Walking in UP Diliman as Ethnographic and Countermapping Practice

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Coupling the author's autoethnographic account and walk-map with literary texts set at the University of the Philippines Diliman [UPD] campus, the present article treats walking as a form of ethnographic and countermapping practice. These two processes, "autobiographical reflections" and "a return to text," constitute an autoethnographic practice that is "non-positivist," "post-fieldwork," and "post(modern)-ethnography" (Esteban 2018). The ethnographic component attempts to provide descriptions of walking within the campus according to the community members' perspective. From this position of the walking folk, the countermapping component seeks to redefine the space and place that have long been determined and demarcated by the state and institutions of power. The result can be labelled "phenomenological," if what we mean by such is "to pay [closer] attention to experiences of tactile, feet-first, engagement with the world" (Ingold & Vergunst 2016) and an approach that "means heavy linguistic analysis... [since] language is itself data, words providing insights into how people look at the world around them" (Tan 2008). Such two-pronged approach necessitates an introductory discussion on the practice, concept, and method of walking, a brief spatial history of the campus, and an examination of ideas on walking as "everyday" and "event". The article ends with reflections on how the UPD community can be considered as "folk" and their ways of doing and knowing as "folklore".

Keywords: *walking, walk-map, autoethnography, countermapping, UP Diliman*

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> Not only, then, do we walk because we are social beings, we are also social beings because we walk. That walking is social may seem obvious, although it is all the more remarkable, in this light, that social scientists have devoted so little attention to it.
>
> Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (2016, p. 1)

The Practice and Concept of Filipino Walking

With the recent discovery of teeth, hand, and foot fossils of *Homo luzonensis* in Callao Cave, Peñablanca, Cagayan (Détroit, Mijares, Corny, et al. 2019), the earliest human-like feet that walked within the Philippine archipelago can now be traced back to the Late Pleistocene period around 50-67,000 years ago. As time passes by, various modes of travel mobilities have been devised to serve as an alternative to, if not to make obsolete, the practice of walking. Yet, as Ingold and Vergunst (2016, p. 2) remarked, "walking is not just what a body *does;* it is what a body *is,"* walking continues to resist such obsolescence. Perhaps it is through the death of the body that we would only see the end of walking.

"When did our walk begin? When will it ever end? We cannot remember, and we will never know," told Ingold and Vergunst (2016, 1). The same dilemma of historicizing the Filipino walk confronts us, too. It resides primarily in the fact that it is an activity we just do and rarely think about (see above epigraph). However, oral sources that depict precolonial and early colonial life may help us historicize such practices. Ethnoepics and folk epics (Manuel 1963; Eugenio 2001) depict movement and migration, some of which are done on foot. These narratives also inform us about the place and people from which they sprang— thus the linguist Curtis D. McFarland's statement, "the sea unites and mountains divide" (1994, p.

76) can partly be confirmed by epic poems. Northern Luzon epics, such as the Ilokano *Biag ni Lam-ang,* the Gaddang *Lumalindaw,* and the Ifugao *Hudhud hi Aliguyon,* speak about encounters of characters hailing from different settlements, whose engagements include armed conflict, alliance-formation, and marriages. Whenever we read about Lam-ang travelling to the land of Igorots and to Kannoyan's village named Kalanutian, Lumalindaw descending the mountain and moving out of his town Nabbobowan to find the beautiful maiden Menalam, and Aliguyon going to Daligdigan and fighting Pumbakhayon in the rice fields and river beds, we may infer that such movements are done mostly through walking, not only because they are hinted at by the texts, but also because the producers of these texts reside in inland, mountainous areas. The Lam-ang epic, however, includes coastal scenes, which reflects the proximity of Ilocos to the sea. For walking, the Ilokano word used is *pagna.*

Nabaringeuas met ni Lam-ang	Lam-ang was jolted out of his slumber
innalana met daguitoy igam	And at once collected his weapons
quet nagrubuat met a napan	and started to go,
pagna la nga pagnan.	Walking on and on.
(De los Reyes 1890, p. 244)	(Eugenio 2001, p. 5)

This can be compared to those epics produced by communities that are either located at or in frequent contact with those of the coastal areas. They feature mobilities that combine walking and vehicular travel. In the Panay epic *Hinilawod,* when his two brothers search for Labaw Donggon, "Buyong Humadapnon goes inland, Buyong Dumalapdap ventures seaward" (Manuel 1963, p. 28). Labaw Donggon's sons Aso Mangga and Buyung Baranogon "man a boat" to find the ever-missing *bagani*. The Bikol *Ibalon* considers the craftsman

Ginantong's invention of the *banca* as one of Handiong's important peacetime legacies. The Maranao, Subanen, and Bukidnon epics depict sea travel; in the Subanen *Keg Sumba Neg Sandayo*, Gadyong is the name of a great ship used by the hero Sandayo and his companions. Air travel is done through lightning, birds, flying hats, shields, and boats, as seen in the Bagobo, Manobo, Bukidnon, and Talaandig epics.[1]

To transform these narratives into concepts, we may look at words. Words for walking that belong to the Austronesian language family can be reconstructed in the doublet proto-forms **lakaj* "to stride, take a step" and **lakaw* "to be in motion; go, walk." Most of the Philippine languages define words under **lakaj* as "to walk": *agpalákad* (Ilokano), *lákag* (Ibanag), *mel-lákad* (Gaddang), *lákad* (Casiguran Dumagat), *man-akad* (Ibaloy), *lákad* (Kapampangan, Tagalog, Casiguran Dumagat), and *laŋkad* (Western Bukidnon Manobo). Others register words as "step, stride, pace," "to take a step," or "to step over," such as the Bikol, Cebuano, Maranao, and Binukid *lakad* and the Aklanon *eákad.* This difference between "step" and "walking" is further observed in the use of **lakaw* words to signify walking: *i-lakáw, mag-lakáw, lakáw-on* (Bikol), *ag-laáw* (Buhid), *lakáw* (Hanunoo), *pag-lákaw* (Masbatenyo), *lakaw* (Inati), *eakáw* (Aklanon), *lakáw* (Cebuano), *la-lakaw* (Maranao), and *lákaw* (Maguindanao) (Blust & Trussel 2020).

[1] This reading on travel mobilities can be further revised using other forms of folk literature. Folk myths may show different results, since their function includes cosmographical and cosmogenic explanations. The contact, however infrequent, of mountain people with coastal and riverine communities and environments warrants an explanation for the latter's existence. Conversely, this also makes the epics valuable, in a sense that they are more reflective of social life, particularly everyday activities such as walking and travelling on boat.

By researching on the history of socio-economic changes, we may better understand the wide semantic range of **lakaj* and **lakaw*—why, on one hand, *lákad* in Mansaka means "to wade through," and for Casiguran Dumagat it is not only "to walk" or "to travel" but is also "the moving of a boat or truck," while in Ibaloy, *man-akad* refers to the act of walking not only made by humans but by animals, too; and on the other, the Kapampangan and Tagalog *lakad* and its affixed forms also refer to doing and completing an errand or mission, peddling of goods, and negotiating with people, meanings that can be glimpsed through the Bikol *pa-lakáw* ("method, procedure, process, system, way") and *pa-lakaw-on* ("to run as a business or an organization"). Like the Bikol *pa-lakaw,* the Tagalog *hakbang* both denotes the steps made by foot and the steps in a procedure. These lexical erasures and expansions imply the historical changes that occurred within the triangular relations of walking, place, and people.

Walking as a component of mission continued during the periods of Islamization and Christianization of Philippine communities. During the proselytizing activities of Sharif Kabungsuwan in Cotabato, it was told in popular lore that he asked his future wife, Tabunaway, to explore the lands to look for fellow Manobos who wanted to embrace the Islamic faith (Cruz-Lucero 2007). To reach native communities, the Spanish missionaries had similarly and occasionally travelled on foot. Upon the establishment of *pueblos* (towns), natives who refused the colonial order fled to the mountains, thus the label *remontados.* Although land travel could be perilous due to *panghaharang* (highway robbery) and *panununulisan* (banditry), water travel was also equally challenging due to raiding and piracy. The latter was cited as a reason to promote walking among the members of a Tagalog religious association, *Cofradia de San Jose,* in the 1840s. A more symbolic reason for the Cofradia's *lakaran* (walk) was patterned according to the practices of Jesus Christ. As Reynaldo Ileto (1979, p. 56) noted, "A

pilgrimage, a mission, an ascent—all these were perceived in terms of Christ's example in the pasyon: a lakaran from place to place to spread the word, a lakaran that knows no turning back and ends in Calvary." For Ileto, such symbolic meaning perpetuates in the *lakaran* done by the Katipunan, the colorum revolutionaries, and members of various social movements during the American rule.

Today, along with the traditional *lakaran* (such as Antipolo's penitential *alay lakad*) are the modern kinds of walking that demand rights, justice, freedom, and equality. These include the rallies, walkouts, marches, *lakbayan,* and *lakad-gunita* done by communities, organizations, civil societies, religious dominations, and other sectors.

Walking as Method

Recently, anthropologists and geographers have paid attention to walking not only as a subject of study, but also as an approach or method (Pierce & Lawhon 2015; Ingold & Vergunst 2016; Springgay & Truman 2018; Pranka 2020; Kowalewski & Bartlomiesjski 2020; Springgay & Truman 2022). Kowalewski and Bartlomiesjski (2020, p. 60) located *walking research methods* (WRMs) under the larger body of mobile research methods or techniques, and identified four usual approaches of WRMs in the social sciences: (1) the walking interview; (2) a walk itself including geospatial research, observation, and/or auto-ethnography; (3) research walking as support technique; and (4) research walking as an artistic, experimental act. These innovations can be situated in the framing of walking as a "given" component of any fieldwork. Ingold and Vergunst (2016, p. 3) wrote:

> Ethnographers… are accustomed to carrying out much of their work on foot. But while living with a group of people usually means walking around with them, it is rare to find ethnography that reflects on walking itself… No doubt the topic of walking figures often enough in ethnographers' fieldnotes. Once they come to write up their results, however it tends to be sidelined in favour of 'what really matters', such as the destinations towards which people were bound or the conversations that happened en route. Even multi-sited fieldwork (Marcus 1998) focuses on the sites themselves, as though life were lived at a scatter of fixed locales rather than along the highways and byways upon which they lie.

This treatment of "work on foot" as "just walking" (cf. Kowalewski & Bartlomiejski 2020) can be observed too in some Philippine ethnographic work and guides. Taking Consuelo Joaquin-Paz's *Gabay sa Fildwurk* (2005) as a primary example, the guidebook used the term "lumakad" (e.g. "gawain bago lumakad," p. 7) to refer either to the act of walking to reach the site or the trip in general. Although walking is implied in creating community maps and transects (cf. "transect walk"), it is not explicitly mentioned nor discussed. Due to the preparations needed, trips via boat, bus, and even horseback are given more attention. Identifying these silences, of course, is "not to privilege walking," to replicate the geographers Pierce and Lawhon's words, "but to call for more attention to (and reporting of) walking… as both a precursor to and by-product of other ongoing research practices" (2015, p. 655). Needless to say, the information about the complexities of transportation systems surely benefits other researchers in terms of fieldwork planning.

One brief mention on walking can be read in Stuart A. Schlegel's work on the Teduray. We are left to imagine that as Simeon Beling, Schlegel's Teduray friend

and contact, accompanied the American anthropologist "deep into the forest, to a place called Figel, where the old way was being lived," the journey described as "a great many hours' hike from the nearest road" (Schlegel 1994, p. 2) might have included a walking interview, from which Schlegel would learn not only about the community they would soon be reaching, but also the ways of travel a Teduray like Beling would usually do. In the spirit of participant-observation, such practices deepen researchers' understanding of people from the people's own perspective, especially if the ethnographers' main concern, as Alicia Magos (1992, p. xii) wrote, is "to be able to describe faithfully the culture of the people he/she is studying using the emic approach, i.e., the native's point of view."

If, as Springgay and Truman (2022, p. 171) stated, "place is socially, materially, and politically entangled with walking," it follows that the researchers and the community members may define walking differently. In a field work in Central Visayas, Eulalio R. Guieb III (2022) initially thought that every time he encounters his local informant in a mangrove forest, the latter is simply "wandering aimlessly." It was confirmed later that the informant is actually the forest owner, who, through his walk, has been "inspecting almost every branch or twig for signs of violation, or examining footprints in the muddy swamp, or looking for any sign that would indicate that people have passed through his forest." "His walk," told Guieb, "was not an aimless wandering of an itinerant traveler; that was how he nurtured his trees." Thus, how people defined their place and themselves is reflected in walking practices.

As Ingold and Vergunst asked us to "rethink what being social means" (2016, p. 2) through walking, this can also be extended beyond the human. A "more-than-human walking" situates the "social" within human-place relations. Thus, Springgay and Truman (2018, p. 4) would speak of "how place-making is produced by walking," and conversely, how "walking is attuned to place." If

"being-social" is relational, and relations necessitates communication, and communication is a form of contact, it is therefore in the contact of human body and place through walking that we may find a common language that allows the possibility of speech. On the language of cities (cf. Sudjic 2016), Roland Barthes once wrote, "The city is a discourse, and discourse is actually a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak to our city, the city where we are, by simply inhabiting it, by traversing it, by looking at it" (qtd. in Mojares 2015, p. 146).

Approaches and Sources

Informed by the said concepts and methods, the present study treats walking as a form of ethnographic and countermapping practice. The setting is in the campus of the University of the Philippines Diliman [UPD]. Although the initial material for the study is mainly autoethnographic, I later consulted other sources, particularly literary texts, to temper personal subjectivity and to corroborate my own experiences with those of the other members of the UPD community. These two processes, "autobiographical reflections" and "a return to text," constitute an autoethnographic practice that is "non-positivist," "post-fieldwork," and "post(modern)-ethnography," as demonstrated in Rolando C. Esteban's work (2018, pp. 81-82).

The succeeding sections have two interrelated components, ethnography and countermapping. The ethnographic component attempts to provide descriptions of walking within the campus according to the community members' perspective. From the position of the walking folk, the countermapping component seeks to redefine the space and place that have long been determined and demarcated by the state and institutions of power. The result can be labelled "phenomenological" (Esteban 2018, p. 79), if what we mean by such is "to pay [closer] attention to

experiences of tactile, feet-first, engagement with the world" (Ingold & Vergunst 2016, p. 3) and an approach that "means heavy linguistic analysis... [since] language is itself data, words providing insights into how people look at the world around them" (Tan 2008, p. 10).

UP Diliman Campus since the 1950s[2]

Under the presidency of Bienvenido Ma. Gonzalez, the transfer of the University of the Philippines from Manila to Diliman, Quezon City commenced in 1949. Although met with strong opposition, supportive faculty and students nonetheless heeded President Gonzalez's cry, "On to Diliman!" The transfer was marked by the symbolic relocation of the UP Oblation statue. What welcomed the pioneers were two concrete buildings (now the Benitez Hall and Malcolm Hall), Quonset huts, and sawali cottages left by the US Army Signal Corps. The creation of the Diliman campus is seen as one of the state-led initiatives intending to establish Quezon City as a capital city (Pante 2019, p. 13). It can also be situated in the formation of a postwar "educational oasis," coupling the UPD campus transfer with those of the Ateneo de Manila and the Maryknoll College (later renamed Miriam College) (Camagay 2019, pp. 63-79).

"Diliman in the '50s," according to the historian Maria Luisa Camagay (2019, p. 68), "had a primeval quality to it: fresh, lush, serene, in the middle of nowhere, almost." Felicidad Zafra Reyes (2010, p. 14), daughter of the history professor Nicolas Zafra, described their first home where the present Palma Hall stands:

[2] General information about the history of UP Diliman campus is sourced from Lazaro (1985); essays in Gonzales & Los Baños (2010), such as Abad (2010), Angeles (2010), and Zafra Reyes (2010); DILC (2013); Guevarra (2017); Camagay (2019); Pante (2019); and UPD "Student Accommodation" and "History" webpages (n.d.).

"This cottage was on a lonely, treeless plain overlooking a deep divide." "We found ourselves wandering in unfamiliar surroundings, weather-beaten cottages and Quonset huts and in the distance the tufts of tall talahib flowers waving in the wind," told one unnamed alumnus (Camagay 2019, p. 68).

What appeared to be a 493-hectare no man's land was later populated by the pioneering campus community (Gonzalez & Los Baños 2010) and filled with buildings "financed mainly from war damage funds" (Lazaro 1985, p. 290). Designed and supervised by Cesar H.R. Concio, Juan F. Nakpil, Roberto A. Novenario, and Leandro Locsin, the Gonzalez Hall, the Quezon Hall, the twin buildings Palma Hall and Melchor Hall, the Carillon Tower, the Parish of the Holy Sacrifice, the Church of the Risen Lord, and the Molave, Kamia, Narra, Sampaguita, and Ilang-Ilang residence halls were constructed and completed in the 1950s. From 1962 to 1975, more residence halls were built, designed by Novenario, Victor N. Tiotuyco, and Rosauro P. Villarico: Yakal, International Center, Ipil, Sanggumay, and Kalayaan. Area 1, 2, 3, 5, 11, 14, 17, AGRD (Army General Records Department, later became Village A and B), and the RIPADA (Pook Ricarte, Pook Palaris, and Pook Dagohoy) served as residential spaces for students, faculty, and employees. Initially, the hut homes in the numbered Areas were addressed with T (for "temporary"). For example, the Area 1 cottage of Professor Antonio M. Abad, where Gémino H. Abad grew up, was T-1004.

Vehicular mobility inside the campus was signified by the Ikot Jeepney, circulating around the campus since 1955, which are later joined by Toki, Philcoa, Quezon Avenue MRT, SM North, and Katipunan jeepneys. A forester from the College of Agriculture facilitated the planting of acacia trees that presently surround the 2.2-kilometer Academic Oval. To reach the campus in the 1950s, "the only access... was a dusty talahib-ridden road that went by the name of

Highway 54" (Camagay 2019, p. 68), renamed as Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA). Later, students from Manila would ride buses to UPD.

The construction and later expansion of buildings, roads, and sidewalks in Diliman since the 1950s have set the stage for the tracing, tracking, and thinking of travel mobilities. Mobility forms, particularly walking, need rethinking in terms of how they are written historically. What follows is on one hand, a comment on historiography and textualization of walking, and on the other hand, a proposal of categories—the "event" and the "everyday"—that considers conceptual and practical nuances in relating walking to people and place.

The Event and the Everyday

The distinction between the "event" and the "everyday" lies in how things and practices are precisely identified and arranged within a space-time grid, and how they go beyond such positionality. The first is concerned in dating and locating things and practices; the second, in significance and relevance, which are often reflected in either the documentation of things past, or, in the absence of record, the persistence of memory. We may view the event and the everyday in a spectrum: things and practices become an "event" insofar as they have a higher degree of precision and specificity in being recorded and remembered. In most cases, events are quantified: marked with time, date, location, chronology, etc. Otherwise, they are simply "everyday" things and practices. Historians, with their penchant for positivism, wrote more about the event than the everyday. Or, rather, they turn the everyday into events. The everyday, in turn, is antihistorical.

The textualization of the everyday, done by practitioners of social history, paradoxically results to its "event-ing." Textualization fixates the everyday, and at

the same time, turns it into something that transcends itself (cf. Elumbre 2012), akin to an event, if defined as "an effect which exceeds its causes" (Zizek 2014, p. 5). To resolve this dilemma, we may confine ourselves in defining the "everyday" as indefinite, generic, often repetitive events. Perhaps a good example of an everyday practice converted into a personal event is in the opening of Nay Unor Angeles' essay (2010) on campus life: "Enero 1951 nang yumapak ang aming mga paa sa UP Campus dito sa Diliman, Quezon City" (It was January 1951 when we first stepped our feet in UP Campus here in Diliman, Quezon City). Nay Unor (Mother Unor) is the wife of Pedro A. Angeles, a *kapatas* (supervisor) at the Malaria Control Unit, the office of which was located at the Area 11, UPD Campus. In 1959, she worked at the UP Home Economics Food Service, which supervised food services among the student dormitories. In her essay, Nay Unor narrated an experience of campus life and the formation of a campus community—her first step in the campus, the couple's work, their children's education in UP, a local council which Mr. Angeles initially presided and its activities, their transfer to Pook Amorsolo, and their retirement.

When historicized, campus walks become events. To name a few: walks that resulted in police confrontation, barricading, and eventually, the establishment of the Diliman Commune in February 1971; the demonstrations against Marcos Sr.'s burial at the Libingan ng mga Bayani in November 2016; the pandemic rally, labelled SONAgkaisa, during Rodrigo Duterte's state of the nation address on 27 July 2020. In Reuel Molina Aguila's pieces, what seemed to be a common stroll in February 1971 done by students like him and his classmates converged and culminated in an act of immobilization—a *barikada*—so powerful that an attempt to break through it ended in the murder of a student named Pastor "Sonny" Mesina (Aguila 2018a; 2018b). Set in the contemporary period, Rolando Tolentino's essays (2011) and fiction (2017) situate walking within the eventful

and everyday life of the UPD *aktibista*, in acts both enabling and expressing dissent, struggle, and care. These events are not only marked by time but also by space. When spaces are ascribed with symbols, pastness, and identity, Marc Augé (1995) asserts that they become "places." Thus, in UPD, the "event-ing" of the campus walk is also a "place-ing" of the campus space.

Campus walks also resist the intended event-ness and event-ing. The expression of dissent and defiance through walking becomes a tradition, an "everyday" practice. "Through the years," an Iskomunidad page (2013) told, "the oval has stood as a silent witness to the various marches of students, faculty and staff, in exercise of their cherished freedom of [expression]." Romulo Baquiran Jr.'s poem, *Sa Diliman* (2003, p. 33), exhibits a similar temporal blur.

Kamakalawa lamang ba?	Was it only the other day?
Narinig diyan sa tapat	There, at front, I heard
ang mabunying Lakbayan.	the triumphant Walk.
Saan nagtungo	Where went
ang mga hubad na talampakan?	the bare feet?

Sounds also foreground the walking protests in Luna Sicat Cleto's *Sana* (2017, pp. 54-58). The persona recalls these everyday activities on campus, this as part of mourning the loss of her room in the Faculty Center fire on 1 April 2016. Here, the everydayness of walking stretches from the *sigwa* (storm, referring to the First Quarter Storm of 1972) up to the present.

Panaka-naka, ang bintana ring iyon

ang mangangalabit, para

tumigil muna't ulinigin ang dumaraan na pagtambol
o pamilyar na sabayang sigaw.
Dito, sa akademya, ang tunog na iyon
ay kilalang-kilala.
Kay rami nang nauna, mga nagbarikada noon
ng mga mesa't silya, nakipaghalika't nakipagniig
sa sigwa, at marami sa kanila
hindi kailanman nakalimot.

Sometimes, it was the same window
who would call my attention, telling me to
stop for a while and hear the passage of drums
or the familiar concerted cry.
Here, at the academe, that sound
is well-known.
Many have already passed, they who barricaded
tables and chairs, kissed and embraced
the storm, and many of them
never ever forget.

In relation to walking and memory, *Lakad Gunita sa Pamantasang Hinirang* is a walking tour documentary spearheaded by the UP Departamento ng

Kasaysayan and the UP System since 2019, as part of the annual UP Day of Remembrance established through Proclamation 1, series of 2018 by UP President Danilo L. Concepcion (UP 2022). The documentary banks on the tradition of walking tours by university institutions and organizations which served to discuss the events during the Marcos regime. Unlike in-class lectures or sitting interviews (Pranka 2020), the walk provides two forms of contextualization: firstly, by way of the narratives told by historian-guides, and secondly through the sensory experience provided to the attendees (and later, online viewers) by the spaces and structures themselves. Here we observe two languages, that of the people and that of the places long relegated to silence, through which memories are remembered, retold, and reenacted.

Walking in a walkable campus is also a form of resistance, both in practice and space, against the idealization of motorized cities. The long walks to and from the *ilaya* (interior) which I usually did back in our island province were easily replicated in the first years of my residence on campus. The act of slowed, embodied movement shares the same meaning within these two distant places. Outside UPD, unfortunately, I would easily get lost within the complex traffic of vehicles, people, things, sounds, odor, feels, and thoughts. *Lakad* in the city—in this case, off-campus walk—is less of an act of walking; rather it pertains more to "doing and completing an errand or mission" (Blust & Trussel 2020). In cities where public transportation never sleeps and streets are unfriendly to the walking public, *lakad* ceases to be an act done as an end in itself. Merlin Coverley (2010, p. 12) wrote,

> Walking is seen as contrary to the spirit of the modern city with its promotion of swift circulation and the street-level gaze that walking requires allows one to challenge the official representation of the city by

> cutting across established routes and exploring those marginal and forgotten areas often overlooked by the city's inhabitants.

Thus, the campus is a non-city within a city, if what cities tend to do is to "substitute ambiguity for authenticity," as thought by Walter Benjamin (2008, p. 63). Not only for its conserved natural environment, symbolic monuments and markers, and neo-classical and modernist buildings, but also (and more importantly) for its walkable spaces, the UPD campus strongly differs and defers from the surrounding "non-places" (Augé 1995) that collectively constitute the city. Although there are many ways to say what a city is (Sudjic 2016), the campus' non-cityness parallels the experience of its city, Quezon City, the history of which has depicted it paradoxically as a "capital city in the margins" (Pante 2019).

Vehicular Mobilities

Haunted by the specter of comparison, we might be surprised to know about UP students travelling from Manila to Diliman in the 1950s (Camagay 2019) without traversing today's heavy traffic and rush hour frenzy. In his story *Midterm Exam*, Mykel Andrada (2014, pp. 36-37) portrayed a professor who was forced to get off a Katipunan jeepney due to heavy traffic.

> Parang iniimbudo ang pakiramdam ng biyahe pagdating sa main gate ng Ayala Heights. Parang itinitinging mantika ang trapik ng traysikel, dyip, kotse, bus at trak sa kahabaan ng Katipunan. Ito ang baradong isaw na daanan sa likod ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas. Barado hanggang sa Ateneo, hanggang sa dulo ng puwet ng Katipunan.
>
> Pagkatapos ng halos 20-minuto ng mabagal na pag-usad, tumapat na ang dyip na sinasakyan ko sa may MWSS. Bumaba na ako kahit malayo

> pa ang gate ng U.P. Mayroon pa akong sampung minuto bago mag-8:30nu. Ayokong mahuli sa unang klase. May eksam sila ngayon.
>
> Habang pinagmamadali ko ang aking mga hita, binti't paa, bumunot ako ng isa pang istik ng Winston Lights. Isang yosi lang ang haba ng lakad papunta sa Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura.
>
> (The trip to the main gate of Ayala Heights feels like going through a funnel. Along Katipunan, the traffic made up of tricycles, jeepneys, cars, buses, and trucks seems like cooking oil being retailed. This is the congested intestine of an avenue at the University of the Philippines' backside. Clogged till Ateneo, till the tip of the Katipunan rectum.
>
> After nearly 20 minutes of slow movement, the jeepney I'm riding passes MWSS [Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System]. I already get off even if the U.P. gate is still far away. I only have ten minutes before 8:30 a.m. I don't want to be late for the first class. They have an exam today.
>
> As I speed up my thighs, legs, and feet, I pull out another stick of Winston Lights. The walk is only a cigarette away to the College of Arts and Literature.)

The non-cityness and cityness of these two adjacent spaces—UPD campus and Katipunan Avenue—are not only juxtaposed through this travel description, but can also be observed in how the character measured his walk by smoking a cigarette. This can be considered "folk knowledge" produced through the familiarity of place and the frequency of practice. Knowledge production would be entirely different in the context of vehicular mobilities. Vehicles also reflect political and socio-economic conditions. In the 1990s, for instance, the prevalence of privately owned cars was considered a sign of the intensifying neoliberalization

of the state university. In her essay *Lakbay-Malay sa mga Awit ng Aking Panahon,* Judy Taguiwalo (2014, p. 214-215) recalled,

> "State U" ng Yano ang nagcapture ng konteksto at mood sa Diliman sa panahon ng patinding komersyalisasyon at pangingibabaw ng ideolohiya ng pamilihan sa unibersidad.
>
> State U
>
> Parame na ng parame
>
> De kotseng estudyante!
>
> Sa State University! 4x
>
> (The song "State U" by Yano captured the context and mood in Diliman during the intensifying commercialization and the dominance of market ideology in the university.
>
> State U
>
> More and more
>
> Students with cars
>
> At the State University! 4x)

Route Maps

Vehicular mobilities are mainly represented in route maps. Or, as John Krygier and Denis Wood (2008) argued, these maps "propose" forms of mobilities—that is, intendedly, the vehicular. Adding to Krygier and Wood, this "proposition" is often coupled with "pre-position," a predetermined allocation of things and

practices in space. These propositions and prepositions lead to a production of "realities [one creates] with maps" (Krygier & Wood 2008, p. 22).

Realities are affirmed by function. UPD route maps are useful especially for freshies who are not yet familiar with the jeepney routes. At times, however, university policies modify these flows of vehicular traffic. Except for the transfer of routes out of the Academic Oval sometime in 2016 or 2017, and the post-lockdown route system implemented recently, the jeepney routes for a returnee are "the same, more or less," as told in Dominic Sy's short story, *Before the Fire* (2019, p. 106).

> We had finished our pancit canton, and gathered our paper plates and utensils to throw into the trash. It was past eight in the evening and the stalls had already closed. Christian asked me if the jeepney routes were still the same because he needed to get to Krus na Ligas. I said that they were the same, more or less. I asked where he was going. He said he wanted to stop by Sarah's for a drink and maybe hopefully see some people he knew.

Like any street or route map, a UPD jeepney route map establishes and imposes flows of movement in accordance with campus and state policies. Embodying the principle of "swift circulation" (Coverley 2010, p. 12), the routes resemble a closed shape. The points of destination and lines of transport shown in such maps exemplify the concept of *tracing*. For Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987, p. 12), a tracing serves "to describe a de facto state, to maintain balance in intersubjective relations, or to explore an unconscious that is already there from the start." To ride a campus jeepney is simply to *trace* or follow the imposed and established routes. Divergences are often marked as an event, as observed in the following spooky story.

> Another tale was that of a girl who got on the jeepney by herself. All of a sudden, the driver veered away from the regular route into unknown territory. Driving through dark and unpopulated areas, he kept glancing cautiously at the girl over his shoulder.
>
> The girl started to fear for her life and womanly dignity (what if he planned to rape her?) and requested that she be dropped off at her dorm. In time the jeepney resumed its regular route and she was dropped off in front of her building.
>
> But before taking off, the driver said, "Ineng, pag-uwi mo hubarin mo agad iyang damit mo at kung pwede sunugin mo agad. Iniba ko yung ruta para makaiwas sa disgrasya. Kanina kasi pagtingin ko sa salamin, wala kang ulo" (Miss, when you get home, take off your clothes immediately and burn them. I changed the route to avoid any accidents. I got spooked because when I looked at you in the rear-view mirror, you were headless!) He explained that that was the reason he took several unusual turns—because he feared the girl's untimely demise lay in the jeepney's regular course (Chan & San Juan n.d.).

By walking, one can disrupt the structure and order of a place as defined by the routes of passage, the rules of property and propriety. Walking converts "places" into "spaces," as defined by Michel de Certeau (1984, p. 117): *"[S]pace is a practiced place.* Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers." A walking UP Diliman student may write, rewrite, and unwrite lines of travel from one point to another. In this way, walking, as Coverley (2010, p. 12) puts it, "becomes an act of subversion." Walking subverts the form and content of "official" maps. Walking is therefore countermapping.

This practice leads us to the creation of walk-maps, which propose a world from the view of moving feet.

Countermapping the Campus

For this part, I compared two maps set in 2014-2015, my first academic year in UPD. For the route map, I used "UP Jeepney Routes" by eng30group5 (2015); for the walk-map, I relied on my memory and some corroborating sources, such as my Computerized Registration System (CRS) account that indicates class time and location per semester and academic year. Like eng30group5's route map which used a Google Map layer, I used the Open Street Map (OSM) for the campus map and modified it using a graphics editor software, Paint. Akin to what Guy Debord did in his *The Naked City* (2004, p. 99), I removed parts of the map that were irrelevant to my daily walks in 2014-2015.

Reflected in these maps (figs. 1 and 2) are the students' decision-making processes regarding campus travel. To decide whether to ride a jeepney or to walk, one needs to consider what would be the closest, fastest, and cheapest way to reach one's destination. The student's decision is determined by the location and time of classes.

FIG. 1. *A 2015 UPD Route map by eng30group 5 for Ikot (yellow), Toki (orange), Philcoa-SM North-Quezon Avenue (green), and Katipunan (red) jeepneys. The route colors in the map are mainly based on the colors of the jeepneys' roof.*

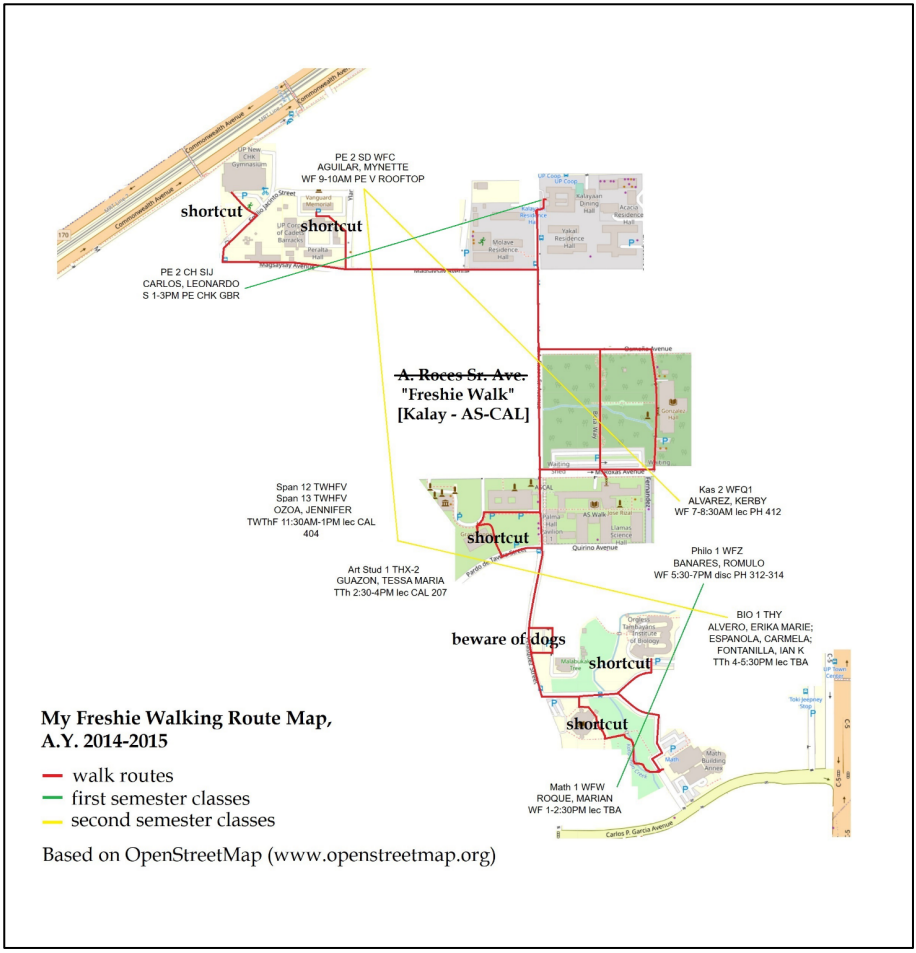

FIG. 2. *My freshie walk route map during the academic year 2014-2015*

In my case, as seen in Fig. 2, the first semester classes had hours of free time between them so that I didn't need to run from one building to another. For example, there were three hours of free time between my Mathematics 1 class in the Math Building and my Philosophy 1 class in AS (Arts and Sciences building, or Palma Hall). This is entirely different from the experience of the second semester. During Wednesdays and Fridays, a Kasaysayan 2 class in AS that ends at

8:30 AM would be followed by a Physical Education 2 Social Dance class in the rooftop of the Vanguard Building at 9:00 AM. Leaving the rooftop at 10:00 AM, my next class would be Spanish 12-13 in CAL (College of Arts and Letters) Building at 11:30 AM. The worst occurs during Tuesday and Thursday afternoons: from an Art Studies 2 class in CAL that ends at 4:00 PM, I have to run to the Biology Building in the Science Complex to attend the Biology 1 class that starts at 4:00 PM. Due to these situations, professors would allow a five to fifteen-minute leeway between classes for students who were leaving for and coming from distant locations.

My choice to walk was almost always based on a Euclidean geometrical principle: that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line. Although physically taxing, traversing the Freshie Walk from Kalay (Kalayaan Residence Hall) to AS-CAL area would be the closest and cheapest way to reach one's classrooms. Such act cuts through (thus, a "shortcut") the designated routes of Toki, Katipunan, and Philcoa-SM North-Quezon Avenue jeepneys traveling along the Academic Oval and around the campus in general.

Dog Domains and Slippery Spots

Aside from information on distance and travel time, shortcuts, and folk erasures of official names (e.g. calling the A. Roces Sr. Avenue as the "Freshie Walk"), what we may learn from walk-maps and walk stories are walking public concerns. These include the must-avoided spaces such as dog domains and slippery spots. In the map I labelled the path near the Marine Science Institute with "beware of dogs." Mayo Uno Aurelio Martin, in his poem *Area 1* (1999), spoke of a "dog meeting" in the corner of Juan Luna and Aguinaldo streets. This can be considered as another dog domain, if we are going to take the "dog meeting"

literally and not a zoomorphing of the bystanders or the government official whose "project" is to make the pathway concrete.

Mukhang minamata ako	It seems that I'm being eyed at
ng grupong tambay.	by a group of bystanders.
Binilisan ang lakad	Sped up my pace
habang patuloy ang miting ng aso	as the dog meeting goes on
sa kanto ng Juan Luna't	at the corner of Juan Luna
Aguinaldo. Kutob ko'y	and Aguinaldo. I suspect
naghahanap na naman	they're looking, again,
ng mapagtritripan.	for somebody to play with.
Kakahol	Barking.
Lalapit.	Approaching.
Aamoy.	Sniffing.
Hahabol.	Chasing.
Sasakmal.	Biting.

The anthology editor Joi Barrios (1999, p. 6) read this as an everyday-ing of corruption and violence, which sharpened the poem's satirical effect.

> Naglalakad ang makata at sa pagtapak sa aspaltadong daan at pagkukuwento ng kanyang paglalakad, ay epektibong naghahalo ang mga imahe: waring kinakahol ng Diputado ang kanyang mga proyekto; nagmimiting ang mga aso; nang-aamoy ang mga istambay. Samakatwid, ang aso'y nagiging istambay; ang istambay ay parang saynboard; ang

saynboard ay simbulo ng Diputado at ang diputado'y aso. "Karaniwan" itong tulad ng "karaniwang" paglalakad ng makata.

(The poet walks and as he steps on the concrete street and narrates his walk, there is an effective amalgam of images: the Congressman seems to be woofing his projects out; the dogs have a meeting; the bystanders sniff. In short, dogs become bystanders; the bystander is like a signboard; the signboard is a symbol of the Congressman and the Congressman is a dog. It is "usual" just like the poet's "usual" walk.)

Recently, cases of walkers slipping have alarmed the community. Through social media, people are reminded of slippery pedestrian spots. These are partly caused by the diminished foot traffic and infrequent maintenance done on campus, both induced by the pandemic situation enabling the growth of moss on walkways and the streets. The Diliman Learning Resource Center's Facebook page (2022) posted the following meme.

FIG. 3. *Caption: "Madudulas para sa bayan." From Diliman Learning Resource Center Facebook page, November 30, 2022.*

Geography professor Joseph Pális (2022) shared in his Facebook wall an accident while walking inside the campus.

> I took a tumble tonight when I was walking my dogs. It happened in a slightly-wet moss-covered walk in front of my neighbor's gate. It happened fast. One moment my feet ran like they have wheels, then all of a sudden I am sitting on the moist walk with my shorts covered in muck. I didn't feel anything when I realised what just happened. Nothing painful, just a dull backside whiplash.

As a personal note, in October 2021, I experienced slipping while on a bike. Coming from Area 1, the nearest path to Palma Hall is via the Freshie Walk (A. Roces Sr. Avenue). Ignoring a metal roadblock, I carried my bike past it and pedaled through the passage beside the Engineering building. Nearing the Academic Oval, the path got slippery, the brakes failed, and in a blink, I found myself and the bike, akin to what Professor Pális stated, on the moist street covered in muck. A passing biker at the Oval shouted, "Madulas talaga dyan!" (It's really slippery there!) Almost a slapstick performance yet on a razor's edge, I later laughed at my "hard-headed" self as I realized that I wasn't even wearing a helmet.

Parting Words: Folk the Walk

A meme by the Pedagogical Memes warns outsiders about a *taga-UP's* concept of "walking distance."

FIG. 4. *Caption: "ilang ikot lang naman kasi yun sa acad oval eh." From Pedagogical Memes Facebook page, November 24, 2020.*

Through the shared experience of walking, can we consider the Diliman community a kind of "folk," and their ways of doing and knowing as "folklore"?

Contrary to the DZUP *Tabi-Tabi Folkloradyo*'s tagline, "Ang lahat ng bagay ay... folklore" (Everything is... folklore), Mellie Leandicho Lopez demonstrates that folklore can be defined and categorized. Folklore emerges in the triangulation of lore, folk, and the socio-cultural contexts. "Philippine folklore," she wrote, "is a group-oriented and tradition-based creation of Filipino groups or individuals controlled by the expectations and practices of their community as an expression of its cultural and social identity. It is transmitted orally, by imitation, by performance or a combination of two or three processes taking place simultaneously" (Lopez 2006, p. 36).

In the case of this paper, one may question the folk-ness of the author's sources. Am *I* and the writers I cited considered "folk"? As "textualization of the self" (Elumbre 2012) results to the event-ing of the everyday, the process and the product are named, known, and fixed in a singular version (Dundes 1999). The folk becomes the author, and folklore the author's work. Further, traditional historians tend to value authorship as coming from individuals with some measure of exceptionality, so much so that "folk-ing" an author is something problematic, even incomprehensible (see Guerrero 1981 and Ileto 1982).

In these foregoing accounts, I tried to show that through the common experience of campus walking and the textualization of such practices, we may find a "folk subjectivity" which blurs any "intersubjective transfer" that confines itself to discreet author-reader relations—therefore, an "intertextuality" (Kristeva 1980). And while intertexts find themselves mostly within the discussion of "non-places" (Pális 2007), we may harness the same potential that intertexts surface in establishing a "place" like the UPD campus.

Walking itself is intertextual, not only as site of interacting human and beyond-human languages but also as "social" act (Ingold & Vergunst 2016). Aside from being a shared practice, walking in the UPD campus also serves as a way to rethink and re-form our conceptions of place, community, and folk. With the use of "taga-UP/Diliman" (from UP/Diliman) and "komunidad" (community), UPD members have been perceived, both emically and etically, as ones that belong to a particular whole, with placeness that sometimes transcends spatial fixity, and in possession of cultural and social identity, shared history, and a body of texts.[3] This

[3] Nay Unor Angeles (2010, p. 81) identified members of the "komunidad" in its early years: "Noong mga unang panahon, ang komunidad ng UP Campus, bukod sa mga istudyante, ay binubuo ng pamilya ng mga 'academic' at 'nonacademic personnel' na naninirahan sa loob ng UP Campus" [During the old times, the community of UP

perception can be used to define the UPD community as "folk" and its thinking and doing a kind of "folklore." Some may extend this to the idea of "home" (Gonzalez & Los Baños 2010), which falls under the subjective criteria of "ethnicity," now redefined as a "sense of fellow feeling" (Esteban 2018).

Talking about walking is only one of the ways to reflect and act on our perception, ideas, use, and telling of spaces. We may further interrogate how other non-motorized forms of mobilities inside the campus (e.g., biking, skateboarding, dog-walking) figure in these relationships of spaces, movements, and communities.[4] Rethinking mobilities also extends to commentaries on our local

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Campus, aside from students, is composed of the families of academic and nonacademic personnel residing inside the UP Campus]. Taguiwalo (2014, p. 213) spoke of a Facebook thread in August 2011 captioned "taga-UP Diliman ka kung…" [you're a Diliman person if…]. See also "a group where we pretend to be in up diliman," a Facebook group which exhibits a virtual UPD community, created in the midst of pandemic lockdown.

[4] For this, I would like to cite two valuable and related comments from initial readers, which I haven't incorporated in this paper due to limited time and space. First, from the editors (Dec. 28, 2022): "…the privileging of walking in this text does in a sense overlook the contestations of space even among differently non-motorized who do wish to stake upon public sites (the oval is a stark example in which bikers, boarders and dog walkers are not granted access in deference to the 'plain' walker or jogger)." Second, from Brad Madrilejos (Dec. 7, 2022): "[T]wo points: (1) the classic example of desire paths that diverge from paved sidewalks speak about crowd intuition and its deviation from walkways designated by planners, even if at the same time (2) campus administrators enforce a designated bike and jog lane along the academic oval that designates and delimits pedestrian traffic (except on Sundays when the oval generally becomes pedestrian turf). The point here is that every now and then official maps concede and give way to predominant walk-maps, even if such a strategy is just another way of reinforcing the prevalence of vehicular traffic during weekdays, not unlike the role of Sabbath in relation to work days, or of Carnival in relation to Lent. These social rhythms of leisure and everydayness— lived out in urban spaces, flitting between negotiations of power and helplessness— are what Henri Lefebvre wrote about in his *Critique of Everyday Life*: everydayness as the residue between fragments that humans can and cannot control, etc." I wish to answer these comments in future papers.

and national transportation systems. For instance, how do the UPD and UP System administration and institutions, and indubitably the local and national government, provide support and care to our fellow jeepney drivers, who currently experience poor and unsecured working conditions, if not outright unemployment, due to pandemic policies and neoliberal programs on "public transport modernization"?

To close: almost always considered as "small data" (Guieb 2022), walking resists the old-fashioned way of shoefitting people, places, and practices. Rather, it offers departures, detours, and redirections in how we observe, think, do, and tell folklore, in how we become a community through a past full of shared *lakaran ng buhay* (walk of life). To walk this talk again deserves another *lakad*.

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