Re-membering Women into the Nation: Discourses of Gender, Nation and Nationalism in the Poetry of Hermilinda Lingbaoan-Bulong

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Nationalism has proven to be male-biased and this is evident in its tendency to image the nation as woman/mother in language. It has conveniently placed women where it is almost completely nowhere to be read, dismembered from the national body and denied agency and meaningful participation. When written of, women are assigned to the concepts of nation and mother as is the case of "Inang Bayan." In this nation, the citizen is male and the state masculine. Consequently, the experience of a nation in the context of colonialism and imperialism is semanticized as rape which further reinforces the gendering of the nation as woman. Through poetry, Hermilinda Lingbaoan-Bulong creates spaces for women in the narrative that is nationalism. In "*Madre Ahra*" and "*Baro a Kapulotan*," Lingbaoan-Bulong's feminized territory represents ethnicity belonging to a wider community or territory. She encourages women to remember their own strength, their own capacity, their place in the pages of history and reminds them that they are daughters of freedom fighter Gabriela Silang in "*Agtrangka, Baiwi.*" In reconstructing the family as a unit wherein there are no subordinates, she rescues the domesticity of women in the home where she rules a "queendom" bereft of power and authority. In "*Maria Filipina,*" the commodified overseas contract workers (OCW) more popularly known as the Japayuki are "beings-for-others" responsible for saving the country from economic ruin on a regular basis. By locating women in specific historical, political, cultural, social and economic processes, Lingbaoan-Bulong elevates the nationalistically marginalized Filipino women to agents of social and national transformation.

> ***Women are not 'imagined',...to be national citizens***.... Nations have been explicitly linked to men and masculinities. Nationalisms – and generally national identities – are imagined *brotherhoods*, a 'horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1991:[16]) between men who are simultaneously engendered as masculine and produced as national subjects. [emphasis added]
>
> Sarah Radcliffe & Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation* (1996)

> Despite many nationalists' ideological investment in the idea of popular *unity*, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender *difference*. ***No nation in the world gives women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state***. [emphasis added]
>
> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 1995

If nationalism tends to dis-member women from the national body, denying them agency and equal and meaningful participation in the imagined national community, it may be said that Hermilinda Lingbaoan-Bulong is engaged in re-membering women into the nation. This essay explores *how* Lingbaoan-Bulong accomplishes such a project.

Lingbaoan-Bulong who started publishing in the Ilokano weekly magazine *Bannawag* (Dawn) in the early 1980s which roughly coincides with the "rebirth" of the feminist movement in the Philippines has consistently pursued themes of gender, ethnic and national identities. Long before it became fashionable to foreground these issues in literary works, and long before critical/literary theory would train its lenses on such writings, Lingbaoan-Bulong was already producing works that not only dealt with these individually but also more importantly, works that combined and problematized all three discourses simultaneously.

Lingbaoan-Bulong's project may be seen to consist of two components. The first component involves memory or history – the remembering of the past. It involves revisiting the sites and locations of women's participation in the nation and a re-visioning of them so that women can take their rightful place. It is then primarily aimed at unforgetting. Lingbaoan-Bulong precisely reminds us of what have been forgotten. The second component involves Lingbaoan-Bulong's *re-membering* or re-integration of women into the national, of making women members, not merely symbols, of the national collectivity. Lingbaoan-Bulong insists in her poems that women must be re-inscribed or re-written into our narratives of the nation. How does she accomplish this?

To answer this question, we need to identify the roles Lingbaoan-Bulong gives to women and where these roles are performed. In doing this, we locate these women in their specific contexts. A reading of Lingbaoan-Bulong's poems yields at least three categories of a politics of location and where women are incorporated into the nation. In other words, we see these women engaged/engaging in three broad issues (though not necessarily simultaneously) that implicate them in the nation. First is a feminized territory (land of one's birth) as location of history, memory, filiation, and kinship. Second is women's location in the home, in the struggle for independence, and in history. Last is women's location in international labor.

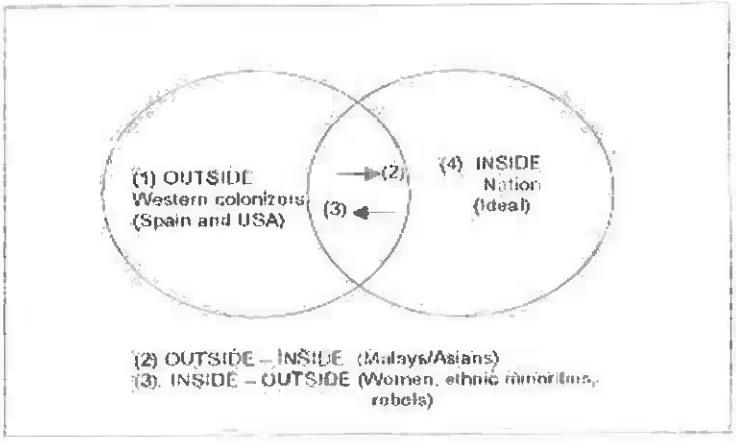
Lingbaoan-Bulong's locating her women personas/voices in these three spaces is her strategic way of re-inscribing women into the nation. She knows that women cannot just be re-membered into the nation by claiming a "natural" right to it (although they have as much right to the nation as the men). But given the reality that women do not have or enjoy equal rights to the nation, Lingbaoan-Bulong addresses this precisely by showing that women shape and labor for the nation as much as men do. To better appreciate this "locational" strategy employed by the poet, we must look into the spaces constructed by her nationalist discourse. This will also help us appreciate more fully the poet's agenda which may be called "feminist-nationalist."

Lingbaoan-Bulong's Nationalism and the Inside-Outside Spaces of the Nation

Lingbaoan-Bulong's concern for the nation permeates her works. Her construct of a nation is one constituted by inside [*loob*] and outside [*labas*] spaces. These inside and outside spaces interact to form "in-between" spaces, spaces that try to capture the problematic and contentious place of some Filipinos or groups in the nation. Four categories[4] may be deduced from Lingbaoan-Bulong's poetry:

1. outside [Western colonizers: Spain and America]
2. outside-inside [Malay race/Asians]
3. inside-outside [Filipino women, ethnic minorities, rebels]
4. inside [all Filipinos; an ideal/aspired for nation]

The following simple Venn diagram provides a schematic presentation of these spaces.



Taking the nation (4), the INSIDE space [*loob*] as our point of reference, the area (1) occupied by our western colonizers indicates the OUTSIDE [*labas*] space. This outside space is important to the nation (as inside space) because it is against this outside space that the nation is asserted and therefore, to a large extent, defined and constituted. The area occupied by the OUTSIDE-INSIDE (2) category indicates that those who occupy this space are outsiders (meaning not Filipinos) but are included in the nation (as inside space). The arrow before 2 indicates the movement from outside to inside, thus the outside-inside configuration, occupying a space closer to the inside space of the nation. The INSIDE-OUTSIDE (3) category involves Filipino women, ethnic minorities specifically the Ifnegs/Tinggians, and communist rebels. By virtue of their being Filipinos, they are within the nation but because of various forces at work (especially the state), they are also outside. The arrow indicates this movement from the inside towards the margin (boundary) between the inside and the outside spaces. They are closer to the outside space because of their marginalization that effectively renders them as though they were not within the nation, as though they did not belong. It is this that Lingbaoan-Bulong addresses: she re-moves women from the margins and re-places them into the center of the nation. For Lingbaoan-Bulong, the nation, as well as national identity, operates both on external and internal exclusion and inclusion. As Stuart Woolf says:

> National identity depends on exclusion as much as on inclusion: the 'foreigner' whose expulsion is a precondition of national independence, or the ethnic minority whose pretensions threaten national unity, are the functional counterpart to the symbolic and material mechanisms of forging national cohesion, present in most historical processes of nation-building. But the definitions of who should be included or excluded are fundamentally arbitrary, dependent on the very myths that underpin nationalist ideology (history, language, race, religion, territory...), expressed and sometimes imposed ruthlessly by elites in control of the state. The political manifestation of ethnic and regional identities may be seen as a product of the insistence on national identity and even more on nationalism, precisely because of the sense of exclusion or marginalization within the nation-state.[2]

The Outside(rs') Space

The violence wrought by the Spanish and the Americans on the Filipinos is the source of their constitution as the outside space of the Filipino nation. They are the outside entities that define the inclusivities of the nation, meaning there is an outside that the nation allows in. I will now turn to a discussion of why the Spanish and the Americans are outside.

The first category reveals one important feature of Lingbaoan-Bulong's nationalism – its anti-colonial orientation. Her anti-colonial poems perform two things. First, they explore the process by which colonization was effected including the strategies employed to achieve and justify colonial/imperial aims. Second, they explore the cultural, political, economic, as well as the psychic consequences of this colonization. In "Siak nga Adipen," Lingbaoan-Bulong identifies at least three colonialist strategies, namely 1) cunning through words and promises of progress: 2) assertion of racial superiority by the colonizers; and 3) colonization of the mind. Lingbaoan-Bulong in "Siak nga Adipen"[3] begins:

inadipennak idin, sáan laeng a kadagiti bolikas	you enslaved me not only with word
binulseknak kadagiti kari ti idudur-as	you blinded me with promises of progress

The US colonization of the Philippines was justified along civilizing missions articulated best by McKinley's divine-inspired "Benevolent Assimilation." McKinley had argued that the primary aim of American colonization of the Philippines was to bring the Filipinos out of the dark and uncivilized state where they were putatively living and usher them into the light of (Western) civilization, American brand. The US therefore was not only bringing in "progress" in the economic sense but more so, progress in the sense of "civilization" (from uncivilized, barbaric, primitive to civilized). The concept of economic progress was inextricably tied with colonial discourses, with the superiority of Western culture.

But such enslavement (*inadipennak*) justified along its civilizing mission was also predicated upon assertions of racial superiority to justify and naturalize the colonizers' aims. Their color symbolizes power while "the" Filipino color (*kayumanggi*) signifies weakness and inferiority. Moreover, the blood that runs through Filipino veins is the blood of slaves. Thus they must bow to the White.

Colonization, however, remains incomplete unless the mind of the subjugated people is completely colonized by the imperialists. The poet calls this mind-colonization as a form of "intoxication" (*pannakabartek*) and hypnosis/magic that has incapacitated the Filipinos from seeing and perceiving the insidious ways of foreign hegemony. What has intoxicated and blinded us? How? We must turn to how American hegemony was established in the Philippines. Without discounting the role of the military "pacification" of the Philippine Islands, recall that the success of American colonialism in the Philippines was largely due to the establishment of a public education system patterned after the American education system and the specialized training in the US in various fields given to natives through the *pensionado* system. This is the subject "Mannalon, Ph.D."[4] a poem about two Filipinos who went to the US for advanced studies. The whole narrative of the American colonization of the Philippines is inscribed in this poem. The denigration of the Filipino self (here now represented by Spanish names) is captured by the two Filipinos changing their names Juan to John and (Es)Teban to Steve. The consequence of their 'colonial' education has been a domination of the Filipino personhood:

> *nagrennekda iti pilosopia, teknolohia keh siensia*
> *nga insubo dagiti gangannaet*
> *naiseksek ken nangadipen iti kayumanggi nga utek.*
> ...
> *ket nagsublida iti pagilian kas tangtangaden a manakman*
> *pagtaenan ken mabigbig.*
>
> they filled themselves with philosophy, technological
> know-how and science
> spoon-fed by foreigners
> stuffed into, and enslaved the brown mind.
> ...
> and they returned to the country, looked upon as *manakman*
> honored and respected.

The word *manakman* [root: *nakem* (*loob*)] seems to be emblematic of the total American domination of the Filipino scholars' personhood. *Manakman* in Ilokano can mean or refer to a person who is good-natured but it can also refer to someone who is obedient, docile and subservient. The use of the word *manakman* to describe John/Juan and Steve/(Es-) Teban may thus refer to the American occupation/ colonization of these

"selves," specifically their minds and *nakem* (*kaunggan/loob*). Yet Lingbaoan-Bulong says that we Filipinos all suffered, and continue to suffer, from this colonization:

Al-aliaennak ita ti allawig, anak ti angin
a nangyarosaas ganggannaet a sammweng
dimngegak, inimdengak makatikaw nga awang:
inarab ebko ti danum ti lumaud nga ubbog;
ket nabartekak, diak nalisian ti palab-og.

ngem amok, uray sika,
baludnaka dagiti kannawidan nga impaammalda
iti ngudo ti krus ken alpabeto –
annaknatay amin dagiti immogep
iti dapan ti puraw nga engkantado
a nangibalud kadatayo iti tangkal ti waw ken bisin
kadagiti anak ken taraon dagiti mortal a mannakabalin.

I am haunted by the *allawig*, child of the wind
who whispered a foreign song.
I listened, I listened to the confusing sound;
I thirstily drank the water of the western spring
and I got intoxicated, I did not escape from the trap.

but I know, even you
are a prisoner of the practices they fed us
at the *ngudo* of the cross and alphabet –
we are all the children of those who kissed
the foot of the white engkantado
who imprisoned us in a cage of thirst and hunger
in the wines and food of powerful mortals.

"Adipen Dagiti Engkantado"[5]

The nation then as the inside space is constituted by people whose beings, whose identities have been "corrupted" by the outsiders. Thus, even if the Spanish and the Americans are not physically and ideologically welcome to the inside space (the nation) they are effectively inside even as they are outside by virtue of their occupation of some part of the Filipino peoples' *nakem* or *kaunggan* (*loob*). Also, Lingbaoan-Bulong, in

"Sagibo ti Paltog"[6] says that this colonial experience became part of our constitution as a people:

ngem aminsem ti siglo a nangadipen	but examine the century that enslaved
kadagiti aporigmo iti tumeng	your ancestors
no a pay a ditay makalung-aw	why we could not get out
iti gayunggayong a kinali	of the pit dug
dagiti ganggannaet.	by foreigners
...	...
ngem ania nga utek ken kararua	but what kind of mind and soul
ti namuli iti isasangbay	were moulded by the coming
dagiti ganggannaet a pammati	of foreign faith

It is precisely in having imposed (by whatever means) them 'selves' upon our 'selves' that the nation and its spaces are constructed and asserted against the Spanish and the Americans. They occupy the outer/external space defined by the nation. To use a rhetorical inverse, they are the 'others' of this nation.

The Outside(rs)-Yet-Inside(rs') Space

Lingbaoan-Bulong posits a collective identity broader than "Filipino." Again, this wider collective identity is set in opposition to what is associated with the West. While Lingbaoan-Bulong is clear about Filipino national identity (membership to the Filipino nation), she also claims that this identity is located within a Malay/Asian identity. Thus, Malay-ness or Asian-ness is accommodated into Filipino-ness. Lingbaoan-Bulong invokes common ancestry, shared heritage and blood; in other words, a common race. Take for instance these lines from the poem "Sagibo ti Paltog:"

agtartaray kadagiti uratmo	in your veins runs
ti dara nga asiano	asian blood

How this becomes possible is made clearer in the poem "Rangtay ti Puli."[7] Here, the author argues that Filipinos and Malays, though separated by sea and are different in language, customs, land of birth, even religion, are joined together by their having come from the same blood, by their having come from the same race. In fact, Lingbaoan-Bulong textualizes our relationship as *panagkakabsat* (*pagkakapatiran*):

ta adda iti kaunggan
ti napaspasnek a pannakaa'vat
agpadata laeng a paset
ti kadena't panagkakabsat
tanikala a di mapugsat.
saan a tuheng ti taaw,
pagsasao ken kannawidan
saan a ti dagsa anakayanakan
wenno pammati a nariingan
ti ad-adda a pakaseknan
no agtugmok ti kapanunotan
ta adda iti kinateo ken kaunggan
ti napaspasnek a kinnaawatan.

for it is in the *kaunggan*
where lies a deeper acceptance
we are but both a part
of the chain of *panagkakabsat*
chain that cannot be broken,
the sea is not a hindrance.
even language and custom
it is not land of birth
or the faith we were born into
that should matter more
if our minds meet
it is in our personhood and *kaunggan*
where a deeper understanding is.

won mannuratta a dua
agsabali a daga ngem agkamaris a dara
agduma a-sanga ngem agkaomgi a bunga
ta maymaysa a puli ti nagtaudanta
ramut ken puon, naimula idi ugma
wodan a tawid, napateg a sanikua
rangtay a mamagkamang
iti napalabas ken agdama.

yes we are writers both
[from] different lands but related in blood
[from] different branches but similar fruits
for we descended from the same race
root and *puon*, planted in ancient times
ancient heritage, priceless possession
bridge that links
the past and the present

Equally important is how Lingbaoan-Bulong enables this relationship by using the concept *kaunggan* (*kaloob-looban*) whose root word is *uneg* (loob). Thus, Malays (those form the Malay race) and/or other Asians may be outside the nation, speak a different language, profess a different faith yet they are accommodated in the nation. In fact, they are part of the nation. After all, they are our *kabsat* (siblings).

Fracturing Lingbaoan-Bulong's nationalism are considerations of race. In much the same way that she oftentimes represents a monolithic West, she also constructs, in opposition to this "Western" collectivity, a Malayan, if not Asian/Eastern collectivity. Lingbaoan-Bulong could be severely criticized for (unconsciously) employing/deploying cognitive categories or frameworks that we now call orientalist and at the same

time essentialist. Yet the poet's Malay/Asian location of Filipino identity closely resembles Jose Rizal's project. Quibuyen explains:

> Rizal makes a stronger claim for viewing national identity from an Asian-Pacific perspective, not only in emphasizing the cultural, historical, and trade links of the Philippines to her Southeast Asain neighbors, but also in acknowledging the Malay peninsula as the original homeland of the Filipinos. As pointed out by Coates (1968), "Rizal regarded the Filipinos as a Malay people, ethnically similar to the Malays of Indonesia, Malaya and Borneo, though not so related to the Dayaks" (175, n.1). Recent scholarship bears out Rizal's emphasis on the Philippines' cultural links with her neighbors. [....] Rizal's claim, subversive and marginal in the cultural milieu of nineteenth-century Philippines, that "there was life, there was activity, there was movement" in the Philippines and between her islands and the rest of Southeast Asia, is now an accepted part of knowledge – inscribed today in such influential scholarly works as Anthony Reid's two-volume history of Southeast Asia (1988-1993).[8]

The import of Lingbaoan-Bulong's invocation of a common race is that her nationalism is not xenophobic or purist as it warmly embraces "brothers and sisters" or "fellows" (*pada/kapwa*) from other nations. Such an invocation of a "common race" I think, articulates a desire to locate Filipino-ness in history, in its external-yet-internal relations with Southeast Asian and Asian countries through trade and other means long before the advent of Western imperialism.

The Inside(rs')-Yet-Outside(rs') Space

Since this paper is about how women are re-membered into the nation, re-moved from the marginal inside-outside space into the center of the inside space that is the nation, I will focus here on the marginalization of Itnegs/Tinggians and illustrate how some Filipinos are less Filipino than others in that they are oppressed by fellow Filipinos and are made to occupy a marginal space within the nation.

Lingbaoan-Bulong discusses in a poem how an Itneg (or a Tinggian) is unacceptable to the wider community (which is the nation) simply (or precisely?) because he is an Itneg. The poem questions how the Itnegs/Tinggians can only become acceptable to the nation if they behaved, spoke and dressed not as Itnegs but as Filipinos. The poet in effect

problematizes what exactly constitutes Filipino identity. Does it mean that the nation equals 'Filipino'? That for one to be Filipino (and thus to belong to the nation) one has to give up his or her ethnic origin, his or her ethnic identity? These are the questions the following poem foregrounds and engages:

idi nagparangak iti pudno a langak:
nagtogipilo ken nangaskasabe a nakabuag
iti salinong dagiti kayo igid ti dalan
ken kadagiti napanayag a tay-ak.
kinatawaan ken inumsidak
ta maysaak kano a maag.

when I showed up as me:
with a spear and wearing a loincloth and preached
under the trees by the roadside
and in the wide expanse of the tay-ak
they laughed at and persecuted me
for to them I was a fool.

idi makisinnukatak iti panunotan
a nakapayabyab ken nakadapan-dapan
iti tangraga ti kinelleng,
kaunasan ken kamaisan
tinallikudandak a linibbian
ta ti la kano innak matalitalanggutang.

when I exchanged ideas
wearing a *payabyab* and barefooted
in sugarcane and cornfields
they turned their backs and scorned me
for to them I was talking gibberish.

ngem idi nagkurbataak a nagtakder iti pulpito
pinasilengko dagiti sapatosko
ket nagsaritaak iti sabali a pagsasao
pinalakpakanda dagiti isu met laeng a balikas
a dida iti inlean ano.

but when I wore a tie, made my shoes shiny
and stood before a pulpit
and spoke in another language
they applauded the very same words
they did not heed.

"Kayumanggi a Propeta"[9]

Thus, only by removing their native clothes and putting on new ones, only by speaking not their language but supposedly the national (?) language that Itnegs/Tinggians can hope to be accepted by/in and become fully integrated into the nation. Yet what Lingbaoan-Bulong asserts in the poem is that one does not need to lose his/her ethnic or regional identity to become a Filipino. Arnold Molina-Azurin (1993) also raises the same issue in his book *Re-inventing the Filipino Sense of Being and Becoming*. But by the way things are, one has to make painful adjustments, one has to lose a lot in order for ethnic minorities to take a more prominent and visible place in the nation. Yet in becoming more

visible, their ethnic origins fade and slowly disappear. I will say more on this in a later section.

The Inside(rs') Space

Lingbaoan-Bulong's nationalism envisions and constructs a nation meant for all Filipinos. Lingbaoan-Bulong treats every citizen as brothers and sisters [*kabsat* (*kapatid*)] even though they could actually be enemies, belonging to opposite ideologies espousing oppositional ways of achieving national goals. Lingbaoan-Bulong constructs a relationship bonded by blood and it is this *panagkakabsat* (*pagkakapatiran*) that justifies the conciliatory and often loving tone of Lingbaoan-Bulong's poems. Thus, the communist rebels who are considered as enemies but who believe that they are fighting for the nation are also invited in:

Maawatankayo, kabsat	I understand you, *kabsat*
Ngem siak, maawatannak?	But do you understand me?
Nagabeltayo amin iti arapaap	We all wove dreams
Kapanunotan a naslag	But at the crossroad
Ngem iti nagkurusan iti dalan	We parted ways
Nagsisinatay iti addang	For there is a call we must heed.
Ta adda awag a nasken nga impengan.	
...	
Yawatmo ta imam, kabsat	Give me your hand, *kabsat*
Ta agdanggayta koma a mangtalunton	That together we may take
Iti dalan a nalinak.	The peaceful path.

"*Maawatannak, Kadi*"[10]

Thus, Lingbaoan-Bulong, in "Umayka iti Lubongko"[11] could conceive of the nation and of the nation's history as shared and she admonishes and invites "us" to enter her world of which we are all a part:

Dika agtuklad, umayka, umayka	Have no fear, come, come.
...	...
Dumanonka, ala, dika agduadua	Come in, ala; do not doubt
Apay nga adda aliaw kadagita mata?	Why is there fear in your eyes?
Maklaatka kadi a makaaniris	Are you shocked to realize
A pasetnaka met 'toy nalet a sled?	That you are a part of this narrow room?

Note that it is the voice of a woman that is used in the poem. What this suggests is that for Lingbaoan-Bulong or as far as her poetic/political agenda are concerned, women are central to the nation. In the poem, it is a woman who is opening the door for an "enemy." Yet because Lingbaoan-Bulong is aware of how women (following the imagery of the poem) have been sent and locked out of the nation, she undertakes the project of re-membering them into the nation. Although Lingbaoan-Bulong declares the nation to be for everyone, she is not blind to actual or real situations. She is aware that there are structural inequalities in society and knows full well that these structures of inequality engender and legitimize the oppression of others, including the dismembering of women from the nation. Thus her poems that intersect gender and nationalism insist that women must be re-membered into the nation. They must be re-inscribed or re-written into our narratives of the nation.

Gender, Ethnic Identity and the (Nation-)State

The erasure or disappearance of ethnic identity that the state (or state nationalism) requires of its 'citizen-people' for them to belong to the nation (see discussion on inside-outside space) is countered by Lingbaoan-Bulong's refusal to dis-connect herself or the personas of her poems from their ethnic land. In a way, Lingbaoan-Bulong refuses to obey, subverts even, the logic of state ideology by representing (her) ethnic origin as constitutive of her entry into and participation in the nation. Also, she undertakes this project by systematically constructing a kind of counter-discourse to patriarchy and state ideology that has been responsible for the dis-memberment of women from the nation. In re-membering women into the nation, Lingbaoan-Bulong, against patriarchy and state ideology, feminizes the land of her birth and constructs her birthland (Abra) as a woman and as a mother. Thus, she images her connection to and attachment with her ethnicity as impossible to forget since mother-child relationships are generally very strong and hard to cut off, even when the nation is also represented as a mother. This strong mother-child relationship is already indicated by Lingbaoan-Bulong's rhetorical strategy: she addresses herself to her mother-land. She speaks to her motherland. Thus, the poems are addressed especially and specifically to the motherland. Interestingly, the nation is not represented as a woman/mother in Lingbaoan-Bulong's works. In fact, the nation appears not as an abstracted idealized human but always located in the

struggles and in the daily living of her personas/characters. Her feminized ethnic identity is constructed against a masculinized state.

Lingbaoan-Bulong's construction of a feminized ethnic territory is an essentialist act. Moreover, in linking women with land, she links women with their traditional images as being acted upon, passive, immobile and idealized. On the other hand, her masculinizing of the state links force, power and action with males. Yet, outside of the feminized-territory conceptualization of Itneg/Tinggian ethnicity, she constructs in a story an Itneg woman who fights the state for oppressing her. We have to look at Lingbaoan-Bulong's construction of ethnicity upon a feminized territory in relation to this Itneg woman who chose to become a rebel. At the outset, I am inclined to say that there is no need to reconcile these two representations. What is crucial is that we look at how they are used for the constitution of ethnic identity as the Itnegs/Tinggians move into the nation.

Women as Territorial Symbol of Collectivity and the Performance of Ethnic Identity

Lingbaoan-Bulong's feminized territory that represents ethnicity (Tinggian/Itneg) is imbricated in a wider or broader community ("nation"). Let us explore the connection between the two.

In her poem "Baro a Kaputotan,"[12] Lingbaoan-Bulong grieves over what is happening to the Itneg/Tinggian community. It is dis-integrating because there has been a loosening of the bonds that have traditionally kept the Itnegs/Tinggians intact. Their traditional sources of food (alingo, ugsa, ikan, igat, kempa) are no longer there. Their musical instruments (bungkaka, kipano, kalaleng, tambor, gansa) are no longer played. Their weapons (gayang ken pika) are no longer used. No new native clothes (baag ken piningitan) are being woven. Their dances are no longer performed. Even the kaputotan (the people or generation) have fallen apart:

naliday da kindingan ken ginawdan	*kindingan* and *ginawdan* are sad
la dida ipangag ti pagta ti kalon	for they no longer obey the *pagta ti kalon*
nasitaksitaken dagiti appoko	the descendants
ti masidit, maeng ken gubang	of *masidit, maeng* and *gubang* have been divided

nagsisinan dagiti kaputotan	*the kaputotan of inlaud, adasen and binonganti*
inlaud, adasen ken binongan.	*have gone separate ways..*

Exactly what has caused this social and cultural disintegration Lingbaoan-Bulong does not say. We can however, attempt a discovery of what has brought this about. She says in the stanza of the poem quoted above: *ngem dika aglua, ina't kabanbantayan/dimo sangitan dagiti nayaw-awan* (do not cry, mother of the mountains/do not grieve for those who have gone astray). Where have these children gone? It is possible that aside from environmental destruction, the community or its members have been forced to join the "modernity-zation" orchestrated by the state. The ethnic community is after all part of the nation-state. Thus, we can assume that part of the reason for the ethnic community's disintegration is the absence of a young or new generation to continue re-generating the community. Also, we can assume that with modernization and with their entry into the educational system and their participation in a wider collectivity, and "obeying" state ideology, these children may have begun to practice a new culture (one that is opposed to their ethnic culture) and to construct a new identity out of these new materials.

Lingbaoan-Bulong discusses this more fully in her short story "Saraan" which she translated into Filipino as "Ang Handog ni Dagwaley."[13] In this story, the author deals with the institution or practice of offering a head of a member of an enemy tribe by the groom-to-be to the father of his betrothed. The protagonist of the story, Dagwaley, however, went to the capital to study and when he came back to fulfill the obligation passed on to him by his parents, he refused to headhunt arguing that it will only lead to a vicious war with another tribe. This infuriates his father and the father of his betrothed who happens to be the tribe's chief. The import of this is that Dagwaley, in effect, was saying that it was about time that cultural practices that are no longer relevant and have been made anachronistic and obsolete were thrown away by the tribe. His betrothed feared that Dagwaley's position would make her suffer what many other tribal girls have suffered – that of being abandoned by their betrothed. Their partners left the tribe to study and never came back. Perhaps these are the ones that Lingbaoan-Bulong has described as having gone astray.

This going astray (which from the point of view of the state is welcome since their going astray leads them to the state) involves movement out of their ethnic community into the national community (represented by

their going to the metropolis, the capital of the nation-state), to participate in a nation-building process – education which is administered by the nation-state. What makes this "going astray" is that these members of the ethnic community never go back or worse, forget or lose along the way their ethnic identity. What is the *ina ti kabanbantayan* to do? Lingbaoan-Bulong admonishes her, reminds her that it is her blood that runs in their veins:

ngem dika aglua, ina't kabanbantayan
dimo sangitan dagiti nayaw-awan
la agtartaray 'ti uratda ti daram
ramut a nagdamili iti nakaryanakan
ti mangrangtay rumiet a kabakiran
tapno ibayogda baro a kaputotan
ni maingol a kanag-kababaguan.

but do not cry mother of the mountains
do not grieve for those who have gone astray
for your blood runs in their veins
[you, the] root that moulded their birth
shall bridge the forest
so that they will bridge a new generation,
of the hero *kanag-kababaguan*.

"Baro a Kaputotan"

The importance of *ina't kabambantayan* to the identity of those who were born into this particular geographic location is highlighted in another poem. This time the poem talks about how this mother territory comes to be so important to the identity of the Itnegs/Tinggulans:

sika, ina, ti nangitunda
kadagitoy nalupoy a saka
kadagiti parbangon ti panagduadua
ken narikut nga agsapa.

it was you, mother, who strengthened
these weak legs
during dawns of doubt
and difficult mornings.

inappuponak dita dakuap
dagita imam ti nangted pigsak
tapno sapulek dagiti arapaap
iti agmatuon ti biag.

you took care of me in your palms
your hands gave me the strength
to look for the dreams
in the noon of life.

kenka, ina, sapsapulek
kasingin ti tured
a mangsalaknib, mangted-kired
iti pudot ti agtindek.

in you, mother, I look for
the twin of courage
that will protect, give me strength
in the heat of the noon sun.

"Madre Abra"[12]

If in the poem "Baro a Kaputotan," the territory seemed immobile and an essence, the second poem disessentializes it as it provides a glimpse into how deep attachment to this mother territory is developed and borne out of the physical caring that Lingbaoan-Bulong has so beautifully and lovingly attributed to the mother territory. If it is not an essence, how can ethnic identity move outside of essentialisms? We can answer this issue by looking at Bulong's poems that deal with her being a Tinggian/Itneg.

Sometimes, one may be struck by how Lingbaoan-Bulong can be ambivalent about the mother territory. On the one hand, she looks at it as an originary, a source of one's belonging determined by blood and birth. On the other hand, she attributes to this mother territory some motherly role that is ritualized, frequently performed, thus neutralizing the tendency to essentialize this source of identity. Further, identity formation becomes part of the performance of identity. But at the same time that Bulong does this, she also re-inscribes this woman territory into an essential plane. To resolve this ambivalence, we have to seek recourse to Bulong's other poems. I will argue that while this mother territory may reside or remain in essence (as it remains in the symbolic), attachment to it and the identification and identities that obtain from this attachment must continually be renewed. The past that is associated with this territory and which putatively binds/bounds the people together, past, present and future must continually be re-visited. Identification and identities must therefore be continually acted out or performed. In so doing, they are reconstituted, re-affirmed.

The reconstitution of filiation and identity occurs in two ways. The first occurs in the practice of ethnic culture, in the performance of religious rituals. The second takes a literal going back to the land of one's birth, to re-commune, to remember and revisit those places, objects, and people that were part of one's identity. Memory is thus critically put to bear on all of these.

The first involves the sensitive and careful reading of signs and omens. This then refers to a conscious and active engagement with faith, demonstrated in the worship of Kabunian. Such worship oftentimes involves a constant search for Kabunian himself. It is a search that involves questioning where Kabunian could really be found and that can oftentimes lead to doubting the existence of Kabunian. One cultural

aspect of ethnic communities that is instrumental in keeping their ethnic community intact is the practice of their native religion or faith. But this practice does not only involve the mere performances of the religious rituals as this practice also becomes the site for questioning this faith. In "Wen, Im-imdengak,"[15] the persona "accuses" Kabunian of being "naatap" [elusive and cold] and interrogates the fundamental foundation of this faith — the "truth" or real-ness of Kabunian, a questioning echoed in another poem:

adda ka kadi a naibudi	are you there
kadagiti atang iti bawi?	in the offerings at the bawi?
maysaka kadi a kari,	are you a promise,
imahinasion wenno pammati?	imagination, or faith/superstition?

"Sinapulkan Kabunian"[16]

The second process of the reconstitution of ethnic identity involves the same difficulty and discomfiture. One must contend with the anxiety that such a reconstitution brings about.

In "Nagramutan,"[17] one must face the difficulty of remembering when the signs have already disappeared or when the signs are beginning to fade and disappear.

sumken ti ila, di maiwaksi	longing sets in, I cannot prevent
alimbasagen ti kararua	my soul becomes listless
kadagiti di makaidna a rabii	at restless nights
sumeksek dagiti lamina	images invade
kadagiti lagip a di sumina	memories that won't part
di maibagasan ti ballaag	the warnings of endless
kadagiti di maungpot a batibat	nightmares remain undivined
ngem awan maibukel a ladawan	yet no image can be formed
simbolo a di maibuksilan	undecipherable symbol
agparang, di mapakadaan	it appears unexpectedly
agpukaw iti apagdarikmat.	it disappears in an instant.

"Nagramutan"

Is this difficulty caused by one's alienation or estrangement from the land?

bunga kadi amin ti kinagangganaet
ti kararua nga agsapsapul iti pagdisuanna
a sangkapingis a daga?

are all these the consequence of an alienated
soul looking for a piece of
land in which to settle?

"Nagramutan"

Thus, the attachment to the land of one's birth, to the land where one has rooted, involves the invention of signs, the search for and discovery of signs and links to re-connect and re-root oneself to this land:

...
nupay napukawen dagiti tanda
iti desdes a din maadalan
adda linas a mamagkamang iti napalabas,
agdanna ken masakbayan.

...
even if the signs are gone
along the footpath that can no longer be trodden
there is a linas that links the past,
the present and the future.

"Nagramutan"

Attachment to the land of one's birth could be lost and the memory we have of it could be forgotten. There is a need then to invent symbols and markers to remind us of who and what we are. Equally important is the need to re-visit this land and attach oneself even to the most mundane of things. It is in going home that one remembers (or is reminded of) the past, one re-members (re-integrates) oneself to this past for the present. Memory is thus preserved. The following poem, "Agawidakto Latta"[18] acutely states this:

Agawidak latta
tapno buntonek ti ramut dagiti arapaap
tapno umadawak iti raniag iti temtem
a nangsilnag iti dalan a nangtunda
kanlak iti masakbayan.

I will keep on going home
to look for the roots of my dreams
to gather light from the fire
that lighted the path
that led me to my future.

Agawidak manen
tapno umasakak iti daga a nangtapaya
kadagiti nalupoy a saka a pinatibker
ti lunggal addang.

I am going home again
to tread on the land that supported
these weak legs that were strengthened
by every step.

The land is meaningful only because we remember the self-investments we have made unto it. Our identity is thus constituted and re-constituted every time we engage and dis-engage with this land, every time we dis-member ourselves from it and remember what we have in this land and what we associate with it:

-ngem saan a kinatakrot	but it is not cowardice
ti apagbilit nga ltatalikud	to retreat for a while
tapno unadaw iti inspirasion	to draw inspiration
ken kired idiay bumurayok	and strength from the bumurayok
a nangrugian amin dagitoy	where all these trials
	that cannot be avoided began.

"Sublianta dagiti Arapaap"[14]

Thus, when the Itnegs or Tinggians move away from "Madre Abra" or from *ina't kabanbantayan* to be part of a wider collectivity, that of the nation, one does not necessarily forget this ethnic mooring.

tartaraigidek ti karuotan a pasét	I walk by the grassy edge
ti aspaltado a kalsada	of the asphalt road
bareng masarakak sadiay	hoping to find there
ti agtutubo a mangtaltalaytay	the youth walking on paddies.
iti naamor a tambak.	
...	...
mangnganupak met itoy a puseg	I, too, am a hunter in the navel
ti siudad a nasamek	of a city of dense thickets.

"Siak nga Agbirbirok"[15]

As the lines quoted above shows, one brings this ethnic identity into the national. And when it seems it has been lost, one embarks on a search for this buried identity, of this identity that seems to have disappeared in the (metro)polis. Moreover, when Lingbaoan-Bulong writes that *ina't kabanbantayan* should not worry because her blood runs in the veins of her children who have left (perhaps even abandoned) her, she attaches to it the necessity of continually remembering what this blood signifies and performing the obligation this blood carries. Thus, the ethnic identity of *ina't kabanbantayan* must be performed while it converges with and diverges from the national. Her refusal to leave behind, to disregard, to forget or to erase her ethnic origin and her insistence and persistence in making it part of her present constitution, identity and subjectivity, have defined and determined her "perception of

actual and emotional space."[21] This emotional and actual space can never be complete, Lingbaoan-Bulong argues, if her ethnic identity is completely disregarded either by the state of by herself.

Gender and Ethnicity Against the State

If in the preceding section, Lingbaoan-Bulong subverts state ideology by insisting the in-eraseability of the ethnic identity of Itnegs/Tinggians in becoming national, there is another aspect to the combination of gender and ethnicity in relation to the state that can be discussed in Lingbaoan-bulong's texts. What Lingbaoan-Bulong does as discussed in the preceding section is a negotiation through state ideology, a negotiation based on a willingness to become part of the nation-state. In this short section, I attempt to explore a refusal to become part of the state while fighting for the nation.

In January 1985, Lingbaoan-Bulong published in *Bannawag* her short story "Komander Ila."[22] This story is significant (to this study) not only because its publication coincides with the beginning of the period (1985) I am investigating but also, more importantly, because the story deals with the issues this study is about: gender and nationalism. What is more, these two are mediated by ethnicity.

"Komander Ila" is the story of Cecilia whose (college) studies in social work had to be cut short due to the murder of her father. The murder was blamed on the NPAs but Cecilia was convinced that powerful politicians in their place were responsible for it. Cecilia decides to join the rebels to obtain justice for her father. Cecilia's ethnicity is not made apparent in the story but the author told me that when she wrote the story, she meant Cecilia to be an Itneg and that it did not occur to her to make this explicit. She had assumed (perhaps because she always thinks of herself as an Itneg first and as an Ilokano second) that Cecilia would be perceived automatically or naturally to be Itneg/Tinggian.

Cecilia's enemy in the story is her boyfriend who decided to become a soldier hoping that as a military man, he had a better chance of "encountering" her. They have not seen each other since the murder of Cecilia's father. Thus, we see in these two persons the gendering of ethnicity and the state. During their encounter where Cecilia's boyfriend was shot, he tried to convince her to surrender and embrace the state

once again. But Cecilia was firm in her conviction that she cannot anymore and possibly go back to the folds of the law. Note here that Cecilia became an NPA because she believed that she would be serving the people especially those who are oppressed by the state. It is clear then that Komander Ila is not against the nation; in fact she is fighting for the nation. It is the state, whose representatives (politicians, military men) killed her father that she is fighting, that she refuses to be located in.

In the Cordilleras, the 1970s and 1980s were a period of intense conflict between rebels and the military. This was a period when many indigenous peoples were joining the NPAs because of military oppression and repression. This was also a period when indigenous peoples were becoming more assertive of their ethnic identities and rights vis-à-vis the state. The construction of dams in Kalinga and Bontoc and the entry of Cellophil Resources Corporation into Abra were a watershed for the revolutionary movement in the Cordilleras.[23] The militarization that accompanied Cellophil made the Itnegs/Tinggians receptive to the revolutionary ideology. Moreover, the entry of Cellophil was predicated upon a denial of Tinggian ethnicity as it was enabled by a systematic Ilocanization of Abra.[24] It is this context that surrounds and impacts Lingbacan-Bulong's 'Komander Ila.' Thus, Komander Ila's construction as an Itneg should not be reduced as a feminization of Itneg/Tinggian ethnicity but as the active and insurgent assertion of this identity. It is a rebellious/dissident act against a masculinized state. David Brown provides a discussion of the relationship between ethnicity and state that is relevant to the issues I am raising here. He says:

> Ethnic interests have been deemed democratically legitimate by the state only when they have been supportive of the incumbent regime. Ethnicity thus inhabits a shadow world – liable to be designated as subversive communalism at one moment, but applauded as the legitimate articulation of cultural values and interests at another.
>
> The problem then, is not that ethnicity constitutes a primordial loyalty which inevitably attaches to fixed ascriptive cultural attributes and is necessarily absolutist and overwhelming, but rather that it is frequently perceived in such a way by state elites who portray it as a primitive and threatening force to be suppressed, subverted or tamed.[25]

Lingbaoan-Bulong's construction of two different representations of gendered ethnicity reveals the dislocating consequences of the nation-state on ethnic groups. First, Lingbaoan-Bulong articulates a desire or a willingness to be part of the nation and so negotiates through nation and state ideology. Yet even as she joins this wider, now more hegemonic collectivity, she subverts the state's discourse of forgetting ethnic origins and which it imposes on those over whom it claims sovereignty. The poet, herself an Itneg, attributes to her ethnicity an importance equal to the importance of a mother to her children. The mother, Lingbaoan-Bulong argues, is the source of life. So the life of an Itneg in the nation springs from his or her Itneg identity. But when the state kills, Lingbaoan-Bulong responds with a construction of a gendered ethnicity that is also capable of killing if not the state, at least the state projects that threaten Itneg/Tinggian ethnicity.

In both constructions, we can trace the absence of surrender. In the first instance, Itnegs/Tinggians join the nation without totally surrendering or giving up their ethnic identity. They add their ethnic identity to their 'national' identity or better yet, they add their "national' identity to their ethnic identity. The addition is not always easy to make. The forces of the state are strong and coercive. Lingbaoan-Bulong's "mother Abra"or *ina tl Kabanbantayan* and her frequent "going back/going home" are ways by which the addition is balanced, if not equaled. In the second instance, the Itnegs/Tinggians (represented by a woman-rebel) fight for their ethnicity and the nation against an oppressive state. It shows a woman who was once within the nation-state and thus under state authority but who chose to move out of a murderous state. Lingbaoan-Bulong's feminized ethnicity is, to borrow from Roseman,[26] both "political [and cultural] reclamation and emotional identification."

Women, Home and Nation

Women's subordinate position and participation in the nation has been greatly facilitated by the construction of (discursive) dichotomous spaces within the nation-state: the public-political sphere which is supposedly the exclusive domain of men; and the private-domestic sphere which is putatively the domain of women. Because women belong to the private-domestic sphere and because nationalisms and nations have been theorized to be located in the public-political sphere, the "exclusion of women from that arena has affected their exclusion from

that discourse as well."[27] Women's subordinate participation in, if not exclusion from, "formal," meaning the public and political, processes and activities associated with the nation-state appears naturalized, as part of the "nature of things." Yet it must be emphasized that the existence, impositions and workings of the public-political/private-domestic divide are supported by and "predicated upon the unfettered operations of patriarchy."[28]

The public-political and private-domestic divide has severely affected women's incorporation into the nation-state. Their identification with the private-domestic sphere underpins their exclusion from full citizenship. Moreover, the linking of the public-political with the masculine implies that even when women are incorporated into the nation, it is not on the same terms as men are incorporated. This also has the effect of labeling many women's activities as not legitimately "political."[29]

Lingbaoan-Bulong recognizes women's oppression and their being assigned only to the home. She attributes this to the workings of patriarchy and to their patriarchal construction as women. She laments the social iniquity this patriarchal ideology engenders, an iniquity patriarchy has built upon biology. Lingbaoan-Bulong poignantly writes:

nayanaktayo ngarnin iti gimong	for we are born into a society
a bangking ti timbangan	where the scale is tipped against us
saan a patas	it is not balanced
uray sadino't intay pagtakderan.	where ever we may stand
datayo ti mangan iti napait a bunga	we eat the bitter fruit
ti di panagpapatas	of inequality
...	...
a, ta adda di mailatayan a saem	a, for there is a pain we can't run away from
a kas met iti kunod	like the curse
ti nakayanakan a sugat a di aglumen	of the wound we are born with that just wouldn't heal.

"Nakayanakan a Lupod"[30]

Here, the poet finds in women's oppression the opportunity to articulate solidarity. Her use of the pronoun *tayo* (we) where she is part of that collectivity already signifies this. Lingbaoan-Bulong sees the need to challenge and step out of the spaces imposed by patriarchy upon women. In "Sika wenno Siak,"[31] a woman admonishes another to be brave and to leave her husband:

Dika bumdeng.	Do not be afraid.
Pamekem ti buteng	Conquer the fear
A nangadipen iti nakem.	That has enslaved your nakem.
Diak kayaten.	I do not want anymore:
Kari a mangirarem	Promises that enslave
Sapata a mangiturtimen.	Vows that oppress.

This theme of challenging patriarchal ideology runs through the poems of Lingbaoan-Bulong. Perhaps, its strongest articulation is the following poem where the persona challenges the authority of the patriarch (the father) by defying him in choosing a "dangerous" world, far from the comforts and security of a home headed by a father, into a world where she is on her own:

pinilik, ama	I chose, father
ti lubong nga agpaggaak ti tao	a world where a person laughs
no igupenna a kasla diro	when s/he drinks like honey
ti dara ti padona a parsua.	the blood of his/her fellow.
agsalip, ama	father,
ti alingget ken garakgak	fear and laughter compete
no makiinnagek ti biag	when life kisses with
iti icepick, imuko ken bala.	icepick, knife and bullet.
ngem ditoyakon, ama	but I am staying here, father
tapno nanamek sam-it-pait	to enjoy the *sam-it-pait* [sweet-bitter]
ti panangbirokko iti langit	of my search for heaven
iti napeggad a dana.	in this dangerous path.
ap-apalanka, ama	I envy you, father
iti natalimeng a kalapaw	in your quiet hut
a nagatep it pan-aw	roofed with pan-aw
iti lubong ti kappia.	in a world of peace.

"Maawatamon, Amá?"[32]

In challenging structures and relationships of power that patriarchy upholds, Lingbaoan-Bulong negotiates through an ideology that limits women's participation in the nation. In so doing, she opens up in her works social as well as national spaces for women to occupy. In "Siak a Reyna,"[33] she satirizes women's putative queendom in the home, a

queen-dom bereft of power and authority. It is a position given to women by their husbands and reveals women's location in domesticity:

daytoy ti pagarian	this is your kingdom
a kunam a pagserbiak:	you told me to serve:
siak a kunam a reynam:	I who you called your queen:
reyna dagiti pinggan,	queen of the plates,
kaldero ken lunglungan, namuring a malabaan	pots and dishes, dirty clothes
ubbing a madigos ken mapakan,	children to bathe and feed,
agturay iti kosina	ruler over the kitchen
superbisor ti dalikan,	supervisor of the earthen stove
siak ti reyna a nagsetro iti sagad	I, a queen with a broom scepter
nagkorona iti batia,	crowned with a basin
ngem adipan ti kabalio	yet slave of the *kabalio*
ti pagplantsaan.	*ti pagplantsaan.*
siak ti reyna	I am the queen
nga awanan trono	without a throne
no di laeng ti butuabutuag	except the rocking chair
a kamangko kadagiti malem	which is my refuge at dusk
no aglabonen ti init	when the sun already sets
ken maurnosen ti pagarian	and when your kingdom
a sangpetam iti sumiponget.	you go home to has been fixed.

The persona however finds this power relationship grossly unfair and oppressive, one that does not recognize women's capacity to perform things beyond those mentioned above in the poem. She asks:

ngem rumbeng kadi	but should these
nga agpatingga laeng	calloused fingers
dagiti bukuan a ramay	and rough palms
ken narusanger a dakulap	be only for stitching socks
a para sursir ti medias	and tattered clothes?
ken para takup iti kawes?	

In another poem, Lingbacan-Bulong deals with women's role in the national project – that of their role limited to being biological reproducers of members of the national collectivity, a role that is performed in the home. It seems that nationalism is an extension of patriarchy:

agtanangka, babai	be careful, woman
ta saan sa a naikari	for it seems that
nga agtugawka iti trono	you were not meant to sit on the throne,
a para laeng iti ari,	that is only for a king,
agulimekka, babai	be silent, woman
ta narigat a mangngeg	for it is hard to hear

ô di maltaltalek	[...]
a nakapsut nga uni:	a faint voice:
agparbengka, babai	be careful, woman
ta awan ti lugarmo	for you have no place
iti nainget a dangadang	in the fierce battle
dagiti malalaki.	of the brave [heroes]
aganuska, babai	bear, woman
nga agyan iti sagumbi	to stay in the cradle
agpywan ken agtagibi	looking after and nursing
kadagiti maladaga ti puti.	the children of the race.

"Aglanangka, Babai"[34]

What is unsettling here is the stance/position taken by Bulong. She seems to condone this location of women into the nation and appears resigned to it. Moreover, she seems to mimic patriarchy in telling women to shut up or be silent (*agulimekka, babai*), or be careful (*agtanangka/agparbengka, babai*) or be long-suffering (*aganuska, babai*). The persona's voice changes, however, in the second stanza and encourages women to remember their own strength, their own capacity, their place in the pages of history and reminds them that they are the daughters of Gabriela:

ngem sakbay a dung-awam	but before you grieve
ti kasasaad a narilngam	over the situation you were born into
lagipem ken tandaanam	recall and remember
nga adda pigsa a naisangsangayan	that there is a remarkable strength
iti dara a nagtaudam.	in the blood you came from.
ta adda met kaibatogam	for you have a place
iti panid ti pakasaritaan.	in the pages of history.
babai, agyamanka	woman, be thankful
ta sagibonaka ni gabriela.	for you are an offspring of gabriela.

"Agtanangka, Babai"

The reference to Gabriela Silang is a historical location of women – a remembering of what women have actually done. That women have not only participated in the struggle against colonizers but have also led movements to free people form social and political colonization and to win back our freedom. In other words, women have led nation-building movements. This Lingbaoan-Bulong explores in her poem "Agbangbangkatayo, Lilong:"[35]

Agbangbangkatayo, ita	We are rowing our boat, now
iti duo a karayan, lilong	in two rivers, lilong
wen, napeggad ita ti danum	yes, the water is dangerous
ngem natibker pay laeng ti timon	but the timon is still sturdy
diak ammo no intay pay madanon	I do not know if we will get
ti pagtungpalan ti kalikagum.	to the end of our goal.
ania koma	What then
ngarud, lilang, ti piliek?	must I choose, *lilang*
agpada dagitoy a nalibeg	they are both murky
matilawek, ammok kad' pay ti aramidek?	I am confused, do I still know what to do?
diak san masuba ti apres	I cannot go against the current anymore.
aluyo daytan a nakaam-ames!	[...]
ala, an-anusam ama	ala, keep going father
uray ta nalpasen ti layus	it is good the flood is gone
sublatem bassit 'toy gaud	take this *gaud*
ta paliiwek dita laud	and I will observe the west
no nataltalna ti agus	if the waves there are calmer
ta ditay ket mayaniud	lest the current bring us along.
tulonganak, ina	help me, mother
ta awan makitak a namnama	for I do not see any hope
wanawanam bassit 'ta daya	look to the east
barong adda sangladan nga isla	there might be an island
wenno nasaysayaat a daga	or a better land
a pangisangladan 'toy bangka!	to anchor this boat!

Here, the struggle for independence is imaged as a journey upstream two rivers (Spain and the US) that have become too dangerous. The boat is going against the current symbolizing a struggle against these two rivers. The journey is taken by a family, a family composed of the grandfather (*lilong*), grandmother (*lilang*), the father, mother and the child (the persona of the poem). The family as nation moving towards independence shares the responsibility equally. While the nation is imaged as a family, this poem's use of the family-as-nation trope is different from the Katipunan way of troping the nation as Inang Bayan. The nation in Lingbaoan-Bulong's poem is troped as a family, not as Inang Bayan that only implies a family. The implications therefore are far-reaching. In this poem, no member of the family is used as a symbol, an object of everybody else's agency. Every member of this family is an agent of social and political transformation the end of which is independence (*pagtungpalan ti kalikagum*), a journey against two rivers that should take them to an east(ern) destination (*wanawanam bassit 'ta daya*). The traditional image of the hope for the coming of independence has been

the rising of the sun in the east. Furthermore, the family here is an extended family, unlike the inang Bayan metaphor (where the father figure is markedly missing) evidenced by the crucial inclusion of *lilong* and *lilang*. This is more in keeping with family composition and relationships in the Philippines. Thus, in a development of identity and gender politics located in the national, Bulong questions the unjust imprisonment of women in the home, taps into history and invokes Gabriela Silang and concludes with a whole family fighting for independence. The image of "family" is present in all three poems and in the last, liberates the family from its traditional conception of power while tapping into the traditional composition of a Filipino family.

Women, Philippine Economy and International Labor Migration

The Philippine labor migration "wave" in the 1970s began when the Marcos government sent Filipino workers to the Middle East for construction jobs.[36] The Marcos government saw it as a solution to the worsening economic problems of the country specifically unemployment and national accounts deficit.[37] Since then, the number of Filipinos leaving the home country to work abroad has steadily and dramatically risen and Filipinos are now bound to almost anywhere in the world. As of 1999, 3.5 million Filipinos were estimated to be working in 120 countries.[38]

In 1997 alone, the government deployed 747,696 overseas contract workers (OCWs). Of the number, 559,227 were land-based while the rest were sea-based. In the same year, Filipino OCWs remitted through official channels $5.7 billion.[39] This has led one scholar to comment that the Philippines has looked to its population as a resource to be invested overseas.[40] Since the 1970s, the OCWs (now called overseas Filipino workers or OFWs) have been the savior of the economy, earning for them the label "unsung heroes" or "new heroes." Filomeno Aguilar, Jr. gives the following account of their heroism:

> Beginning with the administration of President Corazon Aquino, the Philippine state has also conferred upon returning migrant workers the status of "new heroes" of the Filipino nation-qua-economy, consequently aligning their narrative experience with religio-cultural motif of the liberator-hero returning from overseas, which informs several important junctures of Philippine history from the homecoming of Rizal to that of Ninoy Aquino....But the migrant workers are called "heroes" even

before their return to the homeland, because remittances flow into the Philippine economy while they work overseas.[41]

Official government statements claimed that the Philippines weathered the 1997 Asian financial crisis because of the money sent in by these OFWs. Joaquin Gonzalez III gives the following account of OCW contribution to the Philippine economy:

> From 1975 to 1994, Philippine Overseas Contract Workers (OCW) brought in more than US$18 billion to the Philippine economy. Based on data from the World Bank and the Department of Finance, the foreign exchange earnings sent back to the Philippines by this huge army of international labour migrants via the commercial banking system has definitely helped stabilize the government's accounts. The trend...dramatizes these solid contributions to national income further by illustrating the annual exit of OCWs as a proportion of the labour force and the corresponding yearly inflow of remittances as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) from 1975 until 1994.
>
> From 1975 to 1994, the US$18 billion worth of earnings sent by OCWs represented a 2.6 per cent share of the country's GNP for that nineteen-year period. Total remittances as a proportion of GNP grew annually from less than 1 per cent in 1975-76 to 4 per cent by 1993-94. From 1977 to 1981, the share of the remittances in the GNP grew to between 1.1 and 1.5 per cent. This further increased to between 2.1 and 2.6 per cent in the eight-year period of 1982-90. Beginning in 1991 up to 1994, the share increment grew to between 3.2 and 4.5 per cent. The largest total yearly remittances as a percentage of GNP was recorded in 1993, when the proportion reached approximately 4.5 percent. This growth trend in the remittances as a share of GNP continued in 1993 through 1995 as the number of overseas workers increased further. During the first quarter of the 1996, the Philippine economy grew. Government economists noted that without the supplement from overseas Filipinos this figure would only have been around 4.7 percent. In the first half of 1996, the country's GNP was boosted by a 70 per cent increase in OCW remittances, or more than US$ 5 billion. Government officials emphasized that the money sent has definitely facilitated small-business start-ups, consumer spending, and small-scale construction.[42]

An issue that has attended Filipino labor migration is its feminization. In 1997, for instance, of the 221,560 OCWs who were deployed for the first time (New Hires), 47,544 were maids, 19,225 caregivers, and 25,636 entertainers.[43] These are job sectors predominantly filled by women. Battistella says that:

> The breakdown by occupation and gender, available only for the newly hired, reveals that the proportion of women over men is increasing....Specifically, the migration of entertainers has picked up again, after the decline in 1995, when ballet skills were imposed among the requirements to obtain permission to go abroad.[44]

Cynthia Enloe[45] sees this feminization of Filipino migrant labor within exploitative complicit relationships between the sending government and the institutions to which the government is indebted. Enloe implies that there is a deliberate attempt to feminize labor. She says,

> Sri Lanka and the Philippines are the two countries today whose economic stability is most dependent on feminized migrant labor. Sri Lankan and Filipino women who leave home to work abroad have become economically more important than their male counterparts. Some of the Filipino women are recruited to work as nurses, some as entertainers. But the greatest number work as domestic servants. Their governments have relied on feminized labor at home – on plantations, in tourist resorts, in Export Processing Zones – to stay financially afloat. Now they also depend on women's overseas earnings to keep foreign creditors and their financial policeman, the International Monetary Fund, content."[46]

In examining the poems of Lingbaoan-Bulong that deal with Filipino women as migrant laborers, I will attempt to examine how, despite their commodification by the Philippine government as well as by the recipient states, these women workers negotiate their location in transnational capitalism and remain *subjects* and thereby actors who are critically acting for their nation.

Filomeno Aguilar, Jr. argues convincingly that Filipinos work overseas not only out of poverty in the homeland but also because of 'selfish' reasons. While this is the case, Lingbaoan-Bulong's poems that deal with this situation explicitly assert that it is the poverty at home (nation) that

has made her female personas to seek employment abroad. Thus, Lingbaoan-Bulong locates the other site of women's participation in the nation outside of this nation: their participation occurring in transnational contexts of economy. Aguilar[47] describes this location thus: "the migrant lives in a suspended state: past, present, and future are incongruent and disjointed in their locational moorings. The 'grammatical' location of the labour migrant's existence is equivalent to that of a dangling modifier."

How can Lingbaoan-Bulong's poem "Maria Filipina,"[48] a "story" of a mother or a sister who works as an entertainer to support her children/siblings become a narrative of Filipino women's participation in the economy of the Philippines? The title gives us an answer. The name, although it refers to an individual and a particular woman, cannot be dissociated from its collective/national reference. "Filipina," even though used only in a "personal" level, implicates the national and the political. It implicates the national for Maria Filipina's situation is located in the larger context of the national situation – that of debilitating poverty and unemployment – that has caused the country to allow the massive outflow of human capital/resource. Maria Filipina's situation also enters the political as it has become the policy of the Philippine state to allow its citizens to work abroad with the official assistance of the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA). Thus, "Maria Filipina" must not be read merely as a personal/family narrative. It must be read against the national context.

But a reading of the poem must engage it with the international relations of this form of labor. After all, Maria Filipina works overseas, outside of the national territorial boundaries of the country. In fact, the poem is aware of this transnational movement:

Siak ni Maria Filipina	I am Maria Filipina
Baro a Maria Magdalena	A new Mary Magdalene
Ngem birbirngasanda iti Japayuki	But whom they call Japayuki

Maria Filipina's entry into another territory that also signifies her specific participation in the economy is contained in the name used to label her: Japayuki. Japayuki, in general, refers to Filipinos working in Japan. But this term seems to be gender-specific in the sense that it is frequently associated with Filipino women workers in Japan. The term does at least two things then. One, it signifies Maria Filipina's specific

spatial location (where she works), Japan. Two, it shows Maria Filipina assuming and performing a new identity, in quite a very literal sense. This identity is constructed out of the two locations where Maria Filipina is: Japan and her particular involvement in the Japanese economy and labor market. The poem links closely the label "Japayuki" with Maria Filipina's job as an entertainer (perhaps even as a prostitute). Thus, in the poem, Japayuki is a Filipina working as an entertainer in Japan.

Isuda a di makaamino no mano a lapad
Ti katukad ti tunggal garaw
Ti ima, barukong, patong ken sakak
Isuda a di mangipirpirit iti gatad
Dagiti binaso a juice a diak malnum
Ken maibukbok kadagiti bonsai iti likudak.

They who do not know
What every movement
Of my hand, chest, buttocks and legs is worth
They who do not care about the cost
Of the glasses of juice I couldn't drink
And which are poured on the bonsai behind me.

Like all other Philippine exports, Maria Filipina has a price, a market value measured in "lapad" (Japanese yen), "equivalent to every movement of her hands, breasts, buttocks and legs." Reduced and commodified into a sexual object, she gets entangled in a network of export-economy and capitalist expropriation. In the first place (and in the real world), any Filipina aspiring to work in Japan as entertainer must meet certain standards of beauty and physical desirability/attractiveness. They must be talented (those who can both sing and dance are preferred) to command a bigger market of primarily Japanese male consumers. Before they leave for Japan, they undergo rigorous training under agencies recognized and accredited by the Philippine Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) and POEA. Thus, like Philippine products exported to other countries, these Filipinas must meet the standards imposed, if *not* by the international market, at least by the importing country.

It is in Maria Filipina's commodification and objectification as sex toy ('*uray kunada a muniekaak nga awanan rikna*') by the predominantly Japanese male audience that she and others like her become participants and agents in the Filipino nation. In what seems to be a contradiction, these Filipino women entertainers become important contributors to the

Philippine economy at the moment of their commodification and objectification. For now, they are able to send money to their families, in return helping the national economy.

While she may have been objectified and commodified, moving from one economic order to another, this activity is performed by external agents (Philippine institutions like DOLE and the Japanese sex industry, agencies and pimps, and finally the audience). Maria Filipina has a radically different view of looking at what she is doing. While we grant the inevitability that her decisions and choices may have been engendered by dominant and powerful orders, Maria Filipina insists that this decision was her choice and she had her reasons for making it:

Uray kunada a munekaak nga awanan rikna-
Ta kinullaapan ti asuk-sigardio dagiti matak
Ti pakinakonko ket binarteken ti arak
Saan a nabibineg ti konsensiak.

Ngem aginggga iti adda dagiti mawaw a mata
A iti mapnek nga agremnek iti pakabuklak
Ituloyko ti agabel kadagiti nalayog nga arapaap.

Ket no saanto man a maugasan dagiti lua
Ti karamak nga in-inut a maiderraas
Sapay ta masalbar ti tunggal nginabras
Ti maysa wenno dua a mabisinan a ngiwat.

Even if they say that I am a doll
without any feelings
For cigarette smoke has clouded my eyes
And my will has been intoxicated by wine
My conscience remains unaffected.

But for as long as there are eyes
That will not get enough out of looking at my body
I will continue to weave grand dreams.

And if my tears fail to cleanse
My soul that is slowly falling into a ravine
May one or two hungry mouths
Be saved.

While she may have been reduced to a commodity "sold" in a capitalist market, Maria Filipina subverts this insidious process. She continues to weave grand dreams ("*Ituloyko ti agabel kadagiti nalayog*

nga arapaap"). A sense of heroism suffuses her decision ("*Sapay ta masalbar ti tunggal nginabras/Ti maysa wenno dua a mabisinan a ngiwat*"). This is a heroism that not only benefits family members and saves them from hunger (and death). The ultimate beneficiary is the nation, as the money used to pay her for her "performances" of her Japayuki identity are sent back 'home' – remittances that have kept the Philippine economy afloat. While Maria Filipina's primary reason for becoming a Japayuki was motivated by her desire to rescue her family from poverty, the economic benefits accrue, finally and ultimately, to the nation. The Philippines could very well be this "*maysa wenno dua a mabisinan a ngiwat*" Maria Filipina is rescuing from hunger and death.

In another poem, "Sennaay ni Bag-en,"[48] Lingbaoan-Bulong indicts the government, particularly political leaders who are so busy enriching and fattening themselves on the nation, symbolized in the poem by *hardin* (garden) and *daan a kalapaw* (old hut); on the labor of people such as OCWs. Although written in 1992, the poem deals with the political context when Cory Aquino took over the reins of government from Marcos. "Sennaay ni Bag-en" condemns the turncoatism (dalligan) and self-preservation that attended and characterized the change in leadership. Lingbaoan-Bulong transforms these turncoats into rats that are eating away the nation ("*nagraira dagiti marabutit a mangkibkikbkib/ iti daan a kalapaw*"). While these government officials are preoccupied with preserving their personal interests and welfare, and in amassing more wealth for themselves, they have not done anything to solve the debilitating poverty ("*ket agburarog latta da amang ken inang iti galunggong*") that has driven millions of Filipinos to distant and foreign lands:

> *adtoyak met a mangak-akup iti maregmeg a balitok*
> *iti pinggan dagiti ganggannaet a didiosen*
>
> while I am here picking up the morsels of gold
> from the plates of foreign gods.
>
> "Sennaay ni Bag-en"

Migrant work is thus one of the most visible ways by which Filipino women have labored for the nation. The irony is that it is labor that physically distances them from it. It is labor that has never been easy. It

is labor that has cost the life of many. Yet it is also labor that has made this nation survive one crisis after another. Women's role in shaping the nation, and in giving it a better life is summed up in the following lines from Lingbaoan-Bulong's poem "Diak Mamingga:"[50]

pasantakek ti baro a biag
a naibudi kadagiti pannubok
ken nailaga kadagiti pagtong
ta apitento ti kaputotan
dagiti bunga ti pangted.

I will invigorate a new life
found in trials
and woven into events
that the new generation may reap
the fruits of my work.

In re-moving women from the inside-outside-marginal space of the nation and re-membering them at the core of this nation, Lingbaoan-Bulong positioned them in three strategic locations. Her construction of a feminized territory as representing Itneg/Tinggian ethnicity as well as of a female-gendered ethnicity re-inscribes ethnic women into the nation while at the same time rescuing their ethnic identity from the nation (or more accurately from the state). Her interrogation of patriarchal ideology which constructs the home or the family as the primary and proper place of women rescues the domesticity of women (by politicizing their occupation of this space) in this unit and empowers them by reconstructing the family as a unit where no one is subordinated or has to subordinate him/herself to someone, particularly the husband/father/ patriarch. She rescues women's contribution to the nation which domesticity (as embodiment of patriarchy) would otherwise consider negligible and therefore forgettable. Her poems that explore how women OCWs/OFWs have been rescuing the nation from economic collapse resists the commodifying and objectifying logic of this form of labor. Instead, Lingbaoan-Bulong subjectifies her women migrant laborers by showing how they retain their agency as women. She constructs them as "beings-for-others"[51] engaged in life-threatening labor that produces life-sustenance for the nation.

In writing about the experiences of women in various contexts, Lingbaoan-Bulong has almost always written in the first person (singular and plural). In writing as "I," she places herself in the place and experiences of these laboring women. Neferti Tadiar[52] to whose work this section is heavily indebted says that, "this subjunctive exercise is not a matter of representing others or speaking on behalf of others. It is, rather, a practice of involving oneself in another." Writing as "we," Lingbaoan-

Bulong "solidarity-flies" herself with these women and uses the creative power this solidarity generates or makes possible to empower them back, to construct women who are not defeated by their oppression. Lingbaoan-Bulong draws her creative power and strength not only from their shared or common oppression and experiences as women but, more importantly, from the solidarity Lingbaoan-Bulong imagines or builds on this oppression.

In engaging gender and nationalism, Lingbaoan-Bulong located women in specific historical, political, cultural, social and economic processes. It is this that has made it possible for her to fiction women as agents of social and national transformation. Ultimately, it is this (f)act that enables her, that authorizes her to remember (to recognize, to honor) women, to re-member them into the nation.

There is another aspect to this politics of location. In locating women in various and multiple contexts, Lingbaoan-Bulong, too, locates herself in these contexts even as she also locates herself in the selves of these women she creates and fashions in her works. It is this double strategic positioning that produces and releases the strength and power of Lingbaoan-Bulong's works. It is this, ultimately, that makes her "feminist-nationalist" poetic vision and agenda tremendously and truly empowering and emancipatory. ✪

Endnotes

My title mentions only the poetry of Lingbaoan-Bulong. This is because although I analyzed two of her short stories ("Saraan" and "Komander Ila"), I do so to support ideas expressed in her poems especially when these ideas seem unclear and might be illumined by her fiction. My inclusion of the two stories therefore, although very crucial at limning the links of the discourses I am investigating (gender, ethnicity, nation and nationalism), are ("only") supplementary.

1 *Loob* and *labas* are indigenous concepts that have been studied by many Filipino scholars, for instance Ileto (1979), Rafael (1988) and Alejo (1990). My classification or categorization of the spaces within and without the nation produced in the poetry of Lingbaoan-Bulong was first derived from Benedict Anderson's (2000) article "The Rooster's Egg: Pioneering World Folklore in the Philippines." In this article on Isabelo de los Reyes and his work on folklore, Anderson postulates the position taken by de los Reyes as far as his folklore scholarship and his being an Ilocano were concerned. To quote Anderson: "Where did Isabelo position himself in undertaking his task? ....For most of the hundreds of pages of his book, Isabelo spoke as if he were not an Ilocano himself, or at least, as if he were standing outside of his people." (57) Anderson comes up with the following "three ill-fitting situations"...: Outside (they cannot give us a complete idea); Inside (there is no Spanish equivalent of *bari-bari*); and Outside Inside (even though I am an Ilocano myself, I do not understand this Ilocano-language refrain; but I am telling this to 'you', not to 'us')". (p. 59)

Subsequent readings led me to Prospero Covar and Virgilio Enriquez whose works on *loob* have helped me to understand the dynamic and dialectical relationship between *loob* and *labas*. Covar (1998) explains that the Filipino personality which he prefers to call personhood (*pagkatao*) is associated with body parts and that these body parts constitute binary oppositions, *panglabas* and *pangloob*. He claims that "*panglabas na pagkatao*" is associated with *ulukha*, *dibdib*, *tiyan*, and *sikmura* and that the "*pangloob na pagkatao*" is associated with *utak*, *puso*, *bituka*, and *atay* (1998:35). I realized upon reading Covar that Lingbaoan-Bulong was similarly associating *utak*, *puso*, *apdo* with the inside spaces of her construction of the nation. Moreover, it is these body parts, specifically *utak* and *puso* that she deploys to link Filipinos with those who also came from the Malay race and with other Asians which also justifies her inclusion of these "outside" people within the Filipino nation.

I adopted Virgilio Enriquez's (1994) concept of *kapwa* or *pakikipagkapwa*. This was the basis for my categorization of an outside-yet-inside space. Enriquez asserts that *kapwa* is the sole concept that embraces both the *ibang tao* (outsider) and *hindi ibang-tao* (one of us). Furthermore, Enriquez (1994) says that "the domain of interpersonal relations has proved theoretically fertile and lexically elaborate in Filipino. All these levels – whether belonging to the *ibang-tao* or *hindi ibang-tao* categories – may be grouped under the heading of *pakikipagkapwa*. Thus, anyone looking for a core concept that would help explain Filipino interpersonal behavior cannot help but be struck by the superordinate concept of *kapwa*. It is the only concept which embraces both categories of "outsider" (*ibang-tao*) and "one of us" (*hindi ibang-tao*)." (44-46)

When Lingbaoan-Bulong invokes shared heritage and similarities in the face of obvious differences (in language, religion, practices) she uses the word "*agpadutu*" (*pareho/ kapwa*) to textualize our relationship with those who also came from the Malay race. Thus, it is her conceiving of our relationship with these outsiders in *pada* (*kapwa*) terms that allows them inside the nation that Lingbaoan-Bulong constructs.

Myrna Alejo, et al. (1996) have also looked into the possibility of the *labas* (outside) being accepted by the *loob*. They say that the "*labas* can be accepted by the *loob* if the latter finds affinity with the former. But the levels of acceptance also vary depending on the degree of openness or personal relationship established, how one can derive benefits from his/her connection with the *labas*, the accompanying positive/negative notions being borne out by individual or collective experiences, and the degree of commonalities (i.e. similar values and similar experiences between the *loob* and the *labas*." (83-83; see also 100-110)

Alejo, et al. (1996) also conclude that people who are in the *loob* may at the same time be treated as *taga-labas*. They write: "Within the community is a gradation of *loob* and *labas* – the community against "outsiders," *purok* (barangay district) in relation to another *purok*; a family vis-à-vis the community; and the community against an individual." (83) In my analysis of some poems of Lingbaoan-Bulong, I look at the construction of an inside-outside space: that space occupied by a *taga-loob* but who is treated as a *taga-labas*.

2 Stuart Woolf 1996: 32-33.

3 "Siak nga Adiperi," (15 August 1992), unpublished.

4 "Mannalon, Ph.D.," (21 August 1992), unpublished.

5 "Adiperi Dagiti Engkantado," (22 August 1992), unpublished.

6 "Sagbo ti Pattog," (4 May 1993), unpublished.

7 "Rangtay ti Puli," *Bannawag*, March 2, 1990, p. 50.

8 Quibuyen 1999: 155.

9 "Kayumanggi a propeta," *Bannawag*, October 27, 1997.

10 "Maawatannak Kadi," (June 8, 1991), unpublished.

11 "Umayka iti Lubongko," *Bannawag*, October 20, 1986.

12 "Baro a Kaputotan," *Bannawag*, March 17, 1986.

13 "Sarsan," *Bannawag*, March 16, 1987, pp4-5, 22-23. "Ang Handog ni Dagwaley", in *Kurditan: Mga Kuwentong Iloko*. Edited by Reynaldo A. Duque, Jose A. Bragado and Linda T. Lingbacan, 1988. Makati: Gumil Metro Manila.

14 "Madre Abra," *Bannawag*, November 11, 1985.
15 "Wen, In-imoengak," *Bannawag*, March 9, 1987.
16 "Sinapulkan, Kabunian," *Bannawag*, July 28, 1986.
17 "Nagramutan," *Bannawag*, October 5, 1992.
18 Published in Bannawag with the title "Ta Adda Ditoy ti Lakasa ni Lagip," July 27, 1998.
19 "Sublianta dagiti Arapaap," (July 1, 1989), unpublished.
20 "Siak nga Agbirbirok," (July 15, 1994); also included in *Sagumbi: Antolohia ti sarita, daniw ken drama dagiti Abrenio*, edited by Prescillano Bermudez, 1999. Bangued, Abra: Abra Iluko Writer's Association.
21 Pearlman 1989:140.
22 "Komander Lia," *Bannawag*, January 14, 1985, pp. 4-5, 21.
23 cf. Castro 2000, 1994; Flagoy 1990.
24 Dorral 1979; 1990; Regpala 1990.
25 Brown 1996: 310.
26 Roseman 1997: 59
27 Yuval-Davis 1998: 24.
28 Kandiyoti 1994: 388.
29 Waylen 1996, 1998.
30 "Nakayanakan a Lunod," (November 8, 1998), unpublished.
31 "Sika ken Siak," (October 2, 1986), unpublished.
32 "Maawatamon, Ama," *Bannawag*, May 27, 1985.
33 "Siak a Reyna," (October 26, 1995), unpublished.
34 "Agtanangka, Babai," (February 5, 1992), unpublished.
35 "Agbangbangkatayo, Lelong," *Bannawag*, Novemeber 26, 1993.
36 Battistella 1999.
37 De Guzman 1999.
38 Margold 2000:24.
39 Battistella 1999.
40 Skeldon 1997:160.
41 Filomeno Aguilar, Jr. 1999: 105
42 Joaquin Gonzalez III 1999: 145-146.
43 Battistella 1999: 236.
44 Battistella 1999: 235.
45 Cynthia Enloe 1990
46 Enloe 1990:186; cf. Mies 1994; Pearson 1994.
47 Aguilar 1999: 105.
48 "Maria Filipina" (February 13, 1995), unpublished.
49 "Sennaay ni Bagnen," (August 24, 1992), unpublished.
50 "Diak Mamingga," (October 22, 1984), unpublished.
51 See Tadiar 1997: 178.
52 Tadiar 1997: 178.

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