Marcos regime and used different forms of media and theater elements to stage drama, horror, and shock³¹. Moreover, in collaboration with the Commission on Human Rights, the Human Rights Victims' Claims Board³² gives monetary reparations to the recognized

³¹ To learn more about and see what is inside the experiential museum, visit <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2016/02/24/edsa-museum-recreates-nations-journey/> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3LbnNrTZhI>.

³² Republic Act No. 10368 – An Act Providing for Reparation and Recognition of Victims of Human Rights Violations During the Marcos regime, Documentation of Said Violations, Appropriating Funds Therefor and for Other

victims of martial law. This is in accordance with the Republic Act No. 10368 or the Human Rights Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013³³, signed by former president Benigno Aquino III. Moreover, as an act of recognition of the victims, the law states that:

A Memorial/Museum/Library shall be established in honor and in memory of the victims of human rights violation whose names shall be inscribed in the Roll [of Victims].

The Commission shall also coordinate and collaborate with the DepED and the CHED to ensure that the teaching of Martial Law atrocities, the lives of HRVVs [Human Rights Violation Victims] in our history are included in the basic, secondary and tertiary education curricula.
(Section 27).

In 2016, the Akbayan Partylist³⁴ filed a joint resolution to declare September as the “National Month for Truth-Telling.” September, which is also the month when martial law was declared in 1972, would be “a month for national truth-telling, reflection, and reconciliation and jointly urge all schools and other educational institutions to conduct month-long educational activities to commemorate the declaration of martial law” (Villarin, 2016, p. 3). Earlier in 2013, modules on the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution centered on freedom, democracy, unity and human rights, as well as key personalities such as Cory Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Juan Ponce Enrile, Cardinal Sin, and other symbols such as the yellow color, religious icons especially the EDSA shrine or Shrine of Mary, Queen of Peace (Our Lady of EDSA), and popular songs played during the EDSA Revolution like “*Handog ng Pilipino sa Mundo*” and “*Bayan Ko*,” debuted in public elementary and secondary schools. The modules were created by the National Educators

Purposes was signed and approved by former President Benigno S. Aquino III in 2013. With the approval of Aquino in 2016, work by the Claims Board had been extended until 2018. For more information see <http://hrvclaimsboard.gov.ph/>.

³³ Full text can be accessed at <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/02/25/republic-act-no-10368/> or <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/downloads/2013/02feb/20130225-RA-10368-BSA.pdf>

³⁴ Also known as Akbayan Citizens’ Action Party is a Democratic Left organization, not attached with the Communist Party of the Philippines. For more information about this party, visit <https://akbayan.org.ph>.

Academy of the Philippines and endorsed by the Department of Education. The modules are integrated into the subject *Araling Panlipunan* (Social Studies) to underscore the importance of democracy and how the EDSA People Revolution continues to influence the lives of Filipinos (Department of Education, 2013).

The constant representation of *Cory* and People Power Revolution as the “moral antinomy of Martial law, however, does not mean that its meanings are uncontested” (Claudio, 2013, p. 8). When Cory Aquino ran against Marcos in the 1986 Snap Elections, Anderson (1988) remarks that “she was then above all Corazon Aquino rather than Corazon Cojuangco” (p.23), overshadowing her deep *cacique* roots while amplifying her image as the dead martyr’s wife. At the onset of her presidency, the narrative built around Cory Aquino’s image consists of being “*en bonne bourgeoisie*, Tita (‘Auntie’) ³⁵... a brave, pious and unpretentious wife who wanted only what was best for her nephews and nieces,” but the “treasurer of Don José Cojuangcos’ holding company and the coheiress of Hacienda Luisita remained mostly invisible” (Anderson, 1988, p. 25).

The myth of EDSA continues to be regarded as a ‘yellow³⁶ revolution’ – and a ‘fairy tale’ (Escalante & De la Paz, 2000). But, there is no single tale of EDSA 1 in the public minds of the people, especially the civilians and military. In a study done by Montiel (2010) on the social representations of EDSA 1 in the minds of civilians and military, the civilians generally perceive EDSA 1 as a “peaceful democratic transition marked by collective courage, success, strength, admiration, and goodness,” while the military groups generally identify EDSA 1 as a “military coup

³⁵ During and after her term, Cory Aquino had always been called *Tita* Cory.

³⁶ Yellow has become the symbolic color of the EDSA People Power and was the de facto color of the Aquino family, and Liberal Party. President Benigno Aquino III (Ninoy and Cory’s son) would always be seen wearing yellow during his campaign in 2010 and in other events during and after his term. Members of the Liberal Party also do the same, especially during political and election campaigns.

that turned civilian-led...unsuccessful, cowardly, weak..." (p. 47-48). These different perspectives and representations have clear implications on how the civilians see themselves and their role in democratic transitions and non-violent interventions such as what took place in 2001 during the event of EDSA 2 that overthrew President Joseph "Erap" Estrada. On the other hand, the military's understanding of EDSA 1 as weak and unadmirable, lowers the role of the civilians and could lead to the military's stronger assertion of their control in the political arena if there are threats to democratic freedom. This was seen in the nine coup attempts after the 1986 EDSA Revolution (during the presidency of Cory Aquino, and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo).

Many scholars have critiqued the People Power and Cory administration, which according to Anderson (1988) only served the interests of the oligarchs or *cacique* class. The reality of People Power has seriously failed the people's expectations (Marasigan, 2016). While Quimpo (2008) observes that most of the other post-authoritarian interpretations of Philippine politics were just variations of elite rule (*cacique* democracy, low-intensity democracy, strong society and weak state, oligarchic patrimonialism, bossism, and clientelist electoralism), he also asserts that one of the changes that took place after the EDSA Revolution was the empowerment of civil society, including the poor and the marginalized sectors (p.36). EDSA is therefore seen as part of a "massification" of Philippine politics (Curaming & Claudio, 2010, p. 16), so that even though the Philippine politics at the center has remained the same, the "margins are becoming more vibrant and are beginning to exert stronger pressure on elite democracy" (Claudio, 2013, p.13). Claudio continues to argue that the post-EDSA/Cory Aquino government is an "imperfect transition," which is not a denial of the other scholars' interpretation of the continuity of the elite rule in the Philippines, but a refocusing of the "analytical

lens on indicators of change previously unanalyzed” (Claudio, 2013, p. 13). The increased participation of the marginalized still does not equate to an increased involvement in memory-creation processes. Representations of and by the margins are yet to be heard because, just like before, “they remain marginalized; they continue to live on the outskirts, on the peripheries, on the fringes of power (Buendia, 2013, p. 204). If we turn to the memory of EDSA, we see that the majority of the people are overly fixated on the drama of the four-day event in February 1986, forgetting the fourteen-year resistance of the people that took place in order to enable the toppling of the dictator (Teodoro, 2016) – and that this resistance also came from the sectors that have always been neglected in the dominant narratives. Some members of this group, may hold certain influence but rather choose to stay in the background as they know the little power and authority they have. Some belong to the working class who, unlike other educated and influential activists, have no connection to major political parties and organizations. They are still struggling – not necessarily for the country’s freedom, but for their own survival as they have been trapped in poverty and the unchanging inequality of Philippine society. Some may belong to the middle class and continue to live their lives, but their stories are almost always unheard because just like the others who are not powerful or affluent enough to be recognized, they do not have the ‘family name’ or positions that are central in the master narratives. Finally, some who survived the atrocities of the dictatorship may have gained a little reparation and recognition, but remain trapped by trauma and are still struggling to heal and find peace with themselves and their loved ones.

The battle cry, *nunca mas* or “never again” served as a unifying theme in contesting totalitarian rule and in the continuous efforts since then to make healing through public discussions of this dark past possible (Claudio, 2010). Claudio

observes that the battle cry, “never again” also signifies a shared stance against collective forgetting and upholds that “only through collective remembering and rejection of past violence can future violence be prevented” (2010, p.35). This battle cry, however, does not appear to resonate with the memories and views of all Filipinos. There still seems to be a desire among many for another strongman rule (Robles, 2016). This became evident in the landslide victory of the 2016 presidential candidate Rodrigo Duterte, the former Mayor of Davao City, whose main campaign pledge was the suppression of criminality in the country within three to six months. Duterte did not offer a clear economic platform but rather a hazy proposition for a shift to a federal system of government, authoritarian rule, and 50,000 dead criminals (Curato, 2017). Indeed, true to his words, in just seven months of Duterte’s bloody war on drugs, there are already over 7,000 deaths³⁷ yet his popularity among Filipinos remains high with an 86 percent approval rating (Rafael, 2017). According to political analyst Ramon Casiple (2016), the support and vote for Duterte can be regarded as a protest against post-Marcos governance that favored the political and economic elites over the interests of common Filipinos. Duterte is vocal about his support of the Marcos family – he permitted the remains of the late dictator to be buried at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* or Heroes’ Cemetery last November 18, 2016, which ignited anti-Marcos protests³⁸.

³⁷ It is mostly the urban poor who are subjected to the extrajudicial violence brought by this war on drugs, dubbed as “Oplan Double Barrel”. The nongovernmental human rights group, Human Rights Watch, continues its fact-finding efforts and investigation of the ongoing killings. To read more about this, visit <https://www.hrw.org/tag/philippines-war-drugs>.

³⁸ Another situation that caused a discord among the Filipinos was his suspension of writ of habeas corpus and declaration of martial law in Mindanao on May 23, 2017 due to the violent clashes in Marawi City between the government troops and Maute group, an Islamist militant organization in Mindanao. Duterte even warned that the martial law declared in Mindanao would be as harsh as what the late dictator Marcos did. Opinions regarding this issue surfaced in social media, some were terrified and some were hopeful. See Ranada, P. (2017) *Duterte Says His Martial Law to be Similar to Marcos Time*, available at <https://www.rappler.com/nation/170759-duterte-martial-law-no-different-marcos>; and a report done by Rappler Social Media Team (2017). *Netizens terrified or trusting of Martial Law in Mindanao*, available at <https://www.rappler.com/technology/social-media/170749-martial-law-mindanao-netizens-reactions>.

The myths and the battle of representations and narratives never end. The two major families have consistently been pitted against each other, not only in Philippine politics, but also in the politics of memory. As there is no unified view and representation of this period at present, the prevailing template for the narrative of martial law is a montage of shifting bits and pieces of evidence and narratives. In filling in the gaps of this memory puzzle, the generation that saw and experienced this era may need to be acknowledged and reminded, while the generation that did not see or live through this period must be informed. What people remember does not necessarily constitute the official history or narrative – but these are the individual memories that are important in providing a more nuanced understanding of our past.

This case study provides additional *slivers* of reality as signified by the photographs and the people who created, saw, and ‘experienced’ them. I argue that the provenance’s interaction with the photographs will add to the process of contextualization of these resources in relation to the martial law period, people surrounding them, and the present times. These marginalized stories, memories, and reflective thoughts of the provenance do not only enhance the potential of photographic records as evidence and sites of memories but also deepen the commitment of the archives and archivists to invite and accommodate more voices that have been frequently neglected. This act of hospitality in the archives will therefore help build and maintain individual and collective memories—a people’s memory that does not only represent the elite families or those who are in power, but a memory that is coming from the previously unheard. Looking at the people’s memories and narratives through this lens provides a new perspective to the study of collective and individual memories of people of this period. With photographs as interlocutors, how do individuals see and situate themselves in this dichotomy? Do

they also share the same memories and sentiments as in the prevailing martial law narrative? How do they reconcile their memories and experience of this era with the post-dictatorship? In the succeeding chapters, the members of the provenance unravel their stories and the various affects brought to them by their interaction with the photographs.

CHAPTER 4

Behind the Viewfinder: Stories of and from the Photographers

To suffer is one thing; another thing is living with the photographed images of suffering...
Susan Sontag, 1973, "On Photography"

A photographer looks through the viewfinder to frame what he will show to the world and commit to his and other people's memory. As spectators, we do not need (or have the chance) to peer through the camera's viewfinder to see what the photographer perceives and experiences as he shoots. We always see the final framed image along with its elements which Barthes (1981) describes as an *arrow* that pierces us. Photographs affect us – they make us connect ourselves with them as well as extrapolate our memories and personal knowledge. However, the origin that constitutes the provenance of the photograph is usually reduced to a few lines in the caption or finding aids – the photographer's name or institution that keeps the photograph, year, and some marginal notes. In terms of reading and contextualizing photographs, most of the literature tends to focus on how the audience looks at the visual elements, creates predictions regarding the intention of the photographers or relies on the captions and descriptions already provided for them (Callahan, 2014; Edwards, 2006; Lutz & Collins, 1993; Tinkler, 2013), further corroborating Nesmith's (1999) observation that the full origin of records is elusive. Because of this elusiveness, Schwartz (1995) suggests that tracing the photograph's functional context could help extend the traditional reading and understanding of photographic records. Functional context, which according to Schwartz, is an often-disregarded aspect of photographs that comprises the purpose and action that a photographic record participated in. It refers not only to the context after the photograph has been produced, but also includes the context of creation that gives the photograph its primary record value, message, and mission. Both Schwartz (1989) and Nesmith (1999) suggest that the contextual

information relating to creation, inscription and transmission adds more to the understanding of the photographs' agency and how archivists and users can further enhance and activate their use. In the same vein, Rose's (2012) critical visual methodology explains that the site of production of images is essential in interpreting what the photograph signifies as this helps disclose some of the manifold meanings of the photograph based on the genre, technology used, photographer's intention and backstories that detail the atmosphere the surrounds the creation of the image. Hence, what goes behind the viewfinder is as important as what is in front of it.

In this chapter, Filipino photographers talk about their stories about and beyond the frames of the photographs they took during the Marcos regime. Constituting the re-conceptualized provenance based on *societal provenance* (Nesmith, 1999, 2007), the photographers recount the histories enfolded within the photographs. Through photo elicitation, a participatory visual method, four photographers generously shared their photographs, stories and experiences during the martial law period in the Philippines. Photo elicitation as a research method is known to possess an "auto-driving" quality because it allows the research participants to take control or drive the interview making them more at ease and empowered during the research process (Pollak, 2017, p. 102). The photographers who are used to the habit of staying behind the viewfinder, making them rather invisible in their images, talk about their memories of martial law in the Philippines and stories behind their work. After transcribing and coding the interviews, two general themes emerged from their stories of creation of the photographs and reminiscences of their experience as photographers during the martial law period: *the primary value of photographs as counterpower* and *living with the photographs* that detail the circulation of photographs during and after

the dictatorial regime. These themes add to the understanding of the histories of the photographs from the period which they were created and how their agency as evidence and memory sites has been activated or denied.

Going Back to the Source: Finding the Photographers

As stated in Chapter 2, I found the provenance or the main participants of this study through snowball or chain-referral sampling. The first tier of provenance is the group of photographers willing to share their photographs and recollections of the martial law years. Through archival research and referrals from some members of progressive organizations based in Manila, I came up with a list of names of photographers/photojournalists who were actively documenting the regime and contributing their work in various newspapers in the Philippines and wire agencies abroad. I checked the newspapers and magazines at the library and archives of University of the Philippines Diliman Library and Lopez Museum, which are both known to have an extensive collection of *Filipiniana* resources. After stumbling upon a photobook at the *Filipiniana* Section of the University of the Philippines Diliman Library entitled, *Depth of Field: Photographs of Poverty, Repression and Struggle in the Philippines* published by Photobank Philippines in 1987 – just a year after the EDSA People Power Revolution – I started my search for the photographers who were involved in this project or were once members of the organization with the hopes of interviewing them and obtaining access to their photographs, if any were left. Some of my colleagues referred me to Gil Nartea, a veteran photojournalist since the martial law years who eventually became the official presidential photographer under President Benigno Aquino III's administration, and another photojournalist Boy Bagwis. Both were members of Photobank Philippines who contributed to the photobook and are still deeply involved in photography. Photobank Philippines is an organization of progressive

photographers founded in 1983 with Gil Nartea or 'Tata Gil' as the Executive Director. This group served as the photo documentation arm of the movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Due to lack of funds, Photobank was disbanded in 1987, also the year the book was published. *The National Midweek Magazine*, or *Midweek*³⁹, a publication that was highly critical of the government, took over the majority of the Photobank's collection, where Tata Gil became a staffer from 1987 until 1992. Unfortunately, all Tata Gil's photographs of the Marcos regime as well as the rest of Photobank's photos stored in the *Midweek* archives were destroyed by a flood in the 1990's.

Boy Bagwis' photographs and negatives, on the other hand, remain in his possession since he was a freelance photojournalist and not a fulltime staffer of *Midweek* or any newspaper. He has always been a freelance photojournalist and involved in alternative media outlets, mostly left-leaning and supportive of the workers' movement. He also named some of his photographer friends who could be possibly interviewed. Out of three he mentioned, only one replied, but I was still unable to arrange an interview with him. Nevertheless, Boy Bagwis would be one of the four main participants of this study.

Tata Gil also gave some of his colleagues' names, including those who were official photographers of the Marcoses and Malacañang. Unfortunately, despite a series of calls, none of them agreed to be interviewed and share their photographs. However, one photographer, Edgardo 'Ed' Santiago, who was part of the official delegation of photographers who travelled with Marcos' state visit to the United States in 1982 agreed to be interviewed in his house. Ed Santiago started his

³⁹ According to Tata Gil, *Midweek* was one of the most progressive newspapers in the late 1980's. Its publisher was the sibling of Julieta De Lima, wife of Jose Maria Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Renowned journalists such as Sheila Coronel and Pete Lacaba were once writers for this newspaper. Photojournalist Boy Bagwis, one of this study's participants, was also a contributor.

photography career with the *Manila Chronicle* and later the *Manila Times* before their closure in 1972 when the Philippines was put under martial rule. He then became a Senior Staff Photographer of the *Philippine Daily Express*, one of the small number of newspapers allowed to operate during martial law. At the age of 81, during the time of interview, he could recall, though not vividly, his experiences as a staff photographer in different newspapers and some names of his colleagues. However, his memories of his trip with Marcos were quite hazy. He still keeps his photographs and negatives in his home in Paco, Manila and prints some of his photographs if there are requests for copies, mostly for newspapers. He is friends with well-known journalists such as Letty Jimenez-Magsanoc, the former editor of *Mr. & Ms. Special Edition*, a Marcos opposition tabloid, and the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Aware of his old age and failing health, Ed told me that I should be back soon so we could talk more and he could prepare his photographs that he could show me. In between our conversation, he mentioned some names of his contemporaries who had already passed away, including Letty Jimenez-Magsanoc. I promised to come back. But on my scheduled return to Manila a few months later for another round of fieldwork, his daughter Dey informed me that her father had gotten very ill. We both decided not to pursue the interview.

Some friends and my web research led me to the person behind *Arkibong Bayan* website⁴⁰ (People's Archive), Ramon 'MonRam' Ramirez, a political detainee during the martial law years. MonRam also keeps and takes photographs of social movements and uploads them to the *Arkibong Bayan* website. He is highly interested in photography and started taking photos when he was still in college. MonRam is an electrical engineer and a graduate of the University of the Philippines. Even before martial law was declared, he was already an activist and

⁴⁰ <http://www.arkibongbayan.org>

joined the *Samahan ng Makabayang Siyentipiko*, a group of scientists and engineers that actively participated in rallies in support of people's struggle during the First Quarter Storm. He was arrested on January 5, 1973, barely a year after the declaration of martial law, and in October of the same year, he was released. After his release on October 3, 1973, he joined the underground movement and was arrested again in 1992 but was released after three months. While he was underground, he did not take or keep photographs of himself or his *kasama*⁴¹ as these would endanger their lives. As a photographer, he knows the importance of documentation and archiving – which made him decide to put up an online archives for the photographs he has taken and compiled. At 72, by the time of the interview, MonRam is omnipresent in rallies and is always seen with his camera. Although he is not formally trained in photography, he is the go-to person for those looking for photo documentation.

MonRam referred me to his other photographer friends who are also progressive photojournalists. One who responded and tagged along during my interview with MonRam was Anacleto 'Lito' Ocampo. On May 12, 1974, 20-year-old engineering student Lito Ocampo was arrested and released five years later. Lito considers himself a human rights worker turned part-time photographer. Since he experienced human rights violations, and witnessed the struggles of ordinary workers and urban poor, he continues to join rallies and campaigns. As a freelance photojournalist and a regular contributor to alternative media outlets, Lito keeps his photographs. Lito Ocampo would be one of the main participants of this study.

During my interview with MonRam and Lito, they told me that there was an ongoing photo exhibit at the shopping mall where the three of us met. The exhibit

⁴¹ Comrades in the movement

showcased the photographs of Eufrosino 'Sonny' Camarillo taken during the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986. They dropped by the exhibit hall, and so did I. I waited until Sonny Camarillo arrived at the hall for the exhibition closing around 9:30 in the evening. He agreed to be interviewed and invited me to his house in Quezon City so he could show more of his photo collection. After a couple of months, in June 2016, I returned to Manila from Singapore to do another round of field work and met up with Sonny. Sonny, who used to own two photo and camera shops, the Sun Photo Supply in Rustan's Makati and Cubao, both located in Manila, shared his memories of EDSA People Power Revolution, and how he shot hundreds of photos during the peaceful four days of mass demonstrations from February 22-25, 1986. At 71, during the time of interview, he continually holds his exhibits on EDSA People Power Revolution with the help of his sponsors and friends. He said that he might not have a published book or compilation of his photos but he hopes that through his exhibits, people, especially the younger generation, will be more aware of our history and how the Filipinos courageously fought for their rights and freedom. Sonny would be one of the main participants of this study.

Sonny, like the other photographers whom I interviewed, gave the names of some of his colleagues. He even helped me call one of Marcos' photographers and tried to persuade him to grant my request for a short interview, but to no avail. He also referred me to one Associated Press (AP) photographer, Jess Tan, who agreed to be interviewed. Before martial law was declared in the Philippines, Jess contributed his photos to the *Philippine Daily Mirror* and *Manila Times* newspapers. As an Associated Press photographer, he had the chance to take portraits of the Marcos family. He described the president as friendly and warm.

Jess left AP in 1978. He only has a handful of photographs in his possession which he could not share for this study. Most of his negatives and prints were deposited with the Associated Press. The copyright of the photographs he took, according to Jess, belongs to Associated Press. The ownership of photograph by photographers affects how they can continuously circulate the photos in later years, a point to which I shall return. Another former AP photographer, Alex Baluyut, admitted that one of the reasons why he left AP was because he could not have the freedom to own his 'own' photographs. He finally decided to leave his job at AP to cover the New People's Army (NPA) in Mindanao – his dream project.

One of the children of the late Joe Burgos, editor and owner of *Malaya* and *We Forum*⁴², opposition newspapers during Marcos rule, referred me to Alex Baluyut. He and his mother invited me to their farm house in San Miguel, Bulacan⁴³ last July 15, 2016 so I could take a look at their newspaper archives. Their archives need organization and preservation, which I plan to do as another project in the future. They used to have a team of writers, students and photographers who contributed to their newspapers. One of the names that surfaced was Alex Baluyut, aside from the fact that his name was ever-present in all my searches in the archives and web.

Alex Baluyut, who came from a wealthy family became interested in photography at a young age, just like his brothers. He recalled his younger years as

⁴² In one of my conversations with Mrs. Edita Burgos, Joe Burgos' wife, we discussed the possibilities of digitizing the complete volumes of their newspapers for preservation and wider dissemination. I told her that sooner or later, based on my assessment of the current condition and storage of the newspapers, they will all crumble and deteriorate. She then remembered that she donated the complete volumes of *We Forum* to Ateneo Rizal Library several years ago and never heard again from them. She could not remember the name of the librarian who received the newspapers. I contacted the Director of Rizal Library to confirm whether they have *We Forum* in their collection and if they have already digitized them. In the same month (July 2016), we arranged a meeting to discuss the preservation, digitization and access provisions to the newspapers. Rizal Library has also started to do physical preservation and restoration measures to the newspapers. For the complete digitized version of *We Forum* from 1977-1986, visit the Ateneo de Manila's digital archives <http://rizal2.lib.admu.edu.ph/weforum/>

⁴³ A province around 71 kilometers away from Manila.

full of vice (alcohol and drugs), and his fond memories of his brother, Butch, who taught him to learn and love photography.

His first real staff job was at the Philippine Nuclear Power Plant in Bataan where he became a staff photographer in 1981. As he was beginning to be politicized and have friends from the Left, he later leaked photos of the anomalies of the Bataan Power Plant. He became an anti-nuclear activist until he left his job and joined Associated Press. When the *Welga ng Bayan* [People's Strike] in 1985 took place against the operation of the power plant, he was not part of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant anymore. He joined the AP, made a name in photojournalism, and earned himself a high salary. But in 1983, he decided to quit his staff job in AP – a job that many of his contemporaries dreamt of having. For Alex, his decision gave him more freedom to do what he really wanted – to unreservedly create documentaries and share his photographs with more people. He was deeply inspired by the photo documentaries he was seeing in LIFE Magazine. He had always wanted to cover unexplored stories, such as the war in Mindanao. Alex spent four months in the Agusan Marsh in Mindanao to document the New People's Army. He would be one the main participants of this study.

Due to time constraints and limited resources, I decided to stop my search for photographers at this point. Besides, the themes of the photographs and their experiences that emerged during data collection were found to be substantial. The photographers chose and talked about the photographs that showed the condition of the sectors that influenced the imposition and the lifting of martial law in the Philippines, yet were not recognized in the master narratives – *the working class, political detainees, members of the underground and armed movement, and citizens who took part in the people's revolution of 1986.*

Photographs as Counterpower

All sites of memories are political (Nora, 1989; Olick et al., 2011), thus photographic records and archives being touchstones or engrams are never innocent (Derrida, 1995; Millar, 2006). Even though all the photographers straightforwardly claimed that all they wanted when they took the photographs was to gather evidence and document the regime, they admittedly said that the way they 'created' the photographs – the framing, composition, and even colors, was driven by an intention. They were aware of the power of photography as a tool to create visual evidence to call attention, raise awareness, legitimize a stand, and make a considerable mark in history. Exercising the photograph's agency as an evidence or trace of an act or function, they can be positioned as traces of acts of counterpower. Photographs as *counterpower* – to borrow Tim Gee's term – show that these visual tools, possessing both evidential and commemorative potential, are central in organizing and shaping people's ideals and attitudes towards social and political issues. Tim Gee (2011) puts forward the concept of counterpower as an attempt to explain why past and present social movements have succeeded, partly succeeded, or failed. Gee enumerates the different types of counterpower: *idea*, *economic*, and *physical*. Idea counterpower can be exercised by challenging accepted truths or refusing to obey established images usually set by a governing power. Economic counterpower can be carried out through strikes, boycotts and democratic regulation and consumption that will have direct effects on certain industries or will destabilize some aspects of the state's economy. Lastly, physical counterpower is literally the use of bodies and strength to violently or non-violently fight repressive forces.

In the case of the four photographers, they used their photographs as instruments of *idea counterpower*, the intention deduced from their statements includes showing the dichotomy between the state and people, present the under

or undocumented aspects of society, and persuade the public by shaping their opinion.

The Opposing Sides: State and the People

"That's in the 80's," Bagwis clarified, while looking at his photo of a demolition in Quezon City, and labor strike in Malabon, Metro Manila (Figures 4.1-4.4). "That's during the Marcos years, during the Marcos regime. They said it was for a road-widening project, but it didn't push through. That's a victory. Whole families of residents there, kids and students who supported the struggle included, they won," said Boy Bagwis referring to the demolition in RIPADA.

RIPADA is a portmanteau for *Pook Ricarte*, *Palaris*, and *Dagohoy* – the clusters of low cost housing for employees and students located in the vicinity of the country's premier state university, the University of the Philippines Diliman in Quezon City, Metro Manila. Originally serving as a relocation site for displaced UP employees living in Area 11, Area 3, and Area 4⁴⁴ during the term of UP President Salvador P. Lopez in the 1970's, RIPADA has grown to be a big community complete with roads, daycare center, health center, and playground – in the past it was as a hiding place for the student activists during the Marcos regime (Cabrera, 2008). Boy Bagwis said that RIPADA also became a home for students who could not be accommodated by the university dormitories due to a lack of space and those who seeking cheaper lodging. Identifying people who took part in the event captured in the photo, Boy Bagwis narrated:

These are residents, women, students who board there because it's cheap, and a good number of UP employees. I focused on the students because they took part in the protest in support of the community because they believed in what the community was

⁴⁴ Three of the housing areas for the faculty and non-academic personnel of the University of the Philippines (UP).

fighting for. The bystanders? They're there in support of the others.
And that's the Metrocom⁴⁵.

Boy Bagwis then broke down the symbolism he felt he captured in his photo – the hand positions and the police in complete battle gear. "That's defense, a defensive stance against an intrusion, against the assault of the state through the police on their domicile. That's what those hand positions symbolize. Then there are women, the mother figures, the ones who stand to lose a lot when the houses are demolished. Then there's the police, the instruments of oppression." Boy Bagwis explained that in most rallies or mobilizations, men are the frontliners. In this case, what he saw were mostly women and students who were completely unarmed and only using their bare hands to push the military and protect themselves.

"These are mothers. They're protecting their abode. They can't be dispersed," Bagwis continued, as he was pointing out the people in the photo (Figure 4.1.), "Not by truncheons, not by shields, not by all the pushing. What the police did was employ a continuous torrent of water from watercannons. Those hurt. I've experienced that and it hurts." Boy Bagwis then asked, "What's going to happen after this? That's just road widening. Someone's going to have to relocate. But where? Bulacan? Cavite? Those are too far. You're not even sure if there are already housing units when you go there."

More than being a visual evidence of the demolition, for Boy Bagwis, his photos of the demolition show the oppression of the masses in general. He talked about the inequalities of hiring at the university and the exploitation of the working

⁴⁵ Short name for Philippine Constabulary Metropolitan Command – the police force during the martial law years.

class, including the Metrocom who were paid by the government to be a means of oppression:

The heads of families who are casual employees, not regular ones with tenure. The ones who are regularized are usually those in the top levels. If you're a janitor, for example, will you be regularized? If you're an electrician, will you be regularized? No. And these are Metrocom. They're also from the masses, but they have become pawns of the government. Why? They get paid. Their salary is based on the repression they mete out, the violence on the masses. That is why they are pawns.

The working class is usually unheard. Because of this, Boy Bagwis wanted to show that the government should not overburden the people, especially those at the margins. Boy Bagwis remarked, "What kind of future are you providing? My message is quite simple, really." He added, "As a photographer you have to document history, document what your president is doing. Think about it. What are the leaders of society doing? It seems that this ruling class or aristocrats of society think that they are the only ones who must live. Everyone has to live... Equally." With the combined forces of around 300 police and military that joined the demolition team, two residents were shot and several were wounded in the so-called *Battle of RIPADA* (Cabrera, 2008).

A year before this violent demolition took place, there was a huge labor strike in a textile factory in Malabon, Metro Manila. During martial law, labor strikes were prohibited. Marcos prohibited "all rallies, demonstrations and other forms of group actions by persons within the geographical limits of the Philippines including strikes and picketing in vital industries..." (General Order No. 5, 1972, para. 3). This violent strike happened in Artex Development Co., Inc, a textile and thread manufacturing company that had been operating since the early 1960's, and had more than 1,200 workers, many of whom lived (and some still do up to the present) in the adjoining housing compound with their families (Dela Cruz, 1997). The

workers went on strike in 1984 due to low wages and lack of benefits⁴⁶, three years after the lifting of martial law. Social movement historian Ferdinand Llanes stated that when martial law was lifted, new labor laws were enacted. Strikes were allowed, but staging one was like passing through an eye of a needle. Workers could launch strikes, but the factory and the police were also permitted to break up their pickets. Llanes added that the ARTEX labor strike was a celebrated case in the history of unionism in the country. He recalled that many strikers were severely wounded and there was one who died due to gunshot injuries.

Referring to the photograph of a labor strike (Figure 4.2), Boy Bagwis said, “That’s Artex, a factory owned by Typoco, a Chinese-Filipino, and he’s one of Marcos’ cronies. There was a strike, the police were dispersing it – they used truncheons and guns. The head of police was Colonel Cruz; he’s most likely old now. That was in Malabon, that area, when you look for that factory now, it’s now flooded with water.”

Malabon is a low lying city in the north of Metro Manila, and some of its areas are below sea level. While there are many areas in Malabon which are not flooded in the summer or during low tide season, the ARTEX compound in Panghulo is a floating village and is often called the “Venice of the Philippines.” When the factory closed down in 1989, hundreds of workers and their families chose to stay in the housing compound even though it has been submerged. After three decades, most of them are still hoping to receive their long overdue separation pay and be granted legal ownership of their house in this floating village.

⁴⁶In a case study done by Dela Cruz (1997) the workers launched another strike in 1989 before the factory eventually closed down. The workers claimed that they were receiving below minimum wage (their daily wage was 44 pesos when the minimum wage that time per day was 89 pesos) and without benefits (i.e. vacation and sick leave benefits).

Boy Bagwis continued describing the subjects in his photographs (Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4), “Yes, they were on strike. The Metrocom used .38 caliber guns to disperse the strikers. You know, it’s too much [to use guns], and they really did that – anywhere.” What Boy Bagwis described here is not merely the evident subjects in the photo, but also what had been taking place outside the frames. When he said, “they really did that – anywhere” would possibly mean that guns and violence were constantly used by the Metrocom and military in dispersals. But the oppressors, as how Boy Bagwis described the Metrocom, tried to ‘minimize’ or erase evidence of their violence to protect their and the regime’s image. Boy Bagwis recalled how he took the photos. “Yes, the police was trying to cover [what was happening] with his shield,” referring to the police at the rightmost part of the photo (Figure 4.3). Boy Bagwis added, “This one on the right also wanted to cover the man and policeman so the media would not be able to capture the beating (Figure 4.4). Good thing, I got the shot.”

Boy Bagwis intended to show both sides – the oppressor and the oppressed, or the police and the worker. “Yes, they really are the oppressors of the society,” he said, pointing to the Metrocom, “But I believe they [Metrocom] also belong to the masses, but they were used by the state to accomplish its agenda.” Upon recognizing that the oppressors are also from the masses, he likewise claimed that even though two sides are presented, “photojournalists or photographers have bias sometimes... you will side with whoever is oppressed. You will examine which party is really being abused or harmed.”

Lito Ocampo also showed these two sides and his inclination to favor political detainees and their families. In the photographs of political detainees in Camp Bagong Diwa in Bicutan (Figures 4.5 and 4.6), there is no brutality seen compared to the photos of strikes and protests but his message is clear: detention cells are

instruments of oppression and the political detainees must be treated justly and be eventually freed. In 1976, Amnesty International (AI) published a report recounting the government's estimates of about 30,000 people arrested and detained in the few weeks following proclamation of martial law. Also in the same report, Marcos claimed that in 1975 around 50,000 people had been arrested and detained – but many of them were released, and only about 6,000 were still detained. AI and several independent observers, however, believed that the number who remained in detention was higher (Amnesty International, 1976).

Lito's photos provide a glimpse of the condition of the political prisoners. "These are the photos I took from 1982, '83 to '85...in 1981, I was just starting...*papitik-pitik lang* [clicking away]," shared Lito. Without any training in photography, Lito started taking photographs precariously, as he recounted:

My photography began around 1981 or 82. I started to secretly take photographs inside [detention/prison camp] of detainees' struggles, relatives of prisoners, other human interests, or buildings. I did not have any formal training, I did not even know how to develop or process the photographs. I had no idea then.

Lito saw the possibility of smuggling the camera inside the prison from another political detainee, Hermie Garcia, who first clandestinely took photos while inside the detention center. Realizing the importance of having some evidence of the existence of political detainees under the Marcos regime and all the efforts of the relatives of the detainees, progressive and human rights groups, Lito continued documenting their plight.

Figure 4.5 shows some of the political prisoners at Camp *Bagong Diwa* in Bicutan, also known as the Bicutan Rehabilitation Center, the same prison camp where he and his brother were detained. Figure 4.6 shows a man who was on his second week of fasting in 1982. They were demanding not only their release, but

for better living conditions and food inside the prison. Lito also went through hunger strikes years earlier so that the government would listen to their demands. This is perhaps one of the reasons why he focused on this subject when he took the portrait of this man. He could certainly relate to the situation of these political prisoners. Lito recalled his own experience:

When I was still inside [the prison], I also went on hunger strike for four times – I really did not eat, so did the other inmates. But those who were sick were exempted. They could eat some small amounts of sweets. Then of course someone would collapse...after 5 days. We would request the prison guards to call a doctor. I knew we also had photos then, because Hermie [Garcia] smuggled a camera inside. I didn't have a camera yet that time.. I got that idea from Hermie Garcia, another detainee, when I was incarcerated together with Satur, Santos, and Cervantes. He smuggled in a 110 film camera so we had some documentation. Hermie is now a Filipino reporter in Canada.

The man photographed in Figure 4.6 here is Rodolfo Benosa, a factory worker who was accused of subversion, tortured and imprisoned in Bicutan for three years. At the time of writing, Benosa is still alive and living with his family in Bulacan. This specific photograph of Benosa's, according to Lito, was a favorite of *Malaya*, but was used repeatedly, not only in this newspaper, but in other campaign materials for the release of political prisoners. Another photograph shows the family of prisoners, with Rodolfo's wife and children (Figure 4.7). It was a rally that launched the organization *Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearances (FIND)*. He focused on the children waiting for their father to return, and noted that Christmas was just around the corner when he took the photograph. The photos display and make their demands more visible.

Documenting the Underdocumented

Photographs spark narratives from the silences (Caswell, 2014a), and these narratives are what Alex Baluyut generated with his photographs of the armed movement in Mindanao during martial law (Figures 4.8-4.11). These narratives tell

about the regime as well as the power struggle outside and within the underground movement. The photographs taken by Alex do not directly show the conflict between the state and insurgents, or the New People's Army (NPA), the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. But the main subject itself, the NPA, denotes resistance to the status quo set by the government. What Alex captured in his photos during his stay in the Agusan Marsh for four months was the life and activities of the armed movement.

Marcos repeatedly justified his declaration of martial law as his constitutional response to the threats to the country's peace and security. In Marcos' Proclamation No. 1081, s. 1972 that put the Philippines under martial rule, he described the NPA to be:

...pursuing a relentless and ruthless armed struggle against our duly constituted government and whose unmitigated forays, raids, ambushes, assaults, and reign of terror and acts of lawlessness in the rural areas and in our urban centers brought about the treacherous and cold-blooded assassination of innocent civilians, military personnel of the government and local public officials in many parts of the country, notably in the Cagayan Valley, in Central Luzon, in the Southern Tagalog Region, in the Bicol Area, in the Visayas and in Mindanao, and whose daring and wanton guerrilla activities have generated and sown fear and panic among our people; have created a climate of chaos and disorder, produced a state of political, social, psychological and economic instability in our land, and have inflicted great suffering and irreparable injury to persons and property in our society.
(para. 5)

These lawless elements having taken up arms against our duly constituted government and against our people, and having committed and are still committing acts of armed insurrection and rebellion.
(para. 6)

In addition to the above-described social disorder, there is also the equally serious disorder in Mindanao and Sulu resulting from the unsettled conflict between certain elements of the Christian and Muslim population of Mindanao and Sulu, between the Christian "Ilagas" and the Muslim "Barracudas", and between our government troops, and certain lawless organizations such as the Mindanao Independence Movement.
(“Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines,” para. 3)

Mindanao historian Juvanni “Juv” Caballero said that after martial law was declared, the communist movement spread from the provinces of Surigao to Misamis Oriental, and later reached Lanao del Norte, Zamboanga Peninsula, and the CARAGA Region⁴⁷. Lanao del Norte, where Caballero is from, is about sixty percent Christian and forty percent Muslim. He remembered that there were many communists in the area, specifically the NPA. “It was easy to recruit [from the locals] since the soldiers were abusive at that time,” he said, “The people didn’t know what communism was, but they wanted to fight back.” He added that another reason why locals were joining the NPA was because of the Ilaga-Barracuda Conflict.⁴⁸ Civilians opted to join the NPA for protection; not really because of the communist ideology. It must also be noted that this massive recruitment took place ‘after’ the declaration of martial law, as well as the increase in numbers and followers of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), a secessionist movement of the Muslims in Southern Philippines after the Philippines was put under military rule (Brillantes, 1987).

Alex, therefore, was intensely interested to know more about the lives and activities of the armed movement. “It’s for documentation,” said Alex, explaining his intention for taking photos. He fulfilled his wish to document the underdocumented, and he described it as both a dream and a nightmare:

Before the big firefight, you know, we were just walking, eating... Then there was a hail of gunfire. That was scary situation, we were surrounded by the military. When you don’t have bullets, it’s peace time. When you don’t have an operation, it’s peace time. It’s like a walk in the park, like having a picnic. Walking around, lessons here and there.

⁴⁷ CARAGA Region includes the provinces of Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Dinagat Islands, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur.

⁴⁸ It is the conflict between the Christian militia and Muslim militant groups in Mindanao. The Christian vigilantes or Ilaga were known for their committed crimes against the Muslims such as murders, massacres, and body mutilations. To counter them, the Barracuda group of Muslims was formed.

"This is Brian," pointed out Alex as he looked at his photo (Figure 4.8). Brian was the man on the right, lying in a makeshift hammock. "He was assigned together with another guerilla to take care of me all the time. And then they got into a fire fight, he got hit. In one encounter in the river, it was cold. That's when he got shot. This looks like clean...actually it was a clean wound." Alex further described the bullet wound on Brian's leg which is not that noticeable in the photo, "But on the other side that looks like a *longganisa* (an opened up sausage). That's wide open. It went through, he was very lucky. If he got hit on the shin... he wouldn't be able to walk." Alex was really bothered by the bullet wound that could have crippled or killed Brian, a young squad leader in his early 20's.

"These guys are young," Alex said, still describing the subjects in Figure 4.8. "They were about nineteen years old... I forgot the name of this guy (on the left)...Anyway it was his squad that I was with all the time. He was wounded also slightly... And we were escaping from the enemy, so the wounded were separated from the main group. They already enforced a blockade because there were lots of firefights, no dextrose nor other supplies could get through our camp." Alex remembered the hard and dangerous times that everyone had to go through especially during firefights.

"Whenever they were going somewhere I would tag along," explained Alex as he looked at the photo of the guerilla soldiers walking along a path (Figure 4.9). He started recalling his everyday routine with the NPA, "I always say 'I'll go with you. I'll go with you.' There was nothing much to do at the camp. So, I would tag along for anything, even when they gather fruit. On normal days you sleep, wake up, eat, repeat. Sometimes they had lessons on the basic party course. They also had a

lesson on the national situation. You can't do that every day [have lessons], unlike looking for food, because you try to survive."

"They were training in this one," Alex said as he pointed to the photo (Figure 4.10), "And then they break to eat, they schedule these (trainings). The time I was there they had two, during the four months I was there. Food is a big logistical concern. See those? Those are rice cakes. They need those and plain rice... Carbs. They were already hungry here in this photo. It was raining a lot... Agusan Marsh, remember? When the monsoon rains come it would be worse. It would rain, then it stops. Then the sun shines as if nothing happened." Alex said that this particularly activity of sharing food and the logistics of preparing it for a big group in the mountains or during bad weather with limited resources taught him how to organize his own 'emergency kitchen,' the Art Relief Mobile Kitchen (ARMK)⁴⁹ years later. His mobile kitchen reaches out to cook for hundreds to thousands of people from far flung areas that were affected by natural and man-made disasters such as Typhoon Yolanda in 2013 and during the siege in Marawi City in 2017.

"This guy's my friend," Alex says, pointing to a man seated at the center (Figure 4.11). "This is Habagat⁵⁰. He's with the education arm, they do propaganda. He's still around, you can contact him, but I don't know if he'll be able to add much. You see... He was tortured. He, together with his wife. He survived it, but I don't know if he'll be able to share anything else. But I admire the guy, he survived, then he went back to school and he made it. He's really doing very well now. He has his own house. Here (in the photo) he's in his twenties, reaching thirties, but he was

⁴⁹ For more information about ARMK, visit its official Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/artreliefmobilekitchen/>

⁵⁰ His alias. They never use their real names. Alex did not mention what Habagat's real name was. I am also not sure if Brian's name was really the squad leader's name.

still young. He's an intellectual... Revolutionary... An activist... I remember his speech. Jesus Christ... It's been a while since I saw these (photos)," Alex added as he reminisced. Alex did not detail what exactly happened to Habagat. In NPA in Mindanao, there was *Kahos* or 'cleansing' in the 1980's. Those who were suspected to be deep penetration agents of the military and those who turned out to be critical of the party's principles were executed. At the height of *Kahos*, 950 cadres, guerillas, and activists were executed and in the next nine months, the party membership was said to have decreased from nine thousand to three thousand due to resignation, surrender or AWOL (Abinales, 1996). The NPA's fifteen or sixteen companies were reduced to a mere two, and the CPP's mass base dropped by over 50 percent (Abinales, 1996).

Persuading the Public Through Photography

Photography produces a "recorded image that is both realistic and artistic" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2016, p. 22), and these overlapping features are essential to making the photograph's rhetoric more powerful. Power, according to French (1956) is strongly linked to persuasion and leadership. As applied to photographs, the social power of photographic records is attributed to their *ability to influence* or *bring change* in the belief or behavior of individuals. The photographer's aesthetic taste in documenting an event helps in the transmission of message to the audience.

Looking back at Boy Bagwis' photographs we can see that they are deliberately more focused on the oppressed side, aiming to earn sympathy from the public. In his photographs, Boy Bagwis said that he clearly wanted to capture police brutality by emphasizing how the police beat and kicked the unarmed male workers. His narrative involved the two conflicting sides, the oppressive state and

the oppressed and powerless workers under the martial law. Nonetheless, Boy Bagwis said that these conflicts and oppressions exist until now making these photographs timeless so that they can still be used to gain sympathy from the public. Bagwis explained that he wanted to open the eyes of the masses and urge them to stand up and fight:

I really consider the public as the primary target audience for these photographs. The masses are the ones who are belittled in society and they should see how they are treated. Secondly, the middle class, for those who could sympathize with them. But that's secondary. These photos in a way mean nothing to the government so, they aren't the direct audience.

He believes that through his photographs and public opinion, the poor workers can somehow have honor and dignity despite being disadvantaged. He also thinks that the working class and those who are joining labor strikes are only fighting for their rights. He stressed, "They are just expressing their demands, and they are not asking for anything undue or excessive. They are also not fighting the state." He also shared that to make his photographs more convincing, he had to take several shots even though he was still using film that time as there was no digital cameras yet. "One, two, three – you should get all of that, so you can select the best photo with the best angle," explained Boy Bagwis while mimicking a shutter clicking, "The facial expression, how will it be magnified? The sadness, the details of one's face and skin, the smile, those things. You should show them on the photo." Aside from getting as many shots and angles as he could, he finds the presence and absence of colors important in translating his message, "When using black and white," Bagwis said, explaining his choice of format for photos, "Most of these turn out attractive when enlarged. For focusing on scenery you could use color, but for things like these [dispersal, strikes, etc.] you focus on the details, hence the use of black and white. Besides, color usually evokes happiness, so why would I use color to document moments of repression. Personally, I think the draw of black and white

is stronger than color for moments of sadness since happiness is associated with color."

Lito Ocampo, on the other hand, is more concerned about being straightforward, regardless of colors or even the type of camera. He is more focused on keeping evidence and sending a message, or what his fellow photographer and activist MonRam called it, "Left Propaganda." Lito recalled, "I went on taking and contributing photos until I purchased my own camera, an automatic Nikon EM. That was the cheapest Nikon camera then." Lito eventually felt the need to cope with technology to produce more photographs and make his work widely disseminated, "I didn't even know how to use Facebook," said Lito, "Someone posted there that 'Lito Ocampo is the only one left using film'. Lito explained, "I'm probably the last among us to embrace digital. But students come up to me and say 'Sir, we admire you, when you shoot digital it's still like sparingly shooting film."

Lito seems to be a man of few words, he did not discuss his photographs' composition or if there is symbolism in his photographs. His work, as claimed by Lito, was solely trying to document human rights violations, specifically the existence of political detainees under the Marcos regime. He said that during that time, the Marcos government was denying the existence of political prisoners and human rights violations committed by the military.

Alex is also like Lito who does not care that much about the equipment he is using. In fact, when he covered the NPA in Mindanao, he went there with cameras borrowed from his friend. "When it comes to (camera) equipment," said Alex, "It comes and goes. They sometimes just pass me by. Sometimes I have a Leica.

Sometime I have a Hasselblad. All of these, they're just equipment to me. I'll use it the best way I can... I have to sell it, to survive.... I don't get hung up on equipment. My current favorite is my iPhone. I mean, that's cool with me. I could readily post on Facebook, I'm happy with it. If I decide to do a story, that's pretty decent, whatever I hold, I'll make a story. It will not make a difference, really. I'll do it and I'll do it. Whatever equipment. It would look like an Alex Baluyut Story." Alex then briefly defined the 'Alex Baluyut Story':

[It's] the injustice of the one sided-ness of power and all that bullshit. We [the photojournalists] understood that very, very important position or important role that we were playing... opposition against Marcos or the position against the government that was there for a long time.

Although he did not talk much about the colors and aesthetics of his photographs that could emphasize the message he was trying to convey, Alex shared his view on digital photo editing and composition. "I crop, yeah," said Alex, "It's allowable. I mean, yeah, I do crop. But now I rarely crop, maybe because I'm older. When you're young, you're full of energy, so you know, you forget about those things. But when you get a little older, it comes in more naturally."

Unlike the previous photographers who had inconvenience in purchasing and owning their cameras, Sonny never experienced it as he owned two photo and camera shops, the Sun Photo Supply in Rustan's Makati and Cubao, Manila. It was in January 1974 when he opened his first shop, and just a few months later, he opened another shop in Rustan's Cubao. His shops became a popular hangout place for photographers, artists, members of media, and *who's who* or notable people in the Philippines. He proudly said that he had been using Leica cameras even before, and fondly recalled,

Leica...that's the most popular, most expensive brand of camera during those years and up to now. So, among the local media, I was the only one using Leica. During my coverage of Aquino

assassination, the international media were here in the Philippines and they saw me, a Filipino and local media, was using this expensive camera. They were surprised because all of them [foreigners] were using Leica. Most of my People Power photos were also taken using my Leica cameras. I like Leica because of the of the very good quality of the outcome, especially photos in black and white.

Sonny shot hundreds of photos during the peaceful four-day mass demonstrations from February 22-25, 1986. The photograph shows people assembling in Cubao along EDSA going towards EDSA Ortigas where people and colegialas or college students, nuns, priests, among others gathered to join the mass demonstration (Figure 4.12). It was around 7 to 8 o' clock in the morning of Feb 23, 1986, the morning after Manila archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin called for people's support to join the rebellion via Radio Veritas. Sonny used a telephoto lens to take photos from afar.

"Now, why telephoto? Technical. Because with telephoto, you compress your subject. With a telephoto it's like you are bringin your subject nearer and at the same time compressing the subject. If you look at it from another angle it's not really jampacked per square foot. But because of the telephoto shot it's compressed, you think there's no space. I want to compress the people, so that you could see how crowded it was, how many people were there."

Sonny wanted to show that there were many who were joining the revolution to end the Marcos dictatorship. He was standing right in front of a fire truck where other photographers stayed and waited for events to be covered. He said that these photographers were making sure that they would be safe and far from bombings or any riots in case that the marines would receive an order to disperse the crowd. People were everywhere; some came alone, some came in groups. Many were just

curious and asking, 'What's happening?' He remembered that people became more determined to barricade along EDSA especially towards the evening of the 24th. A lot of people also brought and shared food and it was like a fiesta. Sonny shared:

Everybody was caught by surprise by what was happening. So, it was Marcos against the people led by Enrile and Ramos who withdrew their support from the Marcos government. People came to EDSA to protect the rebels knowing that it was going to be a matter between life and death. It began with Cardinal Sin's call for people to congregate in EDSA, and then Butz Aquino's group called August Twenty-One Movement came, and then more people followed including students, clergy, nuns, members of religious organizations, activists, people from the government and media, and even ordinary citizens.

There were negotiators from different camps - the marines under Marcos government and Enrile-Ramos'. They were making an agreement to simply maintain status quo and no one would launch attacks against each other. People were also trying to negotiate with the marines to join them and leave their post. Sonny narrated:

At dawn, Marcos sent the marines to Ortigas. There was a stand-off. No one was advancing. The rebel forces communicated that 'If you guys move there in Ortigas, we will also attack Malacañang. It was like that, calling each other's bluff. 'If you guys attack Crame, we will also attack Malacañang. We've already surrounded the area,' said Gringo Honasan. The ones in Malacañang were scared, that's where Ver and Marcos were. Still a stand-off. So those in the Ortigas vacant lot, they don't know what was happening. But we in the media had an inkling, we were near the negotiators from all camps... 'Status quo, no one moves. You stay there, we stay here.' But the ones on the ground had no idea. By nightfall it started, you know the video that always plays on TV. That's when they started giving flowers. That's when they started blocking the tanks.

"That night the tanks started to inch forward," narrated Sonny, "The sun was going down so I was having a hard time already with my Leica, 21mm super..." Sonny saw a nun (Figure 4.13) walking really fast, approaching one leader of the marines. He overheard the nun saying, 'Don't attack, marines. Remember we are all Filipinos. God bless you, marines.' Sonny calculated for exposure and adjusted his

shutter speed to 1/30th of a second. He also adjusted the aperture. "That is just one shot..."

This was one lucky shot. And it won first prize in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* photo contest on Snap Elections in 1986. Sonny also did dark room techniques such as burning and dodging during the printing of the photo. He dodged a part by covering the enlarger to keep the part of the photo from getting dark. This one lucky shot of his has become one of his favorites and has been included in his exhibits and publications about the revolution by different authors. As for the composition, Sonny explained, "the contrast is very obvious: the light and shadow, the nun against a fully-armed military marine." Sonny wanted to show the contrast or the conflicting sides. The nun symbolizes peace, and the marine officer signifies change or transformation as he was being encouraged by the nun to join their cause. The difference between light and shadow/dark is also apparent which makes the main subjects, the nun and marine officer, more emphasized. The light also gives a feeling of hope to the viewer, even though this photograph was taken at sundown and there was so much tension during that moment.

"I saw the possibility of a very dramatic shot," he said, referring to another photo (Figure 4.14), "I didn't use a flash for this one, I just adjusted the settings to achieve that effect. And then I used available light..." But Sonny fully explored his technique on light and shadow more in his popular photo of the war room. "The situation is delicate, which it was. And then in photography, the play of light and shadow. The drama of lighting. Actually, I used a flash for this. I was using a Leica 21mm..." There were other cameramen and lightmen in the photo but Sonny used it to his advantage. "I used the videolight of the cameraman to attain dramatic

composition. This is Ramos, this is Lim. Like a war room, it's like you're in a bunker without light... Like a World War II bunker, that was my idea."

These were just some of Sonny's photographs of the EDSA People Power Revolution (Figures 4.12-4.14). Sonny explained that he always wanted drama in his photographs. Sonny is concerned with the aesthetics of his shots. For instance, he likes black and white photographs and plays with light and shadow to make his photos more dramatic. He also thinks that too many colors sometimes make photographs look dirty and unpolished. It also helps that he has a lot of photography equipment which allows him to tweak his shots to achieve his desired aesthetics and look and therefore communicate his message through his photographs.

Living with the Photos: How the Photos Circulated Amidst Censorship and Ownership

Circulation of photos is vital in achieving the goals driven by the intention of the photographers discussed earlier. It also affects the social life of photographs and their agency as evidence and memory sites. Only those photos that survive make it to the collective memory. What happened during the martial law years had a direct effect on the availability of photographs now. Based on the stories of the photographers, two factors emerged that affected the circulation of photos during and the years after the martial law period – censorship and ownership.

It was not only during the martial law years when strict censorship was implemented. By virtue of Proclamation No. 2045, martial law was formally lifted in 1981 but Marcos remained in power. "Photographers were under fire after martial law [after 1981]," Alex explained, "The military had their eyes on them."

However, Jess claimed that even though there were many restrictions imposed on the civilians and media, he did not experience any hostility from the military and government:

Ah, there was no violence during martial law. If you're not involved in anti-government or anti-Marcos activities, you would not be picked up. Well, in the first few weeks of martial law, yes... because they [Marcos and his government] knew those personalities [to be arrested], those government officials and students [who were anti-Marcos]. So those who were saying that they were tortured, that's because they were involved in anti-government activities.

His perspective on martial law appears to be different from the other interviewed photographers. But his recollection of the media censorship and suppression of freedom is consistent with the stories of other photographers. Jess recounted:

Everything was censored. See, there were no Congress and Senate. If you're publishing, the pages had to be approved one by one. Even how small it was, for example a music magazine like *Jingle* where I was one of the original staff. *Jingle* was a hot-selling magazine then. Fuck, we had to wait for 2-3 months before we could get the approval for the release.

Even for the foreign press like his agency, Associated Press, approval had to be sought from the Office of Civil Relations located at Camp Aguinaldo. Marcos' Minister of Public Information, Francisco 'Kit' Tatad issued a directive that all photographs to be released or transmitted abroad should first be approved and signed by him. Though the government was a bit lenient with the foreign press, the photographers and foreign journalists knew that they were being closely monitored. Since AP was closed for 3-4 days after the declaration of martial law, Jess and his colleagues could not shoot and pass stories to their AP office in Hong Kong. Still, Jess did his job and tried his luck not to get caught:

We knew that many newspapers and TV stations were clamped down. Our office was also closed. But since I was not [anti-government], I just went around with my camera and took photos of ships, military surrounding hotels, and men flocking barber shops to get haircut. I knew back then that these photos would not

be approved for sure. So, I went to the airport and looked for foreign passengers, American or British, who would be flying to Hong Kong. I kindly asked them to bring some rolls of films to Hong Kong, and someone would meet them to take the films. I was glad they were cooperative.

Jess already lost count how many photographs he had taken during martial law before he left AP in 1978. He also could not share the photos he has on hand for this study, as the ownership of photographs belongs to AP. He advised me to contact AP and see how to buy the photographs from them.

Ed, despite not being subjected to military aggression, affirmed that during martial law it was difficult to take photographs or cover events unless you were part of the official government media, or a freelance journalist with secured permit. He emphasized the need to be cautious. He briefly recounted his previous job at the *Daily Express*⁵¹ and the state of censorship under Marcos regime:

Nobody could take photographs that easily. Nobody. You would be arrested. Daily Express was owned by Marcos himself. He created his own newspaper. During martial law there was no freedom of press. You could no longer speak. You're not allowed to attack. A lot of newspapers were closed down. Some journalists went missing. Some were killed. Marcos knew these journalists. He could take control of those who opposed him. I never received any threats as I was part of the *Daily Express*. I stayed neutral. I loved my job. I enjoyed it, *eh*.

While Jess and Ed were not anti-government photographers, Boy Bagwis was the opposite. He escaped the military twice as a young photojournalist involved in the movement against the government. It was probably pure luck that he was never detained in the military camps or rehabilitation centers. One military officer even recognized his face in one of the military raids and miraculously still immediately released him. Bagwis, part of his nom de guerre, which translates to 'wings', was

⁵¹ *Philippine Daily Express* or *Daily Express* was an 'establishment press', and among the few publications allowed to circulate during the Marcos regime. Its owner was Roberto Benedicto, one of Marcos' closest allies.

actually given to him by the military officer who had seen him twice and thought that Bagwis was practically everywhere flapping his way out from one dangerous place to another with his camera. He was still in high school when simultaneous strikes and mass demonstrations started, especially in the University of the Philippines Diliman prior to the declaration of martial law in 1972. He witnessed the historic Diliman Commune on February 1-9, 1971, where communards (students and faculty members) demanded reforms such as an oil price rollback and removal of military presence inside the university. As he started to become more politicized as a young aspiring photojournalist, he began collecting photographs of rallies and movements from newspapers and other photographers. His background in accountancy and a job offer in Meralco, the largest electric distribution company in the Philippines, did not thwart his desire to raise public awareness about the country's poverty and condition of the working class. He worked for a small independent newspaper dedicated to workers, *Bagwis*. From there, his engagement with the workers' plight intensified. Without any formal training in photography, he continued going to labor union strikes and rallies to join their cause and to document them.

His work as a photojournalist was not without danger. Already in his late 50's by the time of the interview, he shared that he had repeatedly experienced being harassed by policemen and military during dispersals or demolitions. He recalled that there was an incident when a policeman intentionally tripped him to stop him from taking photos. He fell to the ground, yet he recovered immediately and he hit the policeman with his old metal camera before he ran off. He said:

You have to move fast and be completely aware of your surroundings. You need to work with two eyes- one eye is in the viewfinder, the other one is to watch out for possible dangers. You have to capture images and at the same time protect yourself from being hit or arrested by the military.

Boy Bagwis is not sure where his photos appeared. As mentioned earlier, censorship was really strict under martial rule. He said:

These photos weren't published in mainstream media that time. It was so strict back then. Some would ask for copies from me for printing on leaflets and flyers. But for other media? There were a lot of limitations... space constraints... fear... Heck a simple article could get you a warning from the government.

While Boy Bagwis was lucky enough not to be detained, Lito Ocampo experienced the opposite. At first, Lito did not consider himself as an activist but rather a sympathizer. He was only a college student then, and 'courier' for his brother's underground newspaper, *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (BMP or News from Free Philippines). His brother, co-founder of the National Democratic Front Philippines (NDFP), started publishing BMP with the help of his wife and other activists. Lito, being a sympathizer and younger brother to top-rank activist Satur Ocampo⁵², delivered envelopes containing copies of BMP to other members of the underground movement, and some contacts in the government and media. They would also give Lito envelopes with "trade secrets" in it and he would hand these over to his brother. Little did he know that working as a courier would lead him to jail for 5 years:

Sometime on May 12, 1974, there was a round-up in a house in Pangasinan. It was just my luck that I was there too. I was detained, it was a mass arrest. There were top ranking underground people there. There I was, just me, I wasn't even an activist. Although I was aware of what my older brother was doing, I was just a sympathizer. But just because of these I was imprisoned. My older brother Satur was also imprisoned a while later so we reunited while we were incarcerated.

⁵² An activist, journalist and later the *Bayan Muna* partylist representative from 2001-2007. Before becoming a member of the House of Representatives in the Philippines, he worked underground together with his wife Carolina 'Bobbie' Malay. He was also the co-founder of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in the 70's. While he was imprisoned during the Marcos regime, he was named by *Newsweek* magazine as one of the Ten Outstanding Political Prisoners in the World. For more information about his life during the martial law years, see <http://bulatlat.com/main/2012/09/17/satur-ocampo-and-the-martial-law-years/>

In 1979, Lito was released. His brother Satur, however, was left in prison. Lito, now more politicized, became a full-time activist helping the families of political detainees. He narrated:

When I was released, I didn't know what to do. I had nowhere to go. Satur told me all about KAPATID, (*Kapisanan para sa Pagpapalaya ng mga Bilanggong Pulitikal sa Pilipinas* or Association for the Release and Amnesty of Detainees in the Philippines) for the release and campaign of political prisoners, Dean Malay, his wife and detainees' relatives spearheaded this group. So what we did, when we visited our kin in prison, we smuggled in a camera though we knew it was dangerous.

This small camera, a half-frame one that doubled the shooting frame capacity of 35mm film, was instrumental in his documentation of the life of the political detainees in Camp Bagong Diwa in Bicutan. Lito said that using this camera was quite economical, 24 shots of film became 48, 36 became 72. The only drawback was the resolution, since half-frame exposures only allowed for 5x7 prints when enlarged. Lito recounted how he was able to smuggle in the camera:

I snuck the camera in with the groceries. We had this demand before that we be able to cook our own food as deal struck as a result of our hunger strike. So, the wife of one of our co-detainees, Sembrano, became the marketer and she bought food and supplies from the market which she brought inside the camp. I stealthily handed the camera and sometimes rolls of film to her when she visited. This was negative film, the ones I had already exposed I hid, sometimes in my underwear, we also handed them to the female visitors, the guards weren't that strict on females."

He continued to bring in rolls of films which he would load into the camera away from view. He stealthily took photos of the detainees and their activities inside. Lito narrated:

We had a mimeographed newsletter back then, *Pahatid Kapatid*. I was a One-Man Team, there were different writers and a layout artist but I did all the production, distribution and mimeographing myself. One of my tasks was to release the statements of the prisoners. I gave those to Joe Burgos (We Forum and Malaya) and Joel Paredes (Malaya) for publication. I was even confronted by (authorities), they were baffled by the photos since they didn't see any cameras brought and used by me or the prisoners in Bicutan. The ones I turned over to

Joel Paredes even had photos, the one with 'We are Under Strike'. That came out, even carried by international papers. My shots and work were published internationally, that was still during the times of sending hard copies by mail. Or I would ask foreigners heading straight for Europe to hand-carry the hard copies.

Alex Baluyut also had photos of the political detainees when he was still working for the AP. He said that he and his colleague, Ben Alabastro, were caught and held for 1.5 hours. But because of his training to be skillfully fast, Alex already sent their 'runner' with the rolls of films back to their vehicle before they were caught and detained for inspection and questioning. The Manila office offered the images to Tokyo, but they were turned down and he was not sure if the photos were published. Alex also does not have copies of his own photographs during his work at the AP, and had a realization that the photographers were being exploited by AP. "I've given up the notion that my photography is for sale," confessed Alex, "I don't want that anymore."

When Alex finally had the chance to do follow his dream to document the 'under-documented', he quit his job in AP and went to Mindanao. Completely aware of the risks that he would be facing, with 7,000 pesos separation pay from AP, a backpack from a photographer friend Romy Gacad, and a borrowed camera from another photographer friend Bullit Marquez, he travelled to Mindanao:

Four months. I was so happy when I was on the boat, son of a bitch. I was like a kid following my dream. I was already close to the Left, and I wanted to go. That was my dream when I started [as a photographer]. I wanted to go to Mindanao. There was no news about Mindanao back then. You would get one paragraph from the bulletin every now and then. When you ride a taxi and pass by [Camp] Crame and there's a helicopter, the driver goes 'Oh, they're ferrying the dead from Mindanao.' Son of a bitch, I wanted to go there. Curiosity.

While the three photographers experienced threats in their lives while covering different episodes of martial law in the Philippines, Sonny, just like Jess

and Ed, did not experience any precarious situation that put his life at risk. This may be explained by his non-involvement with the Left as well as his network as a distinguished member of the Camera Club of the Philippines, Press Photographers of the Philippines, National Press Club, and Radio Club. He also became the official photographer of various beauty contests⁵³ from 1982 to 1990's. For him, the years of Marcos rule were not terrifying. But he was aware of the ongoing rallies involving student activist groups such as *Kabataang Makabayan* (KM), League of Filipino Students (LFS), and workers' group *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU) especially in the early 1970's, as well as the orders that curtailed freedom of speech and expression such as their fashion. He recounted:

Yes, there were students from UP [University of the Philippines] and PCC [Philippine College of Commerce which would later become Polytechnic University of the Philippines or PUP]. They would usually assemble in Cubao, Welcome Rotonda, España; and then from Vito Cruz to Taft Avenue to Malacañang area. You would really see that those areas, especially near Malacañang were surrounded by barbed wires. There were also restrictions and orders, for example, men must not have long hair. *Eh*, that time The Beatles band was very popular. We all wanted long hair like theirs, so we were like playing hide and seek then with the police.

With his connections and popularity as a freelance photographer, he still admitted that it was not that easy to obtain permits to cover events, especially those officially held by the Malacañang office. He explained:

There usually were announcements from the press office of Malacañang stating whether certain events were open to media coverage, however we must have accreditation – we must have this 'special I.D.' So official events like Manila Film Festival, Southeast Asian Games, Miss Universe, and I remember there was one World Bank's International Monetary Fund meeting that was held here in PICC⁵⁴...those kinds of events.

⁵³ *Binibining Pilipinas*, *Mutya ng Pilipinas*, Miss Asia-Pacific, Philippine Red Cross, Miss Philippines, Look of the Year, Supermodel of the Year, etc.

⁵⁴ Located in Manila, the Philippine International Convention Center was built in 1976, and claims to be the first international convention center in Asia.

Sonny feels lucky that he worked as a freelance photographer as he gets the chance to keep all his prints and negatives unlike Jess and some of his colleagues. After martial law and EDSA People Power Revolution, he asked some of his photographer friends to release their photographs so that there would be more visual documentations that may be used for publications and exhibits, however:

Nothing. You know, even my friends Willy Avila and Sonny Yabao – they're my friends from Malacañang before. I told them, 'Please, brother. Your photos...' Nothing. I don't know if they're just holding onto them, keeping them or there was completely nothing. Well, after many years, I feel like I'm blessed that I own the rights of all my photographs. I spend on my films, own developing. Unlike my friends who worked for *Manila Bulletin*, *Inquirer*, *Philippine Star*, Associated Press, Reuters, and so on...once they take photos, someone will get the films from them to bring them to Tokyo or Hong Kong. So, whenever there's exhibition, I would invite them to showcase their works only to find out that they don't have the photos as they don't own the rights. They need to ask permission from their mother company or agency, and most of these agencies are not interested.

Tata Gil also regrets not having copies of his photographs taken during the martial law years. As mentioned earlier, most of the Photobank Philippines' collection was acquired by *Midweek Magazine*. Tata Gil recalled:

Midweek was always being closed down because of government harassment. We had a standing agreement during the last closure that we [the photographers] would be the ones to keep them [photos/negatives], since we had very little pay and being part of it [Midweek] was largely based on commitment. We brought and used our own cameras back then, unlike in other agencies photographers were provided with cameras. Supposedly, all our photos and negatives would be returned to us. So, we tried to claim our negatives, our photos, but the publisher said, "Not yet...We're still going to reopen." Unfortunately, *Midweek* never reopened. I did not get the chance to claim the photos and negatives. Then the storage was flooded. They're gone. Even my personal ones [photos]. All my rally photos from the 80's until the ones in the 90's, they were all there.

Indeed, being part of a news agency, or even a government-operated one, did not also ensure the preservation of photographs that would have been valuable

resources in the future. When *Daily Express* ceased its operations after the EDSA

People Power Revolution in 1986, Ed recalled:

After a month, I went back to the office. I saw that all the photos and negatives used by the *Daily Express* were thrown out at the lot at the back of the building. They were all soiled. I recognized some of my film canisters. I retrieved them. I thought of keeping them so someday my children would see my work. They could possibly use them. Imagine what would happen if I didn't get them, right?

The photographers' narratives about photographs being instruments of counterpower, the regime's censorship, and capability of the photographers to 'own' their own photos are one way to look at photographs as not merely docile byproducts of events, but rather as resources that are entangled in a web of struggle. Scholars may argue that photographs are the most democratized form of visual art in terms of production, but what has been discovered in the interviews that in instances where certain rights are curtailed by those in power or entities more powerful than the photographer (i.e. news and funding agencies), photographs may not fully employ or activate their agency. Since the photographers interviewed have not deposited all their works in centralized memory repositories such as archives and museums, their photographs remain *floating* and waiting for their agency to be reactivated. Archivists can take this opportunity to capture the narratives of the photographers as well as the other elements of the provenance of these photographs. These narratives about the Marcos regime and photographers' lives as sparked by the photographs can contribute to a multi-layered people's archives that welcomes and empowers various voices. Again, what goes behind the viewfinder is as important as what is in front of it.

Photographs in this Chapter



Figure 4.1. Demolition of Houses in Pook Ricarte, UP Diliman (1985)
(Photo by Boy Bagwis)



Figure 4.2. Labor Strike Dispersal in Artex, Malabon (1984)
(Photo by Boy Bagwis).



*Figure 4.3. Labor Strike Dispersal in ARTEX, Malabon (1984)
(Photo by Boy Bagwis)*



*Figure 4.4. Labor Strike Dispersal in Artex, Malabon (1984)
(Photo by Boy Bagwis)*



Figure 4.5. Prisoners at Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan
(Photo by Lito Ocampo)

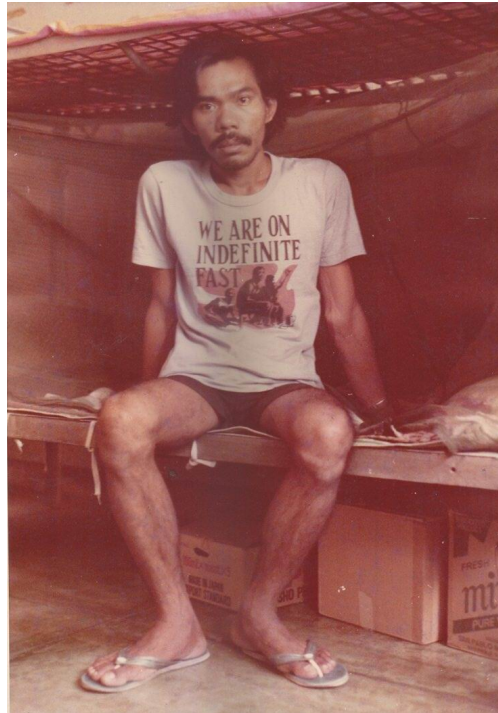


Figure 4.6. Rodolfo Benosa, 33 years. old factory worker, sole breadwinner, married with 4 children.
Shown here during their 2nd week of fasting-hunger strike in Bicutan last 1982.
(Photo by Lito Ocampo; Caption from Lito Ocampo as written at the back of this photo).



Figure 4.7. Rally that Launched the Organization of Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearances (FIND) (Photo by Lito Ocampo)



Figure 4.8. Soldiers of the Guerilla Unit 'Buhawi' [Tornado] in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao (1983) (Photo by Alex Baluyut)



*Figure 4.9. Guerilla Unit 'Buhawi' [Tornado] in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983)
(Photo by Alex Baluyut)*



*Figure 4.10. Guerillas in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983)
(Photo by Alex Baluyut)*



*Figure 4.11. Guerillas in Agusan Marsh, Mindanao (1983)
(Photo by Alex Baluyut)*



*Figure 4.12. People in EDSA (1986)
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo)*



*Figure 4.13. Nun and Marines (1986)
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo)*



*Figure 4.14. War Room (1986)
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo)*

CHAPTER 5

Breaking Frames: Stories of and From the Subjects and Eyewitnesses

*"Photographs are painful, not only in their content matter...
but sometimes their truth-telling, their performance of histories,
their reality has a painfulness – rawness..."*
Elizabeth Edwards, 2001, "Raw Histories."

Framing fixes a photograph's elements in their place – some may be emphasized, others may not. The act of framing or highlighting a subject normally depends on the 'eye' of the photographer, driven by aesthetics and style as well as the purpose and message he wants to communicate. With a camera on hand, the photographer has the power to suspend subjects and events in time and create recorded images that will perturb the present with nostalgia, neglected histories and evocations (Kuhn & McAllister, 2006; Millar, 2006; Mjaaland, 2009). Recognizing the photographer's power over subjects and memories, Sontag (1973) maintains that the photographer is the "*auteur*" of the images (p.104) and at the same time a "predator" because "to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed" (p. 10). Photographs of people are preserved in family albums, kept and deposited in the archives, displayed in museums and galleries, used as supplementary sources to texts, shared and circulated online, or still floating with their stories and provenance yet to be discovered. The predatory nature of photography is in a way silencing the subjects and making the spectators unconsciously desensitized of who or what they see, even if these are images of war or suffering (Sontag, 2003)⁵⁵. Moreover, users and spectators of photographs are rarely interested in the exact context in which

⁵⁵ Susan Sontag's seminal work on photography, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), discusses the struggle in maintaining a balance between generating visual evidence of war, evoking sympathy (i.e. images of suffering and death, traces of torture and mutilated bodies), and dealing with issues on morality and voyeurism. Sontag argues, "Perhaps the only people with the right to look at images of suffering of this extreme order are those who could do something to alleviate it – say the surgeons at the military hospital where the photograph was taken – or those who could learn from it. The rest of us are voyeurs, whether or not we mean to be" (p.42).

the photographs were created (Charbonneau, 2005). The photographers may want to highlight the subjects but many of them remain nameless, voiceless and unrecognized despite the subjects' ability as represented participants to initiate the representational task of a photograph in signifying what the image is about (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). As the complete origin of records is elusive (Nesmith, 1999) and the catalogues and finding aids in the archives tend to limit and lose the original context of photographs (Benson, 2010; Rose, 2000; Schwartz, 1995), there will always be gaps and missing pieces that constitute the context and provenance, hence blurring the 'whole picture.'

In Chapter 4, photographs emerged as instruments of counterpower based on my interviews with Filipino photographers who documented the Marcos regime officially or clandestinely. The photographers used the power of photography to show the contrast between the state and the people, document the underdocumented and represent the oppressed. The creation and circulation of their photographs also reflect how the photographs' agency as evidence and memory sites are activated or prevented. The subjects framed and chosen by the photographers such as the workers, political detainees and their family, members of the armed movement, and people who joined the EDSA Revolution in 1986 were revealed, yet more stories can be uncovered by listening to voices other than the photographers as record creators or 'main/traditional provenance'. Putting forward the notion of *co-creatorship of records*, Bastian (2003) argues that the scope of provenance should be extended to include the subjects and not only the creators. In line with Bastian's proposition, archival theorists have also taken issue with the traditional view of provenance, suggesting that provenance should have a more historical dimension that links back to different processes of inscription and transmission, as well as multiple creators (Cook, 1997; Duchein, 1983; Nesmith,

1999, 2007). To address the gap that further blurs the origin of records, archivists are urged to treat subjects as co-creators that contribute much to the context and meaning of photographs. Bastian (2003) maintains:

In order to use records as reliable indicators of an entire society, both the subjects as well as the creators of the records must be seen as active participators in a process in which record creating is defined as much by place, people, and community as it is by the act of creation itself... The records speak for those whose voices are otherwise silent.
(p.2)

Hearing the different voices involved in the creation of photographs will facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the actual context the subjects experienced and lived through. Following Verne Harris' call for *hospitality* in the archives, finding the subjects and hearing their stories is one way of creating a space for the silenced and for the photographs to be continuously enhanced and re-activated as evidence and sites of memory. Their memories, as evoked by photographs, are a retelling of their thoughts and movements in relation to other people and, in this case, the Marcos regime. In this chapter, vital elements of the provenance – the subjects and eyewitnesses – were searched for and interviewed to bring their stories into the frame. Through photo elicitation, the photographs previously shared with me by the interviewed photographers, and the responses from the subjects and eyewitnesses to those photos helped in breaking the photograph's frame that limits the narratives to what is explicitly seen and fixed in the image. In using photographs to elicit responses, Harper (2002) expresses that breaking the frame helps in moving the subjects into a "new awareness of their social existence" (pp. 20-21), as photographs do not only stimulate memories but act as interlocutors that connect or reconnect communities (Edwards, 2006), and as instruments for recuperation (Lydon, 2010).

Compared to the interviews done with the photographers in Chapter 4, I elicited responses from the subjects in more flowing and less structured conversations so I could establish closer rapport. In photo elicitation, subjects are not treated as “containers of information”, but as agents who along with the researcher can recall and see things in a new light (Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015, p. 93). Since photographs have the power to evoke strong emotions and memories, I also tried to be more sensitive and not to ask a lot of questions, but rather let them freely talk and reflexively situate themselves in the photographs and the milieu within which the photographs were taken. While I was gradually breaking the frames of the photographs by revealing more stories of and from them, three types of *connection* emerged: *serendipitous connection with people or subjects*, *connection with the past* and *connection with the present*. The two latter points were a catharsis for the subjects and eyewitnesses, engendering mostly painful and distressing memories of conflicts and violence brought about by fascism, their coping and survival during the Marcos regime, and some of their unhealed wounds—as most of them are still struggling for justice and subsistence up to the present.

Serendipity and Connection: Finding the Subjects and Eyewitnesses

The photographers recalled the events in their photographs, but only a few of them personally knew the people who were captured in the photographs or the eyewitnesses who likewise experienced the events they documented. Lito Ocampo labelled his photographs at the back with either the names of the political detainees or the events he attended and documented. The other photographers, Boy Bagwis, Alex Baluyut, and Sonny Camarillo, did not label the photographs with names of people but identified and arranged them based on dates and events. Because of this, many of the subjects in the photographs were nameless; but with the stories and

context of creation that the photographers provided, I started my journey in search of the subjects and eyewitnesses to the events captured by the photographers. For this chapter, subjects and eyewitnesses of the photographs of Boy Bagwis, Lito Ocampo, and Alex Baluyut are included. The stories of those who were at the EDSA People Power Revolution photographed by Sonny Camarillo and Pete Reyes, the photojournalist from *Manila Times* who captured one of the most iconic EDSA photos, are found in the next chapter (Chapter 6).

Through referrals, web search and serendipity, I was able to get in touch and speak with four eyewitnesses and four subjects, the majority of whom were part of the movement against the oppressive forces of the Marcos government. I was first referred to Felix Pariñas, a RIPADA⁵⁶ resident since the 1960's, by a colleague who also lives inside the UP Campus. Felix started working for the University of the Philippines in 1977 as a janitor. Eventually, through hard work, he became an Audiovisual Equipment Operator at the College of Arts and Letters. He remembered RIPADA all too well. "I was already living in RIPADA when I was in grade 6 in the 1960's," narrated Parinas, "I was then studying at the Balara Elementary School." Now in his 60's, he still resides in RIPADA with his family and although he was able to identify and remember the "Battle of RIPADA" as he stared at Boy Bagwis' photographs, he claimed that things looked different at present. Another participant whom I met through referral is Bonifacio "Boni" Ilagan, one of the political detainees in Lito Ocampo's photos. He barely remembered the event wherein he was photographed, but he vividly recollected all the tortures he went through during his two-year detention in Camp Crame and his younger sister, Rizalina, who was also a student activist during the Marcos regime and a

⁵⁶ RIPADA is a portmanteau composed of *Pook Ricarte*, *Pook Palaris* and *Pook Dagohoy* – parts of the campus designated as residential areas for the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman academic and non-academic personnel. There are also non-UP employees residing in these areas.

desaparecido.⁵⁷ Boni recounted, “I was the chair of *Kabataang Makabayan*⁵⁸ and that made me one of the ‘qualified’ people to be in the arrest list when *Batas Militar* (martial law) was declared. I got arrested in 1974, among many other student leaders like Eric Baculinao and Chito Sto. Romana.” Boni was released in 1976 and continued his studies at the University of the Philippines (UP). He went underground for the second time in 1987, and was arrested again in 1994. He was released after two weeks, and from then on he continued his work in the movement by actively participating in organizations that help victims of the Marcos regime deal with trauma through the use of art such as drawings and theater. Mila Aguilar, an essayist, poet and teacher who went underground in 1971 and was arrested in 1984 was also referred to me by a colleague. Journalists and writers like her were an easy target during martial law, “Because they wrote the truth,” explained Mila, “You know in a regime of lies, when you write the truth, you are a target. Just like that.” She remembered that there were plenty of writers like her who were arrested, “Almost all of the writers in UP had to go underground. For example, Pete Daroy, my colleague in [*Philippines*] *Graphic* and my former professor, also went underground. Another was Emmanuel Lacaba⁵⁹. He was also a writer.” Before her arrest in 1984, Mila was the head of the Regional United Front Commission of Mindanao, and later became the chair of the National United Front Commission of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Her husband Magtanggol Roque⁶⁰

⁵⁷ A person who disappeared; arrested by government authorities or presumed killed by the military or police.

⁵⁸ Patriotic Youth (direct English translation) is a youth organization established in the 1960’s by Jose Maria Sison, founding chair of the Communist Party of the Philippines. For more information about their current activities, visit their Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/KabataangMakabayan50taon/>.

⁵⁹ Emmanuel “Eman” Lacaba was an award-winning writer and a former lecturer at the University of the Philippines. He was highly critical of the Marcos regime and joined the New People’s Army in 1974. His brother, Jose “Pete” Lacaba is also a writer and poet who like him was actively involved in the anti-Marcos movement. Pete was arrested, tortured and was later released. He was arrested together with Bonifacio “Boni” Ilagan, another main participant of this study, when their underground house was rounded up by the military. Eman, on the other hand, was killed in Davao del Norte, Mindanao by the military. His name is now inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (Monuments to the Heroes). Brief information about Eman can be found at the Bantayog ng mga Bayani’s website <http://www.bantayog.org/lacaba-emmanuel-eman-agapito-f/>.

⁶⁰ An engineer and a graduate of the University of the Philippines, Magtanggol Roque is one of the martyrs whose name has been inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the Bantayog ng mga Bayani (Monuments to the Heroes). Brief information about him can be found at <http://www.bantayog.org/roque-magtanggol-s/>

on the other hand, joined the military wing of the CPP or the New People's Army (CPP-NPA) based in Mindanao. Although she was not in the photos, Mila recognized Alex Baluyut's name and the NPA's activities that Alex documented because of her work and position in the party, and her husband's participation in the armed movement. After Mila's release in 1986, she continued teaching in St. Joseph's Academy, and returned to being a lecturer at the University of the Philippines (UP) from 2000-2006. In 2004, I took her American Literature class in UP as an undergraduate elective, with absolutely no inkling that I would be seeing and interviewing her 12 years later. I only knew her as an activist professor and writer, but never found out her life story until a colleague mentioned her name when I was looking for possible participants for this study. It was serendipitous to see her again. "I remember you," Mila immediately said when I first got in touch with her via Facebook, "I remember your face and your name."

Serendipitous and meaningful discoveries in qualitative research are a result of "planned insights coupled with unplanned events" (Fine & Deegan, 1996, p. 434). My research led me to find people in different places, politely ask for their time, and intently listen to their stories. The context provided by the photographers was very helpful in finding the subjects and other eyewitnesses, but searching for them was still not easy. There was no certainty if they were still alive; and even if they were, there was no assurance that they would be willing to be interviewed. Photographer Boy Bagwis provided me with the places and events where he took the photographs. In the case of the labor strike in ARTEX, Boy Bagwis simply told me, "It's in Malabon. You can go there. The community is flooded now." Without knowing how to start and who to look for, I searched for ARTEX and the flooded community in Malabon on the web and turned to some articles and blogs describing the community and some little information about the strike that took place in 1984.

In one of my short visits to Manila in September 2016, I went to the community in Panghulo, Malabon⁶¹ for the first time, and came across a small group of residents chit-chatting in front of a tiny *sari-sari*⁶² store. I introduced myself and politely asked if there was anyone they knew whom I could talk with regarding ARTEX. One of the men said, “There’s no ARTEX factory anymore. It’s been closed for many years already,” but another lady offered a suggestion, “Maybe you can talk to Elsa⁶³.” Elsa was an ARTEX employee and now owns a water delivery station in the floating village. Fortunately, her house was just a few steps away from the *sari-sari* store. I took my chance to look for her and ask permission if she could be interviewed. Elsa was there but informed me that a permit should be secured first from the neighborhood association before they could grant any interviews. As I completely understood that there are protocols that have to be followed, I explained the purpose of my research and gave the information sheet attached to my IRB. While I was explaining my research to Elsa, a lady named Loida dropped by her house and started talking to her. We were introduced to each other and Loida then began to reminisce about the labor strike she was involved with in the 1980’s. Loida asked me if she could see the photographs. I showed her the black and white photographs (Figures 5.6 – 5.7) taken by Boy Bagwis and then Loida exclaimed, “*Putang ina, si Balut ito!* (Son of a bitch, this is Balut!).” Shocked at what she saw, she handed one photograph (Figure 5.7) to Elsa and both recognized that it was Loida’s husband, Rolando “Balut” Lumagas. “Balut already held his hands up but he was still being beaten,” narrated Loida while acting out how Balut raised his arms as an act of surrender. While staring at her husband’s photos, she asked where I got the photographs from. Upon learning that these were from Boy Bagwis, she

⁶¹ Malabon is a city located north of Manila.

⁶² Tagalog term for variety or sundry.

⁶³ Not her real name.

instantly recognized his name because she used to see him with other members of the media covering their strike. Loida asked how he was and said, "It's been so long since we last saw him. Tell him to visit us again." I promised to come back in a few months to continue our conversation.

The serendipitous discoveries did not stop there. With the help of referrals from some members of progressive organizations, I was able to find Rodolfo Benosa, a former factory worker who was arrested in 1982. He was photographed by Lito Ocampo while he and his fellow prisoners were on their second hunger strike. Aged 67, at the time of our conversation, he was living with his wife Celina in San Jose, Del Monte, Bulacan⁶⁴. He did not have a stable job after his release in 1985. He said that his routine involved looking after their children, and then dropping off and fetching his grandchildren from school until he suffered from a stroke in February 2016. He used to work in a factory run by Century Container Corporation as a seamer, the final step in sealing off cans. He worked there from 1962 until he was arrested and jailed in 1982. He was a founding member of the factory workers' independent labor union, separate from that of the company union, which he said was not fully worker-centered. "I didn't just focus on our factory, I also visited other factories (during the union organization)," narrated Rodolfo. Rodolfo also recounted how little he was earning as a factory worker, "My salary then was four pesos [per day], and there were no benefits." Celina described how the workers were treated, "If they want to remove you they'll just fire you. If there's no valid reason they'll just make up some supposed problems so they can fire you. No SSS⁶⁵, no overtime pay. They get minimum wage with no overtime pay. The company's owner was a Chinese businessman." Rodolfo was brought to Camp

⁶⁴ One of the three cities in Bulacan, a province about 71 kilometers away from Manila.

⁶⁵ Social Security System of the Philippines (SSS) or the social insurance services for workers.

Crame for interrogation and was later transferred to a regular detention facility in Bicutan. He could still recall some of the political detainees he met in Camp *Bagong Diwa* in Bicutan or Bicutan Rehabilitation Center, including the photographer Lito Ocampo, and Danilo “Danny” dela Fuente who was also a labor union organizer and a close friend. Danny dela Fuente was also photographed by Lito inside the detention facility. Rodolfo said that he and Danny had not seen each other for a long time. He asked me to send his regards to Danny and he hoped to see him again. Three months prior to my conversation with Rodolfo and Celing Benosa, I met Danny by chance in an exhibit of art works held in UP dedicated to and made by political prisoners. Like a museum tour guide, he voluntarily explained the ideas and stories behind the displayed paintings, and then when we finally introduced ourselves to each other I found out that he was a former political detainee during the martial law period. I did not realize then that he was also in one of Lito’s photographs until I started reviewing my copies of photographs and field notes. Three months later when I returned to the Philippines for another round of field work, I was unintentionally connected to Danny again as he provided the contact details of Celing Benosa to the staff of KARAPATAN or the Alliance for the Advancement of People’s Rights⁶⁶ from whom I received the referral. More surprised by these connections, while I was about to get in touch with Danny to schedule an interview, I saw him again during my interview with another former political detainee and SELDA⁶⁷ chairperson, Amaryllis “Marie” Hilao-Enriquez. He was in the same office where I had the interview with Marie. We had a brief yet insightful conversation as he reminisced about his life as a political prisoner for four years under the dictatorial regime. “I was a labor organizer of the National

⁶⁶ Founded in 1995, KARAPATAN is a non-governmental organization in the Philippines that advocates the protection of human rights. For more information visit <http://www.karapatan.org>.

⁶⁷ SELDA or *Samahan ng mga Ex-Detainees Laban sa Detensyon at Aresto* was founded in 1984 by former political prisoners during the martial law period. For more information about SELDA, visit <https://seldapilipinas.wordpress.com>.

Federation of Labor,” narrated Danny, “There was a crackdown on the working class movement in 1982 and many of us were arrested. I remember Rodolfo – we worked together in organizing different labor unions. He was also inspired to lead union strikes.” Danny likewise knows Lito Ocampo as they still see each other in rallies and activities of their organizations. “*Na-stolen ako dito, ah!* (This was a stolen shot, ah!),” Danny chuckled as he looked at his shirtless image captured by Lito in Camp *Bagong Diwa* in Bicutan. He could easily laugh at how he looked like when he was imprisoned, but like most of the political prisoners, Danny was subjected to physical and mental torture. For him, jails are institutions established by the state to break and weaken them. He remembered again his friend, Rodolfo, “He was also heavily tortured. And lately he got ill, according to his wife. How is he? I’ve been busy. I should see him one of these days.”

These connections and discoveries show that photographs convey stories and evidence, and at the same time function as interlocutors that can reunify communities (Edwards, 2006). Photographs yield more layers of meanings as they build a nexus of relations and networks involving different histories and perspectives– from the creators, subjects, spectators and users (Bell, 2010; Edwards, 2006). Photographs do not merely freeze people and events within the frame, but they let people connect with each other, with the memories of their past, and with their engagement with the present.

Connection with the Past

The memory metaphor of photography relates not only to the production and preservation of tangible evidence of the past but also to the ability of photographs to act as touchstones (Millar, 2006) or evocations (Mjaaland, 2009) to stir individual recollection and emotion. The essential elements of the provenance – the

subjects and eyewitnesses – interacted with the photographs which led to the unfolding of different connections and personal recollections. This interaction let the subjects and eyewitnesses immerse themselves in the narratives and connections with people beyond what is visible within the frames. The provenance recalled the memories of conflicts and violence, and how they survived the repressive regime through the help of other people and communities, and their desire to live so that they could continue the fight and/or be with their family and friends.

Memories of Conflicts and Violence

"There were a lot of demolitions. It was selective... Divide and rule," explained Felix Parinas regarding the demolitions, "They started with those unorganized⁶⁸ then there would be lots of negotiations between the police and residents. The police knew that there would be more resistance from the organized communities, and RIPADA was one. "RIPADA actually was a relocation site," clarified Felix, "We used to live in Area 1 and 2⁶⁹ but then those areas were allocated for faculty housing. We (non-academic personnel) were asked to relocate. It wasn't even known as RIPADA then, we lived in modest low-cost self -built houses."

"This was around 19... 80s," Felix recalled as he looked at the photograph (Figure 5.1). "It's the RIPADA demolition. This seems to be in Zone C. The right side of the photo is NAWASA⁷⁰ or the Balara Filter, and that street corner is where PAG-

⁶⁸ Those areas that were not yet politicized or exposed to community organizing.

⁶⁹ Housing areas inside the University of the Philippines (UP) in Diliman, Quezon City.

⁷⁰ National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA), now Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS), is a government-controlled water supply system in the Philippines.

ASA⁷¹ is located to this day," said Felix, trying to figure out the exact setting of the demolition, "I was there during this event, though I probably haven't arrived yet when this photo was taken."

"This started in the morning," Felix recalled as he looked at the photograph again:

Between 9 and 10 and it lasted until lunch time. I remember, I was at the Audio-Visual room at the 4th floor of the library, we heard a 'BANG!' and we knew the action started. 'BANG!' It was probably a pillbox⁷² exploding. I excused myself from work duty, I said I had to check on my house. When I arrived, Teofisto Guingona⁷³ was already in the middle, in the thick of things, and there were already Metrocom. The Metrocom were still allowed inside the campus because the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between National Defense and UP was still not in effect back then. That was only done quite recently. With that MOA in place they had to inform the government about their planned actions inside the campus out of respect for Academic Freedom.

He continued reminiscing, "So I went there as a cautious spectator, yet I was there to lend my support. A lot of those hurt were young. They're the ones who were passionate, these young activists. Me? I wasn't young anymore (laughs)." Felix recalled the media mileage of the event, "It landed in the national newspaper, 'University of the Philippines under turmoil'... Imagine that. There was a TRO (temporary restraining order) after that, then there were negotiations, but the demolitions pushed through. It was always like that, systematic but selective. They started with Zone C, relocated them to *Bagong Silang*⁷⁴, then gave them assistance.

⁷¹ Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services of the Philippines is the national meteorological and hydrological services agency of the Philippines.

⁷² A homemade explosive, usually made of tin foil and gun powder.

⁷³ Teofisto Guingona is a human rights lawyer and one of those who blatantly opposed the Marcos regime. He was also jailed during the martial law period. He later became a Senator and was elected as Vice President of the Philippines from 2001-2004.

⁷⁴ Tagalog term for newborn, is a large *barangay* or village in Caloocan, Metro Manila and a relocation site since 1970's for thousands of families removed from the slums in other areas of Metro Manila. Because of the increasing number of poor families living there, the area has become unsafe and the living conditions have gotten worse. The local mayor and some councilors have called for the barangay to be divided into seven smaller units for more efficient delivery of public services. For more information, see <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/488987/largest-barangay-in-ph-cant-live-up-to-new-hope-image-split-pushed>. Housing problems and resettlement have been a longstanding problem, especially in the urban areas. Many still do not want to relocate because the relocation sites

Partial and selective. After that, the demolitions became chaotic. UP was chaotic, blood was on their hands because of the activists who resisted."

Felix admired the courage and involvement of the students (Figure 5.2), "During that confrontation there were a lot of students; they were at the forefront of the engagement. There were even students from Miriam⁷⁵, they went there even in school uniform to show their support. They (student activists) were the ones who were enlightened, forward-looking. They were the ones who were familiar with our rights and guided us during those times." Student organizations, both reformist and radical, were increasingly becoming aware of the need to integrate with the other groups such as the peasants, workers and urban poor in order to stimulate social transformation (Daroy, 1988).

Felix looked at the photographs of the demolition again (Figures 5.1 and 5.2), "My house was relatively new back then, I almost lost my house because of this demolition." Felix then remembered a similar incident that happened years later. "I remember the second attempted demolition during the time of Bayani Fernando, during the C-5 project⁷⁶ implementation around 2007. The All UP Workers Union spearheaded the cause. There are many members who live in the area." Together with the residents of RIPADA, they protested the entry of any officials from the Metro Manila Development Authority (MMDA) to start doing census or tagging as initial steps of the C-5 project (Cabrera, 2008).

are far from their work place, and chose to be informal settlers even if they live in danger zones. However, even the relocation sites are having difficulty securing the safety of the residents. In 2009, during the typhoon Ondoy, around 80 residents of Bagong Silang died due to flooding <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/320465/after-consultation-most-quezon-city-informal-settlers-refuse-relocation-assistance/story/>.

⁷⁵ Miriam College, formerly Maryknoll, is a Catholic school for girls located in Katipunan Avenue near UP Diliman.

⁷⁶ Circumferential road 5 or C-5 extension project.

"If you look at the background... It seems unfamiliar to me... I'm trying to recall my memory of the surroundings, maybe because they look so different now." Parinas motioned for the photo to be laid flat on the table, he then pointed to different parts of the photographs, "The police, students, and residents. See them?" Felix said while pointing to the women in the photograph, "they know how it feels to lose a home. They see the homeless on the streets. Do you think they would want to experience that? No, they don't want to, which is why there was no recourse but to fight back." Felix continued, identifying the meaning of these photographs to him, "State fascism, injustice, prioritizing business over the welfare of society. The military: a tool by the state for fascism. This is symbolic of a people's revolt, the basis for defending rights." He further explained,

That's what the people have in common, a dream. They were steadfast, fearless. It's not like being an ordinary citizen unfamiliar with organizing and not knowing what you are fighting for. How will you face down these guys who could bludgeon you? You're not even sure if they're armed, so you'll be apprehensive. What they showed was a high level of political right, which in turn made them steadfast.

Felix's views may be influenced not only by his memories of the Battle of RIPADA, but also by his ideologies as an active member of UP Workers Union that represents the employees and protects their rights and interests.

"Nge... let me recall (laughs). This is the first time I see this," Boni Ilagan said as he looked closely at the details of Lito Ocampo's photograph (Figure 5.3). "I didn't know about this photo. *Pucha* (Fuck) where is this? Well, I would suppose this is one of the symposium gatherings, post-EDSA? I have no memory. Who is this? Is this Dean Malay⁷⁷? Oh my God. Where is this?" Boni looked at the photo even

⁷⁷ Armando J. Malay was a journalist, professor and former Dean of students at the University of the Philippines in the 1970's. In 1981, he started contributing to the *We Forum* newspaper and in the following year, he was arrested together with the other staff of *We Forum*, including the owner and editor, Joe Burgos. Upon his release, he continued his human rights advocacy and became the founding chair of *Kapatid*, a group that helped political detainees. He died in 2003, and his name is now inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (Monuments to the Heroes). For more information, see <http://www.bantayog.org/malay-armando-j/>.

closer as he tried to find cues that would make him recall the particular event he was in. “This might be one of the activities of SELDA. It’s a tradition that we end our gatherings with arms held together as we sing songs and chant slogans.”

Boni first thought that this event took place after the EDSA Revolution in 1986, because SELDA was founded some time before the People Power Revolution⁷⁸. He also held an impression that it was only ‘post-EDSA’ that they could have group photos like this. “It’s very rare to have photographs of ourselves during those times (Marcos regime). It’s our standing policy to dispose of the records – especially those in the underground to avoid capture,” explained Boni. Aside from recognizing Dean Malay and the organization’s tradition of holding hands as they sing songs, he also noticed his physical appearance in the photograph. Boni jokingly said, “I still had hair! And look, I was so fat!” We both laughed as Boni continued to make fun of how he looked before. But his life as a young activist during the Marcos regime was far from being comical. Boni started to recount his past from being a student from the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman, to his arrest and torture. “I was a very serious student,” Boni narrated, “I was taking up Political Science and I took advanced courses so I could finish my degree in three years instead of four. I really wanted to enter law school and become a lawyer as soon as possible.” He then became politicized after listening to the speeches delivered by student leaders in UP, “At first my interests were purely academic. The student leaders were talking about social and political issues like the Vietnam war, etc.” Boni also learned from his professors who displayed progressive

⁷⁸ According to the official website of SELDA, the organization was founded on December 4, 1984, while its current chair, Ms. Marie Hilao-Enriquez, said that SELDA was formed in 1985. Based on the organization’s pamphlet, “Chronology of Events Related to the Human Rights Class Action Suit Against Marcos (1985-2013),” SELDA was organized by former political detainees of martial law in the early 1985 upon the initiative of Fidel Agcaoili, Julieta de Lima-Sison, and Romeo Candazo. On May 25, 1986, SELDA was formally launched as an organization. It was also around this time that an American lawyer named Robert Swift offered his services to the SELDA Executive Board to help the victims in filing a class action suit against Marcos in the US. Marcos and his family fled to Hawaii after the EDSA Revolution in February 1986.

views and this further strengthened his belief of going against the repressive government. "I felt I had to be part of the mass movement," said Boni, "I felt that my sentiments were shared by many of the serious students, too. And that was it, before I knew it I was not only 'the ones at the sidelines', I was already there in the middle. If they threw at us, we threw back. Until one day, I got clubbed by the police. It was my first-hand experience of the lectures we had on Fascism."

While there were already speculations that Marcos would put the country under martial rule, Boni continued being an activist, left the university and went underground prior to the suspension of writ of habeas corpus in August 1971. "When you join the underground, you are abandoning your legal identity. We come up with fictitious IDs, rent houses and move from one place to another to avoid arrest," Boni said, clarifying that they were also finding and providing houses for other members of the underground. Since he was also in charge of underground publications, he added that measures had to be taken so that the neighbors would not hear the sound of their typewriters and mimeograph machines.

After three years of hiding and persistent dissident work, Boni was caught by the military together with his comrades staying in the same underground house. "I was arrested in 1974 – I can't remember if it was the nighttime of April 24 or 25," narrated Boni, "There were three of us – the journalist Jose 'Pete' Lacaba and Dolores Stephens-Feria, an American and English teacher in UP." They heard loud shouting outside the house, ordering them to open the door. It was Pete who opened the door and the military barged in. "It was already torture right there and then," Boni recalled. "I went out of my room and saw Pete already on his knees." Memories of Boni's arrest and agony came rushing back to him:

I was also commanded to go down on my knees, so I did. And there it was – nonstop punching and kicking. The military ransacked the

house, looked for documents, and scoured for money and items that they could take... At that time, I was a newlywed. So we had gifts, wedding gifts; fabrics that were yet to be opened. They had taken all of them and did not account these things in the inventory of the items confiscated from the house. They also took all the money that was packed in envelopes. Good thing, my wife was not in the house. She was staying in another underground house. We were then brought to [Camp] Crame... They [the soldiers] were boasting that it was martial law and although they were not directly saying it, they created an impression that, '*Kami 'yong may power ng buhay at kamatayan...*' (We [military] have the power over life and death). I think their aim was to shock and dehumanize us. I was just seated in a corner, and whenever a soldier would pass by and my gaze would meet his which he wouldn't like, he'd punch me.

The succeeding accounts do not describe Boni's photograph anymore. His stories transcend the framed elements of the photographs. These are not just the stories behind the actual creation of the image, but these are the stories leading to the event and the 'younger' Boni Ilagan captured in the photograph. He retold his memories of suffering in the hands of the military as evoked by the image of his younger self and the photograph's context involving SELDA and fellow activists and political detainees. Boni then continued describing the brutalities he went through:

I was interrogated by the military. They called it tactical interrogation. I remember at least four or five [torture methods] that were used on me. They would press a hot iron on my sole. They would put bullets between my fingers and press on them. For each question that I had refused to answer would lead them to press my fingers together and I could feel my bones breaking. Then there was what they called '*San Juanico*⁷⁹ Bridge'. You would be lying in mid-air, the neck would be supported by a block and then another block at the feet. While in that position, we were forced to answer questions. Pete was also subjected to San Juanico Bridge. If they didn't like our answer, they'd punch us in the stomach, and we would fall to the floor. Then we would be back in that hanging position, they would ask question and punch us again in the stomach. That went on... over and over until I'd scream, '*Di ko na kaya! Di ko na kaya!*' (I can't take it anymore! I can't take it anymore!) Another was when I was ordered to stretch my legs and they would hit them with an empty softdrinks [bottle]. At first it wasn't that painful and I thought, '*Ah, okay lang 'to. Kaya ko 'to* (Ah, this is okay. This is bearable).' Until it lasted for several hours, the military took turns hitting me with a bottle. Gradually, I felt excruciating pain. My pants couldn't properly

⁷⁹ Popularly known to be the longest bridge in the Philippines. It was built during the Marcos regime. It connects the island of Samar to Leyte, former First Lady Imelda Marcos' hometown.

fit anymore since my legs had become so swollen. My legs turned purple, like *lechon*⁸⁰. Days after that, I urinated blood... And then one time, in another interrogation, they inserted a piece of *walis tingting* [a stick broom] inside my penis.

For two years, Boni was detained in Camp Crame for interrogation. In between tactical interrogations, he was forced to decode some underground documents and divulge the names of the people in the photographs from military intelligence. Boni said that he did not give out any information, "I don't know if it's because of pride? Or shame? I just kept thinking about the people under me in the movement who did not confess, so why should I?" He also explained that the first 48 hours of an arrest was the most crucial for them, since the military would do tactical interrogations and at the same time hunt down the other members of the movement:

Those were the hardest. The first twenty, first forty-eight hours. That was the time when they wanted us to spill the beans. They know that they need to get some information within forty-eight hours so they could catch up with our colleagues. We had this understanding that if we go missing and they can't locate us for twenty-four to forty-eight hours then they should abandon whatever position they are holed-up in. It's known that a lot of times that those caught give up information since they can't take the torture. So within that time period they guide the soldiers to the underground houses, that's when we get caught. We call that being *sunog* (burned). We really got burned. One raided underground house leads to another raided underground house and so on. All because someone talks when they can't take it (the torture) anymore.

Like Boni, another ex-detainee Rodolfo Benosa (the man in Figure 5.4)⁸¹ relived the torture he went through during tactical interrogation. "All I was able to say was 'Sir, just get it over with and kill me. Just don't drag my family into this.' That's all I could think of," Rodolfo said. But unlike Boni who stayed in the

⁸⁰ Roasted pork dish.

⁸¹ This photo taken by Lito Ocampo is also in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.6).

interrogation facility in Camp Crame for two years, Rodolfo was held in different safe houses. Rodolfo recalled that he was held in Pasay, either at the Nichols Air Force Base (or Villamor Air Force Base), at the Transient Officers Quarters, Camp Crame, or at Camp Aguinaldo. When he and the others were transferred to Bicutan, they were able to file a Writ of Habeas Corpus with the help of a number of nuns and lawyers of FLAG (Free Legal Assistance Group)⁸². "He thought he was going to die," Celina said casually, trying to lighten the recollection. "No," said Rodolfo, "While I was in interrogation, I experienced a lot of pain. They tried to make me admit things. They asked, 'Who are your accomplices?', 'Where do you meet?' They would show me photographs and ask, 'Who are these people?' Sometimes I didn't even know who they were referring to. I didn't identify or point to anyone. Why should I?" Because no information could be extracted from Rodolfo, "The torturers would respond to that by beating him up more," explained Celina.

Rodolfo and Celina had trouble identifying the exact dates when asked to recall events regarding the detention as well as in describing the photograph that was shown to them (Figure 5.4). When remembering, they also used historical turning points like Ninoy Aquino's assassination in 1983, and Cory Aquino's ascendancy to the presidency in 1986 as memory cues. "This was probably in 1983," said Celina after trying to recall the date of the photo in relation to Ninoy's death. "This was inside Bicutan," noted Rodolfo, "The t-shirt I was wearing was printed by us, we did that for income, for fund raising. Students bought that shirt, the nuns also sold them. Noel Etabag, another political detainee who was with me in Bicutan, designed that shirt.

⁸² Founded in 1974 by Jose W. Diokno, Lorenzo Tañada Sr., and Joker Arroyo, FLAG is an organization of human rights lawyers in the Philippines. For more information about FLAG, visit <http://flagfaqs.blogspot.sg>.

"This one, that's where we slept,' explained Rodolfo as he pointed to what appeared to be his bed, "Underneath the *tarima* (a low bench or platform) were boxes of our clothes. During this moment, some prisoners covered themselves in blankets. They're lying down and hungry. We were fasting. Why? So, we would be set free. No charges were filed against us. We wanted all the workers freed. We fasted for some time. We lifted the fast near Christmas time. We ate small portions at night, we shouldn't die. If we did then the military would win. We wanted the international media and the world to be aware of our plight and that all political prisoners be freed."

Rodolfo recalled that it was Lito Ocampo who was holding the camera and photographing him. He also attested to what Ocampo said that, according to Joe Burgos of *Malaya* and *We Forum*, this photo was a (media and reader) favorite. Celeng recalled that Rodolfo was a favorite as a subject because he had a large family (four kids) and that resonated with the media and the readers. "But I wasn't subversive," claimed Rodolfo, "I got to know more when I was captured. Because day-in and day-out that was all we talked about inside the prison. There were teach-ins inside, I was there with (Fidel) Agcaoilli and Satur Ocampo, how can you not learn?" Celeng seconded, "He eventually learned a lot about being a subversive while incarcerated."

When he was organizing union activities, Rodolfo thought that he was not doing anything unlawful because he just wanted the workers like him to provide for their families. "We were asleep at our rented house in Baesa, near the factory," said Rodolfo, while looking at the photograph and recalling the events leading up to his arrest, "It was nearly dawn when they [military] barged in." Celeng then

continued, "It was on February 27, 1982. It was early dawn, around two o'clock. They were knocking on doors. They first knocked on the doors of our neighbors. It was like (the current administration's Oplan) *Tokhang*⁸³ (initiative). They finally reached our door which was at the end of the row of apartments. I was the one who answered the door." They already sensed that Rodolfo was the target, so Celina answered the door. "Who is it?" Celina remembered asking as she peeked through the window, "They were men with long guns. They were not in uniform, only in civilian clothes. They replied that they were the military." Celina continued to narrate the events of Rodolfo's arrest:

'What is this about?' I asked.

'We're looking for criminal elements,' One of the men replied.

'There are no criminals here. We're not criminals.' I said, and my children were already crying. The men were trying to force open our door.

'Do you have a search warrant?' I asked, 'I'll let you in if you have a search warrant.'

'No, we don't have or need a search warrant.' They explained, probably because it was martial law though they didn't elaborate.

'Look, we already gained entry to the other houses around you.'

'No, I won't let you in.' I said vehemently, 'You have guns and you don't have a search warrant. It's two o'clock in the morning and you are trying to break in to our house. Who are you anyway? Where do you come from?'

They were forcing their way through so I opened the window, 'Here, take a look.'

'Are you harboring criminal elements?' one of them asked.

'No! My children. they're already crying. What do you want?'

'If you're not hiding anything or anyone then open the door!'

Then I heard the man cock his gun.

'What are you going to do? Shoot us?' I said angrily.

'We already searched your neighbors' houses.'

'You're making a mistake searching our house without a search warrant. You'll have to break down our door.'

'This woman's stubborn,' I heard the man say to his colleagues, 'If you don't open this door we'll break it down.'

'Okay, but I need proof as to who you are.'

'C'mon, ma'am.' The military man continued, 'Open the door and nothing will happen to you.'

'What are you going to do to me?'

⁸³ President Rodrigo Duterte's war on drugs.

"They were probably a whole squad. Around ten...eleven..." narrated Celina, "I told them I'll call a lawyer but they responded by saying that was not necessary because it was already martial law." Celina said that she was angry and crying at that time. She finally gave in because the kids were crying and very scared. When the door opened, the men went straight inside. They ransacked all the cabinets. Then they saw the pamphlets from the labor union. Celina then recounted what the armed men found inside their house, "'These are subversive documents!' The men shouted, 'Your husband's a member of the NPA!' 'NPA?' I asked the men, 'Aren't they based in the mountains? Are we in a mountainous region right now? And how can you say that my husband's part of the NPA? What's your proof? Those materials are for the labor union at the factory, nothing more. He's home everyday at six in the evening because they have to work overtime. Look, we even have four children, where will we get the money to feed them? Go track NPAs in the mountains, not here.'" The men were unfazed and proceeded to arrest Rodolfo. Celina said that she and her kids were all terrified but she continued to verbally fight the men:

'Why are you arresting him? What's the charge?' I asked.

'Your husband's a member of the NPA.'

'No he's not! He's only a factory worker!' I screamed, 'If he doesn't go to work for a day we won't eat for two... three... days! What he earns is not enough!'

'What if we arrest you instead?' The men mused.

'I dare you,' I said, 'Where are you going to take me?'

'We'll really arrest you!' Then the men started tying Rodolfo's hands using wire and not handcuffs.

'You can't do that!' I was really screaming. 'Wherever you're taking him, we're coming along.'

"In our compound," Celina continued, "Rodolfo was the only one taken. Rodolfo was blindfolded and his hands were bound with wire. In other factory areas like in Novaliches and Valenzuela, there were also other workers. I later found out that those who arrested them were in civilian clothing (just like those who took Rodolfo)." Celina recalled that there were two back up vehicles parked outside, "I didn't see them at first. I only saw them when they dragged Rodolfo out."

They both remembered that Rodolfo was just sitting on the pavement while Celina was arguing with the military. Celina said, "I badgered them with questions. Where were they taking him (Rodolfo)? Who should I coordinate with? Who are they? I asked them these pointblank and pointed out to them that they didn't have nameplates. Their reply was consistent. That was not necessary because it was already martial law."

More stories of military abuse were uncovered. Resembling what happened to Boni, Rodolfo experienced physical and mental torture. Rodolfo recalled:

One week...But that seemed like months. They tortured us day and night, no letting up. Different people would interrogate us. Police... Military... When they interrogate you they had guns. I can't really remember the exact time frames. They try to make you confess things you didn't do. If you don't confess or don't answer they'd beat you up. There was a time my interrogator snuffed out matchsticks and cigarettes in my mouth. What kind of people are these?

Celina detailed the torture methods done to Rodolfo and other prisoners, "They had a colleague who was blindfolded and boarded onto an airplane," Celina continued, "Then they told him to jump. They were threatening him. He eventually fell out of the airplane because he was pushed. As it turned out the plane was only a few feet off the ground. They really weren't going to kill them, they were just (mentally) torturing them, scaring them." Celina shook her head as she went back to describing what the military did to her husband, "They'd douse Rodolfo with ice water, then they would put him in front of an air conditioner. Just like what happened to Danny (Dela Fuente)- we saw them full of bruises. They were able to narrate the abuses to our colleagues." She then turned to Rodolfo, "Good thing they didn't kill you." Rodolfo answered, "That's when I told them to kill me already." As they both looked at Lito Ocampo's photograph of Rodolfo (Figure 5.4) which they

had not seen since 1993⁸⁴, Celing reassuringly said as she gave a cup of water to Rodolfo, "Those were the days... *Wala na 'yun, naninindak lang 'yun!* (They're gone, they were just terrifying you!)" Celing and Rodolfo both ended up teary-eyed with the recollection of the tortures. "It's hard. You have a family and you don't know what is happening to them," said Rodolfo, who was more concerned about his family than himself.

It seemed that compared to Rodolfo, Celing could articulate more the details of Rodolfo's arrest in 1982. I also noticed that Rodolfo was quiet and would occasionally speak and verify some of his recollections with Celing. At 67, Rodolfo had shown signs of failing health and memory. As Rodolfo was still recovering from a stroke, which I only found out during our meeting, I deeply apologized for setting a conversation that led to sad reminiscences. Celing shook her head and replied while smiling, "*Hindi, okay lang* (No, it's okay)." Rodolfo also reacted, "*Okay lang*, (It's okay) it's better if you can speak with Danny. He also knows my life, from the time I was incarcerated and released."

Rodolfo and Danny were arrested just two days apart. "It was February 25, 1982," recalled Danny, "We were labor organizers of the National Federation of Labor. We were caught at the house of one of my co-detainees, a union official of Philflex Wires and Cables. It (the house) was at General Luis St., an apartment rented by the workers in Novaliches." Danny, who survived the beatings, electrocution and Russian roulette in the hands of the military, was one of the plaintiffs in the 1986 class suit filed against Ferdinand Marcos. His own photograph (Figure 5.5) caught him by surprise, "I did not know I was photographed. I was not

⁸⁴ Celing left the Philippines in 1993 to work in Riyadh until 2007.

ready. I was not even wearing a shirt! (chuckles).” Danny looked at his photograph again as well as Rodolfo’s and other detainees’, and calmly said, “That’s martial law. It all comes back when I see things like these, I... I remember. Things come back, you know. I think we had to exert effort (then), those (handicrafts) played a big part so that we wouldn't feel weak, tired, agitated or bored (while in detention).” In this photograph (Figure 5.5), Danny was finishing the frames of these paintings, which would later be sold to raise funds for the prisoners.

“That was when we’re at the Bicutan Rehabilitation Center during the time that we became regular detainees.” Danny proceeded, “When you say 'regular detainee', after interrogations and tortures, it means that the petition for habeas corpus at the Supreme Court has already been filed, hearings had been done, we already had a record at Camp Crame, fingerprints, mug shot, etc. It's merely for formality’s sake, since they've already interrogated us a month or so before. They interrogated us, tortured us, bounced around from place to place. They took us to different locations since our relatives, friends, even the church people, the nuns – they were looking for us. That's why they kept on transferring us. After all that we (bodily) appeared at the Supreme Court on March 16 of 1982, that was the only time they took us to the Bicutan Rehabilitation Center. They called us detainees, but we actually had pending cases filed against us already.” He said that he was charged with violating Republic Act 1700 or the Anti-Subversion Law.⁸⁵ Approved on June

⁸⁵ Republic Act No. 1700 – An Act to Outlaw the Communist Party of the Philippines and Similar Associations, Penalizing Membership Therein, and for Other Purposes. On September 24, 1992, The Anti-Subversion Act was repealed by Republic Act No. 7636. For the full text of Republic Act No. 1700, refer to http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1957/ra_1700_1957.html; and http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1992/ra_7636_1992.html for Republic Act No. 7636. Rebellion or any form of insurrection is still punishable by law according to Section 2 of Republic Act No. 6968, amending Article 134 of the Revised Penal Code: Article 134. Rebellion or insurrection – How committed. – “the crime of rebellion or insurrection is committed by rising and taking arms against the Government for the purpose of removing from the allegiance to said Government or its laws, the territory of the Republic of the Philippines or any part thereof, of any body of land, naval or other armed forces, or depriving the Chief Executive or the Legislature, wholly or partially, of any of their powers or prerogatives.” For the full text, refer to http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1990/ra_6968_1990.html.

10, 1957, this law prohibits and punishes any destabilization activity or organization connected to the Communist Party of the Philippines:

Section 2. The Congress hereby declares the Communist Party of the Philippines to be an organized conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the Republic of the Philippines for the purpose of establishing in the Philippines a totalitarian regime and place the Government under the control and domination of an alien power. *The said party and any other organization having the same purpose and their successors are hereby declared illegal and outlawed* [emphasis added].

Rolando “Balut” Lumagas, on the other hand, was not arrested by the military or police and charged with this crime– but he almost lost his life after being brutally beaten up and shot by the police (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8). His wife, Loida Lumagas, detailed what she remembered during the violent ARTEX strike in 1984 (see Figures 5.6 - 5.8)⁸⁶. Loida has been living in ARTEX, a textile factory compound, since 1979. She was a second-year forestry student in a state university in Tarlac before she became a textile weaver on May 9, 1979 in this factory. Not long thereafter, she married Rolando “Balut” Lumagas, another factory worker, on January 31, 1984. Rolando used to be a workman before becoming a machine mechanic. Her husband was 24 during the ARTEX massacre, and she was 21, “He was chubby back then, now he's quite thin. He pedals a sidecar nowadays, but he just got into an accident a while back.” I did not anticipate at all that the nameless man in Boy Bagwis’ photograph was still alive. However, Loida said that it was difficult to talk to him unless he is drunk.

Loida then narrated her life as a worker who always had to change jobs and was constantly being paid low wages – an indication of the despondent condition of the working class. Loida hopped from weaving job to weaving job. They would

⁸⁶ These photos taken by Boy Bagwis are also in Chapter 4 (Figures 4.2 to 4.4).

only last for five months before being terminated, because they couldn't be employed for six months.⁸⁷ "If you're already employed for five months and they like your performance, they extend your contract, BUT only for a couple of weeks. You can't be extended for a month because, you know, union concerns," she said. "So, all we could do is hop from one factory to another and then find ourselves back in the same factory after some time. We usually made the rounds of three factories then." Loida claimed, "ARTEX was okay, though the pay was rather low." She started as an apprentice receiving 9.75 pesos per day or 58.50 per 6-day work week. She was regularized after 6 months earning 12.50 pesos a day until 1982. The minimum wage at that time was 18 pesos per day⁸⁸. "The wage was really low," she said, referring to their wages prior to 1984 strike, "That was why we went on strike."

Their first strike was in 1982, led by *Bagong Buhay* Labor Union (BBLU) chair, Mr. Antonio Rosales. They went back to work after a few months and launched again another strike in 1984 under the leadership of Mr. Dodong Cortez, who is still the leader of their union up to the present. The union workers were organized and underwent a series of "teach-ins" with the assistance primarily coming from the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* or KMU⁸⁹. They specifically learned the principles of TPMU, which stands for *Tunay, Palaban at Makabayang Unyon* (True, Defiant and Nationalist Union). TPMUs are founded with the help of the KMU. After

⁸⁷ According to the Labor Code of the Philippines, once the probationary period has lapsed, the employees who meet the qualifications shall be regularized. The Labor Code's provision states: Art. 281. Probationary Employment. – Probationary employment shall not exceed six (6) months from the date the employee started working, unless it is covered by an apprenticeship agreement stipulating a longer period. As mandated by law, regular employees are entitled to regular wage and benefits. Many company employers prefer to have more contractual employees who will work for less than six months to save money and to avoid giving benefits and having to deal with the union.

⁸⁸ To see the summary of wage legislations that granted increases in the basic minimum wage from 1951-1981 inside and outside Metro Manila, refer to the Department of Labor and Employment website: https://www.nwpc.dole.gov.ph/pages/statistics/stat_wage%20rates1951-89.html

⁸⁹ Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) or May First Movement Labor Center, a militant group that promotes and protects the workers' rights, was founded in 1980 when the Philippines was still under martial rule. For more information about the activities and local and international affiliations of KMU, visit <http://kilusangmayouno.org>.

the 1984 strike, their wage increased to 44 pesos which was a little above the minimum wage of 37 pesos.

"There were a lot of us then," Loida said, as she began to narrate the events leading up to the incident in the photo, "We had a lot of stage programs. We'd go inside, hold a program, then march outside. We don't have photos anymore, we used to. On April 24, 1984, that's when the strike broke out. We all manned the picket line. I was there too, but I was pregnant at that time." The pregnant Loida continued joining the picket line but was asked by her family members to stay at home instead. "At the picket line I was assigned the task of manning the collection box," Loida explained, "It was a lot of help, a lot of people donated. Workers' unions from other factories affiliated with KMU were some of those we solicited from. My brother-in-law cautioned me about being in the picket line. He was concerned that something might happen to me. Even my sister was pleading with me, '*Manang* (sister), don't go there anymore! Let me continue for you!' she said. So, she took my place. She took over for me and I laid low. I learned a lot from that experience, you realize that when somebody tells you to stop... You can't. We need this. If for example we stop doing this, what's going to happen to us? But, after some thought, I decided to stay at home. Then July 9 happened, the ARTEX massacre."

As Loida was recounting the events leading to the ARTEX massacre where her husband Rolando was shot, she noticed the man in another photo being kicked by the police. "That's Melvin. I think that's him," Loida said, pointing to another protester covering his face (Figure 5.6), "That's Melvin, look at that... They're kicking him. This is at the first gate, no, the second gate. The second gate, because that's the old gate." Loida did not give more details about Melvin since she became more drawn to the next photographs.

"That's Balut," Loida said, looking again at her husband's photograph (Figure 5.7). "See, they stripped him already and shot him," continued Loida, "There was a female who was shot in the jaw. Another one, Nympha Daria? She was shot in the leg, too. So was Efren Tumaliuan. There were a lot of victims." While Loida was trying to recall the names of those who were badly hurt, she uttered, "Damn those police! This is him (Rolando). I know that tree," Loida said, pointing to the police wearing riot gear and to the leaves of a tree, barely visible at the upper right hand corner of the photograph (Figure 5.7). "See that, those are his legs," continued Loida, "This is when he said he had his hands up already and he was already shot. Caliber .45, that's what got him. They were at the picket line, sitting, when they heard someone shout 'FIRE!'"

Loida then recalled the events on the day the photographs were taken. "I was on my way to the province when I asked Balut where he was going, he replied that he was going to lend his support to the ARTEX picket line." Balut joined the picket line along with the other union members and students supporting their protest. "The next morning, my aunt, who was one of the few who had a television in the province, rushed towards me saying she overheard Rolando (Balut)'s name on the news. She said he was shot. I didn't believe her. The next day my fears were confirmed. DZRH, the radio station we were listening to, reported the happenings at ARTEX." Days later, when Balut got home from the hospital, he related to Loida his experiences. He had his hands up already yet the police continued to beat him with truncheons. By this time he had already been shot. They all ran their separate ways and hid in houses. They even hid under the beds, if any of their body parts were visible they would be dragged out into the open.

"Look, there's Balut," said Loida, pointing again to the photographs (Figures 4.7 and 4.8), "Then the police, and there are truncheons. Those are weapons! They have guns and truncheons. The police could also use the truncheons to deflect blows, so they won't be hurt. But these poor people, they'll have to block using their hands. That's still a part of the body that will hurt."

"After he was shot," continued Loida, "They started hitting Balut with truncheons. They (workers) all ran for their lives. They tried to escape. Balut sought refuge at the house of the late Mr. Monteclaro, one of the homeowners near the factory, but the police still caught and beat him. He had a laceration on his head, also on his hands since he turtled up to protect his head. He had to get stitches. Fortunately, the bullet missed his spine, maybe by an inch. Otherwise he would have ended up a paraplegic."

While Loida and I were deep in conversation, a man in a yellow shirt and with graying hair arrived and stood at the door. "Come here, hurry!" Loida shouted, motioning for the man to approach. It was Rolando "Balut" Lumagas – whom I did not expect to see. "Look at this. Do you know who that is?" Loida said in jest while pointing to the photo (Figure 5.8), "Do you remember this? Who's this? Is this you?"

"I can't really remember," said Rolando while looking at the photo for the first time, "My eyes are weak, my sight is starting to fail me." Upon recognizing himself in the photographs (Figures 5.7 and 5.8), "I'm confused. I'm also surprised," said Rolando, "The memories came rushing in. Those police are inhuman. They kept bludgeoning us. We were unarmed, all we had were our hands. If you didn't play dead they wouldn't stop hitting you. "

Rolando began recalling the occurrences leading to his arrest. "The police were chasing me then," narrated Rolando, "I didn't have my shirt on already. I left it in the hands of the police chasing me. If you don't slip out of your shirt, they'd be able to grab on to you more. Then here..." he said, pointing to the photo where he was still standing (Figure 5.7):

They already caught me. Before that I had to jump over a wall to get to the street on the other side. They grabbed me, I stumbled and fell. By that time, I was already shot. They kept on hitting me and I was already dizzy from all the blows. I played dead so they would stop. Then they threw me into the police bus. Some reporters even came and pleaded with them not to take me anymore since I was already injured. They let us be for a while.

Rolando survived the violent strike dispersal, his eyesight may have prevented him from recognizing the other elements or visual details in the photographs – but what stood out were his memories of police brutality and his struggle for survival.

Memories of Coping and Survival

"This looks like an NPA camp," said Mila, describing the photo (Figure 5.9), "I think we had a plenum once. A meeting of the regional, of the Mindanao commission, Mindanao regional committee. It looked like that..." She pointed to a raised platform in what looked like a makeshift shelter in the woods (Figure 5.9), "You can lie down there. This one, this platform, you can lie down there. It had a mezzanine... And then inside, that's a long hall, it's big. It had a desk at the middle, and then the benches were on the sides. That's where meetings were held. This was near the river, no, more like a stream. It was a bit of a walk so you had to go down the mountainside to get water then haul it up again. But look, the stream here looks dirty, contaminated. It's not flowing anymore. You can't drink from it."

Mila continued examining Alex Baluyut's photos. She looked at another photo (Figure 5.10) and said, "Oh, they must be having a lecture, because they're lined up. That's not a meeting, it's a lecture. They're not facing each other, if they're facing each other, it's a meeting. The little kids, those are their children. If the parents, you know, want to stay together and think they can bring up their child... I think they're used to it. They must be from the masses around there."

"These are mostly peasants, they saw that the NPA provided solutions to their problems and so they really, you know, they were excited about it. Maybe psychologically or economically, there's also the element of being hard up with their situation in life. So, joining up would be beneficial. You join a group, you go around, you're able to see places and then you're able to eat because anyone chips in and... you don't get hungry like if you stay with your family. They're really hard up. So, I think there was an element like that."

"They need those," said Mila, referring to the guns in the photo (Figure 5.10), "To defend themselves. And I would think they trained their young kids also, you know, anytime you'll need to flee. So, what if something happened to the parents or to the big ones? Only the little ones will remain. They must know since they watched their parents, and they would be curious. You know, it can't be avoided." Mila continued and identified the elements that captured her attention, "There must have been someone here who's lecturing. They're facing one way. Branches of trees, bamboo laid on the ground... No mattresses. Improvised all the way. It had really been difficult for me and especially to lie down." Mila continued contextualizing the photographs based on her experience when she had to visit some NPA camps in Mindanao as part of her work.

"They're cooking? They're cooking or what?" asked Mila, referring to the next photo (Figure 5.11). She then said, "Yeah, they must be cooking. They seem to be getting soup or something. Yeah, it looks like a big pot. And they're going to eat." Mila explained the kind of food that the young guerillas usually ate, "You know, you really need more soup in the dishes because of the scarcity of resources. You can't buy as much for a platoon... or might even for a battalion. That's boiled root crops, and assorted veggies gathered from around there."

"You have to be very healthy. Yeah, so that's why they're young and healthy. And the peasants can really make it. Only a few from the middle class can make it, otherwise you have to be assigned in the urban areas," Mila related this situation to her own experience as someone from the middle class who was also assigned to the urban areas. "They're very young," Mila continued, "I think about eighteen years old, something like that. This one (second from left) might be a little older, about twenties. They're very close. The fact that you have to fight together is a very strong factor."

Comradery and trust are crucial in the massive recruitment and continued existence of the revolutionary movement. Mila explained, "At one point in Mindanao, they really increased it to company size. Let's say three platoons would form a company, so that's twenty-one times three. That's big, more than sixty to one hundred. The problem with that is to maintain it because you need food. You need food three times a day and where do you get it? Another down side to this is that the bigger you are means you're an easier target." She then elaborated the perils of getting more people to join the NPA. "It was Rolly Kintanar who tried it," said Mila, referring to large-scale recruitment for the NPA, "And it was because of that that they became vulnerable, they were infiltrated. The expansion was quick, I

think, I don't know when it started, I wasn't there already. They used the methods of organizing that I had formulated – the large-scale approach – you form, you teach them how to organize in a big lecture, and people pick it up right away since it employs very simple methods. It's not one-on-one." Mila stressed that approach she used in organizing communities in the urban areas should not have been appropriated in recruiting members for the armed movement. She clarified, "In 1974, the underground was very thin. Everybody knew everyone else. So, what is it for if you don't have a mass movement? So, I started with a mass movement, let's say, hold rallies. Now, from the rallies you see who you could trust. And then you form a core. And then the core forms other cores. And so, they used that principle for the armed struggle. That's what started the problem... They tried that approach in the urban areas, they formed armed units of urban poor. That's why... they were, what do you call it? They were infiltrated. They recruited and soldiers were easily planted – planted agents infiltrated the recruits. They didn't know, because things happened too fast, there was no chance to filter. I recruited but I never meant to arm them. They (NPA) recruited knowing recruitment could be fast tracked, but they failed to realize the consequences."

Like the other participants of this study, Mila also recognized some cues such as people, things, and place that facilitated her recollection and narration of stories. "They had long hair," Mila said, commenting on the NPA members' appearance, "During martial law, Marcos insisted on close cropped hair. Those with long hair were arrested. It's one of his oppressive measures. It was enforced more in Metro Manila, I don't think they could enforce it in the provinces." In the next photo, she seemed to recognize a familiar face (Figure 5.12).

"This one looks like my husband," said Mila as she thought that the man in the middle was his husband, Magtanggol Roque. "But it's a bit blurred," Mila said while closely looking at the photo (Figure 5.12), "And he's thin here. I'm not really sure, but it's possible. One of his eyes is small, like my husband's. But here he's sunburnt and looks thinner and therefore taller. I'm unsure because his shoulders should be broader. It might be him or not. Or it might be someone who just looks like him. What year is this? It might be before he died. Can you ask Alex? Just in case this is him, can you give me a copy of this?"⁹⁰

It was the first time that Mila saw these photographs. She affirmed that she was not feeling down or holding any grudge against the Marcoses and her party (Communist Party of the Philippines). "Distance," said Mila as she expressed her feelings towards these photographs, "I sense distance. Objectivity, even if my husband is there. Maybe Alex Baluyut can confirm if it was my husband. It's a distant memory. I wouldn't want to go through it again. First, I'm too old. And second, I never really, you know, I never really relished going there. I would go there because of business, you know, because I have to. I have to attend...a meeting or what."

Mila's stories of her coping and survival while being immersed in the underground work reveal a glimpse of the ideologies and struggles of and within the movement. Besides the risk of being incarcerated or killed, Mila remembered how she and her husband had to be separated from each other for security reasons – and from their son who was born shortly after they decided to go underground in

⁹⁰ In Chapter 4, Alex Baluyut mentioned that the man in the middle was Habagat (his alias), who was with the education arm in charge of propaganda, and a good friend of his. After my conversation with Mila, I confirmed with Alex in an online conversation via Facebook the identity of this man, and he said that it was impossible that the man was Magtanggol. I then told Mila that this was not a photograph of her husband.

1971. "We moved from house to house," Mila explained that they spent thirteen years underground, "Daily, every day. Different houses. I have a son... He was only one and a half months then so he got sick (bronchopneumonia). So, I had to leave him with my mother. You know in the hospital, I was so afraid. I couldn't stand seeing him with IV needles in the foot. I couldn't stand it... Anyway, and then I had to go back and because we were wanted (by authorities), I think my husband called my mother to get the baby from the hospital. And then I cried for five months – non-stop day and night. It was like having post-partum. This was in 1972."

Mila was completely torn between her role as a mother and member of the movement. She narrated, "My husband said 'He's (their son) going to die if he stays with us. It's better if he stays with your mom. Remember, you grew up with her. She will take care of him well. So, let's just work for a better society for him.' I had to stop. I'd dry up my tears throughout...five months. It was hard. For the movement. I couldn't...but then you know, there's a conflict. I had to get over it and then I had to forget that I have a son." Holding onto the principles of her party, Mila left her son with her mother and continued her work in the underground. "I organized the sectors," she said, detailing her duties as the head of the National United Front of the Communist Party of the Philippines, "The doctors, health, teachers, cultural workers and all of that. I wasn't in the armed movement. When we got to Mindanao, it was my husband who joined that, so we were separated." Mila and her husband had to endure being away from each other. "The first time we saw each other again was thirteen months," related Mila, "The second time was twelve months. The third time was... You get the picture... One year... We lived separately because I was needed in the urban world, and he was needed in the countryside. It would be dangerous if we're together at work. The city is so small.

We would have been caught right away. I was in Davao in Mindanao from 1974 to 1979. So, I stayed there for five years."

Mila already saw the disjoint in the party's ideology in 1980 when she started being an alternate candidate member for the central committee. The chairman then was not Jose Maria Sison⁹¹, but Rodolfo Salas. Mila explained, "Then Rodolfo said, 'It seems there's no one we can trust anymore.' The only ones left to trust are the lowest of the peasant workers. In other words, there are three layers of peasant workers: the poor peasants, the middle peasants, and the rich peasants. The rich peasants can't be trusted because they're the national bourgeoisie of the countryside. Same with the middle peasants, they can't be trusted because they're the bourgeoisie of the countryside. So, the poorest of the poor peasants are the only ones you can trust. Only them... The rest are enemies. So, as I was sitting there in that room, I was thinking. So, he wanted a cloak and dagger revolution. That had a bearing on what he said to me later: 'That's their fight, not ours.'" Mila, despite holding an important position in the party, could not simply accept this principle. "In 1983, right after Ninoy's (Aquino) assassination," continued Mila, "I didn't agree with their position; the chairman told me, 'That's their fight, not ours.' So, I was the head of the National United Front Commission, I said to myself, 'How do you forge a united front if you don't even see this momentous event as something that you should own?'"

Slowly, Mila was increasingly becoming dissatisfied. "At that point, I saw the changes that Marcos had done to the Philippine society already. There was now a bigger middle class. Slowly but surely, there was a bigger middle class. The

⁹¹ Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, was arrested in 1977. After the Marcos regime ended, he went into exile in Netherlands and is currently residing there. His latest commentaries and interviews are posted in his website <https://josemariasison.org>.

provision of land reform exerted a lot pressure on Marcos. But the land confiscations by Marcos of the, you know, the lands of the landlords led to massive displacement of peasants. And because of the massive displacement of peasants, they have to get and look for cash wages. And so, release them from the bondage to the land but then they float around without jobs."

Mila continued, "I couldn't agree with his, with their analysis of Philippine society anymore. Philippine society was changing. Another one was, they were so angry with the 'hacendero'⁹², ruling class, and I saw that because of what Marcos did, the ruling class was split. There's a part of the ruling class that's angry with Marcos and actually became nationalist, patriotic and all of that. They couldn't see that. To them if you're part of the ruling class, you're the enemy. So that's why they didn't want any alliance. You know, the alliance that they want is that they serve as the vanguard, everyone else just follows like sheep. These are not sheep."

Mila resigned from the party in 1984. "I had already surfaced but under an assumed name," Mila narrated, "I was working for St. Joseph's College, under an assumed name, another name because I knew I would be arrested immediately if I use my real name. So, I worked there, and then I was not underground anymore, I had cut off my ties (with the communist party). I wrote them a letter of resignation from my position... Because I really did not agree with them. " Mila filed her resignation and then decided to surface and live a normal life. "They tried," Mila said, referring to the CPP's efforts to woo her back, "They asked, they sent me a secret letter, a small secret letter... Saying they wanted me, they wanted to talk and so they wanted to set an appointment. So, I ignored it because I was already

⁹² Rich farm owners or landlords

determined not to come back. I didn't want to talk anymore because of me losing trust in them. If I showed up to that meeting they might just gun me down." The revolutionary united front of CPP, National Democratic (ND) movement, peaked during the first half of the 1980's wherein guerilla zones were strategically formed in mountainous areas of the country (Quimpo, 2008). The ND, however, weakened in the late 1980's as the membership declined because of numerous resignations due to the various contentions within the party, and anti-infiltration campaigns in which hundreds of cadres, guerillas, and activists suspected of being government spies were tortured and executed (Abinales, 1996; Quimpo, 2008).

In her recollections and stories associated with the photographs, Mila showed her courage and will to live. "While I was growing up, my mother would tell everyone 'Mila's not afraid of the dark.' Yeah, and so I think, you know, that went into my head and so... I am not afraid. I don't have the normal fear of normal people. Although I do get scared and anxious, but it's quite different (from fear)," Mila said as she began sharing the memories of her life as an activist who was in the underground for thirteen years. She briefly recounted the details of her arrest and imprisonment, "My husband died in 1981, it was a raid on a house in Skyline Subdivision (in Davao City). I was arrested in 1984, months after I left the movement. The government had been looking for me but wasn't able to find me easily. Because well, maybe I was blessed. Maybe... maybe... You know, we always almost got arrested. Many times we know there's a shot in the air and everything, but no. I come out unscathed." Although Mila was not physically tortured, she was tormented psychologically. "They'll wake you up in the middle of the night," recounted Mila of her detention, "And then they will interrogate you and then... That's it. How many? One and a half months of being in a cell so small with cramped

walls. At the end of which, I ended up crying... I knew how my friends were tortured."

The photographs evoked Mila's knowledge and memories of the NPA in Mindanao, besieged by struggles for individual and collective survival, and conflicts outside and within the movement. Mila described and identified with the photographs based on what she knew and underwent while she was still underground. Members of the revolutionary movement have to protect themselves, adhere to the party's principles, and ensure the movement's survival. On a personal level, Mila survived by holding on to the principles of the party and to what her husband said about building a better society for their son. There were, however, three "conflicts" she could not fully resolve – political conflict with the government (because of the Marcos regime), internal conflict as a mother (who did not want to abandon her child), and conflict within the movement (because of principles). She reached her turning points three-fold as well: 1. when it was indicated that involvement of the party would only be in the form of an alliance with the poorest of the poor peasants (and not with the middle-class, the driving force during the EDSA People Power Revolution that deposed Marcos dictatorship); 2. acting on Ninoy Aquino's assassination and deciding on whether they will side with Cory (which the movement believed was not their fight); and 3. massive recruitment to the NPA using strategies she developed for recruitment of non-combatants. The last action in her efforts to cope and survive was to leave the movement, but be involved in non-governmental organizations that help people devastated by disasters, and never look back.

Boni and Danny, on the other hand, stayed and kept their faith in the movement and their comrades. "There was a confusion on how to define the

political situation,” said Boni, clarifying and stating his stance on the disagreement within the movement, “On whether we would collaborate with the Cory Aquino regime and to what extent... That was the real debate. But what was certain to me was that, during those times, there was a need to continue the human rights movement since there was no arguing that there were victims that needed justice.” He also added, “I remember myself that there was no turning back for me. When I was released in '76 and when I returned to UP to continue my studies, I had a choice to keep quiet; but I did not because, at the back of my mind, there was the memory of my sister, and the memory of my colleagues.” Boni’s sister, Rizalina Ilagan⁹³, a student of University of the Philippines (UP) Los Baños, was part of the Southern Tagalog underground press *Kalatas*⁹⁴. She was arrested and never heard from again. As far as they knew, she was arrested near the vicinity of the Makati Medical Center⁹⁵ around the time that she was supposed to be meeting her older brother Boni. Her body was never found. Boni's parents were broken-hearted, but they knew that they could not do anything about it. Boni, however, decided to continue the fight.

Boni was glad to remember and know that he and his comrades survived the ordeals they went through to fight the dictatorial government and protect their comrades. Although many people close to him died, including his sister, death was the least of his concerns. He was, however, afraid of torture and the possibility of succumbing to torture and giving up valuable information. During tactical interrogations, when asked to identify people in photographs presented to him by

⁹³ A consistent honor student, writer, and theater director, Rizalina joined a local chapter of *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth, a progressive youth group), and was abducted by the military in 1977. She was arrested with Jessica Sales and Cristina Catalla, both activists from UP Los Baños. They were all never found. Rizalina’s name is now inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (Monuments to the Heroes). Her short biography can be found at <http://www.bantayog.org/ilagan-rizalina-p/>.

⁹⁴ Tagalog for message.

⁹⁵ Makati Medical Center (MMC) is one of the biggest private hospitals in Metro Manila.

the military, Boni found it easy to deny people who he really did not know; what was hard and more painful was denying his knowledge of people he truly knew. "It's so painful. Sometimes I wished I would just pass out, so that they would stop beating me," said Boni, "then I could also take some rest." After some time, the military slowly became more lenient towards them; they listened to the detainees' requests, allowed them to listen to the radio and even hold hunger strikes. However, these were only separate instances because as Boni narrated, "There were really times that the torture was unbearable. I remember they were celebrating the anniversary of the Philippine Constabulary. There were feasts and music for the military and police. And when the night fell, when the soldiers got drunk, they would open the cells and beat the prisoners, as they please."

Boni endured being detained for two years in Camp Crame. He was released through the help of his mother and cousin. His mother found out how he was brutally beaten when she visited him in Camp Crame. Since visiting time was really limited, Boni, upon seeing his mother standing a few meters away, immediately unzipped and dropped his pants for his mother to see his badly bruised and battered thighs and legs. His mother, despite lacking connection with the government and military, looked for ways for Boni to be immediately released. "Ah, this is a good story," Boni smiled as he recounted his release, "We have a cousin who was a soothsayer. She was always right with her predictions. One time, there was a family member or relative of General Ver⁹⁶. That person arrived at our home in Los Baños and looked as if he had a cross to bear, but I couldn't exactly remember what it was about. To cut it short, my cousin successfully helped him through fortune-telling. The problem was solved. So, when Ver's relative asked my cousin

⁹⁶ General Fabian Ver was the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and known to be the most loyal military man of President Marcos.

how they could pay her back, my cousin took that opportunity to tell them about my case. And that was it. I was released. I was really surprised since my mother never had any connections.” He also recalled how his friend, Pete Lacaba, was released. He said that Nick Joaquin, an award-winning writer, refused to accept the honor of becoming a National Artist⁹⁷ for Literature in 1976 unless his friend Pete would be freed. Because of this request, Pete Lacaba was released from Camp Crame.

Danny also appreciated his comrades and the people who supported their cause. “I was released on February 25, 1986, exactly four years after my arrest,” narrated Danny, “It was the result of the EDSA People Power Revolution. I am thankful to the millions of Filipinos who marched in EDSA during the People Power Uprising.” He considered their life inside the prison and the activities done by different groups and human rights organizations as community work that supported the political detainees. “These helped us cope,” said Danny, referring to the handicrafts that made them earn a little income and lessened their boredom and anxiety. “I was in-charge of the production, like a manager. Aside from paintings, we also produced necklaces out of *bulalo* (cow bones). All our works and samples were compiled in a pamphlet,” Danny explained. They sold their handicrafts, through the organizations that helped them such as the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines (AMRSP) and Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP)⁹⁸. Their earnings, he recalled, were for their families, for

⁹⁷ The *Orden ng Pambansang Alagad ng Sining* (Order of the National Artists) was inaugurated under the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos in 1972. This is the highest recognition given to Filipino artists. Nick Joaquin was the second National Artist for Literature in the history of Philippine arts. To see the other National Artists, visit <http://ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/culture-profile/national-artists-of-the-philippines/>.

⁹⁸ Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP) was founded by the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines (AMRSP) in 1974 to support the victims of the Marcos regime. The AMRSP is a group of religious and church workers whose mission includes fighting injustices and helping the poor. To know more about AMRSP and their mission work and partners, visit <http://www.amrsp.ph>. TFDP then facilitated the formation of other human rights organizations such as the *Families of Involuntary Disappearance* (FIND), *Society of Ex-Detainees Against Arrest* (SELDA), *KAPATID*, Filipino term for sibling, an organization of families of political prisoners, and

their needs inside the prison, and sometimes for treating the prison guards to food or beer so that they would go easy on them.

Family members, friends, and sympathizers indeed played a big role in the coping and survival of the political detainees and other victims of hostility. “Even if it was hard for me to bring with me our four children (to where we could find him)... We looked for him (when he was taken),” Celina narrated, “I brought along all our kids, all four of them. We searched everywhere (just to visit him). At the camp they’d tell us to wait, then we’d wait from morning till evening just to see him. Because they were transferring my husband from one camp to another. Sometimes we’d wait at Camp Crame, sometimes at Camp Aguinaldo. I’d let the kids run around at the captain’s office where we waited just to mess with them. It was hard for all of us, but I wanted him freed... Fight!” Celina said. She recalled that there were rallies and mobilizations organized by organizations helping the political detainees such as Task Force Detainees (TFDP) and Families of Involuntary Disappearances (FIND).

“That was me,” Celina pointed to a lady at the right side of the photograph (Figure 5.13), “I was carrying my youngest child. Our children – Araceli, Irene, Roderick, and Jorge– I brought them with me. It was so difficult, it was almost Christmas and my husband was in prison.” Celina did everything she could to free her husband from prison. Rodolfo said, “They consulted with the nuns. They networked with people who could help in our release. They even consulted with people in power or in high positions.” Rodolfo was finally released in 1985 after Celina bailed him out for sixteen thousand pesos. “We did not have any money,”

Mothers and Relatives Against Tyranny and Oppression (MATRYR). For more information about TFDP, see <http://tfdp.net>.

Celing clarified, "We raised funds from friends, and some donations from rich personalities. The nuns helped us. They would hold symposia and sometimes there were people who would give money to our children. We raised funds for other prisoners, too. They were twenty-three, so that's sixteen thousand pesos for each."

Rolando and Loida also received help from their family, non-governmental organizations, and concerned individuals. In the heat of the ARTEX strike dispersal, Rolando recounted that he and his co-strikers were hoping to receive help so that they could stay alive:

We were fearful as to what they would do to us. They [the police] might just salvage us. We were hoping some of our colleagues would follow us just to make sure no harm would happen to us. Good thing the nuns did not let us out of their sight. They eventually got us from police custody and hid us from them. They brought us to the hospital but a lot of police were there too. Even though we were injured they were there to cart us away. I really think they planned to salvage us. Which was why the nuns made sure they couldn't get us. The nuns had us patched up.

Rolando believed he was on the watch list by the police, so that they made an appearance at the St. Joseph's Hospital. He had just been operated on and was in the recovery room when he noticed uniformed police along the hallways. They reasoned that unidentified elements were out to abduct him, but the vigilant nuns stood guard as well to prevent that from happening. Balut returned home on August 23, 1984. Balut's family and relatives also helped him survive the incident, even though most of them disagreed with their political stance and activities. "We were living with my sister-in-law back then," narrated Loida, "She helped Balut. She even washed his clothes, his pants... They were soaked in his blood. She was actually very angry, she even questioned what benefits we derive from being part of a union. Well, what does she know, so we just kept our mouths shut. Even if we tried to reason out, she wouldn't be able to understand." There were many student activists from different universities in Manila who were also there in the strike and picket

line to show support to the ARTEX workers. After the violent dispersal, the students remained helpful to the workers. "Since I was pregnant during the incident," Loida continued, explaining the aftermath of the vicious strike dispersal, "We received baby stuff from students. They gave it through the church when Balut was confined. They provided us with vitamins and mineral water among other things."

Representations of colonial and oppressive command depict traumatic memories which usually omit "alternative perspectives" that could have opened up "liberating, personal, and celebratory ways of remembering landscape" (Corrigall, 2014, p. 329). The provenance's connection with their past may have opened unhealed wounds because of the suffering and hardships they went through, broken dreams and aspirations, and lives lost; but their recollections also enabled them to recognize the value of their life as well as the people who supported and helped them survive. These stories further add to the human dimension of the archives that illuminates the need to listen more. As Ketelaar (2008) puts it, "by ingesting people's stories we make the archive – already a place of memory and mourning – into a place of understanding, of forgiving, of reconciliation" (p.17).

Connection with the Present

Photographs "offer a vehicle by which individuals can see and continue to see until the shock and trauma associated with disbelieving can be worked through" (Zelizer, 2002, p. 699). Aside from representing the marginalized, finding the subjects in the photographs and listening to their stories is also an act of bearing witness to their struggle and survival. Moreover, photographs may have been regarded as vehicles of memory to remind us of our past, but these records also have the capability to transcend time and space with their shifting interpretations, use, and meanings. The subjects' narratives, as elicited through their interaction

with the photographs, also connected them with their current situation that reflected the continuity of their and other people's struggles decades after the lifting of martial law. The martial law photographs did not only reveal the stories of and from the past, but also provided a suggestion of how the persisting issues brought by the regime and country's problems could be realized and addressed.

“After my release in 1976, it took me over a year before I decided to speak up,” Boni said about his choice to finally talk about the abuse and torture he experienced in the hands of the military. He continued, “I did not want to talk about it. But when my sister went missing, I realized that I had to.” There was a point in his life that he felt surprised and uneasy when people would call him by his real name, and not his alias. After staying in the underground for years with concealed identity and then later being tormented and mocked by the military calling him by his real name, hearing his real name and coming out in the public eye was not that simple. “I always get interviewed every September or during anniversaries of martial law. I would ask my colleagues and my friends who were also survivors, *'kayo naman* (it's your turn)', but many of them declined,” said Boni, “It was trauma. Nobody wanted to talk about it. Perhaps they were also ashamed or they're not used to be in front of camera or media.” Boni recounted the story of his cousin who was also arrested during the Marcos regime, “She was raped. It took her a decade before she finally admitted in public that she was raped. I heard from others that she was raped, but I never dared to ask her if it was true.” Boni wished that many would speak up, especially those from his generation that witnessed and lived through the martial law period. “There are only a few of us left,” explained Boni, “Many from my generation already died. They could have articulated their stories.

For example, Monico Atienza⁹⁹. He passed away with no – nothing. No one interviewed or fully documented his stories. And just recently, another one died – Leoncio Co¹⁰⁰. I am now thinking who else could recount their memories of the regime comprehensively. I'm not sure. But there's only a few remaining, I think.”

Aside from the physical and psychological trauma, Rodolfo was left with nothing but desire to secure the life and safety of his family. Rodolfo explained:

First, you think about how you were caught, how you were tortured. When you get caught and experience torture and stay jailed for years, you fight. If you have a family you think about how they would fend for themselves. That thought bothers you every night. Then you relive everything, how you are tortured, every day you are at a detention center. You don't have a job. No one will take you in after all of it. (Their thinking is) If they take you in again in the factory... You'll organize another (union)...

Celing also felt that they were the most pitiful victims of martial law, as their struggle continued even after Rodolfo's release and martial law had ended, “It still (feels) fresh. That (seems to be) the consequence of what happened. No matter what we do, it doesn't go away. None of our kids finished their studies... Not even one. It's so hard. He had to resign. He actually only got three thousand pesos in separation pay – that's from 1962-82.” Celing continued, “If you were in our place, you'd really have bad feelings / sentiments about it too. Look at us. We're already old. At our age, we still need to work to survive. We're not sure how long we could

⁹⁹ One of the founding members of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth), and one of the leading student activists in the late 1960's-70's. He was arrested in 1974 and suffered from severe physical and mental torture. He was granted release in 1980 and went back to the University of the Philippines to finish his studies. He later became a faculty member of the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature in UP, and dedicated the remaining years of his life to activism. He died in 2007 after falling into a coma for a year. His name is now inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the Bantayog ng mga Bayani (Monument to the Heroes). His short biography is available at <http://www.bantayog.org/atienza-monico-montenegro/>.

¹⁰⁰ An influential activist, nationalist, ex-political detainee and a good friend of Monico Atienza's, Leoncio Co was also a professor at the UP Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature. He died last August 2016. In a eulogy published in <http://pinoyweekly.org/new/2016/08/sa-parangal-kay-sir-leoncio/>, he and Monico Atienza were likened to an *encyclopedia* of the people's struggle and revolution because of their extensive experience and knowledge.

still put up with this. None of our kids finished their studies due to what we experienced. We're poor. It all boils down to the situation that started it all. That's the cause, right? We're really victims of martial law." Rodolfo then differentiated himself and his case from the other activists or political detainees, "We're at the lowest rung... Workers... We're only workers. Then they would arrest you and you would get jailed. You really lose your source of income. Your source of survival. It's not like being a teacher... Not like being able to finish your education... When they get released they could be gainfully employed again in their field. I think in my opinion it's quite different from us workers who have to be employed in factories. For example, Satur Ocampo, Fidel Agcaoili¹⁰¹ ... they were already professionals to begin with." Rodolfo certainly found it hard to return to their normal life after his release. He used to sell *Malaya* newspapers and was employed by Medical Action Group (MAG)¹⁰² a non-governmental organization of medical and health workers that provided health services to the urban poor, human rights victims and political detainees. However, Rodolfo had become sickly and could not work for long.

Rodolfo and Danny were the main plaintiffs of the class-action lawsuit filed in Hawaii against the Marcoses in 1986. Celing recalled, "The lawyer from Hawaii called. Atty. (Robert) Swift. He talked to him. They wanted him (Rodolfo) to act as the spokesperson at the press conference. Remember, Marcos was exiled and they brought everything with them to Hawaii." Rodolfo was in fact confused why he became one of the forerunners of the class suit, "I was puzzled. I had a lot of colleagues who were educated, I wasn't. We were consulting the one who acted as

¹⁰¹ A high ranking-activist like Satur Ocampo. He is now the chairperson of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines' Peace Panel. He and other members of the panel engage in peace talks with the government of the Philippines (GPH). To know more about him, refer to his interview about the NDFP's fight for 'national and social liberation of the Filipino people', available at <http://www.fightbacknews.org/2017/8/25/interview-fidel-v-agcaoili-national-democratic-front-philippines>.

¹⁰² Founded during the height of martial law, MAG upholds human rights and provides health programs and services to the oppressed sectors of society. For more information about MAG, visit <http://magph.org>.

lawyer/counsel. I was just one worker... In a factory... A factory worker who didn't even get the right wage." The victims did not receive any compensation until 2011. In the 2010, the federal court in Hawaii approved the distribution of compensation to the 7,526 people or the eligible members of the class action suit who would be receiving US\$1,000 each, as well as the attorney's fees amounting to US\$ 2.5 million (Dongail, 2013). In 2011, checks were distributed by lawyers Robert Swift and Rod Domingo, Jr. at the Commission of Human Rights (CHR). Rodolfo was one of the first ones to claim the check amounting to PHP 43,200, and although the amount was not that big, Rodolfo was glad to receive the compensation, as he mentioned in his interview with a news reporter, "At least we were able to prove that the Marcoses committed human rights violations" (Merueñas, 2011, para. 27).

The other political detainees were able to return to their own lives and many continued being activists and part of the movement. For instance, Boni has stayed committed to pursue the fight as the vice-chair of SELDA, chair of the First Quarter Storm (FQS) movement¹⁰³, and lead convener of a network called CARMMA or Campaign Against the Return of the Marcoses to Malacañang¹⁰⁴. The candidacy of Ferdinand Marcos' son and namesake, Ferdinando "Bongbong" Marcos for vice president in 2016 was the impetus for the formation of CARMMA. Danny, is still actively involved with progressive organizations, such as being the spokesperson of SELDA. Danny and his colleagues are working on the proposal to include martial law in the curriculum to be approved by the Department of Education. He added, "Actually it is already in the Human Rights Victims Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013 (Republic Act 10368) that was signed by President Benigno Aquino III last 2013 during the EDSA anniversary... The problem is that it has yet to be

¹⁰³ An organization of activists in the 1960s -1970s.

¹⁰⁴For more information about CARMMA about its members, views and activities, visit <https://carmmaph.wordpress.com> and <https://www.facebook.com/CARMMAPH/>.

implemented and they are still asking for a term extension.” The Human Rights Victims Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013 was signed into law, forty one years after the country was put under martial rule. As part of the recognition of the human rights violations victims (HRVVs), a Human Rights Violations Victims’ Memorial Commission was to be created. According to the law:

Section 27. Human Rights Violations Victims’ Memorial Commission
There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Human Rights Violations Victims’ Memorial Commission, hereinafter referred to as the Commission, primarily for the establishment, restoration, preservation and conservation of the Memorial/Museum/Library/Compendium in honor of the HRVVs during the Marcos regime.

The Commission shall also coordinate and collaborate with the DepED and the CHED to ensure that the teaching of Martial Law atrocities, the lives and sacrifices of HRVVs in our history are included in the basic, secondary and tertiary education curricula.
(Republic Act 10368, Sec. 27, para. 1 & 5)

The recognition and reparation for victims are deemed necessary because many had died, suffered, and gone missing. Moreover, while some survivors have remained political activists, many victims are now old, sickly, and without a permanent source of income (“Primer on the Human Rights Victims Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013 (Republic Act 10368),” 2013). The Claims Board evaluates the filed claims by the survivors or family members of those who died or disappeared, and regularly updates the list of qualified claimants on their website.¹⁰⁵ As of 2015, 75,730 people have filed their claims as HRVVs who suffered under the Marcos regime from 1972-1986 (Doyo, 2015). According to the Implementing Rules and Regulations of the Republic Act 10368, the recognition of the HRVVs shall be in monetary and non-monetary form. The monetary

¹⁰⁵ The updated list of qualified claimants can be found at <http://hrvclaimsboard.gov.ph>.

reparations, are funded by the ill-gotten wealth of the Marcoses confiscated by the Presidential Commission on Good Governance (PCGG):

Section 7. Operating Budget of the Board

The operating budget of the Board shall be funded from the ten billion peso (P10,000,000,000.00) fund, with ten million pesos (P10,000,000.00) as its initial operating budget: Provided, That is shall not exceed to fifty million pesos (P50,000,000.00) a year. ("Primer on the Human Rights Victims Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013 (Republic Act 10368)," 2013).

Like the other victims and survivors, Loida and Rolando also filed their claims, "We also applied for the victims' reparation board at the CHR but we didn't meet the deadline. Balut keeps telling me that if he dies we'll get a lot of money. I rebuked him by saying that if he doesn't have millions of pesos then he shouldn't die just yet." They may have missed the deadline for the reparations, but they continued pursuing complaints against ARTEX. They, together with their colleagues in the ARTEX factory union have been unremittingly demanding for their separation pay and legal permit to stay in the housing compound for good. Loida said, "We're still fighting," narrated Loida, "Until now. We've connected with Undersecretary Maglunsod¹⁰⁶. They've already given the back wages amounting to PhP 4,000,000. The land here was auctioned off in 2012 due to delinquencies in property tax payments. The DOLE has also summoned the owners of the factory."

Other than Artex, Loida and Rolando mulled over others who should be held accountable. "The military," Loida said on hindsight, "The things they did. They really have to be held accountable for them. They were abusive. They have to be held accountable. In our case here in Artex, the owner has to be held accountable –

¹⁰⁶ Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) Undersecretary Joel Maglunsod - former political detainee and *Anakpawis* partylist representative. *Anakpawis* party is a left-wing radical trade union electoral party in the Philippines affiliated with Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement Labor Center). For more information, visit <http://www.anakpawis.net>.

who I believe was Marcos' godson. The police and the government should also be accountable as well."

"Actually," Rolando added, "The police nowadays are kinder. The police back then... Even if you were an elder they were disrespectful to you. Police today are respectful. Compared to the police today, those guys were out of control!" Loida, despite not having experienced being incarcerated or beaten up by the police felt hostile towards the police but also helpless, "The things done during his regime? They were really bad. It was tough, it was devastating. Back then there were a lot of political prisoners. Now that they've buried him [at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani*], we can't do anything anymore."

While Loida, Rolando, and their colleagues in the ARTEX factory union continue their fight as a group, and Boni and Danny remain in the movement, Mila, on the other hand, chose a different route. Mila left the party in 1984, but has continued being an activist poet and writer. At 67, she is still actively involved in various socio-civic activities. "So right now I don't work but I do have extra-curricular activities," said Mila, "I'm the vice-president of the board of trustees of an NGO, it's called 'Operation Compassion' and we do two main things. One is disaster relief and rehabilitation. It's actually more of long term rehabilitation than relief. We stay for years in an area after disasters. And then the second one is foster of children." Mila became a Christian in 1990, some years later after leaving the CPP and being released from prison. She then expressed her wish for her former party, "I'm just praying and hoping that they will turn to God. For that's the key." Mila then explained, "Many of them are Christians already. Quite a few and they listen to me. Well you see, in CPP, the core is atheism. We teach dialectical and historical materialism...you're not supposed to have any spirit here. Although it is a very

useful method of analysis, but you should know that there is something else outside of the material." Mila also recognized that the armed movement is still in force up to the present. "They're trying to make the most out of the publicity so that they will gain sympathy," said Mila, on the use of media by the NPA, "And then also, so that they can recruit more people, I think." The current President of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, initially claimed to have sided with the left and agreed to resume the peace talks with the communists in the country¹⁰⁷. "He (Duterte) is trying to turn the reds against the yellows¹⁰⁸," Mila surmised about Duterte's current leadership. "There's still democracy...still...," added Mila, "But there's already some that are spreading the information that by 2017, they (the current administration) will impose martial law. He is just 'cleaning up' the military and the police, because there are many who will go against him."

Boni Ilagan weighed in as well on Duterte's administration and the events that are happening today. He provided insight and hindsight and connected it to martial law and the Marcoses. He said:

I think there will always be two sides. It would always be like that. But if only all the memorabilia and evidence were gathered, the side that is saying that the atrocities never really happened would become the minority. The official effort was not that concentrated and that's what I've been telling all along; the effort to hold the Marcoses accountable had been reduced and reduced... The effort needs to be a public effort... Especially now that the President [Rodrigo Duterte] isn't forceful in condemning martial law... There needs to be an extra effort to devote the rewriting of history on the regime of Marcos.

¹⁰⁷ On November 23, 2017, President Duterte signed Proclamation No. 360, formally terminating the peace talks with the communists (National Democratic Front-Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army). For the full text of the proclamation, see <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/downloads/2017/11nov/20171123-PROC-360-RRD.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸ Yellow is the political color of the Liberal Party, EDSA People Power Revolution, and the Aquino family. Red, on the other hand, symbolizes the left-wing organizations.

With the growing tension of a Marcos (Ferdinand Jr.) returning to power, Ilagan believed that this was the last effort of the Marcoses to reclaim power. Their fears might soon come to past as the narrative of martial law is being rewritten and the Marcoses are trying to enter again into the public consciousness. Ilagan did not blame the current generation of millennials about their being unaware of what had happened. He believes the cause was due to the way the Marcoses and martial law were seen by the public after the People Power Revolution – the Marcoses were allowed to come back and rule over Ilocos. Finally, Boni addressed the topic on why Filipinos tend to forget with this response, “You know, it is hard to answer that question. There is a factor of culture, values, the psyche, and many things to consider. But for me, if I were to pin this down, it would have to be on the government institutions that are responsible.”

These stories or “empowered narratives” that are “spoken directly by traditionally marginalized communities” do not only help fill in the gaps of collective memory but also give the previously silenced subjects or provenance a proper recognition and right of ownership over their records (Iacovino, 2010, p. 90). The photographers may have been the *auteur* who initially framed and inscribed messages on their photographs, but the subjects as provenance also have the right to be heard, leave a lasting mark, and articulate the meanings and stories behind ‘their’ photographs. The provenance’s empowered narratives about their struggle, conflicts, and survival offer a reflective and critical approach to understanding the martial law period in the Philippines – how the Marcos government treated its people, especially those who opposed the rule, and how they responded to it and to the conflicts that confronted them during and even after the regime. Their stories revealed details and contexts not usually included in the

dominant narrative of this period, as well as in the traditional archival description of photographs.

Photographs allow both “social and personal” memories to be elicited from the viewers (Bate, 2010, pp. 255–256), and this is evident in the responses of the provenance as they recollected their connection with other people, past experiences, and present circumstances. Their individual memories were framed not only by the dominant narrative and historical turning points such as the declaration of martial law by Marcos in 1972, the death of Ninoy Aquino in 1983, and the EDSA People Power Revolution. Their individual memories were also shaped by their relationships with the people who had an impact on them, including those who either helped or antagonized them. The reactivation of photographs through listening to the provenance’s voices – an act of hospitality – therefore positioned the provenance not as mere spectators of their own images, but as co-creators of these photographic records and important actors calling for reforms and upholding the protection of people’s rights.

Photographs in this Chapter



*Figure 5.1. Demolition of Houses in Pook Ricarte, UP Diliman (1985)
(Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.1)*



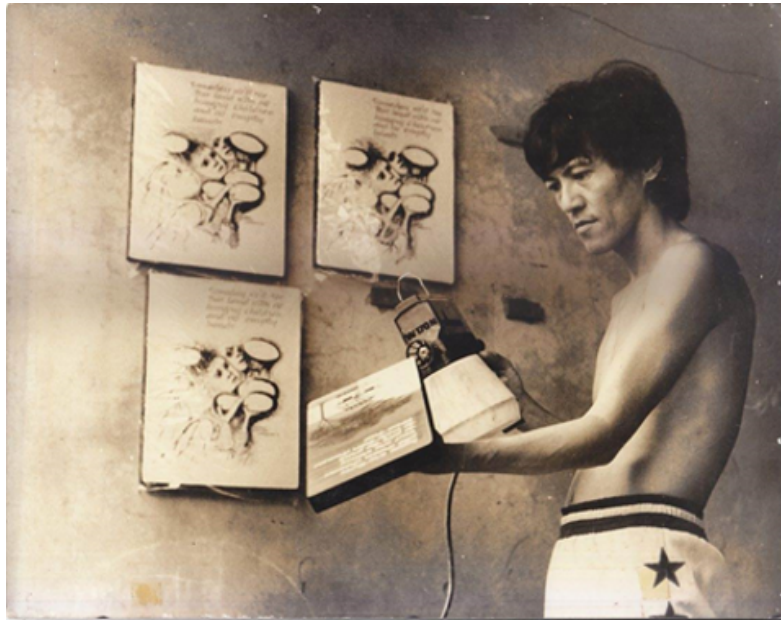
*Figure 5.2. Student activists at the forefront.
(Photo by Boy Bagwis)*



*Figure 5.3. Armando Malay (1st from left) and Bonifacio "Boni" Ilagan (2nd from left)
(Photo by Lito Ocampo, uncaptioned and exact date unknown)*



*Figure 5.4. Rodolfo Benosa
(Photo by Lito Ocampo; Replicates Figure 4.6)*



*Figure 5.5. Danilo "Danny" Dela Fuente inside Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan Rehabilitation Center
(Photo by Lito Ocampo)*



*Figure 5.6. Labor Strike Dispersal in ARTEX, Malabon
(Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.4)*



*Figure 5.7. Rolando "Balut" Lumagas at the Strike Dispersal in ARTEX
(Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates Figure 4.3)*



*Figure 5.8. Rolando "Balut" Lumagas at the Strike Dispersal in ARTEX
(Photo by Boy Bagwis; Replicates 4.2)*



*Figure 5.9. NPA Camp in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao
(Photo by Alex Baluyut)*



*Figure 5.10. NPA Plenum in Agusan del Sur, Mindanao
(Photo by Alex Baluyut)*



*Figure 5.11. Guerillas taking a break from their training
(Photo by Alex Baluyut; Replicates Figure 4.10)*



*Figure 5.12. Guerillas
(Photo by Alex Baluyut; Replicates Figure 4.11)*



*Figure 5.13. Celing Benosa at the FIND Rally
(Photo by Lito Ocampo; Replicates Figure 4.7)*

CHAPTER 6

Seeing Beyond the Visuals: Looking at Photographs as an Affective Experience

*“Ultimately – or at the limit – in order to see a photograph well,
it is best to look away or close your eyes.”*
Roland Barthes, 1980, “Camera Lucida.”

Photographs affect their viewers in various ways – and this has been attested in numerous literature and in the outcomes of this study’s oral history interviews. In situating the role of affect in the context of archival work, Ann Cvetkovich (2003) stresses that “archival materials are repositories of feelings and emotions” (quoted in Cifor, 2016, p. 14). Cifor (2016) contends that the historical and emotional resonance that archives have on their users should be considered important in archival work decisions because nearly all appraisal criteria in the archives only include the affects of the powerful. The affective impact of archives on users can help identify various aspects and issues that need to be highlighted in the collection, and not only what had been orthodoxly chosen and underscored by archival practices and certain dominant scripts or narratives. Affect is therefore helpful in a more democratic selection of records that would aptly represent a particular community. Besides its value in appraisal, I argue that affect can significantly impact description and continuous contextualization of photographs. As photographs prompt different forms of reminiscences, people remember their lived experience and participation, and also relate the culture and psychology of the social actors in the event depicted in the photographs. These contexts add more texture to the narrative of a historic event that has been overshadowed by master narratives and some powerful personalities. Moreover, the affective experience of looking at photographs also allows the provenance – and possibly, the future

viewers – to perceive some potential answers to societal problems that seem to have persisted even after the EDSA People Power Revolution.

In chapters 4 and 5, the stories behind the photographs of protests of the urban poor, working class, political detainees, and the underground movement were told by their creators as well as the subjects and eyewitnesses. The informants or provenance responded to these representations in various ways – some shared contextual stories of creation and circulation of the photographs as counterpower. Others brought to the fore the life stories and struggles of ordinary individuals during and after the Marcos regime, and the continuing call for justice for the victims. Still others called for an end to the culture of impunity. These stories strengthen the agency of photographs as evidence and sites of memory. In this chapter, photographs taken during the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986 are presented and contextualized by the subjects/eyewitnesses or the provenance. The EDSA People Power Revolution has been widely recognized as a significant historical event because it publicly ended the Marcos regime, and became the link to the transitional democratic government led by Corazon “Cory” Aquino. The photographs of EDSA Revolution demonstrate how they, the photographs and their provenance, can allow for further reflection beyond what is directly depicted. The EDSA photographs may have shown how the Filipinos celebrated their freedom after years of dictatorial rule; but more than that, the photographs help the provenance contemplate on how they currently see and comprehend their experience of not only the revolution but also the years leading to it and the events that later ensued.

The literature on the 1986 EDSA Revolution and transition from the dictatorial to democratic government mostly focuses on leadership, political

parties, and democratic-authoritarian values systems (Montiel & Chiongbian, 1991). Also, a substantial amount of attention is directed to the drama and rhetoric of the four-day revolution (Teodoro, 2016). While EDSA People Power made a significant mark in the people's consciousness and pages of history, Kerkvliet & Mojares (1991) observe that there is "little consensus, though, on what EDSA actually was and what it means" (p. 1). They further explain that this lack of agreement on the meaning of the EDSA Revolution is due to the integration of a series of events:

the accelerating deterioration of Marcos' authoritarian government, widening and increasingly vociferous opposition to the government, the snap presidential election campaign of December 1985 – February 1986, a military mutiny, a People Power uprising on Epifanio delos Santos Avenue (EDSA)¹⁰⁹ in Metro Manila, the flight of Marcos and company, and Aquino's assumption of the presidency, followed by a prolonged struggle to stabilize and legitimate this government through such exercises as the constitutional plebiscite in February 1987 and congressional elections in May 1987 and local government elections in January 1988.
(p.1)

The combination of these events also led to a combination of similar and conflicting individual and collective memories and perspectives towards the EDSA Revolution. Different sectors have different opinions on whether the revolution was successful or not, but what is consistent are the key personalities that people remember or associate with it. In Montiel's (2010) survey on the social representations of EDSA, Cardinal Sin, Fidel Ramos, Ferdinand Marcos, and Cory Aquino, made substantial marks in the Filipinos' collective memory. These figures represent the religious, military, and political groups that played parts in the success (or failure) of the revolution. These key personalities have become central to the scholarship and reportage of the 'people's revolution' alongside the actions that took place in certain areas of Metro Manila, the participation of the middle and

¹⁰⁹ A main thoroughfare in Metro Manila, Philippines.

upper class, and the views of political partisans (Kerkvliet & Mojares, 1991). With about 700,000 results in a Google web search on “EDSA People Power Revolution” containing thousands of images of nameless civilians, religious and members of the military, only a few names stand out – reflecting the main narrative or what has been committed to the public memory and understanding of EDSA. With the existing dominant narrative and public or collective memory of this historic event, what, therefore, do the provenance remember of this event as evoked by the photographs presented to them? How do the provenance situate themselves in the actual event and connect their personal memories to the shared or public memory?

The four-day revolution may have been the culmination of the people’s resistance against Marcos, but according to Licuanan (1987), the organized groups opposing the Marcos regime did not have a unified vision, aside from the desire to oust Marcos. People who came to EDSA did not have a single, long-term vision and were uncertain of the revolution’s outcome. But, what was uniquely visible in the participants’ actions were Filipino cultural patterns such as *fiesta*, *pakiramdam* or feeling one’s way through, and a sense of community (Lagmay, 1986; Licuanan, 1987; Montiel & Chiongbian, 1991). These patterns also emerged in the interviews with the provenance of the photographs, wherein their memories not only included the key personalities, but also the affective characteristics of the participants of the revolution. These affective characteristics that were manifested in the event were also used by the provenance as examples or inspirations of what can be done to address present issues. Moreover, what is equally noticeable is the provenance’s shifting temporalities and self-identification in relation to the patterns of culture, psychology, and political behavior of Filipinos. The provenance’s narration of their memories of EDSA as they looked at the photographs shifted back and forth from their recollections of the historical turning points such as the declaration of martial

law, the Marcos regime, Benigno Aquino's death, snap elections to expressions of peace, religiosity and camaraderie. They also detailed their own activities and involvement before and after the revolution as well as their thoughts on more recent events in the country. They knew that it was them, the ordinary and powerless citizens, who deposed the powerful dictator but at the same time recognized the influence of the political and religious personalities and icons that greatly helped in the success of the revolution. They remembered their own fear, curiosity, and confusion – not only the drama and myth of the historic four-day revolution. The provenance recounted what was EDSA for them as ordinary individuals, regardless of their social and political standing.

Finding the 'Other' Important Social Actors of EDSA

The anatomy of *People Power* is based on “popular participation,” “empowerment of people,” and “community organizing and mobilization” (Licuanan, 1987, p. 18). Licuanan reiterates that the archetypal vision of People Power involves the power of and from traditionally powerless groups such as farmers, urban poor, and factory workers, and not those who already possess power based on their political, economic and social status. The narrative and myth of EDSA People Power, however, concentrates mostly on the key personalities occupying high positions in politics, military, and church. Since individuals also create their memories based on the collective memories featuring these dominant people and events, most of the stories recounted as they respond to various representations of the past are linked to what had been committed to the public memory by those in power. For instance, the dominant or popular names also appeared in the memories and stories of photographer Sonny Camarillo as he conclusively described the EDSA People Power Revolution:

It was Marcos against the people led by Enrile and Ramos who withdrew their support from the Marcos government. People came to EDSA to protect the rebels knowing that it was going to be a matter between life and death. It began with Cardinal Sin's call for people to congregate in EDSA, and then Butz Aquino¹¹⁰'s group called August Twenty-One Movement came, and then more people followed including students, clergy, nuns, members of religious organizations, activists, people from the government and media, and even ordinary citizens.

Sonny recognized the role of the citizens in the success of the People Power Revolution, but it is evident that his description of the event revolves around the key personalities, demonstrating how personal memories connect with shared and public forms of memory. He could not exactly recall, however, the name of the nun in his award-winning photograph (Figure 6.1).

The role of the religious in the revolution has constantly been recognized in people's collective memory. However, many of them are nameless, like other members of the public who also joined and bravely expressed their dissent. For this study, I searched for the subjects and eyewitnesses that comprise the provenance of the photographs. As mentioned in the previous chapters, searching for the subjects and eyewitnesses of the events documented in the photographs is not at all easy. However, through the help of organizations such as the EDSA People Power Commission, web searches, and leads from colleagues, I was able to find and interview three people who were at the four-day revolution. One is a historian and in 1986, a NAMFREL¹¹¹ volunteer during the snap presidential elections, and two are nuns who appeared in the iconic photographs of the EDSA revolution. They may

¹¹⁰ Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the assassinated opposition senator Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, was the founder of the August Twenty-One Movement (ATOM), an anti-Marcos protest group. The organization's name was taken after the date of the late senator's death in 1983. Ninoy Aquino returned to the Philippines on August 21, 1983 after his three-year exile and medical treatment in the United States (triple coronary bypass). While exiting the aircraft at the Manila International Airport, Ninoy was shot in the head. His assassination led to mass actions and demonstrations calling for justice for Ninoy and other victims of Marcos' rule. His funeral parade on August 31, 1983 was attended by approximately 2 million people (Javate-De Dios, Daroy, & Kalaw-Tirol, 1988).

¹¹¹ National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) is the first election watch group or election watchdog in the Philippines.

not be the popular heroes of EDSA, but they nevertheless, contributed to the realization of this historic event.

Ricardo Jose teaches history, and is the current Director of the Third World Studies Center at the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman. As the Director, he is responsible for running the projects, establishing connections, and other activities for the visiting scholars and Ph.D. candidates. He was already teaching at the University of the Philippines (UP) when the People Power Revolution took place in 1986. “I was there every day,” recalled Ricardo, “and I also kept a journal but I can’t find it [now]. I found parts of it but not the first...because, aside from the pictures I wanted to keep a record. I also was buying newspapers at that time, some of them got lost.” Ricardo, whose main research interest is on World War II history in the Philippines, realized early on the need for photo documentation. “I’ve seen these World War II pictures,” related Ricardo, “they were documenting things as they happened, so I told myself that it’s my job to do the same thing.” Prior to the 1986 EDSA revolution, he was already going to rallies and taking photos of people and events. Most of his photographs, including the ones he took during the EDSA revolution were shared among his friends. He related, “I never thought of publishing, in fact I never published them. I posted some of them online [on Facebook] of course, and then some people like the [University] Student Council...I have pictures of the student council coming into the *Batasan*¹¹², so they asked for copies of that.” Despite not being a ‘professional’ photographer, and not ‘officially’ publishing his photographs, he generously shares his collection to those who request to see, especially to his peers and students. Ricardo simply considers his

¹¹² *Batasan* or *Batasang Pambansa*, located in Quezon City, Metro Manila, houses the unicameral legislature body or National Assembly that replaced the Philippine Congress under the Marcos regime’s new 1973 Constitution. After the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution, a new Constitution was ratified (1987 Philippine Constitution), and the old bicameral system was revived. For more information about the history of the Philippine Congress, visit <http://www.congress.gov.ph/about/index.php?about=history>.

photography as an ordinary task for historians like him – more personal than professional. He said that unlike photographers, he does not have an eye for a good or dramatic composition, “I was just taking pictures of what I thought were ordinary scenes.” He then referred to one of Sonny Camarillo’s photographs, “This. This really has a focus. Focus on individuals. Focus on people.” Ricardo was referring to the photograph of a nun and a soldier talking to each other (Figure 6.1), and the mass of people in EDSA (Figure 6.2).

While it was fairly easy to look for and schedule a conversation with Ricardo, looking for the subjects in Sonny Camarillo’s photograph was not. I did not know their names, but, one of my colleagues in the Philippines guessed that the nun might be a Benedictine sister because of the garment she was wearing in the photo (Figure 6.1). It is even more difficult, however, to search for the soldier. There were thousands of them deployed in EDSA. Due to time constraints and limitations of going back and forth to the Philippines and Singapore for my field work, I resorted to referrals and web searches. Luckily, through web searching, I found a 30-second video clip uploaded in YouTube featuring some people who participated in the EDSA revolution. One of them was Sister Aida Velasquez, the nun in the photograph (Figure 6.1). In that short clip, she was shown holding Sonny’s photograph. I then started searching for her affiliations and sent inquiries to several institutions through e-mail. After months of not receiving any response from the producer of the documentary, Sister Aida’s former NGO, and the head office of the Benedictine Sisters, I decided to personally visit one of the main Benedictine schools in Manila to ask for leads. I was told that she was no longer connected with the school, but that I could try to look for her in the nuns’ retirement home in Marikina¹¹³. I followed her advice and went to the retirement home. I was able to talk to one of

¹¹³ A small city located in the eastern part of Metro Manila.

the staff of the retirement home and handed her a letter stating the main intent of my visit and study, and asking for permission to hold a short conversation with Sister Aida. Fortunately, later that day, I received the confirmation via SMS, and I went back to see Sister Aida two days later.

Born in 1938, Sister Maria Aida Velasquez is a Benedictine sister and holds a degree in Chemical Engineering. She was the founder of *Lingkod Tao Kalikasan*, a Philippine-based organization that spearheads projects that raise people's awareness of environmental issues. Sister Aida, together with her organization and other Filipino environmental activists such as Nicanor Perlas and Delfin Ganapin, objected to the construction and operation of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant during the Marcos regime. They started in 1979 by spreading awareness on the potential threats of using nuclear power, writing letters to other groups and parties concerned and appearing in newspaper articles. They argued that that the power plant could pose a radiation hazard, especially to the nearby residents. They also feared for their lives, because they were aware of the unpleasant fate of those who were blatantly against the government. But after some time, the government and military grudgingly tolerated environment-related protests such as theirs. Sister Aida and her group were also aware of the corruption involved in the construction of the power plant, but they chose to focus their agenda on environmental concerns.

Religious groups played a significant role in social movements. Aside from Sister Aida, there is also another nun who appeared in an iconic photograph that has repeatedly appeared in publications, various memory sites, and social media. This photograph was taken by Pete Reyes, former chief photographer of the *Manila Times* newspaper, and it shows two kneeling nuns praying the Rosary in front of a heavily armed soldier (Figure 6.3).

Sister Porfiria “Ping” Ocariza, 59 years old at the time of the interview, is a missionary sister of the Apostolate of the Social Congregation of the Daughters of St. Paul. This congregation of nuns is present in fifty-two countries all over the world. Sister Ping entered the congregation in 1979. I got in touch with Sister Ping through a former staff of the Presidential Communications Operations Office and EDSA People Power Commission. It was, again, serendipitous, because interviewing Sister Ping was not part of my original plan. Through snowball or chain referral, I found out her name and her contact information by chance. I got a confirmation from her through SMS, and then visited her in the St. Paul Convent in Manila last January 2017.

The three of them are seemingly ordinary individuals who were not aware that they, too, would be doing important things that would be part of history and collective memory.

Fiesta Under the Shadow of Fear

The EDSA People Power Revolution manifested a ‘network of Filipino culture’, showing qualities of light-heartedness, risk-taking, unconscious improvisation of actions based on *pakiramdam*, and the Filipinos’ propensity to celebrate (Lagmay, 1986). The celebration of fiesta is associated with a religious festival or holiday, specifically a saint’s day. As a predominantly Christian Catholic nation, Filipinos celebrate fiesta in various regions, towns, and even in the smallest villages in the country (Tondo, 2010). The idea of fiesta is deeply embedded in the life and culture of the Filipinos, regardless of social and economic status (Lagmay, 1986), so that those who participated in the revolution felt a ‘festival mood’ or they rather unconsciously transformed the tension between the civilians and military into a

festive atmosphere of persuasion and sharing. However, despite the fiesta being a happy and religious event, two ironies are seen in this celebration – people were celebrating with an undertone of fear, and the fiesta, which was supposed to *build* a happy community, had an intention to *destroy* the incumbent system or regime. These two ironies, nevertheless, are both within the sphere of alliance. As Montiel and Chiongbian (1991) posit, affiliation or alliance is an important principle for the Filipinos' inculcation of political values and movement. Filipinos always have the need to establish their position in a certain group and earn a degree of loyalty and patronage before commencing any act. As discussed in Chapter 2, the culture of patronage, kinship, and alliance are highly valued and deeply entrenched in the social and political structures of the Philippines. This was seen during the EDSA Revolution that the happy, festive, yet fearing people voluntarily exposed themselves to possible dangers because they knew that they were participating in a collective action to overthrow a dictator. They formed an alliance, albeit temporary, with many people, some of whom were/are powerful and influential in the spheres of the military, politics, and church.

The provenance contextualized the photographs and described what took place in this historic event. Sister Aida looked at the photograph (Figure 5.2) and recalled the evening of February 22 when the Archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, called the people:

He [Cardinal Sin] said, 'Go out and... come to EDSA.' I remember sitting on the street together with the others who were there; then some people were passing food, sandwiches, and water to different groups of people. I would say it was almost festive, yes. It's like a fiesta.

In a separate interview, Ricardo recalled how people started to mobilize and hold a fiesta-like gathering in EDSA. "This was pretty late already," claimed Ricardo as he examined the photograph (Figure 6.2). "The crowd was massive. I think it's

the third day,” said Ricardo and tried to identify the exact location of the photograph of people joining the revolution:

On the first day [February 22, 1986], only a few came. I saw some people gathered in EDSA, where the two major military camps, Camp Crame and Camp Aguinaldo are located. Although not seen in this photograph, Camp Crame is located on the right side [of the road shown in the photo], and then Aguinaldo is on the other side. I went with some of my colleagues in NAMFREL. The traffic was still going in that time and people were starting to arrive. The number of people also dwindled especially in the morning. People would come and leave...and then later there were more and more people coming. People were starting to bring food.

This photograph could have been taken the next day after Radio Veritas broadcasted Manila Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin’s appeal to the Filipinos to go to EDSA and support Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Philippine Constabulary (PC) Chief General Fidel Ramos who defected from the Marcos government¹¹⁴. He also exhorted the people to peacefully go against the Marcos government, and the military not to exercise violence and aggression towards the civilians. Here can be seen the power of the Catholic church and how it influences the decision-making and political psychology of the Filipinos. There seemed to be no other better way to respond to the religious leader’s call but to come to EDSA, and form a community in the same way people congregate in churches and during religious festivals. After hearing the archbishop’s appeal, Sister Ping was one of the nuns who heeded his

¹¹⁴ On February 22, 1986, Defense Minister Enrile and Gen. Ramos declared their rebellion against Pres. Marcos and hid themselves in Camp Aguinaldo for their safety. Later in the evening, Cardinal Sin appealed over Radio Veritas for people to support the rebels and go to EDSA. On the next day, thousands of people heeded the Cardinal’s call. People arrived and formed human barricades against advancing Marcos troops (Javate-De Dios et al., 1988). While many Filipinos were surprised by their brave act of defecting from the Marcos government, there are accounts stating that this move was not solely for the sake of saving the nation, but for saving their own skins from the strongman and his loyal army (Almendral, 1988). Months before the snap election in 1986, Enrile, Marcos’ martial law architect, recruited some of the best graduates of the Philippine Military Academy (PMA) and formed the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), to campaign for the need to “bring back the armed forces to its rightful place – the center” and carry out a coup d’etat against the government on February 23, 1986 (Almendral, 1988,). However, details of the coup plan leaked and reached Marcos and his Chief of Staff Fabian Ver. Realizing that their plan was already compromised, RAM colonels decided to freeze the plan, while Enrile persuaded General Ramos to join them in staging a military revolt to avoid arrest (Nathan Gilbert Quimpo, 2016).

call and came to EDSA. She recounted the variety of people who joined the revolution and how they dealt with the situation:

You could see that the people there were from different walks of life. There were even parents carrying their children. People were sharing food, giving flowers to the marines, and some even brought crucifixes and statues of the Blessed Mother.

Ricardo described what was depicted in the photograph as “the peak of People Power.” As the news spread, more and more people arrived and barricaded EDSA. “People were smiling and shaking hands,” said Ricardo, “and of course, I met a lot of people I knew, some of my students and classmates were there.” However, the happy ambiance of fiesta had a tinge of fear and uncertainty. “Yes, it was like a fiesta but quite tense,” shared Ricardo. “We heard that there were helicopters hovering over EDSA,” said Ricardo, “Everyone thought that they were friendly but...these soldiers were on Marcos side and they could’ve bombed us.” Sister Ping also recalled the fear they felt in the middle of a friendly atmosphere:

When Cardinal Sin urged people to join – priests, seminarians, nuns...everyone, we asked for permission [from our superior] to go but at first, they did not want us to join. They were afraid that we, the sisters, wouldn’t be able to do anything [to defend ourselves] once the guns were fired. We still went to EDSA. People were friendly, although there was tension. The commander general was growing impatient, too. We could see and hear the tank engines, and there might be bombs. Days after EDSA [revolution], it was like I could still hear the loud tank engine. I could still hear it even when I was sleeping.

The presence of the military serving the regime brought fear and tension to everyone. The crowd, as described by Sister Aida, was there and waiting for what would happen next. “We were there to say that we did not want martial law, as simple as that. It was like we had every right to say that we didn’t want it,” said Sister Aida. But despite their numbers and the evident force of a big community trying to overthrow Marcos regime, the three of them acknowledged the possible risks of going to EDSA and participating in the revolution. Marine officers and military tanks were deployed to disperse the crowd and human barricades. This

fear had come from a shared impression of the military being harsh and a loyal follower of Marcos, which links back to the Filipino dominant concept of relationships. This image or impression was not unwarranted because of the nature of military rule and the abuse that many civilians experienced at its hands during the Marcos regime – a point elaborated on in the next section.

Memories of the Regime

The resonating memories of EDSA revolution as a symbolic event in Philippine history include the collective suffering experienced by the nation during martial law (Claudio, 2013). These memories of suffering were also reflected in the provenance's recollections of the EDSA revolution and the previous regime. The fear and tension that they felt during the revolution could have been brought not only by the visible presence of the military, but also by their knowledge and experience of the Marcos regime.

Sister Ping, upon seeing the photograph (Figure 6.2) for the first time, was very much amazed by the enormous number of people on the road. "Is this EDSA? Not the burial of Ninoy [Aquino]?" asked Sister Ping as she instantly remembered and associated the big crowd with the late senator's burial in 1983. "Many believed that Ninoy was the hope. Filipinos were suffering under the martial law, so when he was assassinated, it deeply affected us and lots of people attended his burial." Sister Ping began to reminisce where she was and what she was doing during the martial law years. She was studying in Cebu when Marcos put the country under martial rule, and she later went to Davao. She and those who were in the convent did not participate in any anti-Marcos movement. However, she was aware that the students at that time were very active in rallies, especially the members and sympathizers of the Federation of Free Farmers (FFF). She remembered that it was

quite chaotic in Davao back then – there were insurgent groups (NPA) as well as killings committed by both the military and the rebels. “And then in 1985, actually there were really many rallies. It was a succession of events: Ninoy died in 1983, and then in ‘84 many were still getting arrested and killed, and then after the election in 1986 and Cardinal Sin’s appeal to the people, it seemed like people became united,” Sister Ping talked about the previous regime and the occurrences leading to the revolution in 1986.

“Actually, back then it was quiet during martial law. There were arrests especially when you caught their [military and government] attention, but we were a ‘quiet’ group,” Sister Aida said as she recalled the years leading to the EDSA Revolution. She and her NGO produced information materials that were mainly technical such as how a nuclear power plant works. Her NGO, luckily, was not touched by the military:

The military had no time for that. They busied themselves with the subversives and other disturbances. It was quiet and it seemed peaceful – in a sense that that there were no loud gunfights. But we knew that behind the silence, there were numerous arrests in different places. Some were found dead and some were never heard from again. We could not easily voice out our opinions on issues. We were also very careful.

As Sister Aida was focused on environmental initiatives, the Benedictine sisters were also busy monitoring the local situation during martial law. Sister Aida shared, “Many in our community were following the events [happening in our country]. For example, Sister Mary John Mananzan¹¹⁵ had been very active as well as the other sisters. Some sisters who were in-charge of [Benedictine] schools, they were getting news from students and parishes. There were also nurses working

¹¹⁵ She is a Missionary Benedictine Sister and served as president of St. Scholastica’s College. She is a political activist and feminist, and well-known for her radical stance on social and political issues in the country. During the Marcos regime, she joined anti-Marcos protest rallies as well as workers’ strikes. At present, she is still actively involved in different social movements and groups protecting human rights.

with us who kept medical records of some of the victims [of human rights violations]. We helped raise awareness so that people would know the situation during martial law. That's part of our social pastoral apostolate."

Ricardo also shared his experiences of the previous regime as a participant of rallies against Marcos, and a member of NAMFREL during the snap elections in 1986. When martial law was declared in the Philippines in 1972, Ricardo was a third-year student at Philippine Science High School. By 1983, after Ninoy's assassination, he was already teaching in UP. Ricardo described the situation:

People were still willing to give the benefit of the doubt, and things seemed to be working properly for a time. But then again, we didn't know what was going on behind—people being arrested, summary executions. That's why it seemed peaceful because everything was censored so we didn't really know what was going on. It's only by '78, '79 that we realized there was something more going on that we were not being told about. Marcos had cronies, and the political oppositions were being arrested.

"I then volunteered for NAMFREL," said Ricardo, "And then the whole family and a lot of my friends felt we had to do something at the time because we knew the votes would be rigged. So, that's why my sister and I decided to join NAMFREL. The rest of my family didn't join NAMFREL but they provided the support – they provided things that we needed, like food." Ricardo ardently documented the snap elections using his camera, "So, as part of NAMFREL we accompanied the ballot boxes from the school, precinct, Quezon City Hall, to *Batasang Pambansa* for the canvassing of votes. We managed to get inside the Batasan and where the ballot boxes were stored...so I had pictures of them, too." Ricardo also recalled that there was a local politician, accompanied by his bodyguards armed with pistols, who came to Batasan. Obviously, he and his group were not supposed to be present in the final canvassing of votes. Ricardo took photos of this politician, and his bodyguards were ready to angrily confront him

but did not do so because he was with the NAMFREL. “Well of course, we knew then that there was already cheating,” recounted Ricardo, “the COMELEC computer technicians/operators walked out¹¹⁶ because of the blatant cheating and manipulation...and we knew then that the votes were being rigged.” The fraudulent outcomes of the snap elections triggered mass actions and mobilized people to set out their disobedience to Marcos and boycott his cronies’ businesses. Ricardo continued sharing how the UP community staged their protest. They put up a ‘Wall of Shame’ at the UP Faculty Center for the disgraced UP alumni who were at the top of Marcos’ cabinet. Also, as a ceremonial act, they burned the government-controlled newspapers—*Daily Express*, *Times Journal*, and *Bulletin Today*. All these collective actions of dissent formed a community where people, regardless of their background and experience and understanding of the whole situation, turned from weak to confident social actors. The people’s awakening could not have been possible without the presence of other social actors or agents, and their connection to each other.

Awareness of the People’s Awakening

It was indeed a risk to go and join the mass protest, but the provenance along the others who came to EDSA, proceeded without any definite course of action. The chain of events, including the bringing of food and flowers, forming human barricades on the streets of EDSA, and inviting more people and the military to join the people’s side, was all ‘played by ear,’ without any elaborate plan, and only done based on *pakiramdam* (Lagmay, 1986). For Sister Aida, from that day onwards, people were awakened and became more decisive to end Marcos’ dictatorial rule.

¹¹⁶ The presidential elections were held on February 7, 1986. The election returns from the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) presented that Marcos was leading, contrary to the results shown by the NAMFREL in which Cory was winning. Many believed that the results were tampered, so the 30 COMELEC computer technicians/operators walked out. The opposition assemblymen also walked out in protest when the Batasang Pambansa in session proclaimed Marcos as winner on February 15, 1986 (Javate-De Dios et al., 1988).

As Sister Aida looked at her photograph (Figure 6.1), she said that although she was not aware that her photo was being taken by Sonny Camarillo at that very moment, she had later seen this photograph and was given a copy of the newspaper where it first appeared. She also recalled that she had another photo, also at EDSA, while she and the other nuns and civilians were sitting on the grass and waiting for other troops to arrive. She then started to narrate the story behind the photograph:

Maybe this was already the third day [of the revolution]. It was in the afternoon, past twelve...I went back to EDSA from St. Scholastica in Manila. I was the only one who went home while the other sisters remained in EDSA. I don't remember why I went home. Then, I went back to EDSA and came looking for the others. That's why I was the only one there [in the photo]; the other sisters were in different places. I didn't know where they were. I kept walking around. I was thinking, '*Naku*, where are they? It's already getting dark.'

Then I saw the soldiers, and approached them. I asked the soldiers, 'Where did you come from?' I was the one who was interviewing them. I was greeting them and asking how they were since I knew they came from faraway places and they looked really tired. They were immediately deployed to EDSA and they probably had not eaten yet. They were responding and not hostile. I thought we should all be on the same boat. We should all see the same things. That's what I felt. I didn't see them as the enemy. It was just that they were soldiers and they had to side with the state. I was not mad. I was not scared. I didn't remember any fear. I was alone when I went there. And I was confident since there were many people there. The feeling was as if it was right to be there; that you are fighting for what is right. The soldiers were speaking and I remember I said something like, 'This is for the future of the youth. We have a common task and we should work together.'

For Sister Aida, it was the photograph's message that made it iconic. Having won the first prize in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* photo contest in 1986, it has turned into one of the centerpieces of Sonny Camarillo's photo exhibits about EDSA and other publications relating to the revolution and reinstatement of democracy. Sister Aida explained the contrast seen in the photograph as well as her perceived intention of the photographer in composing the photograph:

I represent the church and the soldiers represent the government. People were already tired and could not understand what was happening and what would happen. He [Sonny Camarillo] wanted to show that people had a common interest. Where we should be heading to without violence. Everyone should be together without saying too many words – everyone only wanted to make peace.

Ricardo likewise interpreted the photograph of Sister Aida and the marine officers as an indication of peace versus war. “I think this was the stand-off in Ortigas.¹¹⁷ The tanks came in from Fort Bonifacio, and they couldn’t get through because people were blocking them. So, they stayed there for some time. I didn’t see the actual confrontation, but we heard about it,” Ricardo explained. Sister Ping, who also experienced dealing with the marine officers, felt that in this photograph, Sister Aida was expressing her concern for the marine officers, “She was like asking them, ‘Have you eaten? Are you and your families okay? We’re brothers and sisters here, we should not fight.’ They [marines] were only there because they needed to follow orders.” Sister Aida also affirmed that these marines would not dare ask or disobey their commanders, “To them, orders were orders. So, I walked towards them when I saw them. I also went closer to the people who were at the side lines, and we were all happy that Enrile and Ramos finally defected from the Marcos government.”

Sister Aida also recalled that despite the threats, they were somewhat confident that nothing untoward would happen because they were with friends, and were part of a bigger group – a bigger community. Sister Aida continued, “We were all together in this. That was the atmosphere. It did not escalate to a violent fight. Maybe it was because of our numbers. We were sure of our numbers.” At this point, people already had an awareness of the problem and the power that they

¹¹⁷ One of the main highways that crosses EDSA.

possessed to address that problem. This power in numbers enhanced people's self-confidence, self-reliance, and dignity that would push them to call for social changes (Licuanan, 1987). "People were longing for peace," Sister Ping said while smiling, "And with this event in EDSA, we achieved that. You see, we could achieve peace without violence."

A Sense of Religiosity and Manifestation of Miracles

Being predominantly Christians, Filipinos merge their religious cultural tradition with their ways of leading people and managing certain situations. This was demonstrated in the EDSA People Power Revolution, where ousting a dictator was accompanied by symbols of the Catholic faith such as nuns, priests, statues, crucifixes, rosaries, prayers, and singing of religious songs (Lagmay, 1986).

"I thought that was my last breath. I thought that would be my last birthday" Sister Ping recalled, while looking at the photograph (Figure 6.3), which was taken a day before her birthday (February 25):

We only brought sandwiches, and we thought of going home because we're already very hungry. But, we realized that we were needed there so we didn't leave. The people then pleaded with us to come forward when they saw the approaching tanks. The thirteen of us [nuns] did. We started praying the rosary. I even heard some saying that we should remain in front of the tanks, since we don't have families to lose [because we're nuns]. We kneeled. I and Sister Terry [Burias] led the praying of the rosary. I saw three armored tanks and there were tanks, helicopters, and armed men right in front of us who were serving Marcos. We were trapped there. We thought we would just finish one mystery, but we finished all the mysteries of the rosary. And the tank engine was still running. They [military] were ready to move since they were given the order to disperse us in thirty minutes.

Sister Ping explained that most rallies and demonstrations prior to EDSA Revolution were only given thirty minutes before being dispersed. That was always the protocol. But during the EDSA People Power Revolution, people stood their

ground. She also remembered that some people asked them to do something more extreme – to climb up the tank and lead the rosary from there, which she declined to do:

I did not want to further escalate the situation. I also feared for my life. What if I fall? The tanks could easily trample us flat, like bananas of Davao. You know those bananas being squished when they fall to the ground and the trucks run over them? So, I just put my faith in the Lord that there would be peace without bloodshed. Also, by that time, we were really tired. The soldiers also looked tired. Their faces were red. They were from Zamboanga¹¹⁸, and only deployed to Manila to pacify and disperse the crowd.

“We were praying *Hail Mary* here,” recalled Sister Ping, “when we finished praying the rosary some people told us that they saw a ray of light in front of us while we’re praying.” Sister Ping believed that many of those who participated in EDSA experienced miracles from God:

When we’re done praying the rosary, some asked us, ‘Who is that beautiful woman in front of you?’ We thought that maybe it was the Blessed Mother. The Blessed Mother appeared. And I also heard another story from one of the soldiers. There was a helicopter pilot who was given orders to drop the bomb to the people protesting in EDSA. Apparently, the pilot saw from the top that the mass of people formed a [Christian] cross and recognized the faces of his family members from the crowd. He hesitated and did not drop the bomb. When he finally arrived home, he found out that his family did not go to EDSA that day.

Sister Ping claimed that she always feels moved whenever she recalls and shares these experiences. For her, what happened in EDSA was truly a miracle. She also remembered the courage of everyone, especially her fellow nuns. She pointed out that the picture was taken around 3 o’clock in the afternoon, and there were a lot of media people, both Filipinos and foreigners, covering that moment. “I actually felt that time that these cameramen were just waiting to see and capture our last breath there (chuckles),” narrated Sister Ping. Three hours later, by 6 o’clock, people barricaded the streets of EDSA with sand bags, buses, and tyres. The nuns

¹¹⁸ A city in Mindanao, the second largest island in the country, located in the southern Philippines.

left to take a little rest and change their habit (garb). They returned to EDSA by 9 o'clock in the evening to hold another prayer. "Many people were there, even foreigners. They were all showing hospitality to each other and to the tired and beaten soldiers. I was so thankful to the Lord for that peaceful revolution and people's unity. Everything was God's doing," The next day, this photograph by Pete Reyes appeared in the *Manila Times* newspaper. Sister Ping recalled that it was in a half-page of the newspaper and captioned, 'Nuns and Tanks.' Photographer Pete Reyes, who is now based in the United States, also recalled how people's religious faith 'saved' the country. In my brief conversation with him via Facebook, Pete said, "It's really the prayers that saved us. I felt scared that time, and I think everyone else did. But that time, I felt that everyone became closer to God, regardless of religion. Many were holding and praying the rosary. I was also whispering prayers. The EDSA Revolution was indeed peaceful."

Lessons from a Celebrating People

The EDSA People Power Revolution legitimized the right of a people to depose its government if it has become too corrupt (Liu & Gastardo-Conaco, 2011). However, it does and should not end there. Overthrowing a regime is the easy part, as in the 1986 revolution when Marcos was ousted, but "building a truly democratic, free and just Philippine society is more difficult" (Licuanan, 1987). Licuanan (1987) therefore suggested that people should have a vision of what kind of society they wanted to achieve.

On the evening of February 25, 1986, the last day of the four-day revolution, Marcos and his family fled to Hawaii. Upon learning of their departure, people immediately went to Malacañang. "This was during the night after we got the news that they [Marcos family and some of their close friends] left, so they're [the people]

storming,” said Jose, explaining the photograph (Figure 6.4). He continued, “nobody had been to Malacañang for a long time and it was off-limits to common people [during the Marcos regime], so now it was suddenly accessible. I think people wanted to see how much wealth they had amassed and how rich their lifestyle was.”

Ricardo, however, did not witness the actual looting done in Malacañang. “I went there the next day,” narrated Ricardo, “I think I was too tired. I couldn't go anymore on that same night, because I was already in EDSA for three straight days. So, we heard that people were climbing the walls of Malacañang and looting. There were already photographs and videos of them being broadcasted, because Channel 4 [the government-controlled television network] was already taken over by the rebels and some civilians.”

Looking at the photographs of people celebrating (Figures 6.4 and 6.5), Sister Ping recalled that she and the other nuns also went to the Malacañang to help prevent the people from looting the palace. Much to their dismay, people had already barged in and took items. “But everyone was overjoyed,” said Sister Ping, “people were approaching and thanking us. They even gave us high-fives.”

“I see happiness,” Ricardo said as he looked closely at the photograph (Figure 5.5) to recognize some details. “I remember, there were always collectibles in rallies such as pins with lines like, ‘*Hindi ka Nag-iisa*’ (You are not Alone), ‘Cory’, or ‘[Marcos] Resign,’ to show their support for Cory. There were also yellow and white headbands, like what some of the boys were wearing in the photo, with ‘*Kay Cory Ako*’ (I am with Cory).” Ricardo recalled that some of these were handmade, and some were mass produced and sold from 25 centavos to 1 peso. He

remembered buying many of these collectibles. Ricardo also pointed to what looked like articles of clothing on sticks as flags (see Figure 6.5), “These were some of the things they took from the palace. A lot of people really just took whatever they could. I think, a friend of mine had a piece of barbed wire that she got from there.” Ricardo explained that many people also cut and took some pieces of barbed wire, “Barbed wire was very symbolic. Because Malacañang is in Mendiola, and Mendiola was surrounded by barbed wires before to keep people out of the vicinity of Malacañang.” These appeared to be people’s expressions of freedom and finally getting back what was taken from them.

“Look at them, they’re rejoicing, ‘no?’” said Sister Aida referring to the people in Malacañang (Figure 6.5). “Imagine, Marcos had to flee. Imagine that! We could drive away a dictator,” Sister Aida was beaming as she continued:

For me, I would like to think that the Filipinos got a vision of what they want for the country – a desire, a yearning for what they want. We can be united. We can go beyond our differences if we want to. It took an EDSA to show this and to prove this to us. We should work together to push that vision. For the young Filipinos that didn’t experience EDSA, this is something that they should know. We should remember that we have that power. I don’t think we can talk of a Filipino nation without EDSA, it’s a mark, *eh*.

Sister Aida did not specifically state whether that vision is political or economic, but what she emphasized was the power of unity and collective remembrance of what people’s mass action can do. Even though many presume that the revolution was a failure or missed opportunity, Ricardo believes that the EDSA People Power Revolution should be treated as a proud moment for Filipinos. “Many say that if EDSA did not happen, the gains of martial law could have continued. And this is from the people who also lived through that time,” related Ricardo, “They talk about the infrastructure. Maybe they have forgotten that they might look nice on the outside, but what’s behind them is a lot of ugliness. And it

should not be repeated. It was a tragedy then, and if it happens again, it will just be repeated. Then, we would simply forget what happened previously.”

More than the key personalities and turn of events included in the collective memory and narrative of EDSA, the three of them want this event to be remembered as a demonstration of unity and power coming from the once powerless and divided people. Sister Aida said that with the current state of the Philippines, Filipinos are divided and in dire need of proper communication. “That’s what I don’t understand. We already experienced martial law for many years, yet the current president [Rodrigo Duterte] is vocal about his support of martial law and the Marcoses. He even allowed Marcos to be buried at the *Libingan [ng mga Bayani]*.¹¹⁹ It’s as if the president took our history for granted. Nothing is important to him but his own words, his own self. He kept spewing damaging statements. I feel so annoyed.” commented Sister Aida. There had been calls for people to move on from the years of the Marcos regime, but Ricardo retorted, “We cannot move on because the issues involved have not been closed. There is no apology. There is no sense of remorse. At least the Japanese ambassador has tried to say he is remorseful, but the Marcoses have not said anything at all.” But, Sister Aida still expressed her hope, “I still think that people had not forgotten the atrocities committed under the Marcos regime, especially now that there have been a lot of extra-judicial killings. I still believe that the number of Duterte supporters is just a minority.” Sister Aida trusts in the power of numbers – the mass movement of people towards peace and change, similar to what they experienced in EDSA in 1986. Similarly, Sister Ping considered the EDSA People Power Revolution as the ‘seed’ from which people could have a new beginning. “It’s like planting a tree,”

¹¹⁹ Heroes’ Cemetery in Manila, Philippines.

explained Sister Ping, “then we go back to that tree and to that situation [1986 revolution] and we would realize that we could achieve it...we could have peace. I hope that we and the future generations will go back to that and reap the fruits. Especially now that we have so many different struggles.”

The provenance’s stories and thoughts reflect what Lagmay (1986) has posited about the Filipinos being skilled at improvising ways and solutions in problematic situations, but they always need and look for group affiliation. The awakening of the Filipinos surfaced when there were events that served as significant turning points that affected large groups of people. A sense of community is also evident in the people’s collective dissent. Lastly, the people’s display of faith, light-heartedness, and celebration is what distinctly characterized the EDSA People Power Revolution. The Filipinos, perhaps unconsciously, used their inclination to celebrate to weaken a system that they thought was oppressive and exercised their religious tradition as a righteous or ‘moral’ means to address the situation. Filipinos may not have a single, clear vision of what they wanted to achieve aside from ousting the dictator and regaining their freedom, but what is induced from how the photographs affected the provenance is an array of recollections where people power emerged not only from the political will of the people against a dictator, but also from inherent Filipino qualities and culture. These affective experience of the provenance with the images demonstrates how the reactivation of photographs operates socially -- creating individual and collective memories, and giving a more nuanced understanding of the past so that people can look back and learn from it.

Photographs in this Chapter



*Figure 6.1. Sister Aida and Soldiers
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo; Replicates Figure 4.13)*



*Figure 6.2. People coming to EDSA
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo; Replicates Figure 4.12)*



*Figure 6.3. St. Paul Sisters Porfiria “Ping” Ocariza (left) and Terry Burias (right) leading the Rosary
(Photo by Pete Reyes)*



*Figure 6.4. People Entering the Malacañang
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo)*



*Figure 6.5. People Inside the Malacañang
(Photo by Sonny Camarillo)*

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion: Bringing Archives Closer to the People

"It is not enough for public archives to ensure equal access to their holdings. Even if they do so in terms of constitutionally entrenched rights of public access. They, together with private archives, must become creators of users; or in other words of the popular slogan, they must "take archives to the people.""

- Verne Harris, 1996,
"Transforming South African Archives: Discourse and Delivery"

This study examined the potential of photographs as performative agents of evidence and memory in building a people's archives and in contributing to the study of the martial law period in the Philippines under the Marcos regime. Through the notion of hospitality and photo elicitation interviews, the martial law photographs were reactivated and used to invite individual memories and more nuanced discussions of what transpired in the past and how this past transcends and operates in the present. In developing this study, I interviewed Filipino photographers who documented this era, the photographs' subjects and eyewitnesses, archivists, historians, and symbolic entrepreneurs. These are the members of the 're-conceptualized' provenance, following Nesmith's *societal provenance* and Bastian's *co-creatorship of records*. Listening to the provenance did not only provide contextualization but was also an act of bearing witness to the people in the margins – those whose voices are not customarily included in the dominant narrative.

In this chapter, I present a summary of the findings and analysis, as well as the perspectives and recommended strategies of the other essential elements of the provenance tasked in building public memory and understanding of the past—archivists, symbolic entrepreneurs, and historians. Lastly, I discuss the implications of this study for archival theory and practice that can give direction to

the building of a people's archives and contribute to the discussion of the martial law era in the Philippines.

Martial Law Photographs as Evidence and Memory Sites

My findings demonstrate the potential of photographs to act as evidence and memory sites – or spaces that unfold the continuities and discontinuities of the past to the present, and conjure the people's knowledge, memories, feelings, and experiences of the events and people documented. What the photographs show and their backstories augment, is their evidentiality as archival records. Alongside the framed events and people, the production and circulation of photographs were bound by forces that also tell much about the overall social conditions of that period – perilous and heavily controlled, restricted by government censorship and military aggression, and regulated by the interests of institutions such as wire agencies that affected the ownership and release of these visual records. The ownership, production, and circulation of these photographs are also a reflection of the inequalities and power struggle depicted in the photographs, and in the histories and broader context that enfolded them. The photographers may have possessed the power to be the *auteur* of images, as Sontag (1973) puts it, but they still had to play along with – or in most cases, against – the forces that governed the system. The photographers put their lives on the line every time they took photographs of mass mobilizations and military hostility, and documented the situation of the resisting groups behind bars, on the streets, or in the mountains. More than being art, photographs were created and used by these photographers as instruments of counterpower, documentation, and persuasion.

The subjects and eyewitnesses, on the other hand, not only recounted their past experiences and lingered over their painful memories as they looked at the

photographs. As memory sites, the photographs may have reminded them of their suffering under the regime and re-opened some unhealed wounds, but the photographs also became instrumental for them to recount and show how they coped and survived the 'dark' era. They may be victims of martial law – but instead of revering their suffering and struggles and rendering themselves as passive and helpless victims of martial rule, their stories outside of the photographic frames indicate their tenacity, courage, and desire to live. Some of them have decided to continuously fight for their country and people's rights, while some have retreated to live a quiet life for the sake of their own and family's safety. Their memories also let them connect with other people whom they remembered and associated with the events depicted in the photographs. They were not in the same physical space, but photographs allowed them to be connected as a 'community' through a memory space. Also, for those who are continuously struggling either for justice or subsistence, the photographs were a catharsis that enabled their feelings and reflective stance to be openly expressed. The photographs and memories of the provenance also brought to the fore the culture and political psychology of the Filipinos, which the provenance also assume as one way to address the current and persisting problems in Philippine society. With the prevailing misuse of power, steadily growing corruption, and offenses against civilians and ordinary people, those who witnessed both martial law and its end believe that there is power in numbers and community, and it is possible to achieve peace without violence.

The martial law photographs and the stories that come with them serve as evidence of injustices and inequalities that prevailed during the regime, which have continued even after Marcos' rule. While the photographs show the people's resistance to government power, military abuse, and social and political disparity during the Marcos regime, the members of the provenance also relate their

memories and experiences to the present. There may have been changes in government rule since the restoration of democracy, but people face the same issues – human rights violations, political injustices, and unequal distribution of power which leads to inequitable access to the country’s resources, poverty, a struggle for land, dwelling and subsistence, and an unceasing fight for survival and recognition (Anderson, 1988; Bello & Elinson, 1981; David, 1996; Hutchcroft, 1991; Kessler, 1989). There have been calls to address these social and political issues, and archives must respond and not turn a blind eye to these concerns. The act of looking back to build a future is a viable principle in archiving and building other initiatives in response to the call of justice and the need to raise historical consciousness. The re-conceptualized provenance—photographers, subjects and eyewitnesses, archivists, symbolic entrepreneurs and historians – are no longer silent and detached individuals, but they now give more context and breathe new life into photographs as archival records.

Welcoming Strategies for the People, By the People

Building a people’s archives entails the need for the archivists’ acceptance of their power to reconstruct, and at the same time, marginalize memories and narratives. Traditionally, archives set the stage for the powerful and overlooked the powerless – further hiding the latter (Carter, 2006; Zinn, 1977). As archives will always have missing parts and silences, a people’s archives, which truly serves the people and accommodates previously silenced voices can be formed (Ketelaar, 1992). The hospitality of the archives, as put forward by Verne Harris (2002), invites and welcomes ‘others’ to the archives. These ‘others’ have been marginalized by the status quo in both the theory and practice of archiving, and in the prevailing dominant narrative or collective memory. I argued in this study that in the people’s archives enabled by hospitality, the neutrality in the archives, primacy of textual

records, limited treatment of the provenance, and the narratives created by dominant scripts and templates are challenged. The people's archives, therefore, welcomes photographs, previously unheard voices, and strategies that will take archives to the people (refer to Figure 1.1).

To complete the strands of hospitality that will facilitate the re-activation of photographs and building the people's archives, I interviewed archivists and symbolic entrepreneurs connected with organizations holding materials used for the study of Philippine history and understanding of the social and political conditions of the country. I also interviewed historians to find out their views on the functions and importance of photographs to their scholarship and pedagogy in general, and in dealing with martial law as a contested period in Philippine history in particular. It was quite easy to find and interview the librarians and archivists, such as Mrs. Salvacion Arlante and Mr. Rodolfo Tarlit of the University of the Philippines Diliman, Mrs. Emma Rey of the House of Representatives Library, and Mrs. Mercy Servida of the Lopez Museum and Library as I already knew them and the nature of their holdings even before I commenced this research. I also initially asked for their advice and leads when I was starting to do archival research on martial law, photographs, and the photographers/photojournalists during this era. The leads they provided and my colleagues' referrals directed me to historians such as Prof. Ricardo Jose of the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines Diliman, and Prof. Juvanni 'Juv' Caballero, *Bangsamoro* and Mindanao Studies Historian, as well as to the key persons of organizations advocating the release of political detainees (Ms. Amaryllis 'Marie' Hilao of the Society of Ex-Detainees Against Detention and Arrest or SELDA), protection of human rights (Ms. Sunshine Serrano of Task Force Detainees of the Philippines or TFDP), resistance against the abuse of workers and laborers (Ms. Nenita 'Ka Nitz' Gonzaga of *Kilusang Mayo Uno* or May First Labor Center), and remembrance of the spirit of EDSA (Mr.

Celso 'JR' Santiago of the EDSA People Power Commission or EPPC). These key persons or social movement actors are the symbolic entrepreneurs, who according to Armstrong & Cragg (2006) have the mnemonic capacity to create resonance and notable potential for the institutionalization of public memories, commemoration, and appeal for social change.

I presented the photographs to them, and all said that it was their first time to see them, except for the photograph Sister Ping Ocariza during the EDSA People Power Revolution (Figure 6.3). Even though it was their first time to see and 'interact' with these photographs, they nonetheless could identify with the people and events shown because of the nature of their work, and their prior knowledge and experience of the martial law period and the years that followed. These people, who are also part of the provenance of the photographs, have the agency to intervene in the reconstruction of history and collective memory – and more importantly, to bring the photographs and the entire archives closer to the people.

All of them agreed on the importance of photographs in shaping public memory and historical consciousness. Three strategies surfaced that could potentially establish links between archives and people – *preservation*, *pedagogy*, and *storytelling*. These strategies may not be particularly novel because archives, libraries, and other memory sites and organizations have already been practicing these. Nevertheless, they are presented here more in the way of a reiteration of the need to acknowledge and embrace the power and role of archives in shaping memory and history. As Blais & Enns (1990) have argued, the traditional view and practice of public programming and outreach in the archives should be continually challenged and improved. This means that the retention and practice of the traditional core archival functions also require constant rethinking and evaluation

of the archivists' purpose and goals. For instance, archivists have been conventionally obliged to be neutral and detached from the politics of the historical moment they are documenting or 'preserving.' But the power of narrative and storytelling can make a strong description and contextualization to these materials, especially if they themselves are witnesses of the actual events or secondary witnesses of living histories and memories of those who directly experienced them.

Preservation

Preservation prolongs the life of archival materials and the information they contain by protecting them from physical damage and deterioration. Mercy Servida, the head librarian of the Lopez Museum and Library¹²⁰ for 36 years, acknowledged preservation as the foremost responsibility of archivists. With her experience of handling photos and providing reference services that involve photographs, Mercy pointed out:

There are a lot of photos, a lot of them fade, even if we keep them in a controlled environment, like controlled humidity and temperature. You would still see some photographs that looked as if they melted. I touched one, and it [outer layer of the photograph] transferred right into my skin. It's wiped out. History's gone. Wiped out!

Because of this, Mercy said that the library decided to scan and preserve the photographs under their custody even if they are relatively new. Currently the library holds photographs dating back to the 1960's, which includes those published in newspapers before the declaration of martial in 1972. Media outfits, including newspapers, were immediately put under the government's control and the majority were shut down after this date, leaving a gap in the collection of the

¹²⁰ Oldest privately owned *Filipiniana* collection based in Manila. It houses rare books and manuscripts relating to Philippine history. The library also houses an extensive collection of photographs from different donors and newspaper agencies such as *Manila Times*. In 2005, the Lopez Museum started to digitize their photograph collection, which is still going on up to now. To learn more about the library and museum, visit <https://lopez-museum.com>.

museum, which is likely also the case for other public and private archives and libraries in the Philippines. For this reason, seeing the martial law photographs for the first time delighted Mercy who expressed her hope that more freelance photojournalists would make their work publicly known by donating them to archives and libraries for preservation and dissemination.

Historian Ricardo Jose, who is keen on photography and documentation, also maintained that duplicates or having preservation copies of photographs is necessary. Thinking about the photographers who have not deposited their photographs to a repository for safekeeping, Ricardo discussed the pros and cons of analog and digital photographs:

The hardcopy of course, they fade. Negatives also fade, if you don't take care of them. They will deteriorate. There will be stains in there. Digital can also be lost. Because you can erase it. In magnetic field, you wipe it out. That's why you need to make duplicates. But the thing about digital is it is easier to share. And then if you want to print it out, you can still print it out. And in fact, it's even cheaper if you have it print out unlike film, you are still left to work with chemicals, dark room and everything.

But whatever the format the photographers are keeping, these photographs need to be preserved properly. Mercy saw the usefulness and practicality of donating these photographs to repositories that have the capacity to preserve them. Aside from photographers, historians and other researchers also have a penchant for collecting photographs and other primary sources. "They should help the librarians," said Rodolfo Tarlit, former head of the University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library. Rodolfo maintained that photographers and scholars should not be simply taking and keeping records to themselves. "Look at the works of famous Filipino scholars....and their collection. They collected so many, yet they didn't give them to academic or special libraries," Rodolfo said.

The purpose of preservation is not simply to protect the physical properties of the materials, but to safeguard the information they carry and make them accessible across generations. Hence, preserving photographs saves the memories, people, and segments of stories and reality from being forever lost. Recognizing the significance of context and informational value of photographs more than aesthetics or composition, Mercy claimed, “sometimes, the quality of photographs such as color are not that important... what’s important is that you [the photographer or creator] documented it. Whether it’s black and white or colored, it really does not matter. As long as the history is there and the details are intact. I think, these are more vital.” In the same vein, former head of the University of the Philippines Main Library Rodolfo Tarlit, suggested a more inclusive appraisal and selection strategy that would complement the preservation and description of materials. “Gather materials of all points of views,” said Rodolfo, “then describe [the materials] and put guides. You should create informative abstracts.” Even with the limited time and resources available for archival description and preservation, Rodolfo believed that the simple and traditional ways of bringing out the information from and about the archives would be helpful to historians and researchers.

Preservation should be strongly driven by motivation. According to Schüller-Zwierlein (2015), lack of motivation of the archivists is a far greater risk in preservation than environmental factors and natural decay. Former heads of the University of the Philippines Diliman library, Salvacion Arlante and Rodolfo Tarlit, believed that the newer generation of archivists should be motivated by the principle to collect more and reactivate the records. Salvacion asserted:

Whatever is available should be taken. They should be taken at face value. If someone donates, take it. Accumulate everything, then gather and sort. Who else would do that? It’s us. We cannot just let these sources and information go because these would leave gaps. And then

once you put them in the inactive storage, you need to go back and check on them. You revive [the records].

Salvacion emphasized the need for being proactive and open to accepting donations. She and Rodolfo then recalled how they, the librarians of the university during the martial law times, clandestinely collected leaflets, handbills, and newsletters from left-wing underground groups. These materials now comprise the Radical Papers and Human Rights Collection of the University of the Philippines Diliman. Then in 2002, the UP Library opened its Human Rights Reading Room containing the SELDA¹²¹ papers which can be utilized for research, information dissemination and other human rights activities.

But then again, there will always be limitations when it comes to accepting donations especially in academic libraries and archives. These institutions are bound by their own policies and primary objectives of answering the demands of their academic community. Therefore, non-governmental organizations should also do their part in gathering and preserving important materials relating to their advocacies. Sunshine Serrano, part-time curator of the Museum of Courage and Resistance and staff of the Research, Documentation, and Information Program of the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), said that her organization has been receiving donations from various freelance photojournalists to be included in their collection of evidence of human rights violations that began in 1974, two years after the declaration of martial rule in the Philippines. TFDP has a Documentation Section which holds thousands of recorded cases that also include photographs of martial law victims. Their work has continued even after the lifting

¹²¹ SELDA stands for Samahan ng Ex-Detainees Laban sa Detensyon at Aresto or Society of Ex-Detainees Against Detention and Arrest. It was founded in 1984 by political detainees during the martial law period. Since then, it has been actively helping political detainees in the Philippines. For more information about SELDA, visit <https://seldapilipinas.wordpress.com>

of martial law and restoration of democracy in 1986. “There’s still a lot to be done,” Sunshine said, referring to the gathering of evidence, especially photographs of the martial law era. She claimed that there should be more initiatives to uncover the stories about this period:

There are people saying that martial law was a period of prosperity and people really liked it. But on the other side you would see these records, these evidences. Pictures of severed heads and burnt corpses. Even if they say that Marcos did many great things during his presidency, people should know the other side of the story.

Symbolic entrepreneurs like Sunshine, have the motivation to gather and continuously preserve the materials despite the lack of resources and technical training in handling these archival records. Nitz “Ka Nitz” Gonzaga¹²², Vice President for Women of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU or May First Movement Labor Center), used to be the office secretary of the militant group in 1972. However, she claimed that despite being the leading labor center in the Philippines, KMU does not have a centralized records storage system:

It's actually hard to keep track of them. We had a lot, but a lot were borrowed. I still have some on Facebook, but many of them were also borrowed and never returned. It's a good thing people like Boy [Bagwis] have copies of photos. But nowadays I'm not sure where the documents are.

Although Ka Nitz believed that the spearheading organization should be the one in-charge of keeping the records such as photographs that can be used for their publicity materials and information kits, KMU does not have enough budget and space for an operational central archives or records center. The same problem is being experienced by the TFDP, except that they have already established a small museum. “We need to tell the history, and the current conditions of the people,”

¹²² Ka Nitz, 75 years old at the time of the interview in 2016, was also detained for three months – from September 23, 1972-December 21, 1972. She said that she was arrested by the military to make her an informant, but they failed. Despite the intimidation she experienced during military interrogations, Ka Nitz did not give out pertinent information about her group. Luckily, she was released without being tortured.

Sunshine promptly said after explaining the barriers and challenges they encounter as human rights workers and members of a progressive organization. As they continue the fight for human rights even after martial rule, aside from the secondary trauma they have been absorbing from the victims, their safety as human rights workers has also been increasingly compromised. Emma Rey, the Executive Director of the House of Representative library and an activist during her college years at the University of the Philippines, insisted that there should be an organization to initiate the collection and preservation of all the materials relating to martial law era. “The National Archives of the Philippines should do it,” Emma said, perceiving this as a pressing concern to be addressed by the National Archives. All their thoughts regarding the need for the collection and preservation of photographs and other primary sources relating to the martial law period in the Philippines call for a nationwide or collective initiative and participatory approach from different organizations and communities.

Pedagogy

Getting the records collected and preserved is not the end of their life and purpose. As part of their reactivation, they can be used to facilitate teaching and learning by allowing the people to have access to their own history. Students can be engaged and connected to historical events by using primary sources, and even private archives, in classroom teaching and designing of curricula and instructional programs (Douglas, 2017; Zastrow, 2017). Juvanni “Juv” Caballero, associate professor in History at Mindanao State University in Iligan City, strongly acknowledged this and emphasized the ability of photographs to motivate the students into learning and ‘experiencing’ history:

These would give us a concrete visual on visiting the past. You can vividly describe events. But in the absence of a photograph, other historians would ask artists to render a scene, like the Battle of Mactan

for example. So, between a depiction or an artist's rendition of the event, and a photograph, I think the photograph is more powerful because it is the actual setting... At least there is one side that we could see so I think the photographs will really help. And from the pedagogical side of history, if you teach history and just iterate and have the students read, they'll find history boring; this is why we can't blame the students if they're bored. So, if we have pictures, I think that will help a lot in telling the stories of the past. And if we want to mold the minds and hearts of our students, we should start in the classroom.

In using photographs to teach history and make the past alive, Ricardo asserted that these resources must be used with caution. Because photographs do not convey simple truths, the language of photographs must be spoken and practiced through visual literacy (Lesy, 2007). Internal and external examination of these records must therefore be done. Ricardo explained:

If you're not familiar with the subject then you take it for granted, the photograph might have been doctored, mislabeled, or the date might be wrong. If you can look at the original print, you inspect whether it has been tampered and the paper used should tell you about the time of its production. You should also check, 'Was the image manipulated?' That's external examination. As for the internal examination, you ask yourself, 'Does the picture match with the label or caption? Do the elements of the photograph accurately match the time and context of the period or events it is showing? And what did the photographer think or intend to show in this photograph?

Exercising visual literacy through close examination of photographs is an ideal practice in interpreting and using photographs in teaching. However, aside from having the skill to analyze these records, more problems rest on their inaccessibility. Juv revealed that his and his colleagues' difficulty in teaching Philippine history in Mindanao, the second largest island in the southern Philippines, partly stemmed from the lack of materials and the approach used by earlier history scholars in writing Philippine history. He added that more photographs of the martial law period are needed to be used as educational materials in teaching history:

Visuals like these should be seen by both teachers and students. We do not often see these even in the standard history textbooks written by

Agoncillo, Zaide, and Constantino. Also, most of these texts are even concentrated in Manila or Luzon.

Juv readily recognized that there would always be gaps in history – both in research and teaching. Other scholars and teachers should then take the opportunity to address these gaps, “No one has the monopoly of knowledge production,” Juv asserted. As an archivist, Emma clearly saw the use of photographs in helping the historians to address these gaps. “Photography is really vital in documenting parts of our history. Look at the photographs of the members of the underground,” Emma said, referring to the photographs of the resistance taken by Lito Ocampo and Alex Baluyut, “if you release these today, a part of writing and teaching of history could be filled in, if not complete.” Another strategy is to have a well-defined agenda for the interpretation of materials to be used for teaching. Juv explained:

So, my research and teaching always focus on nation building. For example, if I and my students look at primary sources...at these photographs...we use the nation building perspective in analyzing them. For example, these photographs [NPA in Mindanao], why are there insurgencies and what are the conditions that drive these people to be part of the resistance? Also, why do people have such reactions towards them? History then should be integrated with Political Science. We should make the students understand history in relation to the existing politics of that time. We can even start discussing this with the children, at K-12.

Even if historians are conventionally expected to be objective and neutral, Juv maintained that having biases in interpretation is unavoidable, “that’s why it’s important to have a framework. And different sources will be selected to be in line with the framework and corroborate your claims.” Similarly, Ricardo argued that teachers and historians must deviate from the conventions of writing and interpreting history that is purely based on textual records. “Even if there are no textual records, there can still be history,” Ricardo said, noting the substance of alternative sources for research and teaching. He explained:

History is not entirely books, it's not entirely print. You can touch it. You can feel it. You can listen to it. So that's it, there's a whole variety of things out there. And then you write. You take into consideration the smell, the sound of your surroundings. Otherwise you cannot write a readable history.

As Ricardo emphasized the need to activate all the senses in finding and interpreting historical sources, he said that the description and context of photographs are not final, "there's more outside. The photographs as records – they have stories to tell." Ricardo explained about what he thought about the role of photographs and archives in teaching and telling these stories:

Today's a generation that is visual-oriented. So, the task is not just in the archives, it's a broader field. In fact, that's been my stand ever since. The archives has a base, yes, but you have to go to the field and see when it happened, even if it has already changed through time. You get the feel of it. The terrain, the contour. All of it. The colors. Because it's more than that. Even if you don't know the exact story behind the photographs or what contributed to a particular image, it's okay because there's so much more to discover. Again, each person sees a picture in a different way – there are many potentials of seeing it. People would see it differently, with different focal points.

These pedagogical points raised by the provenance entail the need to be more open to the use of photographs and their various interpretations. The limitation of photographs in not providing absolute historical truths can be considered an advantage for teaching and a potential for widening the people's perspectives and ability to express and accommodate different stories.

Storytelling

Verne Harris (2007) espouses that records are about storytelling – and this human activity of telling stories can answer the call of justice, and continuous examination of records and their social contexts. The compelling purpose of storytelling holds true for people like Amaryllis "Marie" Hilao-Enriquez, chairperson of SELDA (Society of Ex-Detainees Against Detention and Arrest) and a former political

detainee of the Marcos regime. “Their [Marcoses] biggest mistake was that they kept me, us, alive,” Marie firmly said, declaring her and organization’s activism and engagement in spreading the stories of the martial rule’s victims like her, “I will never stop speaking and fighting for justice.” Marie, as a student activist in the ‘70’s, was arrested, detained, maltreated, and gave birth to her eldest child while inside prison in 1974. Her older sister, Liliosa “Lily” Hilao, was also a student activist and the first reported death of a political detainee under the Marcos regime¹²³. As one of the plaintiffs of the human rights class action suit against Marcos filed in Hawaii court in the mid-1986, Marie expressed her anger and continuous act of defiance:

Up to now, we are still fighting since we have not yet reclaimed the ill-gotten wealth of Marcos. We wanted him to suffer. And that’s why we don’t want him to get buried at the *Libingan ng Mga Bayani* (Heroes’ Cemetery) because he is definitely not a hero. No shame really... and they are trying to revise history, repurposing the name of Marcos. This is why we are always reminding the youth about this. Thank God, he [Ferdinand ‘Bongbong’ Marcos Jr.] didn’t get elected [as vice president last 2016 national elections].

Sunshine, who has been immersed for years with the various records of political detainees and human rights violations under the martial law period, stressed the use of photographs in telling the stories of those who suffered:

It is really important to tell the stories of these people and see them. We have photographs that show that these are real. We can fight those movements who want to erase history – and those who present questionable facts as history. It is also not right that history is always written by the victors. Look, these are the victims. They should also be acknowledged.

Organizations such as the EDSA People Power Commission (EPPC) supported the campaigns of SELDA and CARMMA or Campaign Against the Return

¹²³ Marie recalled the painful death of her 23-year-old sister. They were told by the military that Lily committed suicide inside the prison, which they did not accept as true. “She’s a very brave girl. She’s asthmatic and physically weak, but she’s very brave. She wouldn’t commit suicide for sure,” Marie sadly said. Aside from being a school paper writer critical of the Marcos government, Lily also secretly organized the urban poor. Marie continued, “When she died, a lot of people from the slum areas came up to our family and said a lot of good things about her. They were also grieving for Lily’s death. Lily helped them. She’s very kind.” To read more about Lily, see <http://www.bantayog.org/hilao-liliosa-r/>.

of the Marcoses to Malacañang for the recognition and restitution of the victims. Presently, the Human Rights Victims' Claims Board (HRVCB) has approved a total of 11,103 claimants out of more than 75,000 applications to receive monetary reparations.¹²⁴ As of this writing, checks are still being distributed to the claimants although the term of HRVCB ended last May 12, 2018. This number of claimants still does not cover all the victims and their experiences under the regime. This also means that there will always be 'cracks' in the public memory regarding the regime and the silenced individuals. These cracks, according to Harris (2007), can be further opened and archivists can be engaged to fill them in. Archivists can work together with other organizations and communities in making unheard stories heard.

In uncovering people's stories, photographs have affective capabilities that stimulate curiosity and feelings. "Photographs are of course more vivid than written [records]. Even a four-year-old who would see these would ask, 'Why is this happening? Why is he being hit? Why are the police like that?'" Rodolfo said, referring to Rolando 'Balut' Lumagas' photographs of the labor strike in ARTEX. As photographs are not merely reflections of their time and place but are also extensions of the social context in which images were produced (Burke, 2001), photographs of resistance can be seen not merely as anti-establishment but evidence of the human conditions under political turmoil. "You know it was pitiful and irritating time back then," Salvacion claimed as she browsed through the photographs of the NPA in Mindanao, "You see, they would rather escape to the highlands. Since the arrests back then were vile. All the atrocities and harassment, and the SONA's, you would opt to escape to the highlands or whatever. Poor them."

¹²⁴ To see the complete list of names, visit <http://hrvclaimsboard.gov.ph/index.php/intro-for-list-of-approved-claimants-under-ra-10368>.

Rodolfo seconded, “There were strikes... mobilizations... and they would get arrested. They feared for their lives so that’s why they went to the mountains. They chose to live there.” Salvacion further explained that with the emotions that come along with the photographs, those looking at them would reflect:

They [photographs] trigger emotions and if people would see them, it would bring back memories that are unwritten. The memories are revived. The emotions are triggered and the anger and the sentiments would arise. That they would say, ‘It’s so good to be free again!’ And if there were no visuals, only texts, there would be no impact. They could also validate the claims of people who were still living or who were there during that time.

These emotions could also reveal more about the plight of the victims. For instance, upon seeing Rodolfo Benosa’s photograph inside his prison cell, Marie expressed her grief as memories of her own torture rushed back. “*Ay*, he’s tortured. Look at him. He’s tortured. He’s so thin,” Marie then snapped:

I don’t want to see that anymore. Those tortures...what they did to us. I clearly remember all of them. *Mga gagong ‘yan* (Those idiots). I hope they would all die...or they had already died. *Mga hayop sila* (They’re wild animals).

The hurtful memories of their own experience were the driving force for the groups, such as SELDA, to continuously fight the Marcoses, human rights abuses, and the prospect of going through another dictatorship. Sunshine, who grew up during the martial law years, did not experience any of the hardships experienced by the people she would usually encounter in her work. However, whenever she sees images as evidence of hostility towards the working class and children, she always feels troubled and angry at the system that causes this condition. After looking at the photographs of the workers’ strike, political detainees and rally of children asking for their loved ones to be released from jail, Sunshine said:

I may be biased toward the workers, but I really think that the workers are in the most pitiful state. They’re holding strikes instead of simply earning money for their poor families. Imagine, they’re the breadwinners, and then they get assaulted and sick. And their children, they’re the other victims. For example, the children of political

detainees. Some of them grew up pained and even displeased with the movement or the concept of activism. This is because some of them lost their parents or family members while being in the movement. I know some of them who feel that way.

To reach out to more people, especially the younger generations, who did not experience and live through the regime, Celso “JR” Santiago, former EPPC’s chief of staff, strongly believed in the power of storytelling to avoid forgetting and apathy. Moving on can only be done when justice has been served to the victims. JR also shared his worries about the youth forgetting the narratives of martial law because the materials, such as photographs, are not shown to them. With this, JR suggested the possible presentation of these photos to the youth today that could aid storytelling:

I think multi-media evidence will really help because this generation has very short attention spans. They’re very visual. They need short bursts. And sometimes a picture can give you that and a video. But when you give them long texts, you’ve lost them. And I think that’s what should be taken into consideration. There should be a proof that it happened, and secondly, it must be used correctly. All these media can teach young people, arouse emotions, and hopefully – to inspire them. You can show and say, ‘Look at what your parents did. Look at how other people sacrificed. They put their lives at stake for the country. Now, what will you do?’

Aside from combining photographs with multimedia and other creative strategies of narrating stories of and from the past, JR said that these stories and lessons can be built on the lessons of the events and actions of people that ended Marcos’ dictatorship. JR was referring to the photographs of EDSA that serve as evidence and reminders of how people’s power fought tyranny:

These pictures show that it was the people’s revolution. It was not the revolution of Ninoy. It was not the revolution of *Tita* Cory. It was not the revolution of the Aquinos or Enrile or Ramos. It was the people’s revolution and these show it. This photo [the mass of people coming to EDSA] this is a primary evidence saying that the masses are the heroes.

JR reiterated the purpose of the EPPC as an agency that does not only remind the people, especially the youth about the spirit of EDSA, but also instills in them that the fight is not yet over. "The state has not changed much after the 1986 revolution," JR said, "it is up to the people to decide the fate of the country...it's not only up to the government." With the extent of stories behind the photographs and the memories and social context they impart, JR believed that the act of conveying these stories can help empower the youth:

You owe everything to this country. What will you do to give back? What can you do to make this country a better nation? It can be by electing good leaders, even by doing projects alone or simply helping other people. People power doesn't have to be big. Being against tyranny doesn't have to be always life threatening, right? Standing up for something doesn't always mean you're going to die. It can be in other forms. We hope that we can really inspire the young people, empower them – and let them know that they could bring change especially if they are united.

Now in her 60's and experiencing difficulty walking straight, Marie fervently puts her hope in the current generation. She and her colleagues in SELDA wish to continue the fight and pass the stories to the younger ones. They aspire that one day, justice will be granted to them and their loved ones and friends who died before them. Marie stressed:

There were people who stood up and fought and didn't sleep at those times. They rose to the occasion and joined the ordinary people in their struggles. And for the next time that this would happen again...when someone will attempt to be a dictator and take away our freedom, these courageous people could be their model and inspiration to rise and fight. I would just cry if no one would fight anymore. But, while there are still those who fight and while there are children who say that they, too, would fight...I am and will be happy.

People's Archives and Its Continuous Work

The historians, archivists and symbolic entrepreneurs shared their suggestions on how to take full advantage of the photographs in providing evidence and retelling

the memories of martial law to the current and future generations. Their propositions and feelings while examining the photographs were greatly built upon their personal background and experience, as well as their ongoing advocacy and social and political stance. They all called for a systematic and perpetual drive to collect and preserve materials for public education and dissemination of stories of struggles for people's rights, freedom and democracy. These individuals can be further tapped as a community that will proactively seek to collect and preserve more memories and voices of the marginalized. These continuing efforts and resistance to the dominant power that disregards the less powerful for many years should be in place. These are needed especially in the Philippines, where many structural issues and social problems have continued to besiege the country even decades after its transition from the dictatorial rule to democracy.

Engagement with memories is particularly vital for transitioning societies because human rights-related records, including the memories and testimonies of abuses collected from fact-finding missions, are necessary for historical accountability, resolution of cases, confrontation of the past state-sponsored crimes, and building of new democratic governments (Montgomery, 2004). Societies undergoing political transitions have a greater need for this engagement. As transitional justice is the "attempt to deal with past violence in societies undergoing or attempting some form of political transition" (Bell, 2009, p. 7), not all societies going through this process have completely transitioned. Ideally, transitional justice should transform the lives of the victims and survivors, but unfortunately, they frequently remain economically and politically marginalized (Winter, 2013). One of the reasons is that the global and prevailing specifications of transitional justice may not fit in all types of democracies, especially in states where structural violence and inequalities are deeply embedded in the system

(Nagy, 2008). Another reason is the lack of persistence from the different sectors responsible for a progressing and sustainable transition that truly addresses the past wrongdoings. This has been the problem in the Philippines where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was never accomplished, the repossession of the stolen wealth by the Marcoses and his cronies was a grueling process, legal punishment of the transgressors was never seen, and the remunerations for the victims of martial law were slow moving. However, there are also problems even in societies where there were initially successful human rights and justice work and programs. For example, the discourse for 'archives for justice' in South Africa in the 1990s as the nation's vision towards confronting their oppressive past in the post-apartheid era had received so much praise all over the world, especially from societies that were also subjected to the same struggles and horrors (Harris, 2011). South Africa built various memory sites such as archives and museums, organized commemorative work, and effectively formed and implemented a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. All these memory work were done to tackle their sorrowful past and for South Africa not to go through the same oppression and struggles again. However, decades after the successful and commendable work of the progressive archivists in South Africa, "'archives for justice' is no longer the driving energy in South African archives" and "archives and other memory institutions are no longer the sexy instruments of transformation and the shapers of new metanarratives that they were" (Harris, 2011, p. 115). Harris declares that there is a lack of continuity on the part of the progressive archivists and institutions supporting them who once had the vision and determination to create and build archives that respond to the call of justice. Violence towards foreign nationals and enduring social problems such as HIV/AIDS epidemic, high crime rates, unemployment, corruption, failure of leadership and so forth are just some of the problems that Harris deemed to have continuously troubled the nation despite the

vision and widespread transformative and justice work that the country initially had. Funding and support for archives and memory institutions to continue their journey and legacy of Nelson Mandela for South Africa to become a 'rainbow nation' had been swiftly declining as well (Harris, 2011). Referring to the post-apartheid archival work in South Africa, Harris declares, "from the perspective of power, their work is done" (Harris, 2011, p. 115).

But clearly, the work of archivists using their power and hospitality is not yet done – and it will never be – especially for societies that are still dealing with the oppression, violence, prejudice, and/or the same social ills that have transcended from the past through the present. This should be realized in the Philippines as it deals with the contested memories and effects of martial law period. With the discourses and findings of this study, I argue that the continuing work in building a people's archives should be a collaborative work that will invite participation from people and social movements, while drawing on insights and strategies from community archives. For instance, focusing on marginalized groups such as LGBT, working class and Moroccan communities that are traditionally excluded in the mainstream archival and heritage institutions in the UK, Flinn (2011) emphasizes their contribution to community memory. As the marginalized, non-elites, and the grassroots hardly ever speak "with their voice, through their own records" (Flinn, 2007, p. 152), a close partnership between the archives and social movement groups can foster collective action as well as collective (and individual) remembering. Social movements therefore depend on and employ memory activism to achieve their agenda. For instance, the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB) launched one of the longest-running movements for justice in the world that included several commemorative activities to seek justice for the victims of the Bhopal Gas Disaster in 1984 that killed more than 3,000

people in India (Bisht, 2018). Similar to the social and political struggles that the social movements in Bhopal faced to contest the localized memories and lack of justice and compensation for the victims, different memory work are continually being done to counter the normative Australian representations of Aboriginal women's experiences, particularly the domestic workers (Besley, 2016). According to Besley (2016), various channels are used to communicate the lives and struggles of the Aboriginal women domestic workers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as an exhibition and collaborative memoir, as well as community activities like sewing, writing, and yarning that help generate memories and foster strength and resistance. Also focusing on human rights and the need to listen and honor the victims of past abuses, Caswell (2014d) proposes a survivor-centered approach to archives. Drawing on the insights from community archives, Caswell underscores the participation of the community of survivors in the documentation and dissemination of their stories, and in the ownership and stewardship of their records. Shared stewardship is really important in building an archives centered on the survivors because different from the traditional practice in mainstream archives, the survivors and their family members are highly encouraged to have a continuous involvement in the decisions about the management and use of these records. In recent years, various independent community-led archives have been founded in different parts of the world to continuously work for the needs, acceptance and representation of different marginalized communities such as the Human Rights Documentation Initiative at the University of Texas, Austin, South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), Black Cultural Archive (BCA) in the UK, Nanaimo Community Archive and Mission Community Archives in Canada and so forth (Caswell, 2014d; Flinn, Stevens, & Shepherd, 2009). These initiatives largely make use of memory work, interviews, collection of records of various formats including the non-traditional records such

as ephemerals and memorabilia, and active search for more participation and support from existing and potential members of the community. All these forms of outreach, reconciliation activities and exchanges of public and personal memories can drive vigorous and well-informed social and political engagements that call for proper acknowledgment of the victims and political redress (Nikro & Hegasy, 2017). These examples of continuing work in the archives can serve as motivations for the people's archives that can help provide justice and recognition to the silenced victims and survivors, and can possibly give protection to the Filipino people from different forms of corruption and impunity.

Future Directions

This case study revolved around four key concepts – archives, photographs, memories, and martial law in the Philippines under the Marcos regime. These are all grounded in and shaped by power and politics, evolving contextualization and discourse, and inconclusiveness. The discussion of martial law under Marcos' rule as a contested era in Philippine history will not simply end or be completely settled. The battle for memory and representations will continue. History and memory are never finished, and so are the archives (Ketelaar, 2008). This lack of finality likewise indicates the infinite possibilities and continuing responsibility of archivists to look for ways to fill in the missing parts of the memory puzzle and the slivers of reality that archives preserve. This study presented one of the possibilities or potentials that the archivists must explore, the creation of a people's archives – where the agency of photographs, as memory sites and evidence, is enhanced and reactivated, while uncovering more voices and stories from the margins. These people's voices and stories constitute the re-conceptualized provenance that goes beyond the traditional single-entity origin of records.

Archives may have been ascribed the authority to establish facts, but they also have a duty to hold on to the human dimension – by inviting and listening to more interpretations and people’s stories and experiences. Archivists can help in the mediation of people’s recollections and reactivation of photographs as evidence and memory sites. The two-way reflexive reactivation of photographs enhances the context and potential of these visual records, and at the same time creates an opening to excavate more memories and voices from the margins, form an imagined community linked through stories (Edwards, 2006; Naguib, 2008), and convey neglected memories and histories, feelings, perceptions, and human compassion (Kuhn & McAllister, 2006; Millar, 2006; Mjaaland, 2009). Indeed, the combination of photography and memory work gives productive insights in understanding the social and cultural aspects of memory (Kuhn, 2007), and at the same, based on the outcomes of this study, humanizes the traditionally impassive and ‘neutral’ archives. The work of archivists may not completely eradicate ignorance and prevent another form of dictatorship, but this method of looking, or rather, ‘listening’ to the memories and stories evoked by photographs can be employed in different settings to further challenge the status quo that widens the gap between the powerful and powerless; to respond to the call of justice; and to protect the people from the increasing apathy and unresponsiveness to people’s struggles. Since a people’s archives welcomes more records, stories and contexts, it is, more than ever, open to more discoveries and ways to hear and understand previously unheard voices. Hence, when the provenance speaks, it only makes sense to listen.

APPENDIX
List of Interviews

- Aguilar, M. (2016, December 8). Personal Interview.
- Arlante, S. (2015, October 21). Personal Interview.
- Arlante, S. (2017, January 6). Personal Interview.
- Bagwis, B. (2015, October 19). Personal Interview.
- Baluyut, A. (2016, July 30). Personal Interview.
- Baluyut, A. (2016, September 20). Personal Interview.
- Benosa, C. (2016, September 19). Personal Interview.
- Benosa, R. (2016, September 19). Personal Interview.
- Caballero, J. (2016, December 4). Personal Interview.
- Camarillo, S. (2016, June 9). Personal Interview.
- Camarillo, S. (2016, August 2). Personal Interview.
- Dela Fuente, D. (2016, September 28). Personal Interview.
- Gonzaga, N. (2016, December 21). Personal Interview.
- Hilao, A. (2016, September 28). Personal Interview.
- Ilagan, B. (2016, October 4). Personal Interview.
- Jose, R. (2016, March 4). Personal Interview.
- Jose, R. (2016, September 22). Personal Interview.
- Llanes, F. (2016, October 4). Personal Interview.
- Lumagas, L. (2016, September 27). Personal Interview.
- Lumagas, L. (2016, December 12). Personal Interview.
- Lumagas, R. (2016, December 12). Personal Interview.
- Nartea, G. (2015, October 20). Personal Interview.
- Ocampo, L. (2016, February 29). Personal Interview.
- Ocariza, P. (2017, January 9). Personal Interview.
- Pariñas, F. (2016, June 7). Personal Interview.
- Ramirez, R. (2016, February 29). Personal Interview.
- Rey, E. (2016, September 23). Personal Interview.
- Reyes, P. (2018, April 9, 12, and 19). Personal Interview via Facebook Messenger chat.
- Santiago, E. (2016, March 1). Personal Interview.
- Santiago, C. (2016, October 3). Personal Interview.
- Serrano, S. (2017, January 9). Personal Interview.
- Tan, J. (2016, June 22). Personal Interview.
- Tarlit, R. (2015, October 21). Personal Interview.
- Tarlit, R. (2015, January 6). Personal Interview.
- Velasquez, A. (2017, January 16). Personal Interview.

REFERENCES

- 1935 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines (1935). Retrieved from <https://www.lawphil.net/consti/cons1935.html>
- Abăseacă, R. (2018). Collective memory and social movements in times of crisis: the case of Romania. *Nationalities Papers*, 46(4), 671–684.
- Abinales, P. N. (1996). *The revolution falters : the left in Philippine politics after 1986*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ.
- Achterberg, R. A. (2007). *Photographs as primary sources for historical research and teaching in education: the Albert W. Achterberg Photographic Collection* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Texas at Austin.
- Almendral, G. N. (1988). The fall of the regime. In A. Javate-De Dios, P. B. Daroy, & L. Kalaw-Tirol (Eds.), *Dictatorship and revolution: roots of People Power* (pp. 176–220). Manila: Conspectus.
- Amnesty International. (1976). *Report of an Amnesty International Mission to the Republic of the Philippines: 22 November- 5 December 1975* (Amnesty International Publications). England.
- Anderson, B. (1988). Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams. *New Left Review*, 169, 3–31.
- Angeles, L. (1992). Why the Philippines Did Not Become a Newly Industrializing Country? *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, 7(2 & 3), 90–120.
- Antze, P., & Lambek, M. (1996). *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. New York: Routledge.
- Ardivilla, J. S. P. (2016). The Marcos Memes and the Manipulation of Memory. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 84–105). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.

- Armstrong, E. A., & Crago, S. M. (2006). Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth. *American Sociological Review*, 71(5), 724–751.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100502>
- Arzadon, C. (2012). What 'Da Real Macoy' means to Ilocano folk. *Inquirer*.
Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/268694/what-da-real-macoy-means-to-ilocano-folk>
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Banks, M., & Zeitlyn, D. (2015). *Visual methods in social research*. London ; Thousand Oaks, California : SAGE, 2015.
- Bantayog ng mga Bayani - Remembering Martial Law Martyrs and Heroes. (n.d.).
Retrieved December 5, 2017, from <http://www.bantayog.org/about/>
- Barthes, R. (1981). *Camera lucida : reflections on photography*. New York : Hill and Wang, 1981.
- Bastian, J. A. (2003). *Owning memory: how a Caribbean community lost its archives and found its history*. Westport, Conn: Libraries Unlimited.
- Bastian, J. A. (2006). Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation. *Archival Science*, 6(3/4), 267–284.
- Bastian, J. A., & Alexander, B. (2009). *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*. London: Facet.
- Bate, D. (2010). The Memory of Photography. *Photographies*, 3(2), 243–257.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2010.499609>
- Bedi, S., & Webb, J. (2017). Participant-driven photo-elicitation in library settings: A methodological discussion. *Library and Information Research*, 41(125), 81-103.

- Bell, C. (2009). Transitional Justice, Interdisciplinarity and the State of the 'Field' or 'Non-Field'. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 3(1), 5.
- Bell, J. A. (2010). Out of the Mouths of Crocodiles: Eliciting Histories in Photographs and String-Figures. *History and Anthropology*, 21(4), 351–373. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2010.521156>
- Bello, W., & Elinson, E. (1981). *Elite democracy or authoritarian rule?* Manila, Philippines: Nationalist Resource Center.
- Bello, W. F., Docena, H., De Guzman, M., Malig, M. L., Sociology, U. of the P. D. of, & (Program), F. on the G. S. (2004). *The Anti-development State: The Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines: Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman and Focus on the Global South.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing, Processes and Social Movements: An overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611.
- Benson, A. C. (2010). The archival photograph and its meaning: formalisms for modelling images. *Journal of Archival Organization*, 7, 4.
- Bersch, A., & Grant, L. (2011). From Witness to Participant: Making Subversive Documentary. In Alex Freund & A. Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 187–202). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Besley, J. (2016). 'Speaking to, with and about': Cherbourg women's memory of domestic work as activist counter-memory. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 30(3), 316–325.
- Bisht, P. (2018). Social movements and the scaling of memory and justice in Bhopal. *Contemporary South Asia*, 26(1), 18–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2018.1425673>

- Blais, G., & Enns, D. (1990). From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives. *Archivaria; Archivaria 31: Includes Supplement "Public Programming in Archives" (Winter 1990-91)*. Retrieved from <https://archivaria.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/view/11723/12672>
- Blanco-Rivera, J. A. (2009). Truth commissions and the construction of collective memory: the Chile experience. In J. A. Bastian & B. Alexander (Eds.), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (pp. 133–148). London: Facet.
- Blouin, F. X., & Rosenberg, W. G. (2011). *Processing the past : contesting authorities in history and the archives*. New York ; Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Braw, J. D. (2007). Vision as revision: Ranke and the beginning of modern history. *History and Theory, 46*, 45–60.
- Breisach, E. (2007). *Historiography: ancient, medieval, & modern* (3rd ed). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brillantes, A. B. (1987). *Dictatorship & martial law: Philippine authoritarianism in 1972*. Quezon City: Great Books Publishers.
- Brinkmann, S., & Kvale, S. (2008). Ethics in Qualitative Psychological Research. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology* (pp. 262–279). London: SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848607927.n15>
- Broad, R. (1988). *Unequal alliance : the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Philippines*. Berkeley : University of California Press, c1988.

- Buendia, R. G. (2013). Now it can be told: shadow of memories and skeletons. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 34(2), 199–216.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01154451.2013.851489>
- Burke, P. (2001). *Eyewitnessing : the uses of images as historical evidence*. Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, c2001.
- Cabrera, C. (2008). Maikling Kasaysan ng RIPADA. In B. Lumbrera, J. Taguiwalo, R. Tolentino, R. Guillermo, & A. Alamon (Eds.), *Serve the People: Ang Kasaysayan ng Radikal na Kilusan sa Unibersdiad ng Pilipinas* (pp. 237–238). Quezon City, Philippines: IBON Foundation, Inc.
- Callahan, C. (2014). Creating or Capturing Reality? Historical Photographs of the Progressive Era. *The Social Studies*, 106, 57–71.
- Carter, R., G. S. (2006). Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence. *Archivaria*, 61, 215–233.
- Casiple, R. C. (2016). The Duterte Presidency as a Phenomenon. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs*, 38(2), 179–184.
- Caswell, M. (2014a). *Archiving the unspeakable: silence, memory, and the photographic record in Cambodia*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Caswell, M. (2014b). Defining human rights archives: introduction to the special double issue on archives and human rights. *Archival Science*, 14(3–4), 207–213. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-014-9226-0>
- Caswell, M. (2014c). Seeing Yourself in History: Community Archives and the Fight Against Symbolic Annihilation. *The Public Historian*, 36(4), 26–37.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2014.36.4.26>

- Caswell, M. (2014d). Toward a survivor-centered approach to records documenting human rights abuse: lessons from community archives. *Archival Science*, *14*(3/4), 307–322.
- Caswell, M., Punzalan, R., & Sangwand, T.-K. (2017). Critical Archival Studies: An Introduction. *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies*, *1*(2). <https://doi.org/10.24242/jclis.v1i2.50>
- Charbonneau, N. (2005). The selection of photographs. *Archivaria*, *59*, 119–139.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Christie, K. (2000). *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingtoke: Macmillan.
- Cifor, M. (2016). Affecting relations: introducing affect theory to archival discourse. *Archival Science*, *16*(1), 7–31. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9261-5>
- Cifor, M., & Gilliland, A. J. (2016). Affect and the archive, archives and their affects: an introduction to the special issue. *Archival Science: International Journal on Recorded Information*, (1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9263-3>
- Claudio, L. E. (2010). Memories of the anti-Marcos movement: the left and the mnemonic dynamics of the post-authoritarian Philippines. *South East Asia Research*, *18*(1), 33–66.
- Claudio, Lisandro E. (2013). *Taming people's power: the EDSA revolutions and their contradictions*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Cohen, N., & Arieli, T. (2011). Field research in conflict environments: Methodological challenges and snowball sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, *48*(4), 423–435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343311405698>

- Collier, M. (2001). Approaches in visual anthropology. In C. Jewitt & T. van Leeuwen (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 35–61). London: SAGE Publications.
- Cook, T. (1997). What is past is prologue: a history of archival ideas since 1898, and the future paradigm shift. *Archivaria*, 43, 17–63.
- Cook, T. (2001). Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts. *Archival Science*, 1(1), 3–24.
- Cook, T., & Schwartz, J. M. (2002). Archives, records, and power: From (postmodern) theory to (archival) performance. *Archival Science*, 2(3–4), 171–185. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435620>
- Corrigall, M. (2014). Beyond Trauma: Landscape, Memory, and Agency in Photographs by Cedric Nunn and Sabelo Mlangeni. *Safundi*, 15(2–3), 329–351. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2014.925644>
- Cory Aquino Website. (2010). Retrieved from <https://coryaquino.ph>
- Cox, R. J. (2009). Conclusion: The archivist and community. In J. A. Bastian & B. Alexander (Eds.), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (pp. 251–264). London: Facet.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Cropanzano, R., Stein, J. H., & Nadisic, T. (2010). *Social Justice and the Experience of Emotion. [electronic resource]*. Hoboken : Taylor & Francis, 2010.
- Curaming, R. A. (2006). *When Clio Meets the Titans: Rethinking State-Historian Relations in Indonesia and the Philippines* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Australian National University, Australia.
- Curaming, R. A. (2013). The End of an Illusion: The Mendiola Massacre and Political Transition in Post-Marcos Philippines. In *State Violence in East Asia* (pp. 209–230). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

- Curaming, R., & Claudio, L. (2010). A Historicised (Re)Assessment of EDSA 'People Power' (1986). *Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 134*.
<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1716572>
- Curato, N. (2017). Flirting with Authoritarian Fantasies? Rodrigo Duterte and the New Terms of Philippine Populism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 47*(1), 142–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2016.1239751>
- Danto, E. (2008). *Historical research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Daroy, P. B. (1988). On the eve of dictatorship and revolution. In A. Javate-De Dios, P. B. Daroy, & L. Kalaw-Tirol (Eds.), *Dictatorship and revolution: roots of People Power* (pp. 1–25). Manila: Conspectus.
- David, R. S. (1996). Re-democratization in the Wake of the 1986 People Power Revolution: Errors and Dilemmas. *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies, 11*(3–4), 5–20.
- De Vera, R. S. (2012, September 1). The books of (Martial) Law. *Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/64248/the-books-of-martial-law/>
- dela Cruz, E. S. (1997). Litigants' Perceptions of Court Decisions: A Case Study of a Workers' Community in Malabon. In M. S. I. Diokno (Ed.), *Democracy and Citizenship in Filipino Culture* (pp. 239–254). The Third World Studies Center.
- Department of Education. (2013). *Lessons of EDSA People Power to be taught in schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.deped.gov.ph/press-releases/lessons-edsa-people-power-be-taught-schools>
- Derrida, J. (1995). Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. *Diacritics, 25*(2), 9–63.
- Diokno, M. S. I. (1988). Unity and Struggle. In A. Javate-De Dios, P. B. Daroy, & L. Kalaw-Tirol (Eds.), *Dictatorship and revolution: roots of People Power* (pp. 132–175). Manila: Conspectus.

- Diokno, M. S. I. (2001). Memory as a Means of Empowerment. In A. de M. U. O. of Research (Ed.), *Memory, Truth Telling, and the Pursuit of Justice: A Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship* (pp. 79–88). Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications Loyola School, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Dioquino, R.-A. J. (2015, October 5). Bongbong Marcos declares bid for vice presidency in 2016. *GMA News Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/539599/bongbong-marcos-declares-bid-for-vice-presidency-in-2016/story/>
- Dockett, S., Einarsdottir, J., & Perry, B. (2017). Photo elicitation: reflecting on multiple sites of meaning. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 25(3), 225–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669760.2017.1329713>
- Dongail, J. (Ed.). (2013). Chronology of Events elated to the Human Rights Class Action Suit Against Marcos (1985-2013). Quezon City, Philippines: SELDA.
- Douglas, J. (2017). Getting personal: Personal archives in archival programs and curricula. *Education for Information*, 33(2), 89–105.
- Doyo, M. C. (2015, September 29). 75,730 claims of rights violations under Marcos are being processed. *Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/726107/75730-claims-of-rights-violations-under-marcos-are-being-processed>
- Dubsky, R. (1993). *Technocracy and Development in the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press.
- Duchain, M. (1983). Theoretical Principles and Practical Problems of Respect des fonds in Archival Science. *Archivaria*, 16, 64–62.
- Duff, W. M., Flinn, A., Suurtamm, K. E., & Wallace, D. A. (2013). Social justice impact of archives: a preliminary investigation. *Archival Science*, 13(4), 317–348. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9198-x>

- Duff, W. M., & Harris, V. (2002). Stories and names: Archival description as narrating records and constructing meanings. *Archival Science*, 2(3-4), 263-285. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435625>
- Edwards, E. (2001). *Raw histories: photographs, anthropology and museums* (Paperback ed., reprinted). Oxford: Berg.
- Edwards, E. (2006). Photographs and the Sound of History. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21(1-2), 27-46. <https://doi.org/10.1525/var.2005.21.1-2.27>
- Ellis, J. (1996). Revolutionary Spaces: Photographs of Working-Class Women by Esther Bubley 1940-1943. *Feminist Review*, (53), 74-94. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1395662>
- English, D. E. (1983). Political photography and the Paris Commune of 1871: the photographs of Eugène Appert. *History of Photography*, 7(1), 31-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.1983.10442745>
- Escalante, S., & De la Paz, J. A. Y. (2000). *The EDSA uprising? the five-percent revolution: EDSA in retrospect: a deconstruction*. Quezon City, Philippines: Truth and Justice Foundation.
- Fagan, D. (1975). The ten years of Ferdinand Marcos. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 30(3), 444-458.
- Fine, G. A., & Deegan, J. G. (1996). Three principles of Serendip: insight, chance, and discovery in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 9(4), 434-447. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839960090405>
- Flinn, A. (2007). Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28(2), 151-176.
- Flinn, A. (2011). Archival Activism: Independent and Community-led Archives, Radical Public History and the Heritage Professions. *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education & Information Studies*, 7(2), 1-20.

- Flinn, A., Stevens, M., & Shepherd, E. (2009). Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream. *Archival Science*, 9(1-2), 71-86. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-009-9105-2>
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The archaeology of knowledge. (Original work published 1969)*. New York; London: Routledge.
- French, B. M. (2012). The Semiotics of Collective Memories. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41(1), 337-353. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-081309-145936>
- French, J. R., Jr. (1956). A formal theory of social power. *Psychological Review*, 63(3), 181-194.
- Freund, A. & Thiessen, A. (2011). Mary Brockmeyer's Wedding Picture: Exploring the Intersection of Photographs and Oral History Interviews. In Alexander Freund & A. Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 27-44). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freund, A. & Thomson, A. (2011). Introduction: Oral History and Photography. In *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 1-23). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Garcia, M. A. (2016). *Thirty years later: catching up with the Marcos-era crimes*. Quezon City, Philippines: MAG Publishing.
- Gee, T. (2011). *Counterpower: Making Change Happen*. United Kingdom: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.
- General Order No. 1 (1972). Retrieved from https://www.lawphil.net/executive/genor/go1972/genor_1_1972.html
- General Order No. 2 (1972). Retrieved from https://www.lawphil.net/executive/genor/go1972/genor_2-a_1972.html

- General Order No. 4 (1972). Retrieved from
https://www.lawphil.net/executive/genor/go1972/genor_4_1972.html
- General Order No. 5 (1972). Retrieved from
https://www.lawphil.net/executive/genor/go1972/genor_5_1972.html
- Gilliland, A. (2011). Neutrality, social justice and the obligations of archival education and educators in the twenty-first century. *Archival Science*, 11(3-4), 193-209. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9147-0>
- Green, A. (2004). Individual Remembering and “Collective Memory”: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates. *Oral History: The Journal of the Oral History Society*, 32(2), 35-44.
- Guillermo, A. G. (2016). EDSA and its Aftermath: Lessons in the Production of Meaning. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 73-83). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- Gutman, Y. (2017a). Looking backward to the future: Counter-memory as oppositional knowledge-production in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Current Sociology*, 65(1), 54-72.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115584644>
- Gutman, Y. (2017b). *Memory activism: reimagining the past for the future in Israel-Palestine*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. (L. A. Coser, Trans.). Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, S. (2005). *The politics of heritage: the legacies of “race.”* (J. Littler & R. Naidoo, Eds.). London ; New York: Routledge.
- Ham, F. G. (1993). *Selecting and Appraising Archives and Manuscripts*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists.
- Hariman, R., & Lucaites, J. L. (2016). *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), 13–26.
- Harris, V. (1996). Transforming South African archives: Discourse and delivery. *S. A. Archives Journal*, 38, 1.
- Harris, V. (2002). The archival sliver: Power, memory, and archives in South Africa. *Archival Science*, 2(1–2), 63–86.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435631>
- Harris, V. (2007). *Archives and justice: a South African perspective*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists.
- Harris, V. (2011). Jacques Derrida meets Nelson Mandela: archival ethics at the endgame. *Archival Science*, 11(1–2), 113–124.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-010-9111-4>
- Harris, V. (2018). Passion for archive. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 1–7.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2018.1446344>
- Hau, C. S. (2016). People’s Power, Crony Capitalism, and the (Anti-) Developmental State. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 398–448). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- Hayner, P. (2006). Truth Commissions: A Schematic Review. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 88(62), 295–310.
- Hogan, J., Dolan, P., & Donnelly, P. (Eds.). (2009). *Approaches to Qualitative Research: Theory and Its Practical Application, a Guide for Dissertation Students*. Cork: Oak Tree Press.
- Holc, J. P. (2012). The Remembered One: Memory Activism and the Construction of Edith Stein’s Jewishness in Post-Communist Wrocław, (4), 67.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/sho.2011.0151>

- Hutchcroft, P. D. (1991). Oligarchs and Cronies in the Philippine State: The Politics of Patrimonial Plunder. *World Politics*, 43(3), 414–450.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2010401>
- Iacovino, L. (2010). Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities. *Archival Science*, 10(4), 353–372.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-010-9120-3>
- Ileto, R. C. (2017). *Knowledge and pacification: on the U.S. conquest and the writing of Philippine history*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Javate-De Dios, A., Daroy, P. B., & Kalaw-Tirol, L. (Eds.). (1988). Chronology of Events: 1968-Present. In *Dictatorship and revolution: roots of People Power* (pp. 865–872). Manila: Conspectus.
- Jenkinson, H. (1922). *A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jimerson, R. C. (2003). Archives and memory. *OCLC Systems and Services*, 19(3), 89–95.
- Jimerson, R. C. (2007). Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice. *The American Archivist*, 70(2), 252–281.
<https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.70.2.5n20760751v643m7>
- Jimerson, R. C. (2009). *Archives power: memory, accountability, and social justice*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists.
- John Collier, J. (1957). Photography in Anthropology: A Report on Two Experiments. *American Anthropologist*, (5), 843.
- Kaiser, K. (2009). Protecting Respondent Confidentiality in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 19(11), 1632–1641.

- Kann, P. R. (1974). The Philippines Without Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 52(3), 612–632.
- Kaplan, E. (2002). 'Many paths to partial truths': Archives, anthropology, and the power of representation. *Archival Science*, 2(3–4), 209–220.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435622>
- Kelleher, C., Sangwand, T.-K., Wood, K., & Kamuronsi, Y. (2010). The Human Rights Documentation Initiative at the University of Texas Libraries. *New Review of Information Networking*, 15(2), 94–109.
- Kerkvliet, B. J., & Mojares, R. B. (1991). *From Marcos to Aquino: local perspectives on political transition in the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Kessler, R. J. (1989). *Rebellion and repression in the Philippines*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ketelaar, E. (1992). Archives of the people, by the people, for the people. *South African Journal*, 34, 5–16.
- Ketelaar, E. (2001). Tacit narratives: The meanings of archives. *Archival Science*, 1(2), 131–141. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435644>
- Ketelaar, E. (2002). Archival temples, archival prisons: Modes of power and protection. *Archival Science*, 2(3), 221–238.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435623>
- Ketelaar, E. (2008). Archives as Spaces of Memory. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 29(1), 9–27.
- Ketelaar, E. (2009). A living archive, shared by communities of records. In J. A. Bastian & B. Alexander (Eds.), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (pp. 109–132). London: Facet.
- Kress, G., & Leeuwen, Theo van. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2 edition). London: Routledge.

- Kuhn, A., & McAllister, K. E. (2006). *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Kuhn, Annette. (2007). Photography and cultural memory: a methodological exploration. *Visual Studies*, 22(3), 283–292.
- Lagmay, A. V. (1986). Cultural and philosophical dimensions of the February Revolution. In L. L. Ledesma (Ed.), *The Philippine scenario after the February revolution : a psychological view* (pp. 32–29). Manila, Philippines.
- Lesy, M. (2007). Visual literacy. *Journal of American History*, 94, 143–153.
- Letter of Instructions No. 1 (1972). Retrieved from <http://www.chanrobles.com/letterofinstructions/letterofinstructionsno1.html#.W1HxrGZ7EdU>
- Lico, G. (2003). *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Licuanan, P. B. (1987). People power: a social psychological analysis. In *Understanding people power* (pp. 17–29). Manila, Philippines: Development Academy of the Philippines.
- Liu, J., & Gastardo-Conaco, C. (2011). Theory and Methods of a Representational Approach to Understanding Social Movements: The Role of the EDSA Revolution in a National Psychology of Protest for the Philippines. *Social Justice Research*, 24(2), 168–190.
- Lustre, P. M. (2016). Search for Marcos' wealth: Compromising with cronies. *Rappler*. Retrieved from <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/in-depth/123667-marcos-cronies-compromise>
- Lutz, C. A., & Collins, J. L. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Lydon, J. (2010). Return: The Photographic Archive and Technologies of Indigenous Memory. *Photographies*, 3(2), 173–187.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2010.499610>
- Manzanilla, Jp. S., & Hau, C. S. (Eds.). (2016). *Remembering/rethinking EDSA*. Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- Marasigan, T. S. (2016). 29 sa Anino ng Mamasapano. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 381–391). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- Marshall, J. A. (2008). Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective By Verne Harris, with a foreword by Terry Cook. *The American Archivist*, 71(2), 560–563.
- McCoy, A. (2001). Dark Legacy: Human Rights under the Marcos Regime. In A. de M. U. O. of Research (Ed.), *Memory, Truth Telling, and the Pursuit of Justice: A Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship* (pp. 129–144). Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications Loyola School, Ateneo de Manila University.
- McCoy, A. W. (1994). *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- McDougald, C. C. (1987). *The Marcos file: was he a Philippine hero or corrupt tyrant?* San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Publishers.
- McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: a guide*. U.K. and N.Y.: Harlow and LLongman.
- McEwan, C. (2003). Building a Postcolonial Archive? Gender, Collective Memory and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(3), 739–757.
- McKemmish, S. (2001). Placing records continuum theory and practice. *Archival Science*, 1(4), 333–359. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02438901>

- Memou, A. (2013). *Photography and social movements : from the globalisation of the movement (1968) to the movement against globalisation (2001)*. Manchester : Manchester University Press.
- Merueñas, M. D. (2011, March 1). Hearty lunch, house repair for 2 martial law victims. *GMA News Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/214207/hearty-lunch-house-repair-for-2-martial-law-victims/story/>
- Mijares, P. (1976). *The conjugal dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos*. San Francisco: Union Square Pub.
- Millar, L. (2002). The Death of the Fonds and the Resurrection of Provenance: Archival Context in Space and Time. *Archivaria; Archivaria 53 (Spring 2002)*. Retrieved from <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12833/14049>
- Millar, L. (2006). Touchstones: considering the relationship between memory and archive. *Archivaria, 61*, 105–126.
- Miranda, F. B. (2001). The political economy of national plunder: the Philippines under Marcos. In A. de M. U. O. of Research (Ed.), *Memory, Truth Telling, and the Pursuit of Justice: A Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship* (pp. 89–128). Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications Loyola School, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Mjaaland, T. (2009). Evocative Encounters: An Exploration of Artistic Practice as a Visual Research Method. *Visual Anthropology, 22*(5), 393–411.
- Montgomery, B. P. (2004). Fact-Finding by Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations: Challenges, Strategies, and the Shaping of Archival Evidence. *Archivaria, 58*, 21–50.

- Montiel, C. J. (2010). *EDSA 1 in the Public Mind of Filipino Civilian and Military Groups: A Social Representations Approach to History*. Quezon City, Philippines: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Montiel, C. J., & Chiongbian, V. M. (1991). Political Psychology in the Philippines. *Political Psychology, 12*(4), 759–777. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3791556>
- Morris-Suzuki, T. (2005). *The past within us : media, memory, history*. London ; New York : Verso, 2005.
- Muller, S., Feith, J. A., Fruin, R., & Leavitt, A. H. (1898). *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*. Place of publication not identified: Wilson.
- Naguib, N. (2008). Storytelling: Armenian Family Albums in the Diaspora. *Visual Anthropology, 21*(3), 231–244.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08949460801986228>
- Nagy, R. (2008). Transitional Justice as Global Project: Critical Reflections. *Third World Quarterly, (2)*, 275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590701806848>
- Nesmith, T. (1999). Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the “Ghosts” of Archival Theory. *Archivaria; Archivaria 47 (Spring 1999)*, 136–150.
- Nesmith, T. (2006). Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice. *Archivaria, 60*, 259–274.
- Nesmith, T. (2007). The concept of societal provenance and records of nineteenth-century Aboriginal–European relations in Western Canada: implications for archival theory and practice. *Archival Science, 6*(3–4), 351–360. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-007-9043-9>
- Nikro, N. S., & Hegasy, S. (2017). Introduction: Between lieu and milieu. In N. S. Nikro & S. Hegasy (Eds.), *The social life of memory : violence, trauma, and testimony in Lebanon and Morocco*. (pp. 1–24). Cham : Palgrave Macmillan.

- Ninoy Aquino. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.ninoyaquino.ph>
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7–24.
- Novak, J. R. (2013). *Examining activism in practice: A qualitative study of archival activism* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Los Angeles.
- Ocampo, R. B. (1976). *Study of Political and Administrative Reforms: Integrated Report* (SPAR Series) (pp. 1–24). Quezon City, Philippines: College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.
- Ohrn, K., & Hardt, H. (1980). “Who Photographs Us?” The Workers’ Photography Movement in Weimer Germany. Presented at the Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (63rd) August 10-13, 1980, Boston, MA.
- Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (2011). *The Collective Memory Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paddock, R. C. (2016, November 18). Hero’s burial for Ferdinand Marcos draws protests from the dictator’s victims. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/world/asia/philippines-marcos-burial.html?_r=0
- Padilla, A. A. (2001). Marcos-style governance and human rights abuses during the Marcos dictatorship. In A. de M. U. O. of Research (Ed.), *Memory, Truth Telling, and the Pursuit of Justice: A Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship* (pp. 145-148.). Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications Loyola School, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Payne, C. (2011). “You Hear It in Their Voice” : Photographs and Cultural Consolidation among Inuit Youths and Elders. In Alex Freund & A.

- Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 97–114).
Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pennebaker, J. W., & Banasik, B. L. (1997). On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memories: History as Social Psychology. In J. W. Pennebaker, D. Páez, & B. Rimé (Eds.), *Collective memory of political events: social psychological perspectives* (pp. 3–19). Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Pollak, A. (2017). Visual research in LIS: Complementary and alternative methods. *Library & Information Science Research (07408188)*, 39(2), 98–106.
- Portelli, A. (1991). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Portelli, Alessandro. (n.d.). A dialogical relationship: an approach to oral history. Retrieved January 1, 2019, from http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/expressions_portelli.pdf
- Primer on the Human Rights Victims Reparation and Recognition Act of 2013 (Republic Act 10368). (2013). Karapatan Alliance for the Advancement of People’s Rights (KARAPATAN). Retrieved from <http://www.karapatan.org/files/Primers%20and%20Law.pdf>
- Proclamation No. 1081, s. 1972, Proclaiming a State of Martial Law in the Philippines §.
- Punzalan, R. (2009). “All the things we cannot articulate”: colonial leprosy archives and community commemoration. In J. A. Bastian & B. Alexander (Eds.), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (pp. 197–220). London: Facet.
- Quimpo, N.G. (2016). “People Power” 1986 in Retrospect: A Conjunctural Analysis. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 122-136.). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.

- Quimpo, N.G. (2008). *Contested Democracy and the Left in the Philippines After Marcos*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Rafael, V. L. (1990). Patronage and Pornography: Ideology and Spectatorship in the Early Marcos Years. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32(2), 282–304.
- Rafael, V. L. (2017). Duterte Unbound. *Dissent (00123846)*, 64(2), 102–105.
- Republic Act No. 10368, An Act Providing for Reparation and Recognition of Victims of Human Rights Violations During the Marcos Regime, Documentation of Said Violations, Appropriating Funds Therefor and for Other Purposes § (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/02/25/republic-act-no-10368/>
- Rickard, W. (1998). Oral History- “More Dangerous than Therapy”?: Interviewees’ Reflections on Recording Traumatic or Taboo Issues. *Oral History*, 26(2), 34.
- Rigney, A. (2002). *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rivera, T. C. (1994). The State, Civil Society, and Foreign Actors: The Politics of Philippine Industrialization. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, (2), 157.
- Robles, R. E. (2016). *Marcos Martial Law: Never Again*. (A. Robles, Ed.). n.p.,: Filipinos For A Better Philippines.
- Rodriguez, F. C. (1985). *The Marcos regime: rape of the nation*. New York: Vantage Press.
- Rosario-Braid, F., & Tuazon, R. R. (1999). Communication Media in the Philippines: 1521-1986. *Philippine Studies*, 47(3), 291–318.
- Rose, G. (2014). On the relation between ‘visual research methods’ and contemporary visual culture. *The Sociological Review*. 62, 62, 24–46.

- Rose, Gillian. (2000). Practising Photography: An Archive, a Study, Some Photographs and a Researcher. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26(4), 555–571. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jhge.2000.0247>
- Rose, Gillian. (2012). *Visual methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Schellenberg, T. R. (1956). *Modern archives: principles and techniques*. Chicago: The Society of American Archivists.
- Schiebel, M., & Robel, Y. (2011). Using Press Photographs in the Construction of Political Life Stories. In Alex Freund & A. Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 115–132). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schüller-Zwierlein, A. (2015). Why Preserve? An Analysis of Preservation Discourses. *Preservation, Digital Technology & Culture*, 44(3), 98–122.
- Schwartz, D. (1989). Visual ethnography: using photography in qualitative research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 12(2), 119–154.
- Schwartz, J. (2002). Coming to terms with photographs: descriptive standards. *Linguistic Othering, and the Margins of Archiviv. Archivaria*, 54, 142–171.
- Schwartz, J. M., & Cook, T. (2002). Archives, records, and power: The making of modern memory. *Archival Science*, 2(1–2), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628>
- Schwartz, J. (1995). We make our tools and our tools make us": Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats. *Archivaria*, 40, 40–74. <http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12096/13083>
- Seagrave, S. (1988). *The Marcos Dynasty*. New York: Harper & Row.

- Sicat, G. P. (2014). *Cesar Virata: Life and Times Through Four Decades of Philippine Economic History*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting qualitative data : methods for analyzing talk, text, and interaction*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif. : SAGE Publications.
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464–481.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581>
- Solon, O., & Floro, M. S. (1993). *The Philippines in the 1980s: A Review of National and Urban Level Economic Reforms*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
Retrieved from
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBANDEVELOPMENT/Resources/336387-1169585750379/twurdwp1.pdf>
- Sontag, S. (1973). *On photography*. New York: Rosetta.
- Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the pain of others*. New York, N.Y: Picador.
- Subedi, B. (2013). Photographic Images of Refugee Spatial Encounters: Pedagogy of Displacement. *Qualitative Research in Education*, 2(3), 277–301.
- Tadem, T. S. E. (2015). Technocracy and the politics of economic decision making during the pre-martial law period (1965-1972). *Philippine Studies, Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 63(4), 541–573.
- Teodoro, L. V. (2016). EDSA in Context: An Uprising 14 Years in the Making. In Jp. S. Manzanilla & C. S. Hau (Eds.), *Remembering/rethinking EDSA* (pp. 377-380.). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- The Philippines: A Nation Reborn*. (1976). Manila: National Media Production Center.

- Thompson, M. (2011). Family Photographs as Traces of Americanization. In Alex Freund & A. Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 149–168). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thomson, A. (2011). Family Photographs and Migrant Memories: Representing Women's Lives. In Alex Freund & A. Thomson (Eds.), *Oral History and Photography*. (pp. 169–186). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tiglaio, R. D. (1988). The Consolidation of the Dictatorship. In A. Javate-De Dios, P. B. Daroy, & L. Kalaw-Tirol (Eds.), *Dictatorship and revolution: roots of People Power* (pp. 26–69). Manila: Conspectus.
- Timberman, D. G. (1991). *A Changeless Land: Continuity and Change in Philippine Politics*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Tinkler, P. (2013). *Using photographs in social and historical research*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Tondo, J. S. F. (2010). Popular Religiosity and the Transnational Journey: Inscribing Filipino Identity in the Santo Niño Fiesta in New Zealand. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 11(3–4), 219–244.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2010.513401>
- Tosh, J. (2010). *The pursuit of history: aims, methods, and new directions in the study of modern history*. New York : Longman/Pearson.
- Villarin, T. S. Joint Resolution No. 08 (2016). Retrieved from
http://www.congress.gov.ph/legisdocs/basic_17/HJR0008.pdf
- Villegas, E. M. (1983). *Studies in Philippine political economy*. Manila: Silangan Publishers.
- Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. (2002). Commemorating a Difficult past: Yitzhak Rabin's Memorials. *American Sociological Review*, 67(1), 30–51.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3088932>

- Vukliš, V., & Gilliland, A. J. (2016). Archival Activism: Emerging Forms, Local Applications. In *Archives in the Service of People - People in the Service of Archives, Proceedings of the Alma Mater Europaea 4th International Scientific Conference* (pp. 14–25). Maribor, Slovenia.
- Wahyudi. (2014). Remembering the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship: The Formation of Historical Memory and the Struggle for Justice in the Post-Marcos Period. In *The Work of the 2011/2012 API Fellows* (pp. 1–8). Thailand: API Regional Coordinating Institute, Institute of Asian Studies Chulalongkon University.
- Winter, S. (2013). Towards a Unified Theory of Transitional Justice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 7(2), 224–244.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijt004>
- Wurfel, D. (1988). *Filipino Politics: Development and Decay*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Zambrano, C. (2011, July 4). Marcos in mausoleum: wax or real? *ABS-CBN News*. Retrieved from <http://rp1.abs-cbnnews.com/nation/regions/07/04/11/marcos-mausoleum-wax-or-real>
- Zastrow, J. (2017). Archives and Activism: Engaging Students With Primary Sources. *Computers in Libraries*, 37(7), 23–27.
- Zelizer, B. (2002). Finding aids to the past: bearing personal witness to traumatic public events. *Media, Culture & Society*, 24(5), 697–714.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/016344370202400509>
- Zinn, H. (1977a). Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest. *The Midwestern Archivist*, 2(2), 14–26.
- Zinn, H. (1977b). Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest. *The Midwestern Archivist*, 2(2), 14–26.

