

## The Star Also Suffers: Screening Nora Aunor\*

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Pain is an emotion most easily transmitted and shared in a media-centered society. For more than a quarter of a century, film actress and once and future "Superstar," Nora Aunor, has made a career as one who experiences physical and emotional pain, whether as the doomed love-slave of a "never was" actor In Bona, the disillusioned nurse in *Merika*, the tireless housemaid in *Atsay* and the doomed domestic helper in *The Flor Contemplacion Story*. In each of these films, she performs sacrifices worthy of several heroines and (usually) survives extreme levels of class and foreign oppression and dehumanization and emerges more human and no less indomitable. Her performances are very much acclaimed and awarded. The life of Nora Aunor before stardom provides her added credibility. Her transformation from impoverished child, to amateur singing sensation, to movie icon is a story book prelude to her real/reel life drama. Sufferance is her cinema and fans and non-fans alike have suffered with her. In a reprise of her role as Elsa in *Himala*, Nora addressed a stunned audience at the EDSA Shrine with the truth. When she unburdened herself and burdened the multitude of her suffering at the hands of former President Joseph Estrada, the effect was dramatic, if not convincing and contagious. When seen in the context of Nora's history, the utterance of pain, the politics of making it known and acknowledging it in public, assumes authority; the star's folklore and filmography could affirm this assertion.

When Nora Aunor went up the stage of the EDSA Shrine to break ranks with President Joseph Estrada, former lover and fellow actor, she stunned her audience not only by her condemnation of the President's fabled avarice, but also by her revelation of his violent disposition toward her kind. Nora stepped up the plate both as betrayed advocate and citizen and battered woman. She went on national television later to fill out details on how Erap had humiliated, taunted, and verbally abused her.

What good did this public testimony do?

Politically, it was opportune, as the tide at the time was already shifting against the President, and Nora, keeping in mind her interests as a political contender in her home province, would find the perfect bailout. This "political motivation," though does not totally discredit the ideological investment that Nora, with the help of leftist organizations, had put into the initiative, decisively defined her engagement. Nora had expressed the

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intention to run as Governor of Camarines Sur in the 2001 elections, which she eventually did but lost.

Mediagenically, it was good copy. Nora for the longest time had been perceived as one of Estrada's closest friends and allies. She indefatigably campaigned for him, sang the National Anthem at his inauguration, and made propaganda materials for his administration. Undoubtedly, Nora made herself at the disposal of a President who had assiduously utilized her, but at the same time benefited from his largesse in one way or another. Hence, her falling out with him was significant to the degree that it inflicted irreparable damage on Erap's image as patron and leader.

Emotionally, it was stirring: the entertainment industry's Superstar, the Cinderella of Philippine movies, reprised her dramatic role as sufferer, of which she is an emblematic exemplar, straight from her four-decade cinematic oeuvre. This performance cut across a conjuncture of complicities, with Nora acting out multiple parts in an unfolding tragedy and revolt. For a President to be denounced by her friend and paramour, lifting the veil of artifice between the personal and the political, the inside and the outside, is decisively damning.

Inasmuch as the deposing of Estrada was largely media-engineered, the level of *mediatization* informing the performance of Nora, and to some extent the entire reality of EDSA 2, was high. Anthropologists have warned us about the increasing mediatization of the "real," specifically the appropriation of human experience and its "capability to mobilize popular sentiment and collective action, and even (the) capacity to witness or offer testimony (which) are now available for gaining market share."<sup>2</sup> In relation to Nora's grievous disclosure, the distinct experience of suffering (in the hands of the country's most powerful man) is able to underwrite the *spectacular* power of the claim to truth: "Suffering is one of the existential grounds of human experience; it is a defining quality, a limiting experience in human conditions. It is also a master subject of our mediatized times."<sup>3</sup>

The unburdening of one's suffering is consequently also a form of burdening others of one's pain. In this case, pain serves both as labor and capital of the struggle of a human agent, Nora Aunor, to bear witness and testify, to make the necessary sacrifice of putting herself at risk and in a position of vulnerability and exposure to consumption and compassion.

In some sense then, it can be construed as resistance in the way it critiques and lays bare the condition that makes the sacrifice and its exchange possible. And if seen in the context of Nora's history, the utterance of pain, the politics of making it known and acknowledging it in public, assumes authenticity; the star's folklore and filmography may be able to affirm this assertion. It is, therefore, the project of this paper to redeem *suffering* as a strategic emotional gesture, and we can recuperate Nora's appearance at EDSA in various ways. Robert Desjarlais, in his work on sanity and selfhood among the homeless, quotes the philosopher Heidegger to stress the transformative potential of letting others feel one's pain: "To undergo an experience with something – be it a thing, a person, or a god – means that something befalls us, strikes us, comes over us, overwhelms and transforms us."<sup>3</sup>

In this regard, the work of Veena Das on how women in India negotiate institutional appropriation of suffering by performing their pain in public through mourning is very instructive:

In the genre of lamentation, women have control both through their bodies and through their language – grief is articulated through the body, for instance, by infliction of grievous hurt on oneself, 'objectifying' and making present the inner state, and is finally given home in language. Thus the transactions between body and language lead to an articulation of the world in which the strangeness of the world revealed by death, by its non-inhabitability, can be transformed into a world in which one can dwell again, in full awareness of a life that has to be lived in loss. This is one path towards healing – women call such healing simply the power to endure.<sup>4</sup>

Pain, therefore, is socially embodied and transforms extensively, that is, it is made to touch the lives of "others," to pass on the feeling as a shared prospect and responsibility. While it is true that it can be appropriated by institutions like the state or the church in the pursuit of pacifist agenda, its potential as a shareable and shared sentiment can be harnessed for radical ends: "In the end one can only say that while the ownership of one's pain rests always with oneself – so that no one speaking on behalf of the person in pain has a right to appropriate it for some other use (e.g. for knowledge, for justice, for creating a better society of the future) – there is a way, however, in which I may lend my body to register the pain of the other."<sup>5</sup> The mode of lending and the

situation through which it is trafficked as value qualifies the politics of pain.

Annie E. Coombes, for her part, in a critique of contemporary art dealing with incarceration and detention, suggests that one way of overcoming trauma is to re-express it in material form as a condition of confrontation. Quoting research on trauma,<sup>6</sup> she posits: "As a way of 'mastering' trauma the survivor needs to objectify it and that this can only occur 'when one can articulate and transmit the story, literally transfer it to another outside oneself and then take it back again, inside.' Thus we may be unwittingly become a step on the road to translating traumatic memory into narrative memory through our uncomfortable viewing of this collection of objects-becoming-exhibits and the unbearably poignant testimony to which we necessarily give witness."<sup>7</sup> Again, suffering is transformed from an allegedly passive state of feeling pain to aesthetic competence and expressive culture, with "art" tracing the stamina of a continuing survival.

In light of these two studies, we can resituate Nora's revelation as a prospective empowerment of memory, of a storytelling or narrative that connects the past to present encounter, which in this case is enriched by Nora's filmography and folklore over time and her current endeavors as a local political figure. To discuss this proposition, we aim to gather imaginations of Nora's suffering in film as a mode of *sufferance*, of prevailing, of enacting pain for a mediatized body politic.

### Female Labor

The notion of labor operative in this study encompasses the sort that is formally monitored by the economic index and the kind that is expended in non-formal, usually domesticated ways. The salient category here is work and how it is disseminated through the body across fields of exchange and value as commoditized agency. A helpful paradigm is suggested by Arjun Appadurai who regards commodities from a cultural perspective, entangled in the politics of exchange and value, and secretes not only control but also "the constant tension between the existing frameworks and the tendency of commodities to breach these frameworks."<sup>8</sup>

In *Atsay*, before Nelia de Leon goes to the city, she works in a household orphaned by the father. Siblings help in the chores and vend vegetables. Nelia also works as a weaver. In *Minsa'y Isang Gamu-Gamu*, Corazon de la Cruz's mother buys "stateside" scrap from young boys and sells them; the mother of Corazon's boyfriend works at a PX (Post Exchange) store or commissary in the American military base and owns a small store specializing in PX goods.

The theme of female labor evokes the urgency to eke out a source of income and a condition of livelihood, or *ikabubuhay*, *kabuhayan*, *hanap-buhay*, or *trabaho*; and in the case of the five films chosen for this study, it coheres with risk taking, or *pakikipagsapalaran*, and choice, or *pagpapasya*. The latter is to be distinguished from *pagbabakasakali*, which is more premised on chance, fortune, or luck. *Pakikipagsapalaran* is an active decision to explore possibilities, to take risks as in the other areas of Nora's personal life, an act which usually dislocates the heroine and takes her to other places: the US Embassy in *Minsa'y*, the movie bit player's house in *Bona*, Singapore in *The Flor Contemplacion Story*, New York in *'Merika*, and the city (Manila) in *Atsay*. This mode of labor, therefore, is migratory and inserted into national and global systems of dispersal. However, regardless of its mobility and mobility, this labor is transacted as domestic and, in the grammar of orthodox materialists, "outside" the realm of "history" and "revolution;" in all of these forms of employment, the heroine is made to fulfill a supposedly feminine task — from domestic work to caregiving chores to plain volunteer help at the beck and call of a master-Idol. Given this locale, labor need not be assessed solely in the conventional economic sense, as the gender that embodies the labor is made to assume other roles as well, other mechanisms and responsibilities of work: mother, daughter, and girlfriend. In *Bona*, in fact, Bona at one time performs sexual ministrations on Gardo at his behest; this sexualizes the labor, aside of course from engendering it, and emplaces Bona in psychoanalytic triangulation with Gardo and his mother, whom he always invokes as the only person who had bathed him and known the right blend of hot and cold water for his ablutions.

In the instances presented by *Atsay* and *Bona*, *pakikipagsapalaran* transforms into a condition of oppression as it soaks up the stigma of enslavement or *pagpapaalila*. In fact, the word *atsay* comes from a permutation of the Spanish *muchacha* and is derogatory. Moreover, that some of Nelia de Leon's town mates are forced into the flesh trade further

deepens the wound of violation of female labor. All these cases in a way clarify the conditions of work, which now implicate the aesthetic of exploitation, prostitution, and rape. At this point, *pakikipagsapalaran* constructs the terms of oppression, or *pang-aapi*, and here the identity of the *api* (oppressed) signals a shift in consciousness of the violated agent as she begins to make sense of her condition as "wrong" and begetting grievance. This would be brought forth by seeking redress as in Nelia's request for a day-off as part of her "rights," or vengeance as in the case of Bona. It would also be blown up on national scale as *pang-aapi* is made to accrue to America's policy toward the Philippines in *Minsa'y*; or to Singapore's insensitivity to the Philippines in *Flor Contemplacion*.

The value of this labor, moreover, does not have to be intuited as forced or requiring pecuniary recompense. The concept of desire and sacrifice, for instance, intersects with work in *Bona*. Moreover, the idea that labor, however contracted in monetary terms, is domesticated breeds different systems of exchange, as gendered work is assumed as natural and, therefore, naturalized as naturally conscriptable and necessarily polyfunctional, *all around* in domestic-work parlance. This aesthetic of servility that is overdetermined by desire and *pananagutan*, or obligation, and not wage relations is most sharply graven in the narratives of *Bakit Bughaw ang Langit?* (1984) in which Nora's character Babette takes care of a handsome mentally disadvantaged man to pay off the debts of her mother, a former movie star; and in *Sidhi* (1999) in which she plays the role of a mute who is robbed blind by an opportunist husband.

In the same vein, the final scene of *Bona* re-presents female labor in the gesture of undermining the source of its exchange. As Bona prepares the water with which to bathe Gardo, we can discern in her face apprehension that soon gathers into resolve and rage. And when she finally takes hold of the pot and sets to pour it into the basin, Bona carries out the act of violence with unerring efficacy, etching in her face the trauma of her own violation. Such image makes a keen departure from Bona's earlier stance of a fan who will do almost everything in this world for her idol, an affliction which she foists on herself out of love for her Gardo. Moreover, the domestic sphere transforms into a public arena of retribution, of social anger, as a "fan" musters the will to go through her fantasy and kill it. "Female labor" here is, therefore, aestheticized as

"slave to love," but also as "boiling point" of human agency. From the traditional iconography of Nora as *katulong* or *alila* to the counter-imagination of a woman scorned, we see Bona's deed as a transformative aesthetic which may, however, cut both ways: the termination of her enslavement, on the one hand, and the condition of the possibility of incarceration, on the other. The liberative potential of this act may be compromised and, in fact, put under erasure.

The scene begins with Bona, alone in the house, staring at the wall in the dark until Gardo comes and calls her name. The camera then pulls back to take in the prefigurative sight of the denouement: Bona, Gardo, and the bath basin. Gardo asks Bona why it is dark, and then turns the lights on. Bona suddenly embraces him, as if in fear. Gardo consoles her and repeatedly asks her if something is the matter. Bona begins to stifle her sobs and fails to speak. She breaks her silence when she tells Gardo that lover Katrina had come to disclose her plan of taking him with her: Gardo dismisses all this as mere *kadramahan* (melodrama) and asks Bona to prepare his bath. As he sets himself on his haunches, Gardo reveals he is quitting the movies, grumbling that the seven years he had spent in the business yielded nothing and that after trying all sorts of roles — from stuntman to bold stud — nothing came out of it; he blames it on the absence of luck (*malas*). Then the news comes: Gardo is marrying Katrina, a widow who inherited quite a sum, and will migrate. Then Bona, in a tone both probing and desperate, asks: What about me? What will happen to me? Gardo tells her to go back home, as he will have to sell the house. Bona reminds him she can no longer go back to her family, recalling the incident in her father's wake in which she is banished by her brother. Gardo, now angry, makes it appear that it was Bona who had forced herself into the house: "*Ikaw itong pilit na tumira dito, pilit na nagsusumiksik. Habang buhay ka ba titira dito?*" This admonition ends the verbal volley.

Bona is alerted to the sound of the water boiling, and approaches it. We now see Bona's face framed by vapor intercut by a view of Gardo's back with the sound of his voice wafting. Bona takes the pot, filled with boiling water, and startlingly pours it on Gardo, who shrieks on feeling its contact with his skin. Gardo scampers, but Bona pursues relentlessly. Bona is then seized by a certain suddenness, stops in her tracks, and weeps, retreating to a corner of the house: the wall carpeted with the pictures of her idol. Surely, class figures forcefully in Bona as the slum,

which in Lino Brocka's films configures the locus of lumpenproletariat struggle, accesses social struggle in unerring detail and "social realism." But the category of class is mediated by the melodrama of love as in the case of another Brocka and Nora film, *Nakaw na Pag-ibig* (1980), in which an ambitious man leaves her poor girlfriend for a rich woman who lives in a mansion, a situation which is reprised in *Beloved* (1985), with the scheming rich woman played by the same actress, Hilda Koronel, whose facial features – aquiline nose, aristocratic mien, and fair skin – contrast with Aunor's. Class, therefore, is embodied and enacted by specific and situated confrontations of asymmetries that inevitably lead to betrayal and aloneness.

An analogue of this loss and estrangement brought about by a particular kind of economy or an "exchange of sacrifice" can be glimpsed in a scene in *Atsay* in which Nella resists to consider the love proposed by her suitor. She reasons that her past had substantially impaired her virtue; she does not come with clean hands. This loss of "worthiness" is aesthetically transformed in Nora's performance of the figure of abjection, a mode of marginality that constitutes her character as an eternal outsider even to the affairs of love — inadmissible as romantic agency. In traditional Filipino drama, characters who suffer from poverty hold on to the guarantee of a generous spirit that allows them to reciprocate and offer love. But here the promise is not allowed to operate, making this scene in *Atsay* probably one of the saddest in Philippine filmography, the reason perhaps the narrative retrieves it from the abyss and recuperates it from a state of hopelessness.

Here is that crucial exchange between the character played by Mona Lisa, mother of Poi, and Nella, revealing the scars of the latter's trauma, her history :

ML: Alam ko, ang damdamin mo kay Poi. Bakit kailangan mong gawin yun?

Nella: Mabibigo siya sa akin. Hindi niya ako ikatarangal.

ML: Sa anong dahilan?

Nella: Nagsinungaling ako sa inyo. Ang totoo, mula sa probinsiya, namasukan akong katulong, alila, atsay. At hindi lang yun; nagbuntis

ako sa amo ko. Pero nalaglag. Pero nangyari yun hindi dahil umibig ako, o dahil naghanap ako. Labis akong naapi at naging kowawa nang mamasukan akong katulong. Yung bang para akong itinapon sa isang kawang asong ulol, halos lahat ay umaangli sa akin, nagpapahirap sa akin. Pumapangal sa katawan ko para mamatay na ako. Ang tanging naawa sa akin ay isa ring kapos-palad, higit na nangangailangan ng pagdamay. Kaya nang may nagpakita sa akin ng pag-aalala, ng pagmamalasakit, kahit alam kong niloko lamang ako, natangay agad ang loob ko. Alam kong masama. Walang mabuting pupuntahan. Mapapahamak ako. Pero uhaw na uhaw ako sa pagtingin ng kapwa. Kaya nang may mag-alok sa akin kahit tubig na may lason, ininom ko.

We may also factor into the equation of loss and estrangement the concept of *hiya*, which likewise runs through the folklore of Nora. Roughly translated into shame, *hiya* can best be evaluated as "loss of face" (*walang mukhang ihaharap*) mainly brought about by class discrimination: This is most glaringly carved into high relief in *Atsay*, not only through the depiction of the general condition of the housemaids brought to the city like caged animals, but Nora's performance of Nelia's demeanor as a chattel to middle-class employers (*amo*). Many scenes conspire to render *hiya* as symptom of abjection. The feeding of the housedog with better food than that afforded Nelia, which is stale; the manner in which Nelia is made to appear as a machine of her master's children; and the accusation of theft when the master realizes that somebody had taken some of her money. In *Minsa'y*, to digress a little, Corazon de la Cruz's brother is misrecognized as a pig and in *Flor Contemplacion*, the heroine likens her torture to a dog about to be slaughtered. But the gravest of instance of loss of face involves the scene in which Nelia's second *among babae* (female employer) finds out that she had caught the affection of her husband of the house. *Hiya* here substantially stigmatizes Nelia's character, making her abjection all the more complicated as it now implicates both class and morality. Nearly throughout the film, Nora is seen with her head bowed, her eyes never meeting her masters', except in those moments when she asserts her entitlement to dignity. *Hiya*, therefore, is not operationalized as a natural disposition, but a *habitus*<sup>9</sup> constituted by class and moral distinction that can structure its own overcoming largely through a more encompassing and transcendent sense of human dignity, or *dangal*, or personhood, or *pagkatao*. In *Flor Contemplacion*, the Filipina maid tells her jailers that they may be able

to steal her life, but not her *pagkatao*, which outlives the flesh and flourishes in memory:

Filemeno Aguilar, Jr. clarifies the context of this loss in his discussion of the aesthetic of "unsettling" and the "dialectics of transnational shame and national identity" in relation to overseas Filipino workers. Aguilar identifies the "regimentation of industrial capitalism"<sup>10</sup> as only one aspect that outstrips a worker's well being abroad. He also points to the loss of self-esteem when Filipinos are shamed by way of slurs like "stupid," "liar," and "loose."<sup>11</sup> The shame assumes national dimension as distinction of citizenship and, further, of race is invoked and made to render the worker intelligible as a specific kind of worker with a specific kind of predisposition to be stupid, to lie, and to break loose. Aguilar quotes Jane Margold to drive home the point of "psychic disintegration and startled outrage at the negative images ('dogs,' 'tools,' 'slaves') that assault them in the workplace."<sup>12</sup> Back home, there is loss as well, as domestic work becomes an identificatory mark of Filipinos outside the Philippines, prompting many to declare when affirming their own ethnicity that not all Filipinos are maids. Most affected in this disavowal are the non-maids who work abroad and the "elites" in the Philippines who "cringe at the image of maids overseas because, in the homeland, maids are not 'Filipina maids,' that is, nationality is elided there but overseas nationality is at the forefront to haunt the wealthy Filipino traveler and white collar worker."<sup>13</sup>

### Sacrifice and Aspiration

The politics of sacrifice poaches on the labor the heroine is made to undertake as part of a system of roles she has to perform in society. The sacrifice entailed, therefore, is connected to the onus the woman bears in the exercise of her structured agency: as daughter who is seen as hope of the family for the amelioration of their lives in *Minsa'y, Atsay*, and *Flor Contemplacion*; as professional who must heed the call of middle-class progress in *Merika*; and as fan who wishes to serve her idol in *Bona*. The concept of sacrifice is intricately linked to suffering as precondition to the fulfillment of aspiration. Germane in this discussion is the concept of *pagtitis* (forbearance) and *pasensiya* (patience) that can be transcoded in colonial and Catholic terms but finally refunctioned as collective agenda for mass action. The latter is best revealed in the massive outpouring of grief for *Flor Contemplacion*, an instance in which sacrifice

and suffering were repatriated as critique and the basis of solidarity; negotiating them in terms of *pakikidalamhati* or *pagmamalasakit* (commiseration) and ultimately *pakikisala* (alliance) in the broader project of national martyrdom (*sakripisyo*) and the horrific staging of the public execution of a domestic worker at the stake of global labor and capital.

At the heart of this sacrifice is an aspiration for social justice, a moral vision of a more humane future. Sacrifice is seen as a necessary element in the possibility of such aspiration and is set into motion by the aesthetic of betrayal and epiphany: a gut feeling of what is wrong with the world, a life instinct for what is right, and the urgency or total risk to heed the call of the suffering and expectant body. This process that climaxes into a "realization" implicates social norms. Bona's religious devotion resonates with the Black Nazarene procession that she attends, as well as with the spectatorial ideology operating among the mass audience of the film industry. Flor Contemplacion's execution is attenuated to give full play to the drama of religious martyrdom as the film crosscuts to prayer vigils and political rallies, recitation of the rosary and chanting of slogans, from Singapore to Flor's hometown. Sacrifice in contemporary life is ritualized and mediatized as if routinely; it is aestheticized as a reiteration of formula, the dailyness of grief, and the possibilities of a happy ending and a possible "tomorrow." And in Nora's filmography, this usually assumes maternal dimension as demonstrated in projects like *Andrea*, *Paano Bang Maging Isang Ina?* (1990), *Ang Totoong Bunay ni Pacilia M.* (1991), and *Inay* (1993). Even in *Tinik sa Dibdib* (1985), she bears the responsibility of seeing her family through as the drunkard of a father wastes away.

The figurative devices of sacrifice and aspiration may, therefore, be best evaluated not as overinvestments of the melodramatic project, but rather as modes of human agency. The wake of Corazon in *Minsa'y* brings to the fore this aesthetic as Nora intones "My brother is not a pig" and taunts American military officers for being so inhuman as to lie to her face that they had mistaken her brother for a boar. The grief that Corazon sustains places the themes of sacrifice and aspiration in context. In fact subsumed under an ampler social imagination of justice. As Corazon grieves the death of her brother, she concomitantly grieves the death of her desire to live in the States, and hence finally making "sacrifice" and "aspiration" ambiguous categories of personal/political volition. The death of her brother is actually just a culmination of the series of

violations brought to bear on the Filipinos by the American military bases, and it is the event that does not so much kill Corazon's American dream as render it complicit with the making of the desire and the knowledge to mistake human beings for boars.

Before the wake, Corazon washes the body of her brother, cleaning the wounds patiently and painfully, and holding his hand to touch her face. During the wake, two American servicemen come to visit and hand in hush money:

American Officer (addressing Corazon's mother): I'm sorry Ma'am. I'm sorry Ma'am. It was an accident. He was mistaken for a wild boar.

Corazon: My brother is not a pig. My brother is not a pig. Ang kapatid ko'y tao; hindi baboy damo. Hindi siya baboy damo. Ang kapatid ko'y tao; hindi baboy damo. Hindi baboy damo ang kapatid ko.

Grandfather (addressing the American servicemen): Mahilig kayong mamari ng kapwa. Kahit presidente ninyo, binabari ninyo.

Corazon flings the envelope and weeps profusely in front of her brother's casket.

The inscription of animality in the oppressed is stressed here in the image of the wild boar. Such strategy runs through two other films: *Atsay* and *Flor Contemplacion*. In the former, Nella de la Cruz locates her abjection in the dungeon of mad dogs; in the latter, *Flor Contemplacion* likens her torture to a dog being led to slaughter. Again, signs of sacrifice and aspiration confront scenes of horror and abjection. This "pain" is indelibly inscribed in the lush literature on the plight of Filipino workers overseas. Hing Ai Yun takes note of several inflictions on domestic workers in Singapore as reported by *The Singapore Straits Times*: "scotching maids with hot iron, raping them, pinching the thigh, throwing hot water at the maid's face, hitting maids with a feather duster, the back of a knife, or with a whiteboard, locking them up in a room, slapping cheeks, face and arm, kicking, pulling their hair and punching ear and arm."<sup>14</sup> The woman's body is bludgeoned to "social death," according to Hing, in both the workplace in a strange land and back home where husbands take in mistresses and neglect the children. In the Philippines and elsewhere, the woman can only make sacrifices and suffer pain, but

must refuse to remain mere victims even as she is unremittingly victimized.

The discourse of persecution, as necessary sacrifice, is also significantly remarked on by a series of films of Nora directed by Mario O'Hara, who was at the helm of the star's auspicious project. *Tatlong Taong Walang Diyos* (1976). These could be considered O'Hara's neo-noir films that subscribe to the director's evocative aesthetic of dark urbanity as rendered even in his current experiments. I am referring here to *Kastilyong Buhangin* (1980), *Gaano Kita Kamahal* (1982), *Bulaklak sa City Jail* (1984), and *Condemned* (1984) in which Nora portrays an aggrieved woman usually hemmed in by "circumstances beyond her control," or hounded by a past in her hometown and so flees to the city which proves to be very brutal to her kind. Such aesthetic depicts Nora as always "on the run," in search of shelter, fighting for her own place. Nora is, therefore, entangled in the film-noir motifs of murder, crime, and police surveillance.

### Tragedy and Struggle

The term tragedy here does not tap the literature of Aristotelean dramaturgy, but rather is appropriated to express the experience of adversity, affliction, and calamity that visits on destiny, or *kapalaran*. Such tragedy is not to be valued negatively, although it is most usually conceived of as borne in bad luck, or *kamalasan*; tragedy may be reckoned as trial of the heavens on one's faith (*pagsubok*) or test of one's patience, as best exemplified by Job in the Old Testament of the Bible. Almost always, the teleology of tragedy is not cataclysmic, but redemptive. Even death is seen to prefigure both loss and lease.

Struggle, on the other hand, is the negotiation of all impediments toward well-being (*kaginhawaan*), an interventionist gesture of taking action against constraints of structure. It is a generation of agency; it is a mode of making, or *gawa*; a mobilization of self, or *pag-ako*; and a deliberate will to stake a claim in the project of change, or *pagbaka*.

Crucial in the aesthetic of tragedy and struggle is the iconography of violence and violation. In *Minsa'y*, the gunning down of a Filipino fisherman by an American soldier in the US Bases, and later the strafing of three boys scavenging for salvageable military hardware in a nearby

field, actually a dumpsite of imported junk, locates the tragic schemata of the narrative, a sort of posthumous and premonitory sign of mourning. In this particular case, the tragedy is drawn into the broad milieu of a town's upheaval or at least a community's predicament vis-à-vis the military apparatus of a superpower. But in all its broadness, it also takes the deepest of roots in the way the social tragedy permeates the discussion of sovereignty, which embraces the most intimate concerns of identity, right to land, and livelihood. In fact, what coordinates the drama in the narrative is the contentious definition of jurisdiction, which the US government continues to hold over a certain domain in the area. The related issues of tenure and tenancy ramify through the narrative and fully flesh out the social reality of invasion and occupation as tragic and necessitating struggle for its end.

The scale of the tragedy may also be domestic as in the case of *Atsay* that opens with a funeral scene. A family buries a father in a remote site; and the camera dutifully scans the solemn sojourn from country to river, through a hanging bridge, and finally on to a cemetery quietly concealed in the woods. There is only silence in this procession, which is to be broken by lamentation at the moment of interment. The imagery of grief then bleeds into the screen as the camera hoards metaphors of provincial parturition. At this point, the film seems to prepare the audience with a story of want as presaged by nostalgia for rustic rural life.

The domesticity or domestication of violence in *Bona* assumes tragic dimensions in the way it frames the discourse of leaving home. This gesture differs from banishment, or *pagpapalayas*, which in Philippine culture reaches the acme of filial contempt. Bona's departure from family is deliberate and is regarded by her parents as a function of a disordered mind (*sirang bait*) and sheer inutility (*walang pakinabang*) both as daughter and economic member of the family. The tragedy assumes darker tone when we find out that Bona risks the capital of kinship to slave away, gratis, in the hands of her idol.

It becomes apparent that the aesthetic of flight secures the grounding of tragedy and struggle. In *Atsay*, Nelia de Leon leaves for the city to become a domestic help; Corazon de la Cruz's planned departure for the US in *Minsa'y* serves as backdrop to the family's uneasiness about relations with America; and Mila's solitude in New York in *'Merika* can be traced to her emigration to the States. Finally, Flor Contemplacion's fate

of being hanged in Singapore for allegedly murdering a fellow maid and a Singaporean boy condenses the tragic scene which implicates the very conditions of tragedy: poverty, leaving home, longing for return, and the tedium of alienation.

The aesthetic of tragedy produces the possibility of suffering and the strategy through which it is addressed. The term *hinagpis* or *pagdurusa* is charged with the energy of passion, in the Biblical sense, or *Pasyon*, if seen through the vernacular prism. The carceral motif in *Atsay* conditions the feeling of imprisonment of a maid in houses, caged conveyances, and even gates. Moreover, the performance of crying, substantially required by the melodramatic genre, is made possible by stirring moments, highlights in industry rhetoric, in which music rises to dolorous or dramatic heights and faces are framed in extreme close-up shots. Filipino film social realist Lino Brocka points out that it is not appropriate to "cut" or segment these surfaces as the paramount consideration is the expression of the face tortured by pain, with tears rolling down copiously and oftentimes on cue. Suffering in this case, however, may take forked paths: it could go the way of resignation and passive peonage; but it could also steel the person's sense of dignity as pity crumbles before the determination of the person to assert agency and reclaim destiny.

Oppression, especially in *Atsay*, has to overinvest debasement as a symptom of trauma-in-progress, and therefore opens up to the possibility of "healing" — also in the present. The "continua of transformation" is, to a great extent, sustained by the continua of trauma, which is effected by repressive state apparatuses, as best seen in *Flor Contemplacion* which immerses the screen in a river of tears released by Flor's incarceration and overwhelming loneliness. Shots concretizing violence come in the form of the heroine's wearied face, beating, electrocution, impassioned pleas of grief and grievance, vomiting. In this flurry of tableaux, Flor is made to recount a scene she had witnessed in her hometown: that of a dog being slaughtered; she compares herself to the dog in her current condition. Such evocation of the analogue inscribes animality in the sensing process of oppression and outstrips reason quite irrevocably. Also, the scene in which mother and children try to touch each other but are frustrated by the separation of a pane of glass invites our attention to the play of hands that stages the pantomimic theater of suffering. In *Bona*, the very servility of Bona to her master-idol places her

under the siege of violence, which is supplemented by the persecution of her own family as well as her scrimmage with Gardo's other "woman;" the latter ends up in the mud and lays bare the lengths Bona would walk to attend the needs of her master-idol. In many ways, violence is played out in the public sphere, in full view of audiences who may regard Bona's actions as martyric and Bona in the role of underdog. Such predisposition is usually ambivalent and is intricately woven with Nora's iconography both as victim to be plied on and dark horse to be rooted for. The most commonplace depictions of Nora's abjection pertain to Nora's way of hanging her head in subservience or her constantly overly deferential utterance of "opo" and "ate/kuya," even in real life. In all this, the body is delineated as site of trauma and transgression, rupture and retention.

Suffering, in more ways than one, instantiates transcendence in the sense that the cause of suffering can be subjected to change, *malalampasan* or *maiigpawan*. The politics of hope that inheres in this emotional aesthetic adumbrates positive futurity in the contested politics of redemption (*kaligtasan*), if not on this earth, then in the afterlife (*sa kabilang buhay*). The *Flor Contemplacion* film exemplifies this tendency. But, in another respect, transcendence of this mode cathects itself to the life of Nora, who had sung her way out of her station in life. In *Minsa'y*, the tragedy of the death of Corazon de la Cruz's brother is presaged by scenes showing Nora singing songs which celebrate the idyllic life of the province, a nostalgic rerun of painter Fernando Amorsolo's golden landscapes during the American period and Nora's origins in Iriga in Bicol.

Change as a figure of transcendence is also facilitated by solidarity. This theme takes poetic form in *Atsay* in which an old man from nowhere, a vagabond, emerges as Nelia de Leon's "guardian" and "protector" who intervenes when the going gets very tough for the heroine; his presence is hinted at by the music he plays through his harmonica. This aesthetic of change stoked by the fire of tragedy and struggle is best staged by the final sequences of *Flor Contemplacion* in which scenes of personal tribulation come into montage relationship with scenes of collective outpouring, making the ritual of execution a ritual of resurrection as well: the mass of mourners are also the mass of marchers. And crucial to consider here is the iconography of Nora as martyr who, as she clutches her rosary, leaves her cell and walks through the cold prison as if en route to Calvary. But this calvaric procession is not domesticated as private ceremony; rather it is engulfed by public performances of protest and is

disrupted by discrepant spaces, though bound by the temporality of Flor's fading and grief.

In this discussion, we can converse with Reynaldo Ileto's germinal thoughts on grief in relation to the Philippine *pasyon*. Reflecting on the disintegration of the Marcos regime and the role of the martyric dimensions of Ninoy Aquino's assassination in realizing it, Ileto readdresses the problematic inscribed in the appropriation of concepts like *awa* and *damay*: "It is important, then, to investigate the function of grief in the present crisis. Could the popular slogan *Ninoy, hindi ka nag-iisa* be another form of *damay* for the suffering Christ?"<sup>15</sup> Ileto reasons that the "function of grief is overwhelmingly clear to anyone who investigates popular sentiments during the revolution: Katipuneros and peasants weeping for the suffering mother country; grief in its many different expressions (*dusa, lunos, habag*) over Rizal's death; grief imaged as a storm that sets the whole country in turmoil."<sup>16</sup>

There is a scene in *Minsa'y* in which Nora prepares his brother for his wake and so suffers the grief of finally laying him to rest as well as the inevitability of surviving him, in the same way that Mary would survive Christ. Also, by the same token, Nora's long and painful approach toward the chamber of her execution in Singapore in *Flor Contemplacion* resonates with Christ's Calvaric passion and even Rizal's own calm confrontation with the firing squad. Indeed, according to Ileto, "grief has made possible the generation of transmission of patriotic and radical meanings which are at the same time intensely personal."<sup>17</sup> Ineluctably reminding him of his researches about a "marginalized, almost forgotten radicalism that centered on the veneration of the dead."<sup>18</sup>

### Cinema and Sufferance

In the biography of Nora Aunor written by Baby K. Jimenez, Nora is quoted as saying:

Nang una akong umalis dito, nakatren din ako pero third class. Walang laro sa istasyon. Walang pumapansin. Umalis akong nagrebelde ang Isipan. Sabi ko, hinding-hindi na muli akong magugutom sa aking pagbabalik. Hindi na rin ako muling mangungutang sa mga tindahan. Sabi ko rin, pagalik ko, successful na ako. ... Tingnan mo sila, mahal na nila ako ngayon. Maraming nagmamahal pag ikaw ay matagumpay.

Pero nag-iisa ka lang kung wala ka... Masakit ang katotohanan, pero ganyan ang buhay.<sup>19</sup>

We feel sadness in this statement, a painful realization that social acceptance emerges from a struggle against discrimination. From her childhood in Iloga to her superstardom in the city and on to her continuing drama of serving the people with whom she identifies, Nora Aunor suffers and this *sufferance* is her cinema.

The notion of *sufferance* here is made to inscribe the mode of its production as aesthetic and social practice. To suffer in film or to film *sufferance* is to reiterate the forces of popular, collective, and public *sufferance* in cinema as social space, and in doing so generates something new, disconfirms certain dominative modes, and makes the pain of sacrifice for redemption *sufferable* and necessary. The term *sufferance* is more favored than *suffering* as it underscores the politics of overcoming a problematic state of pain in the same way that grievance reworks grief, or "acting" (in this case, "actressing") processes the situation and, hence, is transformative.

Lexically, *sufferance* may mean the "act or state of suffering," or the "patience or endurance under suffering." We stand by the term as a means to explore the possibility of reclaiming the affect of *sufferance* as an emotional economy of struggle which engages the suffering agent or, more appropriately, the sufferant to exceed "the power by which it is enabled."<sup>20</sup> The generative impulse of subjectivity emerges from subjection, rendering agents not solely compliant or complicit with power, but rather co-operators of its generation. This is a kind of "sacrifice" needed to redeem the inalienable dignity of human, and therefore collective, action. The politics of resistance is not lost in the discussion of this problematic, only that resistance as category is made to carry multiple loads of engagements in discrepant social fields of practice, and that resistance as an instantiation of *sufferance* is made accountable to a moral economy or a local moral world in which life is justified in terms of a criterion of defensible humanity.<sup>21</sup>

There is political interest in the deployment of the term *sufferance* in relation to *suffering*, which has attracted considerable interest in established medical and psychological anthropological writing and which may be construed as reactionary and passive and, in fact, prone to the

manipulation of fascist persuasions. In this regard, suffering as a pervasive aesthetic in popular culture and Philippine social representations may also be linked to the discourse of melodrama and its attendant excess and oftentimes hysterical expressivity as rerun in movies, popular literature, radio, television, and related media. To deal with the ubiquity of suffering as a contemporary colonial and mediatizing trope, therefore, is to engage with the politics of redeeming it. In this project, suffering, owing perhaps to the wordplay intimated by the suffix *ance* and its possible Derridean circulation, recuperates this perceived state of inertia and reenergizes its transformative potential, along with Nora, her films, and her following. This is a necessary ideological act which need not be seen as a teleological turn, but rather as an aspiration to situate theory in determinate social practice, on the one hand, and the processual constitution of human agency, on the other. Sufferance as political valence is fraught with tension and moves along contested passage in a nuanced spectrum of possibilities, from grief to melancholia to indignation to struggle, and back, and forth, in the continual testing of limits and extensity.

This paper is mainly about Nora's suffering in cinema, and what probably could serve as our theoretical access to the contemplation of cinema as intrication of the social and the aesthetic is the film starred in by the subject herself. The film is *Himala* (1982) that tells the story of a young woman of a desolate, almost desert-like town of Cupang. It opens with a scene of an eclipse, dawning on the place, which is to presage a process of miracle in the life of Elsa. She would later claim that she had seen visions of the Virgin. With this confession, she begins to heal people, and swiftly the once sleepy town becomes a site of pilgrimage among the sick and infirm who flock to Cupang and Elsa for a miracle. Suddenly, Elsa, the young woman who could not trace parentage, transforms into a cult figure, into a "Superstar." Later, however, she disavows the miracle and is consequently shot to death by an unknown assassin, who ostensibly resists the "truth."

What *Himala* contributes to our understanding of film is the implication of three themes that run through it and at the same time through the aesthetic of the cinema.

The *suspension of disbelief* which foregrounds the tension between illusion and reality operative in any film experience and expression, as well as the faith and the faithful which sustain the suspension.

The *transubstantiation*, or the making of flesh or life in cinema which in the film also fleshes out the miracle as a mode of magic, sorcery, the technology which makes things appear. The notion of "fleshing out" also may pertain to incarnation and, more significantly, to conception, which is denied to Elsa as her genealogy is erased, but which continues to afflict her when she is violated by a rapist and, finally, therefore undermines her virginity and renders unimmaculate her own "conception." "Flesh" further references prostitution, which runs rampant in the town at the height of Elsa's miracle work. Finally, transubstantiation signifies the cinematic rite of passage, from dark to light, from negative to positive image, from raw material to almost infinite reproducibility and projection.<sup>22</sup>

The *vision* which implicates sight, seeing, and site, which collect at the base of the cinema as locus of experience, the "theater" of aesthetic operations. Elsa's witnessing of the apparition transcodes cinema's aesthetic, its condition of possibility. And as Elsa's truth is contested by the empiricist and positivist techniques of the camera and journalism's pretension to objectivity, which is embodied by a filmmaker who confesses to the priest that he had seen Elsa and her companion being raped by men wanting to test if Elsa would be protected by the Virgin, the truth, or better still, the testimony of cinema is likewise subjected to a range of dialogic interrogations.

As it was on the hill where faith healer Elsa told a sea of believers that the "miracle" did not really happen, so it would be on the stage of the EDSA Shrine where Nora spoke of the "truth" — as a matter of labor, obligation, and honor — to a multitude of converts and to the President's loyal mass elsewhere. In both critical moments, the image of the Virgin Mary loomed against her. Such an uncanny return. ♦

### *Synopsis of the films mentioned in the study*

*Minsa'y Isang Gamu:Gamu*

1976

Direction: Lupita A. Concio

Story and Screenplay: Marina Feleo-Gonzales

Cinematography: Jose Batac, Jr.

Music: Restie Umali

Performance: Nora Aunor, Jay Ilagan, Gloria Sevilla, Perla Bautista,  
Paquito Salcedo

Production: Premiere Productions

Corazon de la Cruz of Capas, Tarlac is all set to go to the United States of America under an exchange visitors program for nurses. She is to serve as intern for 18 months in Michigan. She tells the consul of the U.S. Embassy that she wants to go to America to "learn modern nursing techniques," a phrase she had rehearsed at home. More than a passport to professional growth, her trip to the States is a passage to prosperity as hinted at by the hope her mother pins on the prospect of her daughter obtaining a Green Card.

Corazon leaves behind a boyfriend, Bonifacio Santos, who aspires to join her in the States later, pending an application with the U.S. Navy. Amid the frenzy of preparations, however, violence grips their town; fishermen and young boys are gunned down by American servicemen who patrol the perimeter fences and other territorial limits of the U.S. Bases. These inevitably lead the people around Corazon to debate the moral basis of U.S.-Philippine relations as circumscribed by the Bases Treaty.

Dramatizing the intense sentiments for and against the bases are situations which push the characters to take sides. The mother of Corazon's suitor, Aling Chedeng, is humiliated by a merchandise officer of the Bases and sues, an initiative that gets so complicated that it implicates even the Base Commander. As a result of such wrenching exercise, Bonifacio ceases to dream of going to the States and vows to fight to the end.

On the eve of Corazon's departure, a party is held in her honor. Pigs are slaughtered, songs sung, and dances performed. In the thick of readying for the gathering, Jun, her brother, is told by everyone he meets to stay in place and not to bother anyone. He gets bored, flies his kite, and meets up with friends, who ask him to go with them and scavenge scrap near the fence of the Base. He goes. While picking up scrap, a serviceman, Corporal John Smith, shoots him. Jun's lifeless body is returned home, previously brimming with celebration and expectation but now struck with grief. Corazon is there to meet him and embrace him dearly.

The official explanation of the officials of the U.S. Bases is that Corazon's brother had been mistaken for a wild boar. The family sues. In front of the courthouse, the accused meets an accident in a stroke of a denouement meant to evoke poetic justice.

### Atsay

1978

Direction: Eddie Garcia

Story and Screenplay: Edgardo Reyes

Cinematography: Romeo Vitug

Sound: Gaudencio Barredo

Editor: Jose Tarnate

Music: George Canseco

Performance: Nora Aunor, Ronald Coveau, Mona Lisa, Armida Siguon-Reyna, Angie Ferro

Production: Ian Films

After Nella de Leon's father dies, the family is left to fend for itself, mainly by selling vegetables in a remote town. Nella has to quit school and works in a weaving shop together with the other young women of their place. One day, a woman from the city comes to recruit "girls" for all sorts of jobs. Nella is enticed by the offer, which consists of an initial downpayment given to her mother.

Nelia decides to join her friends to go to the city. They are first put up in the woman's house before being farmed out to their employers. Some of her friends are forced into the flesh trade, but Nella becomes a domestic help. Her first employer, the malicious wife of an overseas worker who has insolent children, maltreats her. Her second makes her life more complicated: the husband woos her and then rapes her. When the wife discovers the "affair," she hurts Nella, who then flees. She passes out at the rail tracks, whereon an old woman helps her and takes care of her. The woman has an adopted son, whom she had found in a garbage dump. He is resentful of Nella at first, but soon nurtures romantic feelings for her. Nella represses her own toward him, fearing that her past had stained her and therefore is unsuitable to be offered and accept love. She chooses to leave for her hometown, but ultimately elects to fall in love.

*Bona*

1980

Direction: Lino Brocka

Screenplay: Cenen Ramones

Cinematography: Conrado Baltazar

Music: Lutgardo Labad

Editing: Augusto Salvador

Art Direction: Manny Luna

Sound: Ben Patajo and Rudy Baldovino

Performance: Nora Aunor, Phillip Salvador, Marissa Delgado, Nariding Josef, Rustica Carpio, Venchito Galvez, Raquel Montesa, Spanky Manikan

Production: NV Productions

Bona is a fan of Gardo Villa, a bit player in action movies. She devotes much of her time tagging along with him in film shootings. Her parents express their protestations, but Bona does not relent.

Bona decides to live with Gardo to keep house for him: she cleans, cooks, fetches water, bathes him. Her father discovers this arrangement and pleads that she come back home. She does not.

Bona feels secure in servitude. But her esteem is somehow eroded when Gardo brings women to "their" home. One time she engages Gardo's girl for the night in an ugly scuffle; another, she accompanies Gardo and a different girl to an abortion clinic.

Bona's father dies and when she visits the wake, her brother lashes at her filial ingratitude and almost drags her out of the premises. Bona loses her family altogether.

One day, another woman comes looking for Gardo and claims that he is going with her to finally settle. Bona is silently enraged and despondent. She seems to be diminished without Gardo; if she could not have him forever, she might as well not let anyone partake of him. As she is about to bathe Gardo, she pours boiling water on him, hinting that she would scald him to death.

*Merika*

1984

Direction: Gil Portes

Screenplay: Clodualdo del Mundo, Jr. and José Gil Quiró

Cinematography: Ely Cruz

Music: Willy Cruz

Editing: Edgardo Vinárad

Sound: Rolly Ruta

Performance: Nora Aunor, Bembol Roco, Marilyn Concepcion, Cesar Aliparo

Production: Adrian Films

Milagros Cruz is a Filipina nurse in New York and works at a nursing home on the side. She lives with a fellow nurse, Violet, who keeps on trying to pass the licensure examinations, in a street named Manila Drive. Milagros is dutiful and largely lonely, spending most of her time meeting up with Filipinos and caring for oldtimers who have become accustomed to her compassion and daughterly piety: Lolo Caloy, her patient who yearns of coming back to Manila even if no relatives are expected to welcome him, and Lola Gorgonia, the senile woman who often wanders off into the streets. The latter is the mother of her landlady. Mila meets Mon Zablan, who courts her. They fall in love. But Milagros discovers that the man is only after her Green Card status. Distressed and disappointed by the callousness of other people, fellow Filipinos at that, she decides to return to the Philippines. Confronted by the banal life of friends, the frustrations of immigrants, the harsh winter, random television images attending her aloneness and routine, and the bare trees, Milagros stares loneliness in the eye as she keeps tabs of her father's health condition in Bicol. She takes consolation in stories shared by her best friend and the occasional get-togethers of Filipinos in their cramp apartments.

### *The Flor Contemplacion Story*

1995

Direction: Joel Lamangan

Story: Efren Contemplacion

Screenplay: Ricardo Lee and Boni Liagan

Cinematography: Romy Vitug

Music: Vehnee Saturno

Editing: Joyce Bernal

Production Design: Manny Morfe

Performance: Nora Aunor, Jaclyn Jose, Vina Morales, Julio Diaz, Ian de Leon, Charito Solis, Caridad Sanchez, Rita Avila, Kristine Garcia, Frank Rivera.

Production: Viva Films

Oxymoronic though it may sound, this "true story" of the life of Flor Contemplacion, the domestic worker who was hanged in Singapore for allegedly killing her fellow maid, Delia Maga, and the latter's Singaporean ward, speaks of the life of Flor as an overseas Filipino skilled laborer in Singapore. This is not a biography of Flor Contemplacion.

The film presents Flor as a mother who had gone to work in Singapore to better the lot of her brood. Their family lives in San Pablo City in Laguna.

While she is in Singapore, her husband Efreñ cultivates an affair with another woman, who soon lives with her children in the conjugal home. She discovers this and is greatly bothered.

The film then focuses on the facts surrounding the case of Flor. It recounts that Delia's ward accidentally had drowned himself, Delia's employer bludgeons her to death and Flor is made a scapegoat. Flor had been at the scene of the crime when it all happened; she had come to visit Delia and collect her gifts for her friend's family.

There are other versions of this story, of course; but the film asserts that Flor did not do it. Flor, in spite of the appeals of a remiss government to stay the execution, is finally hanged. The country grieves. The country loses its innocence. The country weeps in protest. According to the *New York Times*, it was the "most emotional public uproar in the Philippines since the 1986 revolt that ended the dictatorship of President Ferdinand E. Marcos." (March 26, 1995)

### Endnotes

- 1 Kienman and Kienman 1998, 3
- 2 *Ibid*
- 3 Desjarlais 1997, 16
- 4 Das 1996, 69
- 5 Das 1997, 572
- 6 Felman and Dor Laub
- 7 Combes 2000, 52
- 8 Appadurai 1986, 57
- 9 Bourdieu 1984
- 10 Aguilar 1996, 112
- 11 *Ibid*, 115
- 12 *Ibid*, 115
- 13 *Ibid*, 121
- 14 Hing 1996, 45
- 15 Ito 1998, 173
- 16 *Ibid*, 174

- 17 *Ibid.* 174  
 18 *Ibid.* 176  
 19 Jimenez 1983  
 20 *Bilder* 199, 15  
 21 Kerkvliet 1991  
 22 Tomas 1984

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