

Walled *Memoria*:

Presencing Memory Sites in Intramuros, Manila

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(English)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2014

Date of final oral examination: 4/16/2014

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Abstract

As a memory site, Intramuros, the ancient walled city of old Manila, has largely been imagined as a Spanish heritage site of Filipino nationhood by the Intramuros Administration (IA), the government agency responsible for its restoration and promotion. However, several memory spaces and practices within its walls question and complicate the dominant discourse that IA continues to perpetuate. Moving from the concrete, physical space of a museum to the peripatetic space of a walking tour to the ephemeral spaces of websites and blogs, this dissertation traces how presence informs the public memory-making practices located within each site and considers what and how meaning is made from such presencings.

Memoria, the fifth canon of rhetoric, has seen a resurgence in rhetoric and communication studies in recent years, liberally applied to rhetorical studies of public memory and monuments. Yet very few scholars have used the concepts devised by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in their landmark book, *The New Rhetoric*, to apply them to questions of memory. In this dissertation, I bring memory and presence together. As a quality of “standing-out-ness” or “emphasis” in a discourse, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca examine presence in figures of speech. Using metaphor or onomatopoeia or repetition, for example, makes a speech or line of argument stand out more, gives it presence and, more importantly for my purposes, memorability. In this dissertation, I argue that public memory work doesn’t just exude this quality of presence but that *memory work itself is an act of presencing*. In short, presence needs to be seen not just as noun but as verb. And because of this, rhetoric scholars need to think of presence as occurring beyond the textual, more than just discursive, to include the material, the spatial, and even the performative. Ultimately, presence can serve as a useful tool for scholars to help delineate the contours of memoria’s partiality and can become an invaluable resource for marginal and marginalized publics to mobilize power against a dominantly imposed representation.

Acknowledgements

The past exceeds what memory can take in and yet, fallible creatures that we are, we still try to remember. So in these pages, knowing that memory is inexhaustible and a slippery trickster, I would like to make an attempt at remembering those who have contributed not just to the writing of my dissertation but also, more importantly, to the formation of a beginning scholar.

The people I've interviewed and the honest and revealing conversations I've shared with them have been invaluable to this project on public memory and space. So thank you Jose Capistrano, Raidis Bassig, Sandie Martinez, Miko Camacho, Lamie Ouano, Gloria de la Cruz, Janice Tambo, Amie Guillermo, Rey Cadiz, Vic Reyes, Meah Ang See, Mark Joseph Delgado, and Chairwoman Gladys de Jesus and the residents of Barangay 657 in Intramuros, Manila.

Thank you to my literary maternal trinity in the Philippines, Susan Lara, Marjorie Evasco and Edith Tiempo. In a way, you have brought me to where I am right now and I am grateful.

To my cohorts Michael Dimmick and David Hudson, I can't wait to see you soon here on the other side; it feels amazing!

To new friends Fritz and Grace, thank you for welcoming me into your home and your family, and for making Madison a little bit warmer.

To Shiela, Maureen, Isi, Mara--our regular conversation table, our almost weekly trips to Fugu, our informal discussions on the Filipino language and history have been both intriguing and a joy, and have made home a little closer each time.

To my UMich MFA cohorts: Uwem Akpan, Jasper Caarls, Ariel Djanikian, Joe Kilduff, Jennifer Lapidus, Taemi Lim, Celeste Ng, Phoebe Nobles, Marissa Perry, Preeta Samarasan and Anne Stameshkin. Your friendships, your stories and novels (both published and forthcoming) have sustained me through these years

I'd like to thank my professors at the University of Michigan, kind, sharp and generous all—Peter Ho Davies, Eileen Pollack, Nicholas Delbanco, Laura Kasischke, Nancy Reisman, and Ruth Behar. My professors at University of Wisconsin, whose teaching and advice have been such an inspiration: Kenneth George, CeCe Ford and Teju Olaniyan, thank you for your courses that have exposed me to other lifeworlds and other ways of reading; Jim Brown, for your helpful comments on the chapter on digital spaces; Kate Veiera, for those bright, honest conversations about the job search, careers and life in general; Deborah Brandt, who told me to stop being a good student and start being a steward of the discipline, I owe you my immense gratitude in helping to steer me during those first few years.

And of course, thank you to the members of my dissertation committee: Mary Louise Gomez, for the helpful comments, books, the office chats, the wonderful course on narrative; Michael Cullinane, for the insightful Bahay Tsinoy “subversions”, the Cebu conversations, the friendship, and the ice cream cake; Christa Olson—I never took a class with you but the lessons I learned from your comments, your advice, your own work, I will always take with me; Morris Young—this dissertation traces its beginning in your class on rhetoric and space about four years ago, and because of that and your advice, I will always be grateful; and last but not least, Michael Bernard-Donals, advisor extraordinaire, racquetball-meister and friend, your work, your example, your advice,

your boundless encouragement and patience have been a blessing to me and I feel very privileged indeed.

My family, James, Leticia, Jo-an Marie and Joseph Karl, you've kept me going all these years. My second family, Didi, Alex, Lucas, Lawrence and Diana, you've nurtured my life in immeasurable ways.

Allan Isaac, who's been my unofficial advisor throughout this journey, I cannot thank you enough. "Be generous!" you said to me once, and I've kept that advice close to me ever since. You have influenced me in ways I know you're not even aware of and I am eternally grateful.

And last, of course, Mike Santos, who has taught me about heritage and about cherishing the past more than any person I know, this dissertation is dedicated to you. Every day and always.

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Introduction

Enter Casa Manila and go back in time. The front door on Calle Real opens to the zaguan, a wide stone-paved passageway under the house that leads to an airy patio. Climb up the wide double stairs to the entresuelo, a middle floor or mezzanine that serves as an office and waiting room for tradesmen. Go up another flight of stairs to the descanso, a stair landing, so-called because ladies have been known to stop there to rest and catch their breath. At the top of the stairs is the caída, so-called because these same ladies would “let fall” the skirts they were holding up upon reaching it. Facing you now is the most important room of the house, the sala, the formal receiving room used during fiestas, or for tertulias or soírees, and bailes or balls. Look around you and take it all in: the high ceiling adorned with an Olympian mural from which hang glittering Venetian chandeliers; European furniture resting on Persian carpets; statuettes and bronze figurines resting on dainty pedestals; a gilded vitrine displaying 18th century ivory carvings and Ching dynasty figures; a piano brought from Boston in the 1850s and harp and organ imported from France. To your left is the oratorio or small chapel, filled with an assortment of exquisitely carved ivory saints under domes of glass. One door leads to the grandfather’s room, the other to the master bedroom. Go past the caída and through heavy double doors to get to the dining room, which features a long dining table for twenty-four. Marvel at the sideboards display of French porcelain, English silver and crystal. Look up and delight in the punkah, a manually operated ceiling fan, a legacy of the British occupation of Manila in 1762-1764. Off the dining room is the kitchen, arrayed with a wooden basin, brass irons, baskets, biscuit molds and other utensils. A passage to the left leads to the water closet or letrina. You exit the kitchen to the azotea,

the busiest area of the house where messy household chores are done. You go down a steep service stairway that leads you back to the patio and into the present once again.

(Intramuros Administration “Welcome” brochure)

Romance becomes Casa Manila. Under the auspices of then First Lady Imelda Marcos, this house museum was created in 1983, specifically to evoke the old-world bygone days of the Spanish colonial lifestyle in the Philippines. Located in Intramuros, the Spanish heritage district of Manila, Casa Manila is considered the centerpiece of a heritage project that aims to highlight the importance of the Spanish legacy in the country. The Intramuros Administration (IA), the state agency founded in 1979 to restore and promote Intramuros, considers Casa Manila as their showcase space because it is “the 19th century house come alive. It presents how our grandparents and great-grandparents lived in their childhood, and how the gracious Filipino home looked before time, modernity and neglect took their toll” (IA “Welcome” brochure). So luxurious is this house museum that it caused a San Francisco Examiner travel correspondent to proclaim that Casa Manila is “one of the most exciting reconstructions I have seen anywhere in the world” (Hesse “Intramuros: The Phoenix”).

However, not all reviews were favorable. In a famous magazine feature, noted Philippine historian Ambeth Ocampo laments that “Casa Manila is a hodgepodge of everything the IA researchers have come across” (“Inside Intramuros”). He continues:

None of us has seen the interiors of a real 19th century house and left with scant sources and photographs, the imagination runs wild...Can you imagine a gothic chapel, pastoral scenes in the stairway, allegorical paintings on the ceiling, an organ in the music room? Perhaps the 20th

century aesthetic comes in and we are judging something of the past using contemporary standards, but a critical look at this visual *halo-halo* [a sweet local mélange of tropical fruits] will give you an uneasy feeling that something is wrong somewhere. (17)

I open this dissertation with this short case study of Casa Manila because, to me, it evokes the main themes that I'm addressing in this study of public memory and space. First, the need for a unified, even romanticized, public memory of the nation's heritage must inevitably confront questions of authenticity and relevance. As Edward S. Casey so saliently said: "Being public does not guarantee constancy over time: to be public is to be subject to continual reassessment and revision" (29). In other words, dominant public memory must contend with the memories of other publics. Second, challenging official public memory becomes a difficult task especially when it is made present in material spaces that profess a more than fair amount of perduringness, such as monuments, museums and heritage sites. Often, the response, as this study will show, takes the form of building other memory sites. Third, to carefully examine the act of making the past present, I propose using *The New Rhetoric's* concept of *presence*, still under-explored in rhetoric studies, and virtually foreign in public memory studies.

Memoria, the fifth canon of rhetoric, has seen a resurgence in rhetoric and communication studies in recent years, liberally applied to heuristic studies of public memory and monuments. Yet very few scholars have used the concepts devised by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in their landmark book to apply them to questions of memory. In this dissertation, I bring memory and presence together. Presence, just to give a quick definition, is a quality of "standing-out-ness" or "emphasis"

in a discourse, and Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca examine this quality in figures of speech. The idea is that by using metaphor like a tarantula on a wedding cake or onomatopoeia that snap, crackle, pop, or repetition or repetition, for example, makes a speech or line of argument stand out more, gives it presence and, more importantly for my purposes, memorability. In my dissertation, I argue that public memory work doesn't just exude this quality of presence but that memory work *itself* is an act of presencing. In short, presence needs to be seen not just as noun but as verb. And because of this, rhetoric scholars need to think of presence as happening beyond the textual, more than just discursive, to include the material, the spatial, and the performative.

Presence (Re)Presented

Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca published their monumental, seminal text, *Traité de l'argumentation: La nouvelle rhétorique* in 1958. Known as *The New Rhetoric* to English readers, it introduced to the field several concepts still being scrutinized, enriched and applied more than fifty years later, including universal audience, communion, and, of course, presence. The concept of presence has been considered as “the keystone in the Perelmanian rhetorical arch” (Gross and Dearin xi-xii), and yet, like Atkinson et al., I would claim that “the potential of presence for rhetorical criticism remains somewhat under-explored” (359).

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca claim that presence “acts directly on our sensibility,” and they proceed to define presence (citing Piaget) as “the thing on which the eye dwells, that which is best or most often seen, is, by that very circumstance, overestimated. The thing that is present to the consciousness assumes thus an importance

that the theory and practice of argumentation must take into consideration” (116-17). What is notable also is that they confine their discussion to purely linguistic considerations, attending to presence that works “by verbal magic alone” (117) and focusing on various figures of speech, such as onomatopoeia, repetition, imaginary direct speech, and others, that “make the object of discourse present to the mind” (174-79). However, secondary literature have been quick to exploit Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s appropriation of Piagetian principles and have thus extended their work into the study of not just verbal but also visual arguments (Atkinson et al., Gross, Gross and Dearin, Karon, Kauffman and Parson, Landau, Murphy, Tucker).

This dissertation follows the work of these scholars and extends their thinking to the material configurations of memory sites. Specifically, I turn to the collective work of Gross and Dearin who have significantly extended the concept of presence to visual and spatial arguments. While Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca focus on the local, isolated elements of an argument that convey presence (118), Gross and Dearin suggest that these discrete instances of presence, what they call “first order effects,” combine to “form patterns whose effect is synergistic. In its synergistic guise, presence is a general rhetorical strategy, a secondary effect,” and they call this “superordinate presence” (137). This global form, a synergy of effects, treats presence as a discursive consequence occurring across a rhetorical text so that “to be persuaded is to live in a world made significantly different by the persuader” (151). As Atkinson et al. describe it:

Shifting the focus of presence from a single rhetorical technique to a cumulative outcome structured globally across the rhetorical text or system of texts, Gross and Dearin extend Perelman and Olbrechts-

Tyteca's original notion from a single technique extractable from the whole argument to a notion that targets the immersive effect of the whole text. Through this extension, they are able to show the profound way in which presence adds to the repertoire of the rhetorical critic. (362)

What's significant about this "more global view" is that it is explicitly multimodal. A rhetorical framework derived from this theory, therefore, can account for both verbal and visual presentations in a suatory text. For example, Gross and Dearin proffer a scientific article that makes use of verbal and visual devices to convince the scientific community of the existence of a unique species of hummingbird. They say that "the detailed descriptions of morphology and behavior, the illustration of the species in situ and in comparison with other, similar species—coalesce to create a superordinate presence that makes the hummingbird real to science" (146). In another essay, Gross employs Wolfgang Köhler's Gestalt theory and Charles S. Peirce's semiotics to examine global presence in Charles Darwin's first masterpiece, *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs*. Using charts, maps and diagrams, he shows that in persuasive texts, "to trace the genealogy of presence is no more and no less than to reveal it as the synergy of 'all the available means of persuasion' (88).

Even more relevant to this dissertation is another article by Gross called "Presence as Argument in the Public Sphere." Here, Gross applies global presence to frame a rhetorical critique of the *Vienna 1938* museum exhibit in Austria. By creating what he calls "new categories of rhetoricity" (18), that is, the management of foreground and background, space and time, Gross examines heterogeneous, multimodal devices such as "artifacts and photographs, the texts prepared by scholars, the allocation of

exhibit space” to conclude that all these elements “colluded in the minimization of the holocaust in Austrian life” (7). This exhibit makes a world of experience “significantly different,” Gross argues, because the synergy of these effects have made it so.

At this point, I’d like to give importance to another understanding of presence that I’m working with in this dissertation. Much of the contemporary scholarship on the concept of presence has focused on studying it as an “outcome,” an “effect,” or a “consequence” of a rhetorical text. This is understandable as it is consistent with the standard English meaning of “presence” as “the state or fact of being present, as with others or in a place” (“presence” def. 1). Philosopher Carroll Arnold, however, calls for a much-needed return to the original French text. He notes: “In the French language, *présence* is something that occurs as the consequence of action: it is appearance, attendance, a becoming present to. *Mettre en présence* means ‘to bring face to face,’ and this is the presence of which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca wrote that it ‘acts directly on our sensibility’ ...it is attained by an effort to ‘make present by verbal magic alone’” (45).

In other words, English and American rhetorical theory has tended all this time to treat “presence” or “emphasis” as a *product* more than as a *creating*. Arnold, therefore, cautions: “If we do not read Perelman’s references to *présence* with the active nuances carried in the French, we shall slip away, once more, from the conception of rhetoric as active process for makers and active process for respondents” (45-6). Though I do examine artifacts and spaces that are decidedly products of the work done by their creators, I am nevertheless conscious that such materials actively *do* things and rhetorically *communicate to* the viewer and thus regard presence in a very active sense:

spaces *make present*, memories are *presented*, *presencing* happens. (This becomes all the more apparent in chapter 3, in which I focus on the presencing work in the actions and performance of a walking tour guide.) By looking at presence as a verb, I, therefore, suggest that presence has the potential to be useful to rhetoric studies not only in examining textual production and visual and spatial representations but also in examining performative discourse.

Dearin claims that presence “is created through techniques studied in traditional rhetoric under the rubrics of style, delivery, and disposition” (6). Understanding the “cumulative effect of interactions” among arrangement, style and invention (Gross and Dearin 135) becomes especially relevant to studies of public memory, especially when one considers the multiplicity of components that comprise a museum or monument, for example. When applied to public memory, the subject of analysis becomes the various *techné* of memory, or the ways in which memory is made public. In this dissertation, I examine the ways of how memory is not only made public but how it is made present—*the presencing of memory*—by and in memory sites that subjects enter and experience.

Public Memory-Making

Presence (and presencing) becomes all the more relevant, it seems to me, when we turn to memory and its publicity. After all, the work of public memory-making is essentially the work of making the past present before our eyes. As Perelman claims, “[t]he techniques of presentation which create presence are essential above all when it is a question of evoking realities that are distant in time and space” (Perelman, *Realm* 35). Things remote, absent, pushed to the background, or forgotten, are brought to

consciousness by the various artifacts, documents, photographs, displays, narratives and performances that one encounters in memory sites.

The term “memory sites” brings together two of the main conceptual frames of this rhetorical study: memory and place. I adapt the term from Pierre Nora’s *lieu de memoire*, which he defines as “any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case, the French community)” (xvii). For example, several of my interviewees have claimed the importance of Intramuros to the country because “it is history” or it is “the birthplace of our country” or because it is where our national hero, Jose Rizal, was martyred. The symbolic importance of Intramuros to the country’s heritage is what guides the Intramuros Administration in its various restoration projects, foremost among them is Casa Manila. In Nora’s conception, memory becomes concrete in the artifacts we create, the narratives we tell, and the monuments we build, and how we experience the very spaces these *technés* of memory occupy becomes inevitably rhetorical. By adapting the term “memory sites,” I acknowledge that the rhetorical effects of memory can best be understood through the study of particular places of memory. In this study, then, space serves as a discursive frame for understanding how memory becomes rhetorical.

Public memory scholars trace the systematic study of public memory to the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who contends that all acts of memory are inherently social and that to remember is to act as part of the collective. I begin with Halbwach’s definition but I use the term “public memory” in the way that Edward Casey uses it, meaning memory that is “out in the open” memory that one can interact with,

deliberate upon, and share with others (25). I also appreciate Kendall Phillips dual framing of the term “public memory.” He says: “To speak of public memory must be to simultaneously speak of certain groups of individuals remembering together (the memory of publics) and to speak of those memories appearing before or simultaneously with those groups (the public-ness of memory)” (10). Together, Casey and Phillips encapsulate the rhetoricity of public memory. I, then, situate public memory as a public’s rhetorical, mediated practice of communal remembering that, by its very publicity, becomes subject to consumption, deliberation, challenge and/or resistance by other publics.

My conception of public memory, therefore, invokes the idea of “public” as imagined by public sphere thinkers, such as Gerard Hauser, Michael Warner, Robert Asen, Daniel Brouwer and Nancy Fraser. In short, there is no one discrete public. Like these scholars, I see publics as comprising multiple, overlapping, even contradictory spheres, where questions of belonging and difference are constantly negotiated. Public memory, then, can be seen as this “encircling horizon” (Casey 25), that “both constitutes our sense of public and allows a space wherein individuals can become public beings” (Phillips 4). A memory site such as *Intramuros*, for example, can serve multiple publics (as this dissertation will show), each of which may hold competing understandings in how and why such a site represents a particular shared past. Often, these negotiations happen in the very materiality of public engagement.

Thus, my understanding of public memory underscores its materially mediated nature, that is, it is constructed and makes use of rhetorical resources; in this dissertation, memory sites. Carole Blair, in her influential essay, “Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric’s Materiality,” speaks of the importance of attending to

rhetoric's materiality and invites us to consider at least five questions that arise from the materiality of memory sites:

- (1) What is the significance of the text's material existence?
- (2) What are the apparatuses and degrees of durability displayed by the text?
- (3) What are the text's modes or possibilities of reproduction or preservation?
- (4) What does the text do to (or with, or against) other texts?
- (5) How does the text act on people? (30-50)

While I attend to all five questions, to variously implicit and explicit degrees throughout this dissertation, it is the fourth question in which I am most interested: What does Intramuros, as a national heritage site maintained by an official state agency, do to (or with, or against) other memory sites located within its very premises? Turning it back, what do these other memory sites do to (or with, or against) Intramuros and the official state agency's public memory work of that very site? In asking this doubled question, I echo Blair's observation that this is "one of the more difficult questions to address because the linkages among texts can be so varied and numerous" (39).

Nevertheless, I find useful the relationships or "linkages" that Blair identifies as working between and among chosen texts or memory sites. These include enabling, appropriating, contextualizing, supplementing, correcting, challenging, competing, and silencing (39).

These relationships surface most distinctly when I attend to each specific memory site throughout the dissertation. For instance, the singular dominant memory of a romanticized past as exemplified by a tour of Casa Manila above silences competing memories of, say, the native Filipino and Chinese populations in the Philippines, who

remember a time of suffering and persecution during much of the Spanish colonial period.

Applying the Perelmanian concept of presence to public memory, therefore, becomes all the more relevant and useful, seeing as how public memory studies are essentially preoccupied with questions about which narratives are brought to the fore (remembered) and which are left out (forgotten), whose interests are legitimized and whose are diminished. These questions become more glaring when applied to memory sites because of their “extraordinary partiality,” that “[b]ecause of their material form, modes of visibility, rarity, and seeming permanence, places of memory are positioned perpetually as *the* sites of civic importance and their subject matters as *the* stories of the society” (Dickinson et al. 27-28, emphasis theirs). Presence can serve as a useful tool for scholars to help delineate the contours of such instances of partiality and can become a useful resource for marginal and marginalized publics to mobilize power against a dominantly imposed representation.

Postcolonial Rhetoric and Third Space

Choosing to focus on a Spanish colonial space in the Philippines such as Intramuros seems, at first, counterproductive to how postcolonial studies and cultural studies would look at postcoloniality in the country. It has become all too common in both fields (at least, in the Anglophone academy) to regard the Philippines as a largely American imperialist project, forgetting that before US intervention, Spain ruled over the country as its colonial possession for more than three hundred years. As testaments to Spain’s continuing influence, the Philippines is still the only predominantly Catholic

country in Asia, the official language Tagalog is still heavily inflected with Spanish words, and most of the country's local commemorations and indigenous festivals have Spanish origins and/or inspired by the Spanish culture. Moreover, Spain continues to provide Spanish language-learning opportunities and foster cultural ties with the Philippines via its main cultural agency, *Instituto Cervantes*. In 2012, Queen Sofia of Spain visited the Philippines for a fifth time, inspecting several development projects (including a restoration school in Intramuros) around the former Spanish colony that her country's government is funding ("Spain's Queen Sofia"). To ignore the Spanish colonial project in the Philippines' national formation is to create a paucity in both cultural studies and postcolonial studies. My dissertation then acts as a kind of redress to this oversight, arguing that postcolonial studies must come to terms with how Spanish coloniality constitutes and complicates postcolonial Philippines and how Spanish influence in the Philippines can effect and affect American imaginings of its former colony. By focusing on Spanish postcoloniality in the Philippines, my project joins other more prominent Spanish postcolonial projects on the Americas and the Caribbeans, challenging the universalizing tendencies of postcolonial theory as it has developed in the Anglophone academy.

But more importantly, as a work of rhetorical scholarship, this dissertation heeds the call by several comparative rhetoric scholars for a more geopolitical, culture-specific approach to non-Western rhetorics in the twenty-first century (Diab, Garrett, Hasian, Jensen, Lu, Mao, Olson, Wang). As Bo Wang claims: "With new developments in postcolonial and transnational studies, it's time for us to shift from critical paradigms rooted in the nation and the universality of human experience (Kennedy) to a new and

more contemporary engagement with transnational spaces, hybrid identities, and subjectivities grounded in differences related to gender, class, race, and culture” (228). Furthermore, Hasian, Jr. notes the need for alternative ways of thinking about what constitutes “texts” for rhetorical criticism, the researcher’s and subjects’ fluid and multiply-positioned subjectivities, and the question of social agency and responsibility (23-8).

Intramuros, together with the memory sites located within it, presents an excellent case study to examine the ways that built memory spaces contribute to neocolonial projects and the subsequent response(s) of postcolonial subjects via their own decolonizing memory sites. As a Spanish heritage district, Intramuros is a powerful symbol of the national narrative of the Spanish legacy in the Philippines. While I discuss more fully its history and development in the first chapter, let me provide a quick contextualization before I proceed. For much of the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines (1521-1898), Intramuros was its cultural, social, economic and political center. In 1898, it became the seat of American government in the Philippines. Completely destroyed in 1945, Intramuros is now being restored and promoted by a state agency called the Intramuros Administration or IA. As the official institution tasked with its restoration and promotion, IA “overdetermines”¹ Intramuros as a Spanish heritage site via its policies, cultural events, promotional materials, and, most significantly, its spaces

¹ I borrow the term from cultural studies. Originally coined by Louis Althusser, “overdetermination” refers to “that invisible web of meaning formed by state institutions (or ‘ideological state apparatuses’ in Althusser’s terms), which implicate everybody in an all-encompassing arch of signification: what we learn in school is reinforced by what we see in movies, which is confirmed by what we read in the newspapers, which agrees with the statements made by politicians, which reflects what priests and ministers preach to us from the pulpit. Overdetermination works because each of these institutions echoes what each of the others say” (Geisler xxxvii-xxxviii, note 6).

(such as Casa Manila). In other words, this overdetermination becomes all the more implacable because IA is working with and within a very real, very material space. When we look to the other memory sites that challenge this overdetermination in the subsequent chapters, we see that decolonization itself becomes an act of presencing, where memories that were once forgotten or suppressed are again brought to the foreground, made visible, remembered. Looking at the interactions of competing memory work between and among official and unofficial memory sites, I argue, can help rhetoricians better understand the rhetorical nature of postcolonial negotiations for power and visibility.

Ultimately, I suggest that because of its multiplicity of spaces that embody and reconfigure public memories, Intramuros must be seen as a third space. To approach a study of Intramuros with this concept is to embrace it with the same openness that Homi Bhabha suggests in its formulation:

all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the “third space” which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom... The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation. (211)

Because the memory sites of Intramuros represent what I'm seeing as an overlapping, disjunctive, fluid complex of memories, the concept of third space seems to me most appropriate for understanding postcolonial space for two reasons. First, it speaks to the politics of change, "to the ways in which the highly differentiated landscape of postcolonial conditions might be challenged and transformed" (Radcliffe 131). Similar to the indigenous Ecuadorian maps that Sara Radcliffe studies, the memory sites of Intramuros "can be viewed as a form of resistance, in the process of moving towards a new politics of recognition" (131), or in the case of Intramuros, new sites of enunciation. Second, third space highlights the construction of hybrid subjectivities that hold competing memories of what constitutes the national narrative, public memories that challenge binary distinctions of colonizer/colonized, I/Other, West/rest. As third space, therefore, Intramuros disrupts existing postcolonial center-periphery and other binary models and constitutes what I see as a *post*-postcolonial Filipino nation.

Therefore, supplementing my earlier research question, this dissertation also asks: How do postcolonial subjects work against the grain of dominant narratives that seek to suppress diversity in the interests of presenting a more unitary, simplified view of the past, a view that all citizens are invited to adhere to? By asking this question, I hint at a possible response gleaned from this quote by Heidegger²: "A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*" (*Poetry* 154, emphasis his).

² Bhabha also quotes this in his book, *The Location of Culture*.

Of Methods and Being There

Because Intramuros contains a multiplicity of memory sites, each containing its own individual but multi-faceted apparatuses of rhetoricity, my research method necessitates a multimodal approach. I turn to communication and media studies and draw from them the idea of multimodal rhetoric as “communicative practices that integrate multiple semiotic responses” (Sheridan et al. xiii). In multimodal analysis, meaning is constructed across a network of signs, existing simultaneously in different modalities, within distinct social, cultural and political frames. Such meanings cannot be severed from the lines of power associated with the material construct of the modality, therefore, I adapt a social-semiotic approach that asks: “Whose interest and agency is at work here in the making of meaning?”, ‘What meaning is being made here?’, ‘How is meaning being made?’, ‘With what resources, in what social environment?’” (Kress 57). These questions become especially salient to this study of a postcolonial space such as Intramuros, considering the overlapping interests of the various publics involved. Public memory-making, especially in the context of postcolonial heritage, is a complex task. It employs a vast array of material means, all competing for the researcher’s attention, making his task even more difficult. In the chapters that follow, for example, I examine maps, promotional literature, a museum, a walking tour, and cyberspaces. I echo Dearin’s words when I say that studying public memory work “seems to stretch the machinery of classical rhetoric beyond the breaking point” (5). Nevertheless, I am guided by Kress’ questions above and Carole Blair’s five questions and “linkages” cited earlier to examine the material, multimodal spaces of memory that I encounter in Intramuros.

As this dissertation is a study of public memory as it is enacted and embodied in

memory sites, it is necessary that I just *be there*. For approximately twelve months, I conducted archival, participant observation and narrative research in Intramuros and in other libraries around Manila. My methodological approach, therefore, used a combination of methods that is integral to, and resulting naturally from, how I conceptualize memory: because memory is symbolic and thus rhetorical, rhetorical analysis helped me examine various artifacts and spaces and understand their rhetorical force; because memory is embodied and performed, participant observation helped me experience public memory as it is conveyed in performative discourse; and lastly, because memory is narrated, narrative inquiry helped me investigate how intermediaries, both official and unofficial, worked to make public memory public.

Archival

The Fr. Luis G. Merino Library of the Intramuros Administration (IA), located on the 5th floor of the Palacio del Gobernador in Intramuros, Manila, served as my main archive. The Merino Library is the repository of documents on the restoration and development of the Walled City of Intramuros and their holdings include plans, photos, manuscripts, books, periodicals and references on Intramuros and various aspects on the history, architecture, crafts, arts and culture of the Philippines. To gather additional material, I also visited The National Library, The National Archives, The Ayala Museum's Library and The Lopez Museum and Library.

In examining the objects and artifacts produced by the Spanish colonial government and tracing their influence in the works of national artist Nick Joaquin, and their iterations in the official proclamations and directives of the Intramuros

Administration, I conducted rhetorical analysis, always considering the rhetorical situation—exigence, audience and constraints—informing each artifact. My examination was informed by two of the four senses that David Zarefsky describes in “Four Senses of Rhetorical History”: one, I attended to a historical study of rhetorical practice unique to Intramuros by examining the colonial context to its construction and the various contexts of its eventual representations in literary works, particularly those of Nick Joaquin, and in IA’s policies and promotional materials; and two, I attended to a rhetorical study of the historical events surrounding the creation of these artifacts and in the construction of the other memory sites throughout the chapter. These various artifacts attest to the resilience and durability or “stickiness” of institutional memory, especially as they are perpetuated in officially sanctioned literature and in the restoration plans and policies of the Intramuros Administration. To test this “stickiness,” I turned to my two other methods.

Participant Observation

Because Intramuros served as my primary field site, my experience of it was crucial; therefore, it was necessary that I discover Intramuros by visiting its museums and structures, walking its streets, participating in its tours, festivals and events. Participant observation became especially useful for me when I attended the walking tour, which I describe in Chapter 2. In a way, my approach to this part of the research can be said to be Heideggerian, that is, I am aware that being-in-the-world involves an attention to the interdependence between the world and our actions and *interactions* in the world. In other words, my task here is to be able to experience and describe *being-in-Intramuros*. The sociologist Herbert Blumer might prove helpful here. He coined the term *symbolic*

interactionism, arguing that people “respond to objects on the basis of what those objects mean and that the meaning of those objects arise out of the negotiated experience of social interaction” (Richardson 75). Appropriating Blumer’s term, I offer the concept of *spatial interactionism*, that people respond to spaces based on what those spaces mean and the meaning of those spaces arise out of the negotiated experience of interacting with/in those spaces. Therefore, to experience Intramuros is to attend simultaneously to how it is imagined and embodied as a space of public memory, to experience Intramuros both metaphorically and materially. In this research, there's a conscious dialectical move on my part from examining Intramuros' rhetorical performance as a site of memory and heritage to the performance and practices of Intramuros' members, particularly its workers and visitors.

Narrative Inquiry

And this brings me to the method of narrative inquiry. Entering the spaces of Intramuros helped me get in touch with my subjects, building a “snowball” effect where members identified others in their social network to participate in the study. I conducted semi-structured interviews with key IA officials, organizers, historians, curators, docents, and other workers. The questions for this group focused on the goals and objectives of their programs for Intramuros, the rhetorical tools and strategies they use in marketing Intramuros to their variously perceived audiences, and the role that Intramuros plays in national identity and nation-building, as they perceive it (see appendices A, B and C for interview protocols). In the interviews, I took the naturalist-constructivist approach to narrative inquiry. By naturalist, I mean that the social world is an external reality that can

be observed and described. By constructivist, I mean that the social world is also “in the making” and so the focus will be “on understanding the *production* of that social world” (Elliott 18, emphasis hers). In other words, I am interested in both the *what* and the *how* of the public memory-making of Intramuros, questions that probe into the meaning of Intramuros for the participants and their meaning-making practices. Aided by these interviews, for example, I concluded that the Intramuros Administration operates to a defined yet unspecified neocolonial Spanish mandate, which I describe more fully in Chapter 1.

A Journey through Space(s)

The four chapters of the dissertation work thematically, using a number of key memory sites located within the walls of Intramuros. Chapter One, “Presencing Intramuros: Mapping the Imperial Imagination,” introduces Intramuros and interrogates the pre- and present Intramuros Administration’s policies and documentation regarding Intramuros’ restoration. Examining the official historical narrative of Intramuros, from the Spanish colonial period to the present, as represented in historiographic accounts, maps, the writings of national artist Nick Joaquin, “the foremost chronicler of 20th century Manila,” the restoration policies of previous state institutions and the present Intramuros Administration, I trace how Intramuros has been imagined in these narratives and show how these texts represent a state-sponsored understanding of what constitutes “official” public memory, which is essentially a romanticized Spanish past. I suggest that the Intramuros Administration operates to a defined yet unspecified neocolonial Spanish mandate. Taken together, these texts perpetuate an old-world romanticized image of

Intramuros, creating a representation that anesthetizes historical trauma, and distorts the memories of contemporary Filipinos and the demands of the current times. Foundational to my thesis is the idea that these texts collectively represent a metaphorical “wall of memory” that originally stems from the imperial imagination, presenting the danger of what Plato and Aristotle call “misremembering” and threatening to block out all other memories. In the subsequent chapters, I work with(in) sites that contest this institutional representation.

Chapter Two to Four looks at specific memory sites within Intramuros, moving from the concrete, discrete space of a museum to the peripatetic space of a walking tour to the ephemeral spaces of websites and blogs. I trace how presence informs the public memory-making practices located within each site and consider what and how meaning is made from such presencings. Chapter Two, “Troubling Presence: The Chinese Figure in the Bahay Tsinoy Museum of the Chinese in Philippine Life,” looks at the narrative of the Chinese community in the Philippines as recounted in the Bahay Tsinoy museum. As I’ve mentioned, the Intramuros Administration operates to a defined yet unspecified neocolonial Spanish mandate, and so has largely ignored the role and contribution of the Chinese in Philippine history. By depicting the Chinese as the central figure in its own version of the Philippine historical narrative, Bahay Tsinoy foregrounds their narrative and gives presence to the Chinese figure in historical time. However, examining its dioramas, photos, images, hologram and how space is manipulated, I argue that this inclusion that the museum performs simultaneously excludes the Filipino native. By claiming a shared history between the naturalized Chinese Filipinos and the natural-born native Filipinos, the museum simplifies a fraught historical relationship that elides

differences, which consequently “others” the native Filipino, and thereby, undermines the museum’s positive message of solidarity.

In Chapter Three, “Performing Presence, Presencing Performance: The “If These Walls Could Talk” Intramuros Walking Tour,” I examine the memory work done by Carlos Celdran, tour guide of “If These Walls Could Talk,” the most popular walking tour of Intramuros today. This chapter investigates how walking tours, as peripatetic memory sites, can represent how a monument is embodied, performed and experienced by its members. If walking, by way of Michel de Certeau, is a “space of enunciation,” the walking tour is enunciated principally by its guide. The path on which she takes her clients—and the points of interest she chooses, the myths she narrates, the persona she assumes—all these, carry the rhetorical force of how a tour’s members regard a place. After Gross and Dearn, who have applied the concept of presence to the visual and the spatial, I follow by extending the concept of presence to performance. I, therefore, emphasize two ways of understanding “figure”: as figure of speech and as figure of the body. I examine performative figures of presence, in particular, shouting, rapid delivery and imaginary direct speech, where the verbal and the performative, word and action, combine to occupy the audience’s “whole field of consciousness” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 118). Through his performance in his Intramuros walking tours, Celdran helps his participants to dwell on the Filipinos’ variegated history, calling particular attention to their hybridity, thereby expanding IA’s narrative of Intramuros and helping Filipinos to see Manila in a new light. Celdran’s walking tour raises for us exciting possibilities for augmenting the growing porosity of the border between rhetoric

and performance and how both can be made richer when one remembers—and presences—with the body.

Finally, Chapter 4, “Overpresence, Networked Presence, and E-Merging Memories: The Cyberspaces of Intramuros,” turns to the promise and perils of public memory work in the digital era. This chapter explores how presence is achieved in Intramuros’ cyberspaces. I ask: If presence implies materiality and embodiment, what does it mean to achieve presence in the virtual? To address this question, I examine the presencing in official and unofficial cyberspaces of Intramuros, including: the official Intramuros website, designed by an independent web design firm, as commissioned by IA; an Intramuros Facebook page recently initiated by young members of IA; and a weblog dedicated to Intramuros, founded and maintained by a young blogger-entrepreneur. I suggest that IA’s official website suffers from what I’m calling *overpresence*, that is, an *over-overestimation* of rhetorical effects, which results in rejection. Using ideas appropriated from social network theory, I therefore argue for a practice of digital memory work exemplified by the other two spaces, a practice that invites and encourages participation, where individuals share memories of a common heritage site online. In the realm of the World Wide Web, overpresence must give way to what I’d like to call *network presence*.

I conclude the dissertation with a reflection on the “synergistic effects” of these various memory sites, the promise of presence as a rhetorical tool, and the ethical stakes involved with regards to doing memory work as it applies to heritage preservation in a developing country.

Chapter One

Presencing Intramuros: Mapping The Imperial Imagination

...And we do consent that the said city of Manila bear forever the designation and title *Insigne e siempre leal*, and the said island of Luzon that of *Nuevo Reyno de Castilla*, which we, by this, our decree, grant as title and appellation, with leave and permission to be so designated and called as abovesaid, and to place the same on any or all documents that are drawn up and contracted, and on all letters that are written. And we do hereby order the same, under our hand and seal, and with the confirmation of my Council of the Indies.³

PHILIP II OF SPAIN

21 June, 1574

Madrid

Insigne e siempre leal. With these words Spain proclaimed Manila to be forever its “distinguished and ever loyal” city, securing its claim to the remotest colonial capital in its empire. It wasn’t until 1593 that stone fortifications were begun to what was to be known from then on as Intramuros; but since its founding in 1571 and throughout Spain’s 300-year colonial rule, Manila was known as the Spanish city of the Orient. As title and appellation, *insigne e siempre leal* would be invoked by historians and writers at one time or another throughout Manila’s historiography, so that Manila would never be seen as

³ Felipe II, “Two Royal Decrees Regarding Manila and Luzon” (Madrid: June 21, 1574), in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. 3, p.251.

anything other than Spanish, even after the end of the Spanish colonial period. In this way, the term “Spanish” has come to function as an ideograph that has defined Manila through the years and continues to direct the Intramuros Administration’s plans for the restoration of Intramuros and its promotion to the larger public. So dominant and persistent is this ideograph that Intramuros has come to be its spatial and architectural embodiment.⁴

To trace this development, I begin this chapter by recounting the origins and construction of Intramuros in the Spanish colonial period, its subsequent decentralization by the American colonial government, its romanticization in Philippine literature by National Artist Nick Joaquin, and finally its reconstruction in the policies of state and local agencies, including Intramuros Administration. As this chapter will show, the “Spanish” has come to be so tenaciously identified with Intramuros that it becomes this neocolonial controlling mandate to which the current Intramuros Administration operates. Recounting the dominant historical narrative and the persistent colonial representation attached to Intramuros helps us to understand the counter-memory work occurring in the spaces and practices in the subsequent chapters.⁵

⁴ Carole Blair would trace the “durability” of a memorial over various media and processes. I use Michael McGee’s concept of the *ideograph* for how it is understood as having the capacity to congeal meanings over time, meanings (for example, “freedom,” “property,” or “rule of law,”) that form into an abstract kind of public consciousness that come to be shared by members of a group. In my argument, “Spanish” serves as this “one-term sum” that dictates the memory work of the Intramuros Administration with regards to Intramuros. Hence, I suggest that ideographs can also accrete around certain places, especially around sites with particularly charged pasts.

⁵ Although I focus primarily on Intramuros, as master narratives go, the history of the Philippines that I recount in this chapter, particularly from the Spanish period to the end of WW2, is consistent and fairly well entrenched in the history courses of the Philippine educational system. The main history textbooks taught in Filipino classrooms include *History of the Filipino People* by Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*

Colonizing Intramuros

Though decreed as distinguished and ever loyal early in its occupation, Manila did not start out so and had first to be rebuilt in its colonizer's image. When *El Adelantado* and Governor-General Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in 1571, he found the burnt remains of a Muslim palisaded settlement, destroyed apparently by former chieftain Rajah Sulayman and his people to slow the Spanish invasion. Nevertheless, Legazpi immediately initiated the proper creation of a city in accordance with *Las Leyes de Indias* or the Laws of the Indies, the body of Spanish laws that governed the administration of Spain's colonies. He appointed a *cabildo* (city council) and several *alcaldes* (town judges), thereby officially inaugurating the municipal corporation of the newly acquired colonial capital. By doing so, Legazpi wanted to move quickly to regularize Spanish life in embryonic Manila according to familiar Spanish institutions of urban government. According to historian Robert R. Reed, "[b]y means of an officialdom appointed under royal charter, he confirmed the intent of the Crown to effectively project its political power into Southeast Asia and verified the role of Manila as the key organizing principle in the Philippines" (22).

Moreover, this royal charter became physically manifest in the city's architectural layout. In 1573, King Philip II decreed the famed royal Ordinances, a comprehensive urban plan for the designing and building of colonial towns and cities throughout Spain's vast overseas empire. This Spanish masterplan specified the division of the urban area into blocks using a gridiron pattern and designated the different blocks for specific uses.

by Renato Constantino, *History of the Filipino People* by Gregorio F. Zaide, and *Philippine History* by Gregorio F. Zaide and Sonia M. Zaide. All these agree on the narrative of the history of the Philippines as conforming to a three-fold structure: the Oriental-Malayan period, the Spanish colonial period, and the American occupation.

The Plaza Mayor became the central location of socio-political life in the city, surrounded by the cathedral, the municipal hall, the governor-general's palace and the courts. The next rows of blocks were reserved for the favored officials of the Spanish gubernatorial court and the blocks furthest from the plaza were assigned to lesser officials. The *indios* or natives and the Chinese populations were consigned to live outside of the city, in its surrounding *arrabales*.

Because of the attack by Chinese pirate Limahong in the late sixteenth century, Spanish leaders realized the vulnerability of their situation and decided to enclose the city with a protective wall. By 1575, Manila was surrounded by wooden palisades and the structures within were designed in typical Spanish style. However, frequent fires and earthquakes, intermittent Chinese rebellions, and the British invasion in 1762, prompted authorities to continue rebuilding and reinforcing the walls and creating longer and deeper moats that surrounded the city (Fig. 1). This pattern of disaster followed by improvements to the structure persisted throughout much of the eighteenth century but by 1835 the walls protecting the 200-acre city were completed and this triangular slice of land at the mouth of the Pasig River became fortified with stone, brick and tile.

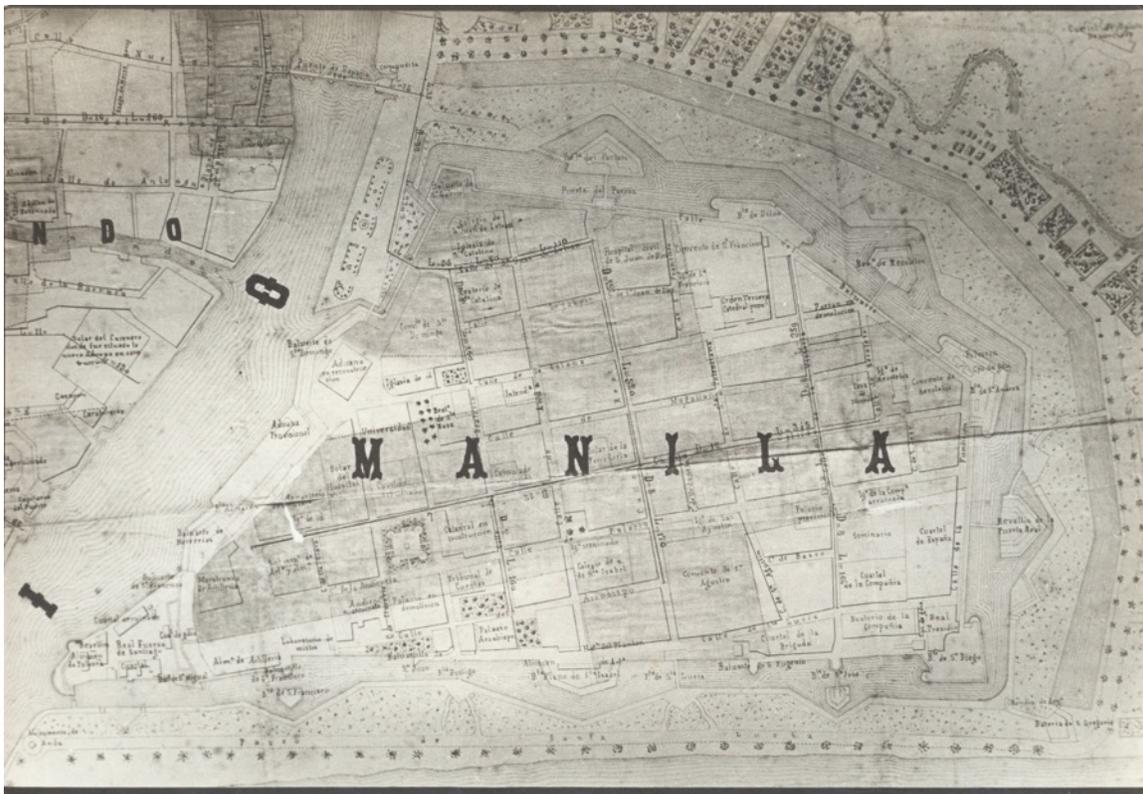


Fig. 1. Map of Intramuros, Manila, 1740. Courtesy of the Intramuros Administration.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the Philippines was subjected to an aggressive process of Hispanization, characterized by military power, the *encomienda* system, sociopolitical integration, and most especially, Christian conversion; and through it all, Hispanization found its most potent embodiment in Intramuros. As described by Reed:

Even before the dawn of the seventeenth century, Intramuros had become not only a well fortified city built according to Hispanic principles of urban design and fashioned to guarantee the security of the Western officialdom, but also an imposing and seemingly enduring symbol of colonial power. Its thick walls, substantial bastions, strong gates, soaring

towers, protruding cannons, and encircling moats clearly demonstrated the Spanish will to provide protection for ranking civil, religious, and military authorities, as well as the large community of Europeans who made the walled city their home. Moreover, the very buildings constructed by the Spanish colonists in Intramuros served to awe the Filipinos—both urban and rural—who invariably lived in small houses fashioned of bamboo, wood, and *nipa*. Though a few Spaniards continued to occupy *caña y nipa* dwellings even during the early 1600's, the great majority resided in large stone or brick structures which frequently featured handsome balconies, tiled roofs, spacious inner courts, expensive furnishings, and elaborate iron grillwork over windows and entrances. More impressive still were the monumental public and sacred buildings, including especially the cathedral, the palaces of the archbishop and governor-general, the hall of the *Audiencia*, and the monastery complexes with their churches, residences, and colleges, that towered above the walls and private homes of the Spanish city. Finally, the massive and well-garrisoned Fort Santiago emphasized the Spaniard's readiness to use force whenever necessary in order to preserve their colonial tenure in the Philippines. (50)

Intramuros, therefore, became the real, concrete symbol of the Spanish imperium in the Philippines. For both Spaniards and Filipinos alike, Intramuros was “the politico-religious nerve center of the archipelago and the material symbol of Spanish authority” (Reed 51). This intersection of imperial imagining, ideology and material reality works to

mark Intramuros as a predominantly Spanish space, a representation that persisted—and continues to persist—even long after the Spanish colonial period.

Displacing Intramuros

In 1898, when the U.S. acquired the Philippines from Spain, the Americans found Intramuros to be “a curious but delightful old place without any sign of having been in touch with advanced civilization as it exists today and bearing the earmarks of a land that had come down the years holding fast to the traditions of centuries ago and not yielding to the touch of progress” (March qtd. in Tiamson and Cañeda 179). The U.S. inherited from Spain a city in decline, a consequence of the end in 1815 of the prosperous Manila-Acapulco galleon trade. While Intramuros retained some of its elegance from the previous colonial period, the moat around it was now stagnant and a perennial health hazard, and infrastructure outside the walls was woefully inadequate. The American colonial government, therefore, set about improving public health by constructing the city’s first modern hospital, developing a sewage system, improving its water system, and implementing a public health campaign (Shatkin 582). Developing a popularly elected, decentralized form of government patterned after their own, the Americans were keen on modeling the Philippines in their own image. Much like the Spaniards before them, the Americans saw Manila as the best place to begin their colonial project, shaping the capital into an American city and centralizing their efforts of persuading the Filipinos of their benevolent intentions.

Moreover, because the US was intent on configuring Manila into an American city, urban development focused almost exclusively on the areas outside Intramuros,

towards the surrounding *arrabales* (Fig. 2). This outward development was designed by Daniel Burnham, the preeminent architect of the City Beautiful movement, implemented in his designs of Chicago and downtown Washington, D.C.⁶ City Beautiful is “a turn-of-



Fig. 2. The Burnham Plan of Manila, 1905. Map courtesy of the Lopez Museum, Manila.

the-century American reformist movement that sought to transform degraded inner cities through the development of monumental neoclassical buildings, broad boulevards and parks” (Shatkin 583). Burnham’s plan “interpreted Manila’s primary functions in a manner consistent with the desires of the colonial administration—it was to be a forum to

⁶ For a good, highly accessible account of the American colonial developments in Manila, including city planning and infrastructure, health and sanitation, and education, see *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* by Cristina Evangelista Torres.

express the majesty of public institutions, and an efficient market for commerce” (Shatkin 584). It provided for a complex system of parks and open spaces, expanding from the compact and well-enclosed Intramuros to the full length of Manila Bay in a continuous parkway. Intramuros was altered to connect to the other districts of the larger metropolitan city: portions of the walls along the Pasig River, including their two gates, were demolished to make way for improved port services; other parts of the walls were dismantled and streets were widened to provide traffic flow to and from Intramuros; and the moats facing the bay in the west were covered and turned into a nine-hole golf course, and those in the southern and eastern sides were converted into an aquarium, a botanical garden, and tennis courts. Luneta, the park bordering Intramuros, was widened and around it was planned the relocation of most government offices, including the Philippine Congress, the Department of Finance, the General Post Office, and the City Hall of Manila (Santiago 51-52). Lastly, the plan proposed the development of a world-class hotel to tap into the growing international tourism trade and to provide a retreat for American expatriates (Shatkin 583). Burnham’s plan for Manila set forth his ambitious vision of transforming the capital into “the adequate expression of the destiny of the Filipino people as well as an enduring witness to the efficient services of America in the Philippine islands” (qtd. in Shatkin 583).

Comparing these developments with those of the Spanish colonial period, we can see two notable aspects. First, the American regime brought Manila out of its medieval past as imposed by the Spaniards and hastened its entry into a period of modernization. While Spanish city planning centered on the cathedral and the religious aspect, American city planning was completely secular, enhanced by a practicality that could anticipate

land reclamation, buildings and spaces for entertainment and leisure, and even the light rail transportation system. Second, rather than designing a city on a rectangular grid, Burnham preferred a fan-shaped pattern of radiating streets with diagonal arteries to maintain the flow between various districts. Spanish urban planning was based on “the principle of enclosure, excluding the districts and suburbs outside the walls; American city planning, to its credit, was open, more democratic and conducive to social exchange” (Guillermo qtd. in Tiamson and Cañeda 257). In short, we can describe this as a movement from the closed space of the Spanish colonial period to the more open space of the American colonial period.

Intramuros, therefore, lost its centrality in Philippine affairs during the American period. In the push for Americanization, the American colonial government moved all political, social and economic life outside of Intramuros and left within its walls only the churches and schools founded by its priests. This displacement becomes readily apparent when we compare the two maps shown before. In Figure 1, Manila was confined to the walls of Intramuros; “Manila,” as designated by this map, *was* Intramuros during the Spanish period. By contrast, in Figure 2, Manila has spread out, covering all the other districts; Intramuros, in the American imagination, has become a small, irregular triangular area at the bottom of greater Manila. Intramuros was reduced to “a quaint artifact of the Spanish period” (Shatkin 584).

By the 1930s, Intramuros was experiencing a period of neglect and degeneration. The Burnham plan opened new residential and commercial districts in greater Manila, attracting the Intramuros community to live and work outside its walls. Palatial homes deteriorated and occupied by a new influx of residents coming from the provinces. When

the Japanese invaded in 1942, the imperial military forces converted Fort Santiago into their headquarters and prison cells for civilians and guerillas (Santiago 52). The 1945 Battle of Manila that the Americans waged against the Japanese not only resulted in the deaths of thousands of Filipino civilians but also the destruction of Intramuros, leaving the damaged San Agustin Church the only structure standing. The Japanese occupation, the bombing of Manila, the burning of the city upon the retreat of the defeated Japanese forces, and the “cleaning up” campaign conducted by the American troops turned Intramuros into a wasteland (Lasafin and Kammeier 36, Laya 7).

Greater Manila developed rapidly over the postwar years, leaving Intramuros to languish in its destruction. The activities of the government and private sectors wrought further havoc by bulldozing the remaining ruins to make way for warehouses and office buildings. Many of the historic buildings destroyed in the war were rebuilt outside Intramuros, including the University of Santo Tomas, the oldest university in the country; the Ateneo de Manila, an exclusive boys school founded by the Jesuits; the Lourdes Church; and the Sto. Domingo Church. The seat of the Philippine government relocated from Intramuros to outer Manila and later replaced by Quezon City to the northeast as the new capital of the country (Santiago 54).

Postwar efforts at rebuilding Intramuros partly failed because of the migration of people from the country’s rural areas to Manila in search of livelihood.

Needing places to live, they seized privately owned properties, reduced the ruins to rubble, and illegally built shanties on empty lots. Anything that had survived the bombing was picked clean. Within a few years of World War II, Intramuros had degenerated into a dangerous slum, a shanty town

subsequently left out of redevelopment plans for the city. (Maclaren and Villalon 10)

Writing Intramuros

Philippine literature, in its way, also abandoned Intramuros. Writer Petronilo Daroy states that Intramuros is “virtually non-existent in Philippine imaginative literature” (69). Daroy attributes this neglect to the fact that Intramuros, after World War II, “does not seem to offer much in terms of ‘life’” (69) and many writers seem “to regard the war as having disinherited them” (70). In Daroy’s understanding, most Filipino writers feel an “alienation from the facts of [their] history,” because “[f]rom the time of its conquest until the first mortars of its walls were laid on orders of Gov. Gen. Gomez Perez Dasmaringas in 1590, [Intramuros] had always remained a Spanish City” (71).

Unlike his fellow Filipino writers, Nick Joaquín sees the Spanish city differently: Intramuros serves not merely as the backdrop of his narratives but functions as the central trope of his themes of Filipino nationhood and identity. In Joaquín’s literature, the reality of the deterioration, destruction and neglect of Intramuros is veiled over by an intense nostalgia for the destroyed city such that he has been named as “the single Filipino author who has elevated the city of Manila into archetypal stature” (San Juan, *Crisis* 118). Because of his work, Joaquin was recognized by the City of Manila with an Araw ng Maynila Award (1963), a Patnubay ng Sining at Kalinangan Award (1964), and a Diwa ng Lahi Award (1979).⁷

⁷ The national government conferred on him its highest cultural honors, the Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1961 and the title of National Artist of the Philippines in

Born in 1917, in the old district of Paco outside Intramuros, Nick Joaquín grew up in a time when the American campaign of benevolent assimilation was already firmly entrenched. Literary scholar Resil Mojares, in a condensed biography of Joaquín, writes it appeared to Joaquín in the 1930s that “both an American language and an American education had distanced Filipino writers in English from their immediate surroundings” (Mojares). Joaquín goes on to say, “These young writers could only see what the American language saw... I realize now that what impelled me to start writing was a desire to bring in the perspective, to bring in the grandfathers, to manifest roots” (qtd. in Mojares).

The product of this observation was his most famous essay, “La Naval de Manila.” Published in the wartime English-language journal *Philippine Review* in 1943, “La Naval” recounts the miraculous intercession of the Blessed Virgin in the Spanish victory over a Dutch invasion fleet in 1646, resulting in the eponymous annual religious celebration to commemorate the event. Already the essay establishes a main theme that Joaquin would develop from then on: that Filipino nationhood was formed in the matrix of Spanish colonialism and, therefore, it was important for Filipinos to appreciate their Spanish legacy. He writes:

To accuse the Spanish, over and over again, of having brought us all sorts of things, mostly evil, among which we can usually remember nothing very valuable “except, perhaps,” religion and national unity, is equivalent to saying of a not very model mother that she has given her child nothing *except* life... For in the profoundest possible sense, Spain did give birth to

1976. In 1996, he was awarded The Ramon Magsaysay Award, considered as Asia’s Nobel Prize.

us—as a nation, as an historical people. This geographical unit of numberless islands called the Philippines—this mystical unit of numberless tongues, bloods and cultures a Filipino—was begotten of Spain, is a Spanish creation. There is as great a gulf as between the pre-Spanish drift of totem-and-taboo tribes and our present existence as one people as there is between protoplasm and a human creature. The *content* of our national destiny is ours to create, but the basic *form*, the *temper*, the *physiognomy*, Spain has created for us.” (Joaquín, “La Naval” 29-30)

The essay elicited an angry response in the next issue of the *Philippine Review*. Federico Mañahas, a leading intellectual at the time, inquired why the *Review* was “‘building up’ this young writer who would have readers believe that precolonial Philippine society was just a primeval ‘drift of totem-and-taboo tribes’ and that Catholic saints can be the country’s unifying national symbols” (qtd. in Mojares). Joaquín declined to reply but he had raised an issue that would continue to be discussed after the war and established the theme that would infuse his major works.⁸

His most famous play, *A Portrait of The Artist as Filipino: An Elegy in Three Scenes*, was published in 1952 and first performed in Intramuros in 1955. It was made into an English-language film by the highly respected Filipino filmmaker Lamberto V. Avellana in 1965, translated into Tagalog and staged hundreds of times. It is the most

⁸ He continued to advance and expound on this theme in his first collection, *Prose and Poems* (1963), in his two novels, *The Woman Who Had Two Navels* (1961) and *Cave and Shadows* (1983), and in his shorter plays collected in *Tropical Baroque: Four Manileño Theatricals* (1979). Majority of these works are set in Intramuros and in and around greater Manila. His numerous journalistic pieces, most of them appearing during Martial Law in the 1970s, revolved around some of the more illustrious inhabitants of the city. These articles were often written under the pen name Quijano de Manila.

popular Filipino play in English in the country (Mojares). In it, Joaquín found the clearest and most potent expression of his main theme and embodied it in the old city of Intramuros.

The play is set in a decaying old house in Intramuros and tells the story of the prewar Marasigan sisters, narrated in flashback by a friend of the family, Bitoy Camacho (a stand-in persona for Joaquín), as they come to terms with the waning of their Spanish legacy.⁹ The spinster sisters, Candida and Paula, must decide whether to sell the masterpiece painting of their father, Don Lorenzo “El Magnifico” Marasigan, or risk losing their house. The old house, like the painting, represents their Spanish past, and the heroes and heroines of the play are those who embrace this past.

The first spoken words of the play are addressed to the audience by Bitoy:

Intramuros! The old Manila. The original Manila. The Noble and Ever Loyal City... To the early conquistadores she was a new Tyre and Sidon; to the early missionaries she was a new Rome. Within these walls was gathered the wealth of the Orient—silk from China; spices from Java; gold and ivory and precious stones from India. And within these walls the Champions of Christ assembled to conquer the Orient for the Cross. Through these old streets once crowded a marvelous multitude—viceroys and archbishops; mystics and merchants; pagan sorcerers and Christian martyrs; nuns and harlots and elegant marquesas; English pirates, Chinese

⁹ For insightful, extended discussions of the play and its relation to Joaquín’s oeuvre, see Lourdes Busuego Pablo’s “The Spanish Tradition in Nick Joaquin”; Mina Roces’ “Filipino Identity in Fiction, 1945-1972”; and E. San Juan’s chapter, “Unleashing Dreams, Mapping the Space of Desire,” in his book *Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution* and the chapter, “Joaquin’s Theater of Transgression and Sacrifice” in E. San Juan’s other book, *Subversions of Desire: Prolegomena to Nick Joaquin*.

mandarins, Portuguese traitors, Dutch spies, Moro sultans, and Yankee clipper captains. For three centuries this medieval town was a Babylon in its commerce and a new Jerusalem in its faith... (Joaquín, *Portrait* 8)

As this elegiac invocation conveys, Intramuros was the central axis of the world, where Eastern and Western cultures converged, analogous to the ancient cities of Babylon and Jerusalem. In E. San Juan's view, Bitoy "apostrophizes Manila as the antediluvian, paradisaal origin before the Fall" (*Crisis* 118). When the Fall arrives in the form of the bombing of Manila in World War II, Bitoy is left to mourn amongst the rubble:

They are dead now—Don Lorenzo, Candida, Paula—they are all dead now—a horrible death—by sword and fire... They died with their house and they died with their city—and maybe it's just as well they did. They could never have survived the death of the old Manila.

And yet—listen!—it is not dead; it has not perished! Listen, Paula! Listen, Candida! Your city—my city—the city of our fathers—still lives!

Something of it is left; something of it survives, and will survive, as long as I live and remember—I who have known and loved and cherished these things!

Oh Paula, Candida—listen to me! By your dust, and by the dust of all the generations, I promise to continue, I promise to preserve! The jungle may advance, the bombs may fall again—but while I live, you live—and this dear city of our affections shall rise again—if only in my song! To remember and to sing: that is my vocation... (Joaquín, *Portrait* 122).

Life and death, the present and the past, American modernity destroying the Spanish past, all these converge in this final, chronotopic moment. Bitoy's allusive eloquence in this soliloquy captures Joaquín's central theme of the importance of the Spanish legacy.

Bitoy, therefore, symbolizes the Filipino who has found his identity and can now move forward "because he carries the Spanish past with him. Bitoy's decision is significant because he is the only character in the play of the new generation (the generation after Paula and Candida) who realizes the importance of the past. Everyone else is caught up in the present new American culture" (Roces 306). In *Portrait*, Joaquín found the "fullest dramatic rendering of the memorializing telos of his artistic vocation" (San Juan, *Subversions* 117).

There is more, of course, to Joaquín's literary preoccupations. In his later years, right up to his death in 2004, he became increasingly political, addressing the most current social and political issues of his time. Though he had been criticized for a romantic "nostalgia for the past," *Portrait* and his other works, showed that "he looked at the past always with the consciousness of the need for engaging the present world in its own terms" (Mojares). Another scholar notes that as we delve deeper into Joaquín's works, "we see that Joaquín's preoccupation with the past is not merely a romantic sighing for the 'good old days,' nor the nostalgic musings of a modern man for an older, more gracious and far-off era...Not so much all these, as the desire, the great overwhelming desire to preserve the past of age-old beliefs, of orthodox faith, of spiritual and moral conviction" (Pablo 205). To some extent, I would agree with these views. Nevertheless, I suggest that it is this "romantic sighing for the 'good old days'" in Joaquín's writings, which has been picked up by the Intramuros Administration. In other

words, while it is inevitable (due to Intramuros' historical origins, as recounted above) that IA would promote Intramuros as a Spanish space, this romantic nostalgia for the Spanish past was rhetorically determined and presently dominates their memory work.

Restoring Intramuros

The restoration of Intramuros since wartime can be described as “sporadic” and “piecemeal,” at best. Scholar and urban planner Asteya M. Santiago conducted an impressive historical case study of the plan implementation for Intramuros, starting from early attempts at restoration after the war, right through martial law in the 70s, and up to 1992.¹⁰ She identified several issues that hounded administrators in one form or another through the years, right before the creation of the Intramuros Administration: the unsystematic approach to restoration; the creation of ad hoc organizations; the failure to provide regular budgetary support; the neglect of the immediate community; the lack of a comprehensive framework to conduct various aspects of restoration; and the lack of effective coordination among the officials of the national and local government and sectoral agencies (Santiago 102).

Not surprisingly, these shortcomings in organizational planning were reflected in the inconsistent attempts at reconstruction of the destroyed buildings of Intramuros. Shortly after the formation of the Philippine Republic in 1946, the newly created Congress directed that Intramuros should be restored and maintained as a “Spanish” city. However, this directive “was interpreted so loosely and variably over the years” so that

¹⁰ See *The Restoration of Historic Intramuros: A Case Study in Plan Implementation* by Asteya M. Santiago. Santiago's project is a nearly comprehensive account, since WWII up to 1992, of the various changing policies and organizational structures and processes regarding the implementation of plans for the restoration of Intramuros.

“the results ranged from the Spanish-inspired modern to the modern-inspired Spanish” (Laya viii). Specifically, the architectural design and historical period that guided the restoration of structures mutated from one policy to the next, “from being described as the Spanish colonial type of architecture (C.A. 171: 1935), the Spanish architecture of an unidentified ‘proper period’ (R.A. 597: 1951), the Spanish-Philippine colonial architecture (P.D. 1537: 1978), [and] the original design during the Spanish regime (LOI 812: 1979)” (Santiago 91).

When the Intramuros Administration (IA) was finally formed in 1979, its first administrator Jaime Laya, appointed by President Ferdinand Marcos, wanted to streamline the restoration, resolving “that the architectural monstrosities previously allowed shall no longer be repeated and that the development of Intramuros from now on shall proceed in keeping with its past” (viii). This decision was formulated in IA’s mandate (still adhered to today) “to ensure that the general appearance of Intramuros shall conform to Philippine-Spanish architecture of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century” (Intramuros Administration website), and in the accompanying Letter of Instruction No. 843, which says that “the restoration of the Walls of Intramuros shall be based on its pre-1945 condition.” Even a cursory examination of these criteria shows that the ambiguity from previous directives remains. The “general appearance of Intramuros” is more open-ended. And the period covering the 16th-19th century proffers 300 years of changing architectural and visual aesthetics as to be almost impracticable, while “pre-

1945” is more confusing because it includes the entire Spanish, American and even the Japanese occupation periods.¹¹

In any case, however the original directive is interpreted, every administrative agency has always adhered to the idea that Intramuros should be seen as a “Spanish” space. It is clear that the restoration and promotion of Intramuros, as managed by the Intramuros Administration, is inextricably tied to its Spanish origins. Various officials associated with its restoration have constantly underscored the significance of this connection. For example, former tourism secretary Jose Aspiras has stated that Intramuros is, “in our history, our umbilical cord, linking the present to the past” (140). The first IA administrator Jaime Laya justified the restoration of Intramuros by saying that “Intramuros was the center of the Philippines. From its palace and cabildo was the country governed. From its cathedral and monasteries did religion spread. In its universities and colleges were the youth educated. Trade was conducted from Intramuros and nearby Parian and Binondo” (“Introduction” 5). Eustacio Orobia Jr., appointed by the Corazon Aquino government to succeed Laya, echoes Joaquín: “People’s impression of Intramuros has to be corrected, for they remember only the negative things, that this was where the Spaniards came in and ruled us. But this is also the same place where our heroes came from, where our ideas on freedom and what we wanted (for our country) came from. We should look at Intramuros as something positive from our heritage” (qtd. in Reyes 244). Succeeding administrators, and several of the officials I’ve interviewed,

¹¹ Several scholars and cultural consultants have advanced varied suggestions as to how the structures of Intramuros should be restored: Rene Javellana in *In and Around Intramuros*, Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton in *Intramuros: A Historical Guide*, Pedro Ortiz Armengol in *Intramuros de Manila*, Martin Tinio and Fernando Zialcita in *Philippine Ancestral Houses*, Jose Victor Torres in *Ciudad Murada*, and even Nick Joaquin in *Intramuros*.

have repeatedly expressed the importance of Intramuros in the same manner: that Intramuros represents our Spanish past and must therefore be restored.

Moreover, it is not only important that the Spanish past must be represented in Intramuros but that this representation must also be romanticized. This romanticisation, I suggest, echoes Joaquín's nostalgic longings for the Spanish past in his writings, and has been evidently adapted by the Intramuros Administration. Imelda Marcos, who spearheaded the formation of several cultural agencies in the Martial Law 70s, including IA, wanted not the reality of Intramuros "but the impression or the dream of its past" and that she wanted it to be the "repository of everything that is beautiful of our yesteryears" (qtd. in "Guidelines on 'Wall'"). One can look to the samples of promotional materials that IA has circulated over the years (see Fig. 3): the posters highlight this romance and nostalgia in the visual motifs of the European door knocker and oil painting in the first poster, the twilight scene of children running up on the walls in the second, and the mestizo couple dancing inside a Spanish-inspired interior in the third. The texts reinforce this romanticised nostalgia, inviting the reader to "relive the glory days of Intramuros' colonial past," or "dine turn-of-the-century style," or "[b]e serenaded, be enchanted with [the] romance-rich ambience" because "Viva Intramuros!"—"The City Lives On!"



Fig. 3. Sample posters from the Intramuros Administration. Courtesy of IA.

But more importantly, one must look to the very spaces and structures that the Intramuros Administration deems necessary for restoration. I've already discussed Casa Manila, IA's flagship museum, in the introduction, but looking at Figure 4 now, we can see that the Intramuros Administration has prioritized the reconstruction of sites and buildings that represent the idealized Spanish past. These spaces include the *Palacio del Gobernador*, the *Ayuntamiento*, the Plaza San Luis Complex (where Casa Manila is located), the Manila Cathedral, the San Agustin Church, the main gates, the *baluartes*, the gardens of Fort Santiago, and the four-kilometer surrounding wall. Emanating from Plaza Roma, the main plaza, these structures convey the centrality of the Spanish government in colonial times. That IA has given priority to the restoration of these spaces also underscores the importance of the material and physical element to the promotion of public memory. If Intramuros is to be remembered as a Spanish site, then it first has to *be built* like a Spanish site.

INTRAMUROS MAP

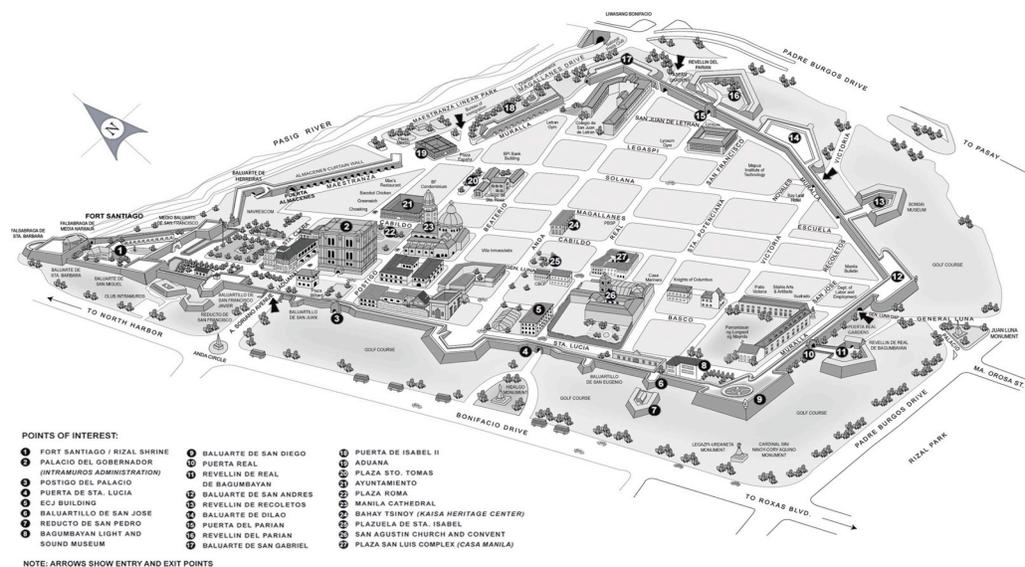


Fig. 4. Tour Map of Intramuros. Courtesy of the Intramuros Administration.

Considering the colonial history and the thrust of the various state policies, therefore, I suggest that the Intramuros Administration operates to a defined yet unspecified neocolonial Spanish mandate. It is “neocolonial Spanish” because the colonial ideal of the Spanish city once constructed by the Spanish colonial government is now perpetuated and managed by the current local state agency, IA. It is “defined yet unspecified” because although state administrators have agreed that Intramuros is to be defined as a Spanish space, the variously broad and ambiguous state policies and their fragmented and unsystematic implementation have rendered Intramuros incohesive, unfinished, and in a perpetual state of becoming. Moreover, it is a mandate that is colored by an old-world romanticized ideal of the Spanish past.

While I understand the necessity of promoting a unified national memory, commodified as attractively as possible to benefit the economic goals of tourism, this idealized representation can present a troubling distortion. First, it cuts out other important national narratives, particularly those of the pre-Spanish Malay settlement on which Intramuros was founded. Second, the romanticization of the Spanish past anesthetizes historical trauma. Absent from this representation are the memories of years of persecution and exclusion suffered by the native Filipino and Chinese communities during the Spanish colonial period. The phrase “*insigne e siempre leal*”, therefore, takes on a more insidious note: in the midst of all this suffering, who *exactly* has been noble and forever loyal to the colonial master?

The Intramuros Administration’s emphasis on an idealized Spanish past represents, in my notion, a metaphorical “wall of memory” that originates from the Spanish colonial imagination. This presents the danger of what Plato and Aristotle call “misremembering” and threatens to block out all other memories. In the following chapters, I work with(in) sites that attempt to rupture this wall.

Chapter 2

Troubling Presence: The Chinese Figure in The Bahay Tsinoy¹² Museum
of The Chinese in Philippine Life

At the entrance to the Bahay Tsinoy Museum of The Chinese in Philippine Life, I am met by a colored photomural, a collage of various Chinese and Chinese Filipino faces all smiling to welcome you in to the museum. Aside from a full-sized rendition of an “early barefooted, illiterate, impoverished, peasant immigrant” (Bahay Tsinoy flyer), carrying his wares on his shoulder, all the faces on the collage are of children. A block of text set in white against black runs vertically on the side. Titled “The Tsinoy, The Chinese Who Is Filipino: A Shared Destiny,” it begins: “In every aspect of Philippine life, in every phase of Philippine history, in its culture and traditions, language and song, in everything Filipino, there throbs a Chinese presence”; and it ends:

Swings in the country’s history during its many struggles for freedom and for social, political and economic stability at times isolated the Chinese from a destiny shared with the Filipinos. But in the end, in all that is Philippine, there emerges the Tsinoy – the Chinese who is Filipino or the Filipino who is Chinese – who has been molded through the centuries by Philippine life which he has enriched with the legacies of his Chinese ancestry.

This is our story.

Already, at the beginning of the museum experience, I am made aware of

¹² Literally “House Chinese Filipino,” that is, “Chinese Filipino House,” with *tsinoy* being the colloquial shorthand for a Filipino (*pinoy*) with Chinese (*tsino*) heritage.

the twin assertion of exclusion and inclusion, that is, exclusion from the main Philippine historical narrative by saying that “swings in the country’s history...isolated the Chinese...” and yet inclusion by claiming “a shared destiny” and a throbbing Chinese presence “in everything Filipino.” (This destiny shall, as evidenced by the smiling faces of the children, be passed on to and realized by the youth.) Indeed, the theme of exclusion and inclusion infuses the entire museum experience. For example, the flyer that I receive before entering the museum invites me to “[w]itness the saga of the Chinese in the Philippines. Journey with them in their evolution from sojourners to Tsinoy. *This is their story. This is our story*” (emphasis mine). Proceeding into the museum proper, the titles that open each of the main galleries marking significant historical periods declare an anaphoric solidarity with the Filipinos’ past: *Early Contacts: Shared Beginnings, The Spanish Colonial Era: Shared Labor, Colonial Culture: Shared Hands, Emergence of the Chinese Community: Shared Life, In Defense of Freedom: Shared Sentiments*¹³, *In Defense of Freedom: Shared Cause (The Japanese Occupation)*, and last, the contemporary times, *The Chinese Who Is Filipino: Shared Destiny* and *Tsinoy in Nation Building*. And finally, leaving the museum, I can take away a copy of the fortnightly Chinese-Filipino digest, aptly named *Tulay* (Filipino for “bridge”), which describes itself as, “a bridge of understanding between two cultures; a bridge of tolerance between two ages.”

I find this staunch insistence on the “shared” and intertwining histories and fates of the Filipino and Chinese races as representing a bold political move on the part of the museum’s creators to insinuate the Chinese narrative into the official historical narrative

¹³ This gallery depicts the revolution against the Spanish and highlights the national heroes and major figures of that period.

that the Intramuros Administration adheres to and perpetuates. As I portrayed in Chapter One, in its representation, promotion and rebuilding of Intramuros, the Intramuros Administration operates to a defined yet unspecified neocolonial Spanish mandate, and so has largely ignored the role and contribution of the Chinese in Philippine history. Not surprisingly, this practice falls in line with how historians have depicted the Chinese presence, describing them largely as a marginalized community suffering varying forms of exclusion, discrimination and persecution at one time or another (Wickberg, Tan, Carino, Hau and See, T.). During much of the Spanish colonial period, for example, the Chinese were forced to live outside the walls of Intramuros in ghetto-like communities called *parian*. Fearing revolt when their numbers grew too great, the Spanish officials perpetrated a series of massacres in the 17th century to decimate the Chinese population, and in the 18th century, royal decrees were promulgated to expel the Chinese from the colony (Tan 23-30). This physical and bodily erasure later took on insidious legal form with the implementation of a series of exclusion laws during the American period and postindependence period (Hau 132-33).

Now that the Chinese have assimilated and occupy prominent positions in society, Bahay Tsinoy serves a fitting symbolic space to claim their own place in history. Told largely through explicative gallery labels, life-size dioramas, photographs and a hologram, the narrative of the Chinese in the Philippines covers pre- to post-Spanish colonial times, the Japanese Occupation and contemporary times. And because it is located inside Intramuros, just two blocks away from the main park, Plaza Roma, the museum also makes a spatial claim: not just inclusion, but centrality. As Meah Ang See, volunteer director of Bahay Tsinoy and daughter of its founders, Chinben See and

Teresita Ang See, proudly claims (not without a hint of irony), “We’re smack-dab in the center. The center of Intramuros!” (Personal interview). By depicting the Chinese as the central figure in its version of the Philippine historical narrative, Bahay Tsinoy foregrounds their narrative and gives presence to the Chinese figure in historical time.

In a sense, the museum is performing a laudable, even noble, service for and to the contemporary Chinese community and the memory of the Chinese past by giving voice (and the commemorative space) to an ethnic minority in the Philippines that has been silenced for far too long. The response of the average Tsinoy visitor has been overwhelmingly positive: comments in their guest book include such exclamations as “Finally!”, “*Ang galing ng Tsinoy!*” (“The Tsinoy is great!”) and “Proud to be Tsinoy!”. The museum’s message of “sharing” in the troubles and triumphs of the Philippines and being united with the Filipinos is a favorable, unproblematic rhetorical stance and should engender (to use Filipino Chinese historian Antonio Tan’s words) “good feelings” in the Pinoy visitor.¹⁴ And yet, during my first visit, as I moved from one gallery to the next, I felt a growing discomfort until, exiting the museum, I felt troubled. This feeling only increased and became cemented upon my second and third visits. I felt bewildered. I felt displaced. Why was this so? Could it be that this space, which was intended to foster solidarity, has instead rendered me feeling excluded?

This chapter examines the ambivalence that Bahay Tsinoy generates for the natural-born Filipino. Borrowing Mary Louise Pratt’s term, I characterize Bahay Tsinoy as an autoethnographic space. In Pratt’s definition, autoethnography is

¹⁴ Tan refers to the pre-colonial Spanish period in the Philippines as “the era of good feelings,” describing the relationship of the Chinese traders and the native Filipino population as one marked by peace and harmony and goodwill (13-30).

a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them. Thus if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct in response to or in dialogue with those texts. (34)

In the case of Bahay Tsinoy, therefore, the narrative of the Chinese that it presents is in direct response to how the official Philippine historical narrative has depicted the Chinese as a marginalized Other. If they were once at the peripheries of history, then here at Bahay Tsinoy, they have become its center. As a museum space, Bahay Tsinoy serves as an inclusive space for the Chinese who were once excluded from mainstream society. However, I argue that this inclusion that the museum performs simultaneously excludes the Filipino native. By claiming a shared history between the naturalized Chinese Filipinos and the natural-born native Filipinos, the museum simplifies a fraught historical relationship that elides differences, which consequently “others” the native Filipino, and thereby, undermines the museum’s salubrious message of solidarity.

In order to illustrate this simultaneous inclusion of Tsinoy/exclusion of Pinoy that transpires in Bahay Tsinoy, I first give a brief outline of the museum’s history. I then discuss how museums have come to be imagined as contact zones, and I offer why thinking of Bahay Tsinoy as an autoethnographic space serves a more apt, though fraught, way of understanding its rhetorical actions. Next, I move into an analysis of the figures in the museum, that is, the Chinese figure as it is represented in dioramas, photos, and the hologram, and show how these elements, though claiming similarity and an

inclusive “shared” history, express an overwhelming presence of the Chinese figure which alienates the natural-born Filipino. I conclude with a reflection on why the figure of the Chinese remains a “troubling” presence in Philippine society and explore the museum’s implications for national identity and solidarity.

Situating Bahay Tsinoy

The rationale behind the creation of Bahay Tsinoy can be traced to the troubled modern history of the Chinese in the Philippines. In the years following after the Americans granted independence in 1946, two umbrella organizations were representing the interests of the Chinese in the Philippines: the older Philippine Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (which traces its origins in the late 19th century and hereafter called the Chamber) and the newer Federation of Chinese Chambers of Commerce in the Philippines (formed in 1954 and hereafter called the Federation).¹⁵ While the Chamber was seen as the more “traditionalist” group, due to its adherence to their Spanish-era principles of settling community disputes, mediating between the Chinese community and the Philippine political system, and preserving traditional Chinese cultural values, the Federation was considered more “nationalist,” owing to their intense involvement in China politics. Clashes and turmoil between these two groups marked much of the decades following independence, even as both institutions grappled with a plethora of nationalization laws implemented by the Philippine government in the 50s and 60s which threatened the status of the Chinese population in the Philippines.

¹⁵ For a more detailed account of the formation of these two factions, see Cariño, *Chinese Big Business in the Philippines* (2004).

Conflating this already precarious situation, the Filipinos' resentment against the Chinese as "parasites" of Philippine economy, a spillover from the Spanish and American colonial periods, continued to grow, as more and more Chinese took control of local commercial enterprises.¹⁶ As Tan notes: "The large share of Chinese participation in the economy of much of the Philippines was one of the principal factors in the growing antagonism of the indigenous peoples towards them" (338). The Chinese as merchant, therefore, became a much more visible figure of capitalist exploitation, complicating his role in citizenship due to his strong association with money. Historian Caroline Hau sees this condition as a kind of displacement, "a displacement that persists to this day even though changes in the country's economic conditions have also permuted the concept of Chineseness to accommodate the idea of the Chinese as consummate professionals, as lawyers, doctors, managers, artists, and as agents of finance capital" (161).¹⁷

As tensions grew between the Chamber and the Federation, and their influence over the Chinese community increasingly challenged by smaller factions, another organization, *Pagkakaisa sa Pag-unlad* (Unity for Progress), was born. Formed in 1970, Pagkakaisa became known as the "integrationist" group of the Chinese community. Comprised of Chinese youth, academics and professionals, Pagkakaisa espoused the values of activism, volunteerism and integration. The Chamber, the Federation, and other factions immediately branded them as ingrates and traitors to their roots and heritage, and

¹⁶ This situation prompts historian Edgar Wickberg to refer to the Chinese as "first and last, a commercially-oriented moneymaker" (64).

¹⁷ Hau provides a fine explication of the historical Chinese figure in the Philippines as complicated by questions of citizenship and money in her chapter, "Alien Nation," in *Necessary Fictions* (2001).

unfortunately, because of military investigations during Marcos' martial law era,¹⁸ Pagkakaisa members had to lie low and the group was eventually dissolved in 1976.

After the peaceful EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986, which overthrew the Marcos dictatorship and saw Corazon C. Aquino (herself a Chinese Filipino) sworn in as the new president of the Philippines, the original members of Pagkakaisa felt the need to revive the group for greater social activism, integration and development of ties between the Filipino and Chinese communities. So in 1986, anthropology professor Chinben See and his wife Teresita Ang See invited former Pagkakaisa President Harry Chua, Go Bon Juan and other Chinese Filipinos to join them in creating a new organization that would push for greater integration into Philippine society. In 1987, *Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran* (Unity for Progress, hereafter called Kaisa) was formed. According to their website:

The two words in the name of the organization are the motive force behind the group. Kaisa is unity, being one with the rest of the Filipino people, and Kaunlaran is progress for the Philippines — the dream and aspiration that the Tsinoys hold dearly with their fellow Pinoys. The name speaks of the need for unity to push forward development and to rebuild the nation.

(Kaisa)

The mission of Kaisa extends to the goals set forth by founder Chinben See when, before his death in late 1986, he envisioned a center and museum that would hasten “a positive integration process,” “promote the new image of the Chinese-Filipino, one who strongly identifies himself as a Filipino, with the interests of the Philippine society at heart,” and

¹⁸ President Ferdinand E. Marcos imposed martial law under Proclamation No. 1081 in 1972 and lifted it in 1981. During this period, according to an Amnesty International Report released in 1981, 50,000 people suffered human rights abuses, including illegal investigations and detentions, harassment, torture and murder (“Toll on Human Life”).

show the Philippines and the world how the Chinese community has evolved into what it is now: “a community proud to be part of the nation but equally proud of its Chinese heritage” (511). With these objectives in mind, wife and co-founder Teresita Ang See sought the help of other sympathetic Chinese Filipinos to build this center and museum. With initial funding provided by prominent philanthropist Angelo King and subsequent donations from other members of the Chinese Filipino community, the lot inside Intramuros was purchased in 1995, groundbreaking ceremonies held that same year (led by former president Corazon C. Aquino herself), and the center and the first two floors of the museum were completed in 1998 and inaugurated in 1999. The third floor of the museum, displaying the hologram and the gallery called Tsinoys in Nation Building, was completed in 2002. Named the Kaisa-Angelo King Heritage Center, the building is a three-story, stone, colonial-style structure, designed by local architect Rogelio Villarosa, and housed within its 1,300 square meters (almost 14,000 square feet) are the library, an auditorium, Kaisa’s offices, and, of course, Bahay Tsinoys (Lenzi 94). Total cost of the lot and construction amounted to approximately P167 million (roughly a little over \$3.8 million at present rates), with P20 million (about \$460,000) devoted to the museum (See, M. “The Ins and Outs” 2).

Museum designer Eva Peñamora refers to the vision of founder Chinben See as the “anchor” of the museum’s overall design and rationale. After several meetings with the co-founders and conducting research of her own, Peñamora was convinced of the pervasive presence of the Chinese in Philippine history:

It was a big revelation, even for us, because the things we thought were Filipino later on we found out had Chinese origins, you know? And you

scratch any Filipino and you'll find a Chinese ancestor. Like I did find my great grandmother was a pure Chinese from Ilocos [region to the north of Manila]. So *totoo pala*, this is true! (Personal interview)

And because actual physical historical artifacts were lacking or difficult to source, Peñamora and the co-founders decided on making the narrative of the Chinese in Philippine history the central organizing principle of the museum, using dioramas, photos, a replica of a Spanish-inspired Chinese *mestizo* house, and a hologram that narrates the changing figure of the Chinese throughout Philippine history. With the initial funding, Peñamora was able to hire a British team to create the silicone diorama figures. The photos and other objects in the museum were collected through various donations from the Chinese community.

Though the founders and designers started with an impressive infusion of capital, funding remains a major concern. Museum hours have been cut down to four hours in the afternoon, to save on electricity and air-conditioning. This, in turn, affects the diorama displays, which have not been retouched and refurbished since they were put up, causing most of the figures to look a little shabby and dilapidated. Most of the people on staff, including docents, are volunteers. Lastly, lack of funding translates to low public awareness. Not many people who visit Intramuros know about Bahay Tsinoy. About this, director Meah Ang See is upbeat:

This is where networking plays quite an important role. Volunteers can help you do the legwork. For example, you can have a small flyer printed and a couple of volunteers could go around the hotels and restaurants to ask permission to leave the brochures behind. These volunteers will also

keep track of where the brochures went and if they need replenishing. If your volunteers have an internet connection, they can surf the net and sign in with all the online tourist forums in the world wide web. All you have to do is to provide a few sets of tourist feedback that they can post. You can also use your staff's family and friends. Pretty much everyone has a multiply site or friendster or blog. Ask all your contacts to put a link to your official website on their blogs. This will propel your site to the top of the list when someone googles you. Also use your volunteers to stage activities inside your museums. Then just issue a press release and fax or email to all media outlets. From experience, out of 40 media outlets that we inform of activities, around five will show up. If your activity happens to be on a slow news day, then more media outfits will come cover the event. You can also specifically invite student publications and give them a tour of your museum. They write about it and give you free publicity among the student body. ("The Ins and Outs" 8-9)

Such grassroots approach to volunteering and networking appears to be working for them. Even with funding difficulties, Bahay Tsinoy is now entering its 14th year and continues to remain very active. The museum holds major exhibits at least twice a year, including smaller, modular exhibits in outside venues such as shopping malls and public parks. In recent years, they've held an exhibit on pre-colonial trade in the Philippines, a calligraphy exhibit, and a documentary exhibit on colonial life, with a special opening reception for the diplomatic corps. In my own visits, there was an exhibit on Chinese food in the Philippines one time, and then an exhibit on prominent Chinese Filipino Tee

Han Kee the next. In 2012, Meah Ang See and her staff began an ambitious project called *10,000 Stories*, which aims to collect, exhibit and celebrate stories of “volunteers who have given their time and talent in the service of others” or “Tsinoy around the country doing community service” (Bahay Tsinoy website). Recently, Bahay Tsinoy has joined a group of leading private museums in Metro Manila to coordinate educational activities and develop the museum culture in the country.¹⁹

I provide this short account of the museum to underscore four important issues. First, the story of Bahay Tsinoy is intimately tied with the history of the Chinese and Chinese Filipino in the Philippines, and particularly with the political aims of Kaisa, a group whose existence historian Edgar Wickberg describes as “a cultural middle-ground for resinification: revival of Chinese culture with full integration of Chinese into the larger society as Filipinos of Chinese heritage” (“Notes” 55). Bahay Tsinoy, therefore, becomes the tool for this particular avenue for “resinification,” to fulfill the goal of cultural preservation and social integration, advancing the cause of a proud Filipino who is “equally proud of his Chinese heritage.” Second, Bahay Tsinoy represents the ongoing work of a younger, more educated, more politically driven sector of the Chinese community in the Philippines. Their aggressive networking, as described by Ang See earlier, evinces a non-traditional approach to museum management, one that’s in tune with the Kaisa members’ ethos of grassroots volunteerism and activism, qualities not seen from the older umbrella organizations of the Chinese and Chinese Filipino communities. Third, it’s important for the founders, designers, board members and

¹⁹ Called the Zero In Consortium, the group was started in 2002 and includes The Ayala Museum, Ateneo Art Gallery, The Lopez Memorial Museum and Library, and Museo Pambata (Children’s Museum). Bahay Tsinoy joined in 2010.

volunteers that Bahay Tsinoy be seen as a unique, physical site that would embody the narrative of the Chinese in the Philippines. There had never been a place in the country that documented or told their story before Bahay Tsinoy opened. This value of Bahay Tsinoy as a repository is also reflected on their website, when they claim that “[their] cultural heritage in the Philippine mainstream is reflected and institutionalized when physical manifestations are gathered under one roof” (Kaisa). Lastly, the narrative that Bahay Tsinoy presents acts as a counternarrative to the official larger narrative that the Intramuros Administration employs in their representation, renovation and promotion of Intramuros. This clash between narratives belies an underlying ethnic tension that continues to pervade the relationship between Pinoys and Tsinoy. Typical of any museum, Bahay Tsinoy is rife with ambiguities and contradictions.

The Museum as Contact Zone and as Autoethnographic Space

My inquiry into the material and spatial construction of Bahay Tsinoy rests on an understanding of museums as sites of contestation. By this I mean that through their techné and their day-to-day operations, “they inevitably raise questions about knowledge and power, about identity and difference, and about permanence and transience” (Macdonald 2). The public museum, given modern form in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, was originally conceived as a site of “performances of ‘distinction’ through which the *cognoscenti* differentiate[d] themselves ‘from the masses’,” and as a disciplinary instrument used by the states for cultural governance and the “civilizing” of the populace (Bennett 11). In the last three decades, scholars from a range of disciplines, including anthropology, rhetoric and cultural studies, have looked into the various ways

that “the masses”—that is, the marginalized and the minority segments of the population—have re-imagined the museum as a space for their own representation and coming to presence.²⁰ In other words, far from their commonplace nature of being static and being able to “fix” public memory, museums are actually quite dynamic because the narratives and meanings that they convey are continually subject to appropriation, confrontation and, oftentimes, re-articulation by the different publics these museums invariably serve.

James Clifford offers the concept of “contact zone” (appropriated from Pratt) to describe this contested terrain that is the museum. In his words:

When museums are seen as contact zones, their organizing structure as a *collection* becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral *relationship*—a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull. The organizing structure of the museum-as-collection functions like Pratt’s frontier. A center and a periphery are assumed: the center a point of gathering, the periphery an area of discovery. The museum, usually located in a metropolitan city, is the historical destination for the cultural productions it lovingly and authoritatively salvages, cares for, and interprets. (Clifford 192-93)

A useful concept, the museum as contact zone has since been taken up by a number of scholars to define and examine the ways the space of the museum has opened

²⁰ See, for example, Bodnar, 1991; Karp and Lavine, 1991; Bal, 1996; Macdonald and Fyfe, 1996; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Patin, 1999; Message, 2006; and Dickinson, Blair, and Ott, 2010.

up for inclusionist and collaborative practices of representation with the indigenous and marginalized sectors of society.²¹

However, museology scholar Robin Boast raises the issue of power and authority with regards to this contact perspective as applied to museums. He questions whether or not the accepted belief that postmodern museums and the new museology actually perform this participative, dialogic, reciprocal relationship that characterizes the contact zone. What seems to have been forgotten, as he claims, is that the contact zone is still highly asymmetric because “[r]eference, appropriateness and legitimacy are always framed from the point of view of the party in authority” (Boast 61). In other words, the problem with the museum as contact zone is not so much that it “is inherently asymmetric but that the contact zone is a site in and for the center” (Boast 67). Whenever wider representation or inclusion is invited into the space of the museum, the ultimate decisions continue to rest with the members in charge.

To help address this problem, Boast recuperates the concept of *autoethnography*, a key part of Pratt’s original formulation of contact zones and one that has been overlooked by current museology.²² Through autoethnography, self-representations “intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding. Autoethnographic works are often addressed to both metropolitan audiences and the speakers’ own community” (Pratt 34). Boast acknowledges that it is a difficult task for it “requires museums to let go of their

²¹ Two of the more prominent works regarding this postmodern new museology include Sharon Macdonald’s *The Politics of Display*, 1998 and Carol E. Mayer and Anthony Shelton’s *The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia*, 2010.

²² Boast attributes this oversight to Pratt’s definition of autoethnography as a *textual* mode or genre.

resources, even at times of the objects [for display], for the benefit and use of communities and agendas far beyond its knowledge and control” (67).

Or, if and when given the resources, these communities could take it upon themselves to perform an act of autoethnography. For me, Bahay Tsinoy presents an excellent example of an autoethnographic space, one that addresses the institutional authority of the Intramuros Administration and intervenes in the official narrative and spatial rhetoric of Intramuros. Through generous donations and aggressive grassroots fund-raising, the founders and movers of Kaisa and Bahay Tsinoy have been able to galvanize the Chinese Filipinos into creating a memorial space for self-representation. As a minority of the Philippines, the Tsinoy community has taken front and center to represent themselves by using the very Western colonial practice of museology. Meah Ang See is proud to claim that they are the only museum in the world that chronicles the story of a particular Chinese minority in their adopted homeland (Personal interview). She stresses, “Bahay Tsinoy’s story revolves around people. It talks of the changes the Chinese people underwent as they interacted, migrated and settled in the Philippines – from sojourners to Tsinoy. It is through the story, also, that we could determine which parts to cut out, which parts to include, which parts to highlight” (“The Ins and Outs” 3).

This practice that Ang See speaks of—that is, deciding “which parts to cut out, which parts to include, which parts to highlight”—is an act of presencing, which inevitably is bound up with the act of creating absence. Alan G. Gross was the first to apply the concept of presence to the material displays and spatial configurations of the museum. In “Presence as Argument in the Public Sphere,” Gross examines a historical museum exhibit that commemorated a landmark event of Austrian history, the Anschluss

of 1938, and argues that the techné of the exhibit worked to support “a single argumentative purpose: the freeing of Austrian consciousness and conscience from the moral and fiscal responsibility for the Holocaust” (7). Gross develops this argument by extending Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s discursive realm of rhetoric to the non-discursive, creating what he calls “new categories of rhetoricity—the management of foreground and background, space, and time in the interest of persuasion” (18). To these categories, I now add *mass*, that is, a crowding effect as opposed to focusing on a single individual.

I find Gross’ example useful for two reasons. First, it recognizes the dual nature of presence: that presence is inevitably bound up with the (often simultaneous) consequence of absence. Perhaps a commonplace notion, but one that I find is too often overlooked in the revelatory impulse of rhetoric.²³ Second, Gross understands that there is never a simple binary of presence-absence, acknowledging an “equivocation inherent in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s project” (18). In his article, for instance, Gross is careful to emphasize that he does not believe that the exhibitors “colluded in an ideologically-motivated cabal” (7), and throughout the essay, he offers a sensitively nuanced reading of the displays and artifacts. While I argue that Bahay Tsinoy “others” the Filipino by presenting the Chinese figure, I am also aware that no argument, after all, is ever clean and clear-cut. What is presented is not always complete and what is made absent is sometimes merely partly concealed. Effects may be fully at odds with original

²³ Richard Scot Barnett provides a fine examination of this duality in his unpublished dissertation, *Arts of Concealment: Rhetoric and Ethics in the Age of Wireless Computing*, 2010.

intentions and often ambiguous and confusing. It is to these “troubling” presences in Bahay Tsinoy that I turn to now.

The Chinese Figure in Diorama

Life-size dioramas dominate the first and second floors of the museum. Four out of the eight galleries depend on these life-like depictions of Chinese life throughout Philippine history, complete with attires, painted and/or built sceneries, and props. Of the thirty human figures throughout the museum, only three are depicted as native Filipinos, seen only in the first gallery, Early Contacts: Shared Beginnings. Here, a shoreline tableau depicts the Chinese Philippine trade relations that were already widespread in the country by the late 10th century. A Chinese merchant stands, presenting his silk fabrics to a seated *datu*, a Filipino chieftain, while one male servant holds up an umbrella to protect him from the glare of the sun and another, a female servant, sits by his feet inspecting the fabrics. By the time I leave this gallery, I encounter only the Chinese figure.

The highest concentration of human figures can be found in the next two galleries, Spanish Colonial Era: Shared Labor and Colonial Culture: Shared Hands, depicting Chinese contributions to Philippine economy and artisanship (Fig 1). I step into a rendition of the Intramuros plaza and meet a range of Chinese workers, including a goldsmith, cobbler, public reader, dressmaker, fabrics seller, barber, food seller, and, inside a built rendition of the San Agustin Church, carpenters. Though silent and still, these Chinese figures, massed as they are in these two galleries, make present the role of the Chinese in the economic life of the Philippines as “the backbone of the colonial government” (Bahay Tsinoy text board). This presencing becomes problematic because it

undermines what was begun in the first gallery, where the diorama situates both the Chinese and Filipino figures in the beginnings of Philippine historical time. Going through these two galleries, I wonder, where has the Filipino disappeared to in Spanish colonial time? A text board mentions that “Filipinos were relegated to farming,” which may explain the Filipino figure’s absence in this depiction of a busy market square. Yet peddlers need buyers, and colonial Intramuros was populated by Filipinos and Filipino mestizos who were not only consumers but retail operators, as well (Phelan 95-98). By presenting the Chinese, these galleries render absent the Filipino native’s role in what is supposedly a “shared” historical undertaking.



Fig. 5. Spanish Colonial Era: Shared Labor. Author photo.

If in the previous galleries mass was employed to depict the Chinese contribution to the economy, the next gallery, Emergence of the Chinese Community: Shared Life,

manipulates space to single out the Chinese as the driving force of the economy. In the first of the two human figures, a Chinese man is shown wearing a resplendent blue robe and seated in an ornate wooden chair. He is alone, cut off from his immediate surroundings by three wall panels behind him and a short steel fence in front. The text board to his left identifies him simply as “[a] wealthy Chinese merchant.” The other human figure in this gallery shows a Chinese man (also seated, also alone) inside a *tienda de sari-sari* (variety store), surrounded by his goods (Fig. 5), including a wide array of grocery items and household staples such as “cottonwood, coconut oil, soap, maguey rope, candies, thread, needles, wrapping paper, cigars, tobacco and betel nut” (Bahay Tsinoi text board). Together, these two figures bring into sharp focus the idea of the Chinese as powerful merchant. However, by doing so, they also highlight the Chinese’s



Fig. 6. A Chinese merchant alone in his *tienda de sari-sari*. Author photo.

much maligned association with money. A text board on a sidewall of the sari-sari store reads: "...These retailers were the ambulant agents of earlier centuries. By the late 1800s, they had opened small stores." What is not mentioned is that by the late 19th century, the Chinese had formed the commercial class of the nation; they owned most of the retail stores and workshops (Tan 29-30). For Tan, "it was precisely this Chinese dominance of Philippine trade that aroused Filipino resentment against them" (317).²⁴ It does the museum well to omit this historical detail yet the sheer presence of the two merchant figures serves only to remind one of the very different paths that the Chinese and Filipino have treaded over the years. (And this reminder becomes all the more glaring in the last gallery, which I discuss in the next section.)

The Chinese Figure in Photos

Photographs make up the largest component of the museum, displayed to varying aesthetic and rhetorical effects in each gallery. In the first four galleries, photos are used to support the narrative being told by the life-size dioramas. In the remaining galleries, photos and images, supported by text, become the dominant mode of display. In the gallery called *In Defense of Freedom: Shared Sentiments*, a mass of photos depict the heroes of the revolution that overthrew the Spanish colonial government in 1898. All

²⁴ Hau muses: "The visibility of the merchant and his exclusive confinement to the equally visible public sphere of circulation [e.g. the sari-sari store] mean that even though the merchant performs only one among many functions in the capitalist system. Capital itself appears *prima facie* in 'his' sphere and comes to be associated with, and is taken at face value as the exclusive function of, the merchant as a specific agent of circulation distinct from the producer. This may explain why the merchant and his shop are often the first and favorite targets of mass action during moments of crisis" (161).

these heroes, including Gomburza,²⁵ Emilio Jacinto, Pedro Paterno, Gregorio del Pilar and Emilio Aguinaldo, are all claimed to be Chinese mestizos. One of the more contentious photos is that of national hero, Jose Rizal. Out of all the photos in the gallery, only Rizal's is accompanied by an illustration of his family tree, tracing his Chinese heritage on both paternal and maternal sides. The text board to the right of the photo further presences this Chinese lineage: "...This fifth generation Chinese mestizo, descended from a Chinese who migrated to the Philippines in 1690, was declared a national hero during the American regime." During one of my visits, I heard another visitor, upon seeing this gallery, say to her companion, in Filipino, "They've claimed our heroes! They're all Chinese!"

More than the other galleries, this heroes' gallery raises for me the issues of authenticity and identity, particularly the question of Chinese-ness. How can one be identified as Tsinoy? Can ancestry, as in the case of Rizal, be enough? Wickberg identifies four formal categories devised by the Spanish government during the 18th and 19th centuries, namely, Spaniards and Spanish *mestizos*, *indios* (the native Filipino population), Chinese, and Chinese *mestizos*. But since 1898, "there has been no legally defined *mestizo* class which we may use as a basis for understanding the Spanish usage of that name" (63). In a report by Ordenes-Cascolan for the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, current informal categories of the Chinese in the Philippines include the *jiuqiao*, the *xinqiao*, and the illegals. The *jiuqiao* are

²⁵ The collective name for three priests (Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos and Jacinto Zamora) executed by garrote in 1872. They were known as the first martyrs of the Revolution.

those who immigrated before World War II, those who fled from mainland China in 1949 before the communist army took over, and the refugees who left their homeland during the early stages of the communist rule there. The Tsinoys — the third and fourth-generation ethnic Chinese who have become integrated into the Filipino mainstream — are the descendants of the *jiuqiao*. (Ordenes-Cascolan)

The *xinqiao* are

those who arrived in the Philippines during the last three and a half decades, or from the late 1970s to the present. They are those who benefited from the opening of formal diplomatic relations between the Philippines and the People's Republic of China in 1975. But there is nothing diplomatic at all with the term several Tsinoys use to refer to them: TDK or *tai diok ka*, which means simply “mainlander” in Hokkien yet takes on a pejorative flavor when *jiuqiao* use it. (Ordenes-Cascolan)

And the illegals are the new immigrants who

don't have proper residency documents. They engage in retail trade without a license. They don't have business names for the store, or else use a fictitious name. They're not registered with the Bureau of Internal Revenue or, if registered, do not issue sales invoices or receipts because they don't know English. (Chua qtd. in Ordenes-Cascola)

Meah Ang See herself cites five traits that designate one as an ethnic Chinese minority: knowledge of Chinese or Chinese dialect, education from a Chinese school, measurable degree of bloodline, self-identification as Chinese, and public-identification as Chinese.

The last three, according to Ang See, are the most important. She brings up the late and former president Corazon “Cory” Aquino (whose photo is displayed in another gallery) and her children (media celebrity Kris Aquino and current president Benigno “NoyNoy” Aquino) as examples. Cory does not speak Chinese and was not educated in a Chinese school, but because her grandfather was Chinese, self-identified as Chinese, and the public regarded her as Chinese, then Cory was Tsinoy. This identity doesn’t apply to her children because, according to See, Kris and NoyNoy do not see themselves as Chinese nor does the public.

These various classifications give evidence of not only how mainstream Philippine society regards the ethnic Chinese minority but how the ethnic Chinese minority regard one another. Identity politics for the Chinese in the Philippines, therefore, has historically been a complicated issue and one that requires a sensitive, nuanced understanding and portrayal. In the case of Rizal, his ancestry may be Chinese but he is also Spanish and Japanese on his maternal side. Moreover, and perhaps more crucially, several scholars note that although Rizal was aware of his Chinese ancestry, he also denied it and embraced his native Malayan roots instead (Coates 311, Guerrero 401, Joaquin 290, Ocampo 12). What seems to be happening with the presentation of Rizal in this gallery is that ancestry or, in See’s terms, “measurable degree of bloodline,” is foregrounded and all the other traits omitted. Ancestry becomes the organizing principle for photographic inclusion in the displays. At Bahay Tsinoy, you are Tsinoy if one of your ancestors is Chinese. By presenting this one trait, not just in Rizal’s photo but in all the other photos that display a Chinese face throughout the museum, the fraught

complexity of the Tsinoy's identity and heritage is minimized and differences amongst the Chinese are elided.

In the final gallery, *Tsinoy* in Nation-Building, located on the third floor, photos are displayed in ways that, I argue, further distances the Pinoy visitor. The gallery celebrates the “modern-day Tsinoy, their industries and enterprises, outreach and development projects, civic consciousness and zeal in addressing Philippine concerns” (*Bahay Tsinoy* flyer). Walking through the hallways, I see panel after panel after panel of photos and captions of the contemporary Tsinoy's involvement in medical and relief missions, volunteer fire brigades, school-building projects, charity clinics, orphanages, farmers' centers and agricultural enterprises. In this gallery, figure and ground are manipulated to single out the Tsinoy in action, often framing him in separate photo panels with accompanying text that details his life and accomplishment, while the Pinoy is relegated to the background as a swell of bodies. What becomes apparent in these displays is the narrative that Filipinos, as an undifferentiated mass, is in need of rescue by such singular Tsinoy figures as Angelo King, Benson U. Dakay, Henry Lim Bon Liong, and others. If *Bahay Tsinoy* is arguing that Tsinoy and Pinoy share a destiny, foreground and background have been managed in this case to tell a different story.

In one prominent wall, photo panels foreground the five influential taipans of Philippine business: Alfonso T. Yuchengco, George S. K. Ty, Lucio L. Tan, Henry Sy, Sr., and John Lim Gokongwei, Jr. All five are included in *Forbes Philippines 2013* richest men in the country, with a combined net worth of \$26 billion (about a tenth of the country's GDP), amassed from a range of enterprises including banking, insurance, manufacturing, airlines and travel, and shopping malls (*Santos*). The accompanying text

underneath each headshot tells of a life of humble beginnings and hardships overcome by hard work, perseverance, integrity and business acumen. Together, their stories variously try to convey to the visitor the idea that these individuals are no different from you or me and the lesson that the success these individuals have achieved can be ours, as well. Indeed, See sees these narratives as worthy examples for Filipinos to emulate. She says, “If we do the same thing, maybe we’ll get there, too,” and then adds, “*Pag magbanat ka ng buto,*”²⁶ a known Filipino truism that refers to hard work and personal industry (Personal interview). By foregrounding the images and stories of these taipans, the gallery attempts a positive connotation of money through the entrepreneurial skill of the Chinese businessman and a sense of solidarity with its visitors.

However, I argue that two things undermine this attempt at reappraisal and communion. First, before I reach this part of the gallery, I first encounter another diorama figure of Jose Rizal, then a panel of first Filipino president, Emilio Aguinaldo, then a panel and small statue (set inside a lit recessed wall) of first Filipino saint, Lorenzo Ruiz, and finally, a display, complete with attire and tools, of Chinese firemen who lost their lives in service. When I turn the corner and see the taipans, I realize that a kind of “virtue by association” is at work here. By organizing the displays in this manner, space is managed for the transference of the values of heroism, spirituality and dying for God and country that the first figures represent to the taipans round the corner. Perhaps a shrewd manipulation of space yet one that I also find disingenuous, bordering on flagrant image management that serves only to point up Filipinos’ ambivalence toward the taipans’ standing in mainstream society. Second, a few feet after the taipans, I see a wall panel

²⁶ Literally, “if you stretch your bones.”

depicting an aerial shot of the central business district of Makati in silhouette (Fig. 6). This photo serves as a dark background to highlight the corporate logos of the taipans' various businesses, including Philippine Airlines (Tan), Universal Robina Corporation (Gokongwei), Rizal Commercial Banking Corporation (Yuchengco), Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company (Ty), SM Land Holdings (Sy), and others. Located within a gallery



Fig. 7. Business district skyline of major Chinese-owned corporations. Author photo.

that aims to celebrate the Tsinoy's civic engagements, this display stands out and is ultimately misguided. Moreover, it undercuts whatever amount of solidarity the previous displays have been attempting with their audience. By foregrounding the taipans' businesses this visual display, much like the diorama figures of the Chinese merchants earlier, glaringly brings up the Tsinoy's unpleasant associations with money and further

distances the Pinoy by reminding him of the Tsinoy's present dominance over the Philippine economic landscape.

The Chinese Figure as Hologram

At the entrance to the gallery described above, I encounter a hologram, the only one of its kind found in any museum in the country. Peñamora originally wanted the hologram to open the museum on the first floor in 1999 but because of space and budget constraints its creation had to be delayed. In 2002, the hologram was finally constructed to open the new third floor gallery, Tsinoy's in Nation-Building. As the first display I encounter, the hologram serves as an introduction to this final gallery on the third floor. Situated in a recessed space and separated from the viewer by a glass window, the hologram features a Chinese Filipino actor set against a constructed backdrop of a church, a mestizo family house and a modern building, each of which light up to mark the actor's transformations. The actor narrates the Tsinoy's journey through Philippine history from an illiterate peasant immigrant, when he "docked on the shores of the island [he] only knew as Luzon, coming here in [his] sampan to trade"; to a Chinese mestizo, when he was "born into [a] prosperous marriage [between his Chinese father and indio mother], blessed by the Spanish rulers with land to cultivate and opportunities to trade"; and, finally, to the modern-day Tsinoy who proudly declaims,

My spirit is strong from the melding of traits, the marriage of traditions that my ancestors handed down through generations. We have marched through centuries nurtured by the legacy of greatness from China of our ancestral origin and the love and pride for the Philippines, the only

country we had fought for as martyrs and heroes. The country we now serve with dignity. (Appendix B)

The story the hologram relates reinforces the main narrative of Bahay Tsinoy, serving as a kind of summation of all the galleries. However, much like the photos throughout the museum which I discussed earlier, the hologram glosses over the complex identity and heritage of the Chinese Filipino. First, though his attire changes with each transformation, the hologram figure remains unchanged, thereby effacing the reality of the changing racial make-up of the Chinese throughout Philippine history. Second, time is contracted to construct a linear, unproblematic narrative of the Chinese in Philippine history, one that minimizes conflict and struggles and instead emphasizes discovery, opportunity, painless assimilation and love of nation. And third, when the hologram figure declaims, “In my veins run the blood of my Chinese and Filipino forebears,” ancestry is again marked as the only defining trait that distinguishes the Tsinoy. This trait would not apply to the taipans, for example, as many of them migrated to the Philippines only in the 40s and 50s to flee communist persecution in China. Therefore, associating them with the travails and triumphs of the Tsinoy of the Philippines would again be problematic, universalizing what has historically been a fraught narrative.

Solidarity, Countermemory and (En)Countering Spaces

Bahay Tsinoy functions to provide an alternative narrative of the Chinese as the central figure in Philippine history. As an autoethnographic space, the museum speaks not only to the mainstream metropolitan center but also their own community. But though it attempts to create communion with the Filipino mainstream by claiming a “shared”

heritage and destiny, the ways in which figure and ground, space, time, and mass are manipulated to present the Chinese figure in dioramas, photographs, images, and the hologram, function instead to distance the Pinoy, thereby undermining its goal of solidarity.

My examination of Bahay Tsinoy raises significant and intermingled issues regarding the question of belonging and subject positioning, the nature of counter-memories and the fragile spaces that contain them. First, as a Pinoy myself (I fail all five of Ang See's traits), I am only too aware of the difficult position of critiquing a marginalized community's own attempts at coming into voice from a supposed position of centrality and power. I'd like to think that I displayed, to use Said's term, a *contrapuntal* sensitivity to analyzing their situation.²⁷ Nevertheless, there is the risk that my comments might be seen as partisan, insensitive, ungenerous, and in the end, repressive. (I might, after all, be performing the same neocolonial act that I just claimed the Intramuros Administration as perpetrating in the previous chapter.) But, I suppose, that is the nature of public spheres: various publics compete to be heard and when one is addressed, one must respond. I would rather my alternative reading of their alternative narrative be seen as the beginning of a dialogue, one that opens the possibility for negotiation and unsettles hegemonic interpretations.

Second, related to the first issue, there is the risk of counter-memory becoming official memory. In the case of Bahay Tsinoy, the public memory that they convey is drawn by the young, middle-class, educated elite of the Tsinoy community. One, of

²⁷ By "contrapuntal," Said means "a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (51).

course, wonders whether they are suppressing the memories of the other sectors of their own community.

And this brings me to my third point. Bahay Tsinoy, in order to gain legitimate presence in Philippine society, must re-conceive itself into a more egalitarian space. Joining a consortium of private museums and holding modular exhibits outside of its own premises, Bahay Tsinoy seems to be heading in the right direction. Clifford himself envisions a more destabilized museum and “argues for a decentralization and circulation of collections in a multiplex public sphere, an expansion of the range of things that can happen in museums and museum-like settings. It sees the inclusion of more diverse arts, cultures, and traditions in large, established institutions as necessary but not as the only or primary point of intervention” (214). For Bahay Tsinoy, this would mean including voices not only from the other sectors of their community but, perhaps most importantly, the larger Filipino community. Ultimately, Bahay Tsinoy must let in not only the *tsino* in the Tsinoy but the *pinoy*, as well. A real “shared” endeavor.

Chapter 3

Performing Presence, Presencing Performance:

The “If These Walls Could Talk” Intramuros Walking Tour

Socrates: My dear Phaedrus, you have been an admirable guide.

- *Phaedrus, Plato 360 BCE*

I am a performance artist and my stage is Intramuros.

- *Carlos Celdran, Intramuros Tour Guide*

For there is yet a little light in men; let them walk, let them walk, that the darkness overtake them not.

- *St. Augustine of Hippo*

In late May 2013, a controversy erupted in Manila upon the release of Dan Brown’s latest bestseller, *Inferno*. In the novel, Brown describes Manila as the “gates of hell,” filled with the “wails of crying babies and the stench of human excrement... six-hour traffic jams, suffocating pollution and a horrifying sex trade, whose workers consisted primarily of children” (qtd in “Our City Is No Inferno”). Response to this depiction has been swift and indignant. Two days after the offending excerpts from the novel appeared in local news media, Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) Chairman Francis Tolentino sent an open letter to Brown, saying: “More than your portrayal of it, Metro Manila is the center of the Filipino spirit, faith and

hope.... Truly, our place is an entry to heaven.” Even Paulo Coelho, another famous novelist, came to the support of Filipinos, tweeting, “Dear [F]ilipinos, your souls lead to the gates of heaven” (“Brazilian novelist”).

Unfortunately, this incident is only the latest in what appears to be an intermittent problem in the image management of Manila. In an interview in 1998, actress Claire Danes said she did not enjoy her visit to Manila because the city “smelled of cockroaches, with rats all over and that there is no sewerage system and the people do not have anything—no arms, no legs, no eyes” and was “smelly, weird and full of rats” (“Claire Danes no thrill for Manila”). In 2011, a BBC documentary exposed the appalling road conditions and extreme poverty in the capital city (“Manila, Toughest Place”). And in August 2012, Tony Gilroy, the director of the film, *The Bourne Legacy* (partly shot in Manila), said in a television interview that Manila is “just so colorful and ugly and gritty and raw and stinky and crowded” (*Charlie Rose*).

Now while some Filipinos understandably cry foul, most seem to agree with such less than favorable depictions of Manila. Filipino journalist Boo Chanco writes that the phrase “gates of hell” describes “Manila to a ‘T’”. A journalist for *The Philippine Daily Inquirer*, the country’s leading newspaper, claims Manila has indeed become “a portrait of ugliness” (Tejero). And several citizens in various online venues have continuously expressed their dismay at the state Manila is in, saying the city is “an urban disaster of decay, mediocrity and despair that a Manileño cannot be proud of” and “it has become one of the dirtiest and ugliest capitals in the world” (Sauler).

Though the reality of Manila’s ugliness and deterioration appears to be a foregone conclusion for foreign visitors and most locals, one Filipino is passionate about changing

this perception of Manila. A devoted advocate of the Reproductive Health Bill (which was recently signed into law by President Benigno Aquino, Jr.) and a visible and outspoken critic of the church's involvement in state politics, Carlos Celdran is most known as the colorful, irreverent tour guide of Manila's historic locations, including Chinatown, Escolta (Manila's former business district), and, of course, Intramuros. Called "the big daddy of alternative tour guides" (Villalon), Celdran has been conducting his Intramuros tour *If These Walls Could Talk* for over ten years now. Since 2002, he has been leading tour participants around Intramuros and entertaining them with little-known stories of the Philippine's history. He gives at least 8-12 three-hour tours per month to about 30-40 participants per tour for a total of almost 500 tourists every month, making him one of the busiest single-operator tour guides working in the country today. He is also, arguably, the most popular, having appeared in local and international media, including *The New York Times*, *Time Magazine* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Moreover, in the Philippine page of the Lonely Planet website, Celdran's tour is voted number one in the country by the website's visitors.

To travel with a guide is to see with another's eyes. When Celdran asserts, "I can't change the way Manila looks, but I can change the way you look at Manila" (Villalon "Touring people around"), he touches on one of the significant roles of the tour guide, that is, mediation. The path on which she takes her clients—the points of interest she chooses, the stories she narrates, the persona she assumes—all these, carry the rhetorical force of how a tour's members regard a place. When Phaedrus shows Socrates the country outside the walls of his city, regaling him with myths and speeches of the river and the hills, Socrates is so moved he waxes poetic, causing Phaedrus to observe

that Socrates has indeed become a man “very much out of place” (Plato 230c). Plato here seems to draw attention to the sense of displacement one must inevitably feel upon encountering a new place as depicted by a guide. When a guide changes how one sees a place, one is also changed, or, in a way, *dis-placed*. The hope being that if the change is profound enough, one is moved to action.

Anthropologist Erik Cohen claims “interpretation and not the mere dissemination of information, is the distinguishing communicative function of the trained tourist guide” (15). How a tour guide “interprets” a tour for its participants greatly informs how those participants will regard a site and what they’ll finally take away from the visit. This chapter, therefore, investigates how walking tours, as peripatetic memory sites, can (re)present how a heritage site is embodied, performed and experienced by their guides and participants. If walking, by way of Michel de Certeau, is a “space of enunciation” (98), then the walking tour is “enunciated” principally by its guide.

How this enunciation happens is the focus of this chapter. Because a tour guide obviously works to call attention to particular facets of a place, the concept of presence seems to me almost inescapable. If in the previous chapter I worked to extend presence by applying it to the space of a museum, here in this chapter I work to extend presence to the practice of tour guiding. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca say, “*Presence* acts directly on our sensibilities,” so that “the thing on which the eye dwells, that which is best or most often seen, is, by that very circumstance, overestimated” (116-17). I argue that a tour guide’s performance, the various performative strategies that she uses, is itself an act of presencing, so that her audience can not help but dwell on “that which is best or most often seen,” that which she has “overestimated.”

Through his performance in his Intramuros walking tours, Celdran helps his participants to dwell on the Filipino peoples' variegated history, calling attention to their hybridity, thereby helping Filipinos to see Manila in a new light. In a way, Celdran's performance is a work of *re-presencing*; through his walking tours he revises the previous unflattering perception of an "ugly Manila"—a dismissive simplification, if you will—and instead calls attention to its multifaceted, complicated and colorful past. By doing so, Celdran transforms the space of Intramuros as a "thirdspace," one that invites a re-visioning of Manila. As memory work, Celdran's performance brings forth forgotten or little known facets of Philippine history. As spatial practice, his performance can be seen as a "tactic" that counters the official narrative of Intramuros that is told by IA's own tour guides. Certainly, there are other Intramuros tours given by other equally capable tour guides, but I suggest that because Celdran's is the most *performed*, then Intramuros in his tour becomes the most *present*.

I proceed, then, by first examining the contemporary preoccupation with the intermingling of rhetoric and performance, and show how *The New Rhetoric's* concept of presence can enrich this dialogue. After a general overview of the tour, the participants, and brief discussion of my subject position, I move into a detailed account of one walking tour of Carlos Celdran's *If These Walls Could Talk* to identify and examine the ways that presence can be embodied and performed. I end the chapter by discussing the implications of Celdran's performance and reflecting on the possibilities of a richer rhetoric when one remembers—and presences—with the body.

Cultural Performance, Rhetoric and Presence

When scholars work at the intersection of performance and rhetoric (Singer, Conquergood, Bauman, Fuoss, Pezzullo, Gencarella and Pezzulo), they refer most often to the concept of *cultural performance*, defined as “a publicized, collective event that is scheduled for a specific time and place, follows a program of activities, offers artistic performances or experiences beyond the everyday, and brings people together as a reflection of their community and as an opportunity to consider ways to sustain or change it” (Gencarella and Pezzullo 27). The term, first introduced in 1959 by Milton Singer, has gained considerable traction in the last thirty years with rhetoric scholars as they examine the many ways that the themes of body politics, social drama and public culture are expressed and complicated in various cultural performances such as political speeches, television shows, stand-up comedy, protest actions, resistance movements, environmental activism, and walking tours. These instances attest to what Bauman has long claimed, that “cultural performances may be primary modes of discourse in their own right, casting in sensuous images and performative action rather than in ordered sets of explicit, verbally articulated values and or beliefs, people’s understandings of ultimate realities and the implications of those realities for action” (Bauman 49). By attending to cultural performances, rhetoric studies obtain the capacity “to account for and re-imagine the intersections between persuasion and pleasure, politics and aesthetics, citizenship and entertainment, and activism and art” (Gencarella and Pezzullo 1).

Celdran’s tour presents an excellent case study to investigate these various intersections not only for its obvious rhetorical goal of changing one’s perceptions but also for how its “emergent” nature presents larger implications with regards to public

memorializing and nation-building. More importantly, it brings one to an up-close experience with the visceral power of a performance that can influence an audience and change its attitudes. In short, it presents the opportunity to observe and participate in the act of presencing *in action, as it is being performed*. As a “specially marked mode of action,” therefore, Celdran’s performance is “put on display, objectified, lifted out to a degree from its contextual surroundings, and opened up to scrutiny by an audience. Performance thus calls forth special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of communication and gives license to the audience to regard it and the performer with special intensity” (Bauman 43). This “special intensity” is the result of a performer endowing his performance with presence.

If presence is created from the selection and presentation of elements in an argument—that is, choice and the *way or manner* such choices are put forward—then delivery, the fifth canon of rhetoric, should be part of any conversation involving performative presence. In fact, I would even go so far as to argue that delivery is an essential component of presence. However, because delivery has been traditionally associated with only voice and gesture, I turn specifically to the term *performance*, as it encompasses, to me, not only the ways that the body is used for suatory ends (that is, voice, gesture, facial expressions, comportment, movement, dance), but also the various ways the body makes suatory use of costumes, props, objects, and even space or setting.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca call these other non-discursive means as conditioning agents, which include but are not limited to “music, lighting, crowd effects, scenery, and various devices of stage management” (23), yet they acknowledge that such means are beyond the scope of their work, limiting themselves to only discursive means

of obtaining audience adherence and examining “only the technique which uses language to persuade and convince” (8). By extending the concept of presence to the bodily and the performative, I restore the original meaning of presence. According to philosopher Carroll Arnold, “‘presence’ is not to be understood as a phenomenon achieved but as a giving-prominence-to, and this nuance of rhetorical action tends to be lost in discussion of ‘presence’ or ‘emphasis’ in English” (45).

I, therefore, suggest that presence has the potential to be useful to rhetoric studies not only in examining textual production (as done by scholars such as Leroux, Murphy, Kaufman and Parson, and Atkinson, Kaufer and Ishizaki) and visual and spatial representations (Gross, Dearin and Gross, Fahnestock, Landau) but also in analyzing performative discourse. I, therefore, emphasize two ways of understanding “figure”: as figure of speech and as figure of the body. I examine performative figures of presence, in particular, shouting, rapid delivery and imaginary direct speech, where the verbal and the performative, word and action, combine to occupy the audience’s “whole field of consciousness” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 118). Presencing in performance, I argue, works not just “by verbal magic alone” but most especially via the non-verbal.

“Walk This Way!”: Presencing Hybridity

The *If These Walls Could Talk* Intramuros Tour that I focus on in this chapter occurred on August 22, 2012. It began a little after 9 a.m. at the entrance of Fort Santiago on the northeast of Intramuros and ended a little before 12 noon in the Plaza San Luis Complex on the southeast. In examining Celdran’s presencing of hybridity throughout the tour, I shall discuss the major points of his itinerary, beginning with the introduction, then

the five stops, then the end of the tour. I shall attempt to convey a sense of the tour's distinct flavor by quoting lengthy passages, but note that I shall pay particular attention only to those sections that illustrate Celdran's use of the figures of rapid delivery, shouting, and imaginary direct speech to develop his theme of Filipino hybridity; namely, his presencing of Spanish, American, and Chinese influences in Filipino cultural history.

The audience for this tour was predominantly Filipino, with several returning or visiting from overseas, and a tour group of educators from the Visayas region of Bacolod. Joining us were a couple of French-speaking white European males and three American couples. I bring up the composition of this group in order to underscore the typical audience makeup of Celdran's tour: though his tour is known both locally and internationally, Celdran's tours are generally comprised of Filipinos from here and abroad, with a few non-Filipinos.

As a member of this audience myself, I have tried to be both participant and observer. I have tried to be attuned to the guide's performance while periodically checking to see if my digital recorder was still working properly; tried to be honestly engaged with the scant conversations I was having with the other tourists while also deconstructing these exchanges for any revealing insight; and tried to take in all the sights we were being shown while surreptitiously scribbling down my field notes. Indeed, this project made me only too aware of my own embodied hybridity, as I grappled simultaneously with being both tourist and researcher, both local native and returning Filipino, both Pinoy and mestizo.

Introduction

The tour participants are all waiting under a canopy of floral vines near the entrance to Plaza Moriones. Celdran arrives fifteen minutes after the appointed time and immediately apologizes to the group for being late. He is a little disheveled, blaming the notorious Manila traffic for his delay, but he quickly dons an orange long-sleeved barong over his shirt and plops a black top hat on his head. He fixes a mobile microphone to his lapel and a small radio speaker to his belt. He gives a big smile to everyone and asks us all to join him inside the small canteen next to the Visitors Center by the entrance. The canteen and Visitors Center, along with the gift shop, theater and exhibit room, are converted, hollowed out spaces (called “chambers” by IA people) inside the walls of Intramuros that had been used in the past, at one time or another, for various military purposes, such as headquarters, barracks, bomb shelters, and artillery storage.

When we all gather inside the canteen, he begins to speak and his voice is strong and fills the tiny space. He introduces himself, singles out the Filipinos in the group, asking them for their active participation in the tour.

CELDRAN: So for the sake of our friends who don't understand us,
 help me translate into English.
 Really loudly, question and answer, call and response,
 as if we're all back in school.
 And if you get all of the answers correct
*(He brings out a bag of chocolates, to the twittering delight
 of some members of the audience.)*
 I will be giving away Choc-Nut, chocolate, during recess.
 And the basic rules for today's performance of “If These Walls Could
 Talk” are A-Have a sense of humor. Very important.
 B-Video is not permitted on the tour, my deepest apologies.
 But photography is permitted. And wherever photography is not
 permitted, do not get caught. Cause I don't care.
(Audience laughs.)
 And all cellphones on silent for the duration of today's tour.

And the reason why is because just like being in school, in mass or in theater,
 today's tour will require a little consideration.
 Because today's tour will be more theatrical than typical.
 And we're not going to go on a very long walk.
(In rapid delivery.)
 We're only gonna go from here to the front of Fort Santiago
 into the Jose Rizal Shrine then outside of Fort Santiago
 on to a calesa or pedicab for a view around Intramuros,
 past the San Ignacio Church, into the San Agustin Church,
 then finally the Plaza San Luis across the street from that,
(Celdran's pace slows down, takes a breath. Audience laughs.)
 as we embark on a journey through Manila's history
 for people with no attention span.
(Audience laughs.)

Aside from predisposing the audience to accept Celdran as the guide and to instill excitement for the coming tour, these initial moments also introduce a non-discursive, performative figure of presence—one we can call *rapid delivery*—which he will use at various times in the tour to varying effects. In the excerpt above, for example, Celdran states that “we’re not going to go on a very long walk.” However, when he proceeds to describe the itinerary (“We’re only gonna go from here to the front of Fort Santiago into the Jose Rizal Shrine...”), he not only names all the stops along the way but his rapid delivery here works to negate his previous statement, emphasizing instead the considerable distance that participants will be traversing. Rapid delivery, as it is used here, presences the scope of the tour and prepares the audience (while eliciting uncomfortable laughter) for a very long walk. As we will see in several instances throughout the tour, Celdran uses rapid delivery (and more specifically, *asyndeton*) to presence the different foreign influences of the Philippines, thereby amplifying his theme of hybridity.

After this beginning, he continues.

CELDRAN: As I tour, just like everything else in the Philippines,
 just like television, movies, and just like in school every Monday morning,
 today's tour will begin with--
(Celdran unfurls a Philippine flag attached to the end of a barbecue stick.)
 Stand straight. Hand over heart. Face the Filipino flag,
 And Filipinos, you know the words, and a one, two, three, and—
(Filipino audience members sing the Philippine National Anthem.)
 The Philippine National Anthem.
 But I guess you figured that out by now, right?
 And not some random song that Filipinos decided to sing.
 Because a Filipino would never break out into song
 for no apparent reason. Ever!
*(Filipino audience members laugh, because Filipinos are known
 to break into song quite randomly.)*
 And of course the title of the Philippine National Anthem is—
 AUDIENCE: Lupang Hinirang.
 CELDRAN: Lupang Hinirang. Very good.
 Which, for ten points, translates into English as:
*(Filipino audience members call out some answers but no one gets it
 right.)*
 Chosen Land!
 Okay, this is why we have so many Filipinos on today's tour.
(Audience laughs.)
 Guys, "lupa" means—
 AUDIENCE: Land.
 CELDRAN: And "hirang" means "chosen."
 That's why it's "Chosen Land."
(Audience members murmur in recognition.)

In addition to introducing rapid delivery as a figure of presence, Celdran also
 begins to create, quite adeptly, a sense of solidarity with the tour group by using some
 figures of communion. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca identify two categories of
 communion-building devices: one, "references to a common culture, tradition or past,"
 which include allusions, maxims and proverbs; and two, "all those figures whereby a
 speaker endeavors to get his audience to participate actively in his exposition, by taking it
 into his confidence, inviting its help, or identifying himself with it," examples of which
 include apostrophe, oratorical question, "*enallage of person*, in which 'I' or 'he' is

replaced by ‘though’,” and “*change in the number of persons*, in which ‘I’ or ‘thou’ is replaced by ‘we’” (177-78, emphasis theirs).

Both categories of communion are at work in Celdran’s introduction here. First, when he asks in the beginning, “Do we have any Filipinos on today’s tour?” and requests them to “help [him] translate into English” in a mode of “question and answer, call and response,” he is building communion by inviting his audience to take part in his performance, which they gamely take on when they’re quizzed on the English translation of the national anthem’s title. Second, when he brings out his makeshift Philippine flag and invites the audience to sing the national anthem, he reinforces this communion by performing a common cultural act. As symbols, the national flag and the national anthem serve as powerful reinforcements of communion because “to the extent that we feel addressed or incorporated by the symbol...we celebrate ourselves in acknowledging the symbol, reaffirming our collective identity” (Geisler xx). Lastly, when he pokes fun at Filipinos’ penchant for randomly breaking into song, a trait Filipinos know only too well, the fellow feeling that gives way to laughter is a result of this increased communion. Celdran builds this sense of communion again and again throughout the tour.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca acknowledge the importance of the introduction, saying “it is the part of the discourse which is most specifically designed to influence the disposition of the audience,” adding that its purpose is “to make the audience well disposed toward the speaker and to secure its goodwill, attention, and interest.” (495). What is immediately apparent from the beginning of this tour is that we are in the presence of a competent, knowledgeable and entertaining performer. Celdran’s voice is loud, confident and playful, able to deliver various registers of gravity and humor, and he

is clearly capable of engaging an audience of this size. In short, he commands your attention; he has presence.

A major part of this commanding presence certainly can be attributed to how the introduction sets out to define the tour as performative in nature, “more theatrical than typical.” His wearing of the top hat and barong tagalog and use of the flag at this point in the tour, and subsequent costume changes and use of photos and other theatrical props throughout, serve to mark this tour as different from all others. By defining his tour in this manner, calling attention to its unique performativity, Celdran endows the tour with presence.

In the final minutes of the introduction, Celdran continues to reinforce his theme of hybridity using rapid delivery.

CELDRAN: Okay, how about this one:
a place called Oh, It’s So Itchy.

AUDIENCE: Makati.

CELDRAN: Makati. Or this one: Oh, It’s So Dark.

AUDIENCE: Diliman.

CELDRAN: Diliman. Or: It’s So Small. Munting—

AUDIENCE: Lupa.

CELDRAN: Oh, It’s So Short. Panda—

AUDIENCE: Can.

CELDRAN: See? So you can tell a place in the Philippines is a description in a local language, like Tagalog, Bisaya, or any local vernacular. You’ll see that place was named before the coming of the Spanish.

And then the Spanish government in the 16th century, they bring Catholicism.

And now, because of that, in the Philippines we have places with names like—

(Recites in rapid delivery, while he spins around.)

Santa Ana, Santa Elena, Santo Isidro, Santa Isabel, Santa Potenciana, Santa Pilar, San Agustin, San Joaquin.

(Stops to face the crowd again.)

If you have a place in the Philippines that is named after a santo or a santa, more likely than not, they were named by the people who brought the santos there.

And then, if you know your Philippine history well,
 you know that in the year 1898, out go the Spaniards
 and in come the Americans, for more or less for 50 years.
 And so now because of that,
 we have places in the Philippines with names like—
(Recites in rapid delivery, while he spins around.)
 Forbes Park, McKinley Road, Taft Avenue, Dewey Boulevard,
 Jones Bridge, MacArthur Park. And we have Beverly Hills in Antipolo.
(Stops to face the crowd again. Audience laughs.)
 And we have a New York in—
 AUDIENCE: Cubao!
 CELDRAN: Which shows you that just by the language
 of the names of the places in the Philippines,
 you can see Philippine history.
 And if you speak Filipino, and who here speaks Filipino?
(Filipino audience members raise their hands.)
 Okay. Speak Filipino and you will see your history
 in the way that you talk.

The rapid delivery of Spanish place-names (“Santa Ana, Santa Elena...”) and then, a few seconds later, of American place-names (“Forbes Park, McKinley Road...”) presences the influence of the Philippines’ previous colonial masters. This rapid listing of names without connectors, a figure of speech known as *asyndeton*, takes on both verbal and performative forms. As Leroux notes, asyndeton “allows speedy enumeration, sometimes indicating (and evoking) high energy, as if under duress or of being driven, as it were, by the idea in view. It is in the pleasurable perception of easily intelligible wholes that hearers attain a binding conviction” (37). Celdran’s rapid-fire yet clear and intelligible delivery is complemented by his comically spinning body, reminding one of a spinning record and thus signifying that the list could go on and on.

Moreover, this attention to place-names serves to jog our memories of what we usually take for granted. We forget that places have history and remember only when the annual town fiesta or city holiday or any public commemoration ceremony is upon us. In Cintron’s reflection on the rhetoric of place-names: “The city proper, by using the name

of its founders for parks, streets, and certain buildings, assures that its history stays present” (20). Indeed, there is history to places and their place-names, and the memory work that Celdran performs, in this moment, at least, revivifies for us these linguistic symbols that have long lain dormant, reminding the audience that in these mere words, “you can see Philippine history.” In a way, he briefly presences Philippine history through these two asyndetic acts.

In sum, Celdran’s introduction prepares the tour participants for what is to come. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state, “the introduction is indispensable to the persuasive effect of the discourse. *It assures the preconditions for argument*” (496, emphasis mine). Through his introduction, Celdran has assured the preconditions for his walking tour: that he is a competent, confident and knowledgeable guide, that he knows his audience members enough to make them trust him, and that keeping an open mind is necessary to appreciate a walking tour that is going to be theatrical, idiosyncratic and humorous, even irreverent. In his introduction, Celdran makes explicit the performative nature of his tour: he wears a costume, he refers to visuals on his plastic flip-folder, he uses his voice to forceful and often comic effect, and his body to enact and thereby emphasize a point. Along with introducing the use of props and costumes, Celdran also establishes one of the main figures of presence that he’ll be using throughout the tour: rapid delivery, particularly the figure of asyndeton.

What I find most compelling in these initial moments is how Celdran manages to build communion in so short a time. I suppose this can be attributed to his oratorical ethos, or “the impression which the speaker, by means of his words, gives of himself” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 319). Certainly, the references to shared cultural traits,

the in-jokes, and the easy and comfortable rapport he has with his audience give an impression of Celdran as possessing an intimate knowledge of the Filipino cultural psyche. But I believe something more is at work here. It is not “by means of his words” alone that Celdran achieves communion with his audience. It is achieved largely because of *who* he is, of what we already know of him. He is a fellow Filipino.

In other words, he builds communion for he is not just one with us; he is one *of* us. In trying to understand how communion is facilitated, one must not sever the speech from the speaker, or, in this case, the act from the actor. This underscores the lesson that, like presence, communion can begin with and (as we shall see later) be further strengthened by the speaker’s (or performer’s) embodiment.

Presencing Spanish: “There’s no gold in Las Filipinas. They only have souls.”

After the introduction in the canteen, we all walk further into the compound, past the manicured lawn of the Plaza Moriones, and gather under the pavilion of the Bamboo Garden, a few meters away from the main gate to Fort Santiago. Celdran immediately launches into Legazpi’s first encounter with the Muslim natives of Manila, quickly switches to a discussion of geography and the adobe walls of Intramuros, and eventually dives into the real subject of this part of the tour: the Catholic priests.

CEDLRAN: But also taking a look at the center of Philippine society,
one can truly see who controlled
the Philippines back then.

And to prove to you that the Philippines
was really created more for the pleasure of the Pope
than for that of the King of Spain,
because the truth is to be Filipino, to be Filipino is to be—
(*Shouts toward the direction of the cathedral.*)

CATHOLIC!

To be Filipino is to be Catholic.

It never means to be Spanish,
 even though we were a colony of Spain.
 Because the King of Spain
 considered the Philippines to be too far.
 Now King Carlos IV, he called the Philippines
Las Filipinas Ultra Mar.
 The Philippines at the End of the Sea.
 And remember this was the 16th century.
 You couldn't convince anyone in Europe
 that the earth was round.
 So really in the mind of the king,
 the Philippines would be
 the last point you would hit and then—
(Celdran gasps and makes a plop sound.)
 and then you'd fall off the earth.
 Because the King of Spain said,
 "There's no gold in Las Filipinas. They only have souls."
 They only have souls.

To shout is to emphasize by voice (and, often, gesture) in order for a listener to attend to a particular message. A raised tone sets the message apart from other utterances that come before or after it. In other words, shouting becomes a performative figure of presence. When Celdran shouts "Catholic!" his face turns red from the force he puts into the effort, an effort so strenuous that he needs to pause a few seconds after to catch his breath in order so he can continue. It is a surprising albeit painful moment to witness. And because his shout is directed towards the Manila Cathedral, Celdran underscores this act to be a pointed gesture towards the Catholic priests.

In the following section, Celdran introduces a third character in this power struggle: the Governor General, a representative of the King. Celdran reveals an illustrated profile of one governor general in colonial uniform and declares how he was never here for long but the priests, "[t]hose priests were here forever and ever. Amen."

CELDRAN: So there are stories
 of a Governor General arrested upon arrival.
 A Governor General paraded around

this very plaza with a dunce cap.
 And we all know the very famous story
 of poor Governor General Bustamante.
 An important man sent to the Philippines
 by the King of Spain because Bustamante had an edict
 to redistribute the land of the Catholic Church.
 And when Bustamante arrived at his office
 in Manila City Hall, *Ayuntamiento*,
 poor Bustamante was hauled and tied down the steps
 and stabbed in the eye by a mob of Dominican priests.
 I think the word we would all be looking for here would be—
(Shouts toward the direction of the cathedral.)
 THEOCRACY!
 And theocracy is when your government
 is ruled by religious extremism.
 And you can still see this happening today.
 And should that be done through Islam or the Taliban,
 or Christian fundamentalism in the United States, or—
(Grins mischievously.)
 hehehe sometimes the Catholic Church here—
 Let's just all be very careful when we allow any religion
 to tell our government what to do.
 Because it removes your power of free will.

By shouting “Theocracy!” Celdran uses one word to summarize the actions of the Spanish priests in the past. As supporting evidence, he presents a series of narratives of how the priests treated one governor general after another, culminating in the infamous assassination of Bustamante. These examples help to show presence “by elaboration on a lower level of abstraction” (Leroux 39). More than presencing, these examples (and the vivid detail of the stabbing in the eye complemented by Celdran’s raising an invisible knife and thrusting it towards the audience) elevate the defiance of the priests to outright malice and cruelty.

While not necessarily exemplifying hate speech, Celdran’s shouting of “Catholic,” and “Theocracy” can be seen as speech acts intending to cause injury to the Catholic church. However, as an “injurious speech act,” to use Judith Butler’s words,

Celdran's shouting does not quite hit its mark. The addressee is never present and Celdran's shouting merely reverberates around the unmoving, and unmoved, adobe walls. His only listeners, in the end, are the participants gathered round him, cautioning them against religious extremism of any kind. His shouted utterances make present the almost commanding hold that Catholic priests had over the Filipinos in the past, and by simultaneously directing his shouting towards the Manila Cathedral, Celdran also reminds us of how this control can (and does) continue in the present.

Presencing Americans: "And the Philippines would eventually be made in America's image!"

After a quick introduction to the life of national hero Jose Rizal in the lobby of the Rizal Shrine, we find ourselves gathered on the second floor by the exit. Celdran and his assistants have set up a proscenium stage setting, with plastic chairs arranged in a semi-circle facing the wall of metal plaques of "*Mi Ultimo Adios*" in English, Filipino, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Yugoslavian and French translations, as well as an enlarged depiction of the Spanish manuscript. Two American flags are placed in front, one on each side of the "stage." American big band parade music is blaring from a mobile speaker. The atmosphere is very jovial, even celebratory, as Celdran passes around a bowler hat filled with Choc-nut. When we've all taken our seats (and our chocolates), Celdran begins.

CELDRAN: Ladies and gentlemen, where were we once again?
 We were in the year 1898, thank you very much.
 And 1898 was the year of the Philippine Revolution.
 A revolution brought about by the execution
 of Jose Rizal in the year 1896.
 But as I was telling you earlier, unfortunately,

things did not turn out the way that we wanted,
 because even though we were winning the war,
 tides would turn and fate would play,
 and what would happen was that—
(Slaps his plastic folder.)
 theocracy would leave us
 and democracy would come in.
 And the Philippines would eventually be made—
(Shouts at length.)
 IN AMERICA'S IMAGE!
*(Flips plastic folder to show a photo of a corpulent, smiling Filipina
 wearing a costume made of the American flag and waving
 two American flags.)*
 I love her! Don't you love her?
 I began to love this poor circus girl—
 if not for anything, it's important to celebrate
 alternative body types.
(Audience laughs.)
 But don't feel bad for her even though
 she's dignity-challenged.
 Because please realize that there's no
 terrorist that's holding a gun to her head.
 This Filipina is doing this by her own free will.
 Which shows you how much we loved American culture.
 Even to the point of obsession.

I find it smart and appropriate that Celdran decides to present the American Colonial Period at the exit of the Rizal Shrine. Narratively, this moment in the tour marks the end of the Spanish period. Spatially, it makes sense to conduct this part of the tour at the very space that commemorates the man who incited the Philippine revolution against Spain. It also helps symbolically to have the various translations of *Mi Ultimo Adios* serving as backdrop for this part of the tour, a subtle underscoring of our taking leave of one colonial period and moving into another. Compared to what Celdran was doing in previous stops, where he relied principally on his performance and use of visuals, Celdran here makes the space work to serve his narrative.

Moreover, I find it telling that this passage into a new colonial period has to be accompanied by much musical fanfare and chocolates. The glaring message here is that Filipinos welcome and celebrate the coming of their new colonial masters. Celdran's shouting "In America's image!" is jubilant, not angry at all, devoid of the kind of ire that he kept flinging at the cathedral a while ago. As Celdran says, we loved American culture "even to the point of obsession." But I find that underneath all this celebration runs a sad note. I am haunted by the image of the heavy Filipina girl wearing and waving the American flags. If in order to be Spanish, we had to alter our souls, become Catholic, then in order to be American, it seems that all we had to do was change our appearance, our image. And this change of image had to begin with language.

CELDRAN: Because Spanish was the language
of any Filipino who had an education.
Spanish was the language of Jose Rizal.
Spanish was the language that Filipinos
would use to talk to the world then.
And hey, we have 85 languages in the Philippines,
we needed Spanish to talk to the next town!
And Americans arriving in 1898 were surprised
by all this Spanish in the Philippines. And they said,
"Bizarre! I say, I say, why do Filipinos
wanna start speaking Spanish? Now that we've taken over
Puerto Rico and Cuba, trust me, in a few years,
nobody is gonna be speaking Spanish!"
And now you can't live in California, Florida, Texas,
New York City, or Ohio, unless you speak a little Spanish.
(Audience laughs.)
But back then, they said, "Poor Filipinos!
With the Spanish language, they can only talk to countries
that are poorer than them. Let's do Filipinos a favor,
and let's get rid of this gothic habit they got called Spanish.
And let's teach Filipinos the more enlightened language of English."

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state that the use of imaginary direct speech will
"reveal the intentions ascribed to a person, or what is thought to be the opinion of other

people regarding those intentions” (176). As a figure of speech, imaginary direct speech can be one of the more explicitly performative strategies of creating presence. It takes a certain kind of creativity to utter and act out the imagined words of an absent person or speaker. When Celdran performs his own imaginary speech (“Bizarre! I say, I say...” and “Poor Filipinos! With the Spanish language...”), he imagines an American persona who is loud, aggressive, condescendingly proud of his role as savior of the Spanish-speaking Filipinos. He raises his voice, smirks widely, and wags his finger at the audience, as if scolding a group of schoolchildren. Amusingly, he undercuts this arrogance by inserting that brief commentary about not being able to live nowadays in certain U.S. cities, “unless you speak a little Spanish.”

Imaginary direct speech is put to even greater—and horrific—effect in the next section.

Presencing Tragedy: “Why does it feel like it’s all been erased and replaced...?”

We leave Fort Santiago and walk all the way back to Plaza Moriones, near the entrance and into the theater right next to the Visitors Center. The theater is a dark, narrow room, with a damp, mossy coldness resulting, I suppose, from the air-conditioned air coming in contact with the adobe walls. Facing the very orderly rows of plastic chairs is the stage, with a projection screen in the background, klieg lights at the foot of the stage, and a small, burning candle in the center.

As we find our seats, a big band rendition of “Moonlight Serenade” emanates from hidden speakers. Celdran walks to the stage, welcomes us again, and invites us to pray and remember those who gave their lives in WW2. Celdran’s performance of this

part of his narrative, what he terms “Manila’s definitive historical moment,” has been called by TIME Magazine as “unforgettable” (Fitzpatrick). Celdran’s plentiful use of black-and-white photos, his constant resorting to the figure of imaginary direct speech, his shouting, costumes, and his acting out important scenes, make this part of the tour the most consciously performed. Coupled with the stage setting, the lights, the darkness of the room, the arrangement of the audience, it becomes the most deliberately theatrical.

Already he prepares the audience for the horrors ahead with a short invocation—a prayer for the dead. His manner is somber, even grave, as he asks us to remember the 100,000 civilians who lost their lives in WWII. When he follows this prayer with a photo of the bomb, Celdran underscores the irony of being inside a bomb shelter, and the horrors are made that much closer, that much more present.

A little later, he puts on the trademark hat, dark glasses and pipe to introduce General Douglas MacArthur.

CELDRAN: The General said, “I shall return.”
 But the Allies have said that the General
 didn’t have to return if he didn’t leave, to begin with.
 Because really a lot of American military historians
 truly believe that MacArthur was sleeping on the job,
 on December 8, 1941, and that’s how he lost Manila.
 Cause when was the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
 December 7. Manila was December 8.
 So taking this into consideration, he had almost
 half a day to prepare. Six hours after Pearl Harbor,
 the planes were still on the ground,
 cause there was a false sense of security.
 Apparently, when having breakfast over at Manila Hotel,
 the general said,
(Takes on persona of MacArthur.)
 “Hmph! Believe me, the Japanese will never come
 to the city of Manila. There are far too many Americans here.
 The Japanese just don’t have the balls.”
 Well, six hours later, the Japanese did prove to be
 the grand cojones because they just walked right into Manila.

...

And as we all know, on October 22, 1944,
General Douglas MacArthur finally returned
to the Philippine Islands.

And they say that he returned to Leyte
with a lot of attitude. But unfortunately,
he returned without a plan.

Because the original idea that the US president
and the US congress both told MacArthur to do,
actually they both told him to skip Manila!
They said, "Tactically, there's no point going back
to Manila. Just end the war faster. Go to Formosa.
Go to Japan already." But nope.

MacArthur being such a drama queen
had to fulfill the words of returning to Filipinos.
(Takes on MacArthur's persona, points with pipe.)

"Lest American promises never be taken
seriously in the world again."

And so MacArthur took a sharp turn to the left.
He would arrive in Leyte.

And all the battling bastards of Bataan would say,
"Whoooo! What are you doing here?"

(Audience laughs.)

Cause really, these old men had their doubts about him.

These old men had a nickname for him.

They called him, "Dugout Doug."

Because apparently every time that he would hear
a Japanese airplane fly overhead,
apparently he ran under his bed like a dugout.

(Audience laughs.)

Celdran paints a less than flattering portrait of a man tasked to lead the fight
against the Japanese. In Celdran's narrative, MacArthur was an arrogant and unprepared
leader who miscalculated the Japanese Imperial Army's intent. Calling him "Dugout
Doug" also makes him out to be a coward, unfit to lead men into battle.

Celdran follows this portrait with a story of MacArthur's famous return.

CELDRAN: And just to show you how great an actor he was—
(Projector shows famous photo of MacArthur landing in Leyte.)

All of us are familiar with this photograph
of MacArthur returning, yes?

We're familiar without realizing it had to be taken

thrice. THRICE!
 The first, he comes off the boat—
*(Mimics MacArthur, walking with a swagger,
 then slips and falls down. He gets up.)*
 MacArthur falls into the water, goes back up and says,
 “Photograph me again.”
 And so after changing to dry pants,
 “Photograph me one more time.”
 Whereupon somebody said,
(Mimics an American.)
 “Hey, Douglas, LIFE Magazine is
 sending a photographer tomorrow.”
(As MacArthur.)
 “Oh, LIFE Magazine? You’re kidding...”
 So MacArthur gets everybody from the beach,
 brings them all back again the next day,
 and MacArthur makes everybody repeat everything.
 To have it immortalized perfectly,
 as we see here inside LIFE Magazine.
 Hollywood could not have written it better.
 Cause look, c’mon, it’s a perfect shot.
 Please, for war photography, that’s a
 little bit too perfect. C’mon, here he looks
 like Jesus Christ walking on water.
(Sing-songs the next line.)
 He looks like Jesus Christ walking on water
 to save us poor Jesus-believing Filipinos
 from those non-Jesus-believing Japanese Imperial Army.

In his portrayal, Celdran presents a counter narrative to the more famous one of MacArthur as the valiant returning savior who fulfills his promise to the Filipino natives. Instead, we witness MacArthur as a clumsy, overbearing, photo-hungry personality. Set against the famous photo blown up on the projection screen behind him, Celdran sneers behind the pipe and dark glasses, swaggers to and fro on the stage, slips and falls and gets up sputtering, and strikes a big, smiling pose before an imagined camera flash. Celdran effectively presences a flawed comic hero, all the more horrific for the role MacArthur played in the liberation of Manila.

According to Celdran, when defeat was inevitable, the Japanese emperor ordered all members of the Imperial Army “to take themselves down” and “every soul in Manila with them.”

CELDRAN: And so in just 3 weeks, 67 years ago,
beginning on February 4, 1945 and ending on March 1, 1945,
with their own bare hands and their swords,
cause they wanted to save bullets,
the Imperial Army of Japan walked around Manila
and they massacred 70,000 Filipinos on the streets of Manila.
Which left MacArthur no choice
but to finish the job that he started
and he chose to finish it fast
by simply bombing Manila to stop the Japanese.
And caught between them
were 100,000 civilians.
And that’s the moment in time that Manila took a turn
from which it never recovered.
(Projects a photo.)
And here’s an American tank going through
the gate of Fort Santiago, where you just came from.

There is no doubt that Celdran places the blame on MacArthur for the destruction of Manila. Moreover, the specificity of details (killing “with their own bare hands and their swords cause they wanted to save bullets), the chilling accuracy of dates and numbers (“in just 3 weeks, 67 years ago” and “70,000 Filipinos” and “100,000 civilians”— numerical *figures*), and the photo of the tank barreling through the gate of Fort Santiago, make the horror more vividly present.

CELDRAN: From that moment onward,
just say the word Manila to anybody from abroad
and I swear, the first image that will pop into their minds
ahead of anything else will probably be the image of
General Douglas MacArthur.
Who will associate the word Manila with its architecture,
its people, our multicultural history, the museums, Intramuros?
Why does it feel like it’s all been erased and replaced,
which the sheer contentment of the legacies of the second world war?
And now Filipinos only associate Intramuros,

our walled city of Spanish churches,
 with the atrocities of the Imperial Army.
 And the city of Manila was traumatized by the sight
 of piles and piles and piles of dead bodies.
 Dead bodies that they always piled high.
 Dead bodies that they gave full public view.
 Cause they wanted maximum psychological damage
 on Filipinos, the people that they said
 were beneath them 'cause they're so
 (*Shouts.*)

AMERICAN!

And I'm trying to say, by the massacred inside our own homes,
 they always made sure to get the children first.

(*Projects photos of Manila in ruins,
 dead bodies on the street, tanks, etc.*)

The screaming of the children
 were always followed with a screaming
 right after with a KAMPAI!

We found dead bodies in schoolyards.

We found dead bodies in church altars.

And in a panic, the Imperial Army even went
 to the Philippine General Hospital on Taft Avenue.

They ran to the nursery
 to pick up every baby out of every crib.

Just to throw each one up in the air
 and catch them with their sword.

Manila smelled like rotten flesh
 for 5 years.

Celdran further dramatizes the tragedy of the massacre by projecting images of death and destruction. The words he screams—"massacred," "Kampai," "dead bodies," "rotten flesh"—reverberate in a cacophony of dread and doom. He runs around the stage, wailing his lines, his face contorted, his voice echoing around the dark room. He performs picking up a baby and throwing it into the air and stabbing it with a sword. The figure of presence that is most applicable here is termed *hypotyposis*, "which sets things out in such a way that the matter seems to unfold, and the thing to happen, under our eyes" (*Rhetorica ad Herennium* qtd. in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 167). Celdran's

wrought performance in this moment pushes the audience to experience the horror of the massacre as viscerally present as possible.

Later on, he discusses how America tried to make amends by contributing to Manila's reconstruction, a project which he calls "the cloning of Manila as America." I find "cloning" a very deliberate choice to describe the reconstruction of Manila, as it seems to tie in most appropriately with Celdran's point regarding this period in our history: that Filipinos have been made (and re-made) in America's image. However, in Celdran's narrative, America only attended to the reconstruction of the "secular" and not the "religious" side of Manila, and "without Intramuros, how will Manila recover its soul?" As "clones," therefore, only our body had been restored, not our spirit. Again, it raises the issue that Filipinos are Spanish on the inside and American only on the outside.

In sum, this part of the tour becomes the most "unforgettable" because it is the most "performed." In Celdran's interpretation, the destruction of Manila and the comical ineptitude of General Douglas MacArthur comprise the horrors of WWII. He brings them to the audience's consciousness by engaging a variety of presencing strategies, both verbal and non-verbal. Celdran's use of shouting, imaginary direct speech, gestures, actions, photos, staging, props—his whole performance, in other words—renders these horrors vividly alive, glaringly present, and deeply affecting.

It should also be noted that figures of communion are almost absent in this portion of the tour. Apart from a brief moment of levity near the beginning where Celdran, after asking what promise did MacArthur make to the Filipinos, mock-scolds a member of the audience for answering "I'll be back!" (a reference to *Terminator*), no other attempt at forging communion with the audience is ever made. Perhaps in order to absorb the death

and devastation depicted in the narrative and focus more on his performance, Celdran thought it best to remove any sense of solidarity with his audience, to break the bonds of communion as Manila herself is broken and brought to her knees.

Presencing Hybridity: "...you have Malay skin, you have Chinese eyes, you spoke in Spanish, while deep in your heart, you just wanted to be an American."

There are four moments in the tour where Celdran explicitly calls attention to the theme of hybridity. Occurring in the last thirty minutes of the tour, these moments act as final, summarizing statements on the multiple, variegated influences of the Filipino identity. The first is when Celdran compares the Filipino with the San Agustin Church, the penultimate stop of the tour, right before the Plaza San Luis Complex. Celdran points to the structure's Mexican building process, the Italian *trompe l'oeil*, the Spanish rococo wooden doors and stone Chinese lions guarding the entrance, and says that taken together, they serve as an apt metaphor for the Filipino hybrid identity. He further expounds.

CELDRAN: What's so great about being Filipino?
 There's nothing unique or real about being Filipino.
 Our soul has been sewed on.
 And I really believe that this lack of cultural originality
 makes Filipinos completely original...
 And most importantly, Filipinos are a diaspora.
 Meaning that we have Filipinos everywhere.
 See, like the Jews, the Irish, the Armenians,
 the Chinese, the Indians,
 you have Filipinos all over the world.
 Taking in their international experience,
 they can be like Jose Rizal...
 But if you're going to choose to be Filipino,
 then you have to be a mix and match of all the best values in the world.
 To be Filipino is to truly be a halo-halo...
 But then again, it would be impossible to explain to you

how the Filipino is like the halo-halo,
 until we all have one.
 So ladies and gentlemen, let's end the tour today
 with a halo-halo for everyone!

The second moment occurs when he invites the participants to enjoy *halo-halo* at the final stop of the tour in the Plaza San Luis Complex. While listening to Celdran's narrative of the Chinese influence in the Philippines, we all take spoonfuls of the cold, sweet dessert, grateful for the treat. Literally translated as "mix-mix," *halo-halo* is a close cousin of Malaysia's shaved ice *kacang*. But where the *kacang* is comprised of only five ingredients, the *halo-halo* can often burst to the brim with twelve ingredients, sometimes including ice cream, slivers of jackfruit, and rice crispies. As representing Filipino hybridity, the *halo-halo* becomes a colorful, albeit exaggerated, representation of the Filipino's various foreign influences. That one is ingesting it, incorporating it into your own body, makes it a powerful, visceral metaphor.

The third moment takes place when he shows an old sepia-colored family photo, right after his speech on the Chinese presence in the Philippines, while we're all still enjoying our *halo-halo*.

CELDRAN: As Manila's people looked as mixed up as this—
 (*Shows a photo of a family in their living room.*)
 And here is a wonderful photograph
 of a typical Manila family from the late 19th century,
 from Manila's *ilustrados*, the educated classes,
 the enlightened ones.
 And the anthropologist who took a photo of this family,
 put a classification underneath so we'd know who they are.
 And look, this one is very interesting, cause it says,
 "Una familia mestiza Espanola."
 A Spanish mestizo family.
 Spanish! Who looks Spanish in the picture?
 (*Audience laughs.*)
 Who looks Spanish in the picture?
 And they're not entirely Chinese!

Take a look at that dude.
 Is that Spanish big brother?
 Chinese big brother?
 Pinoy big brother?
 Wow! It's a halo-halo. Check them all out.
 As you can clearly see, this is a portrait
 of a family in fierce genetic denial.
(Audience laughs.)
 Cause the only thing that looks Spanish
 in this picture is the chair.
(Audience laughs.)
 Which only proves to you that
 to be Spanish in the Philippines
 has always been inside and never out.
 To be Spanish here has been faith, never fact.

As the final image displayed, this one family photo manages to encompass the main theme of hybridity, as it has been expounded on throughout the tour. Indeed, to be Spanish in the Philippines, as Celdran says, "has always been inside and never out." This holds true even for the Chinese citizens in the country to whom this photo refers. Looking at the faces of these family members, I can see strong Malay and Chinese features and very little Spanish, and yet they are presented as a typical "Spanish mestizo family." The gaze of these family members as they look fixedly towards us appears oddly defiant, as they seem to silently challenge us to question their claim.

The final moment when hybridity is explicitly presented happens in the last two minutes of the tour.

CELDRAN: Cause we've never had enough Spaniards here to make us mestizo, the way it happened in Latin America. Simply because we have more Spanish in Manila right now than if we combine them throughout the entire 19th century. And among the few Spanish people here, there were no Spanish women. Cause really if you were a Spanish woman, would you be stupid enough to board a boat with 300 Spanish sailors, and cross the Pacific Ocean

for 7 months? Girl, (*snaps fingers*) bad idea!
 And without the women willing to take the trip here,
 there was no genetic maternal line.
 And a lot of the significant Spanish mestizo genetic
 contributions left behind in the Philippine islands
 were of course left behind by men
 who were not supposed to leave behind a significant
 Spanish mestizo genetic contribution in the Philippine islands.

(*Audience laughs.*)

Like my great, great grandfather, Friar Fabella—
 who's not supposed to be my great, great grandfather,
 if you wanna get technical—but we're at the ultra mar,
 who's watching?

(*Audience laughs.*)

But that also proves to you because of all the mingling
 of...culture, religion, events, and chromosomes,
 because of Manila's rich history as the gateway
 between the east and west, by the 20th century,
 Manila became Asia's first truly multicultural society.
 Manila became the only city in the Far East where
 you could own a ... bazaar that sold Italian jewelry,
 you have Malay skin, you have Chinese eyes,
 you spoke in Spanish, while deep in your heart,
 you just wanted to be an American.

(*Audience laughs.*)

The Filipino has truly and successfully become
 What we call—

AUDIENCE: Halo-halo!

CELDRAN: And with that, ladies and gentlemen,
 we end today's journey.

(*Audience applauds.*)

And fellow Filipinos,
 please use what you've learned
 to finally improve the reputation
 of our capital city.

Cause I really do believe,
 fellow Filipinos, that if we're gonna start
 changing the way Manila looks,
 then we have to first start changing
 the way we look at Manila.

When Celdran slips in the information regarding his genetic lineage (“Like my
 great, great grandfather, Friar Fabella...”), hybridity is marked as an embodied presence.

What becomes apparent with this revelation is that Celdran, like many Filipinos today, is

a product of multiple legacies. When he brings up his great great grandfather, he makes this fact present to all the participants, particularly relevant to the several hybrid Filipinos attending that day, including me. By claiming his mixed heritage, he confronts us with our own embodied hybridity. This makes clear that hybridity is presented not just through the props and costumes of the performance but in the *body* of the performer, as well. In other words, the theme of the tour is embodied in the tour guide himself.

The San Agustin Church, halo-halo, family photo, and body of the performer. Used near the end of the tour, they serve as synthesizing metaphors that embody the different foreign influences narrated throughout the tour.

Performing Presence/Presencing Performance

At the very least, Celdran's tour "brings people back to that very space, where they can still hope for Manila" ("Pushing history"), if only in their minds. To revise how one sees a place is a colossal task, especially if the reality of the place stubbornly resists this revision. After all, we are surrounded by ruins during the tour, and when the tour ends, Manila's problems remain. Yet in those few hours as we listen to Celdran's narrative and watch his performance, we get a glimpse of what could be while experiencing what once was, and so we return to the chaos and cacophony of Manila a little more hopeful, a little more empowered. As one tour participant has said, the *If These Walls Could Talk* tour "has given me a different perspective on our rich and humble beginnings as a nation and I will definitely use this to enrich my passion for being a Filipino. This may be a simple walking tour for some, but with an open heart and mind, this tour can really be a lot more" (Field Notes). Similar to how Phaedrus helped Socrates

see the country outside the city's walls in a new light, Celdran has led his participants to revise their perceptions of Manila.

As I have attempted to illustrate in this chapter, this change in perception is achieved not necessarily through an explicit discussion of our immediate surroundings—a common strategy used by IA's tour guides—but largely through Celdran's mediation, his public memory work that employs narrative and performance. Through the stories, anecdotes and little-known historical facts, Celdran's narrative makes present the Filipinos' multicultural past and hybrid character. He makes this narrative come alive through a dynamic performance that makes ample use of props, costumes, gestures, movement, action, music, lighting and setting, but more importantly, his use of rapid delivery, shouting, and imaginary direct speech. As memory work, therefore, Celdran's narrative and performance takes us out of our immediate surroundings to a space of imagination and possibility.

As cultural performance, Celdran's tour privileges the body not just as a "site of knowing" (180), to use Conquergood's phrase, but more importantly for rhetorical scholars, as a *site of presencing*. Shouting, rapid delivery and imaginary direct speech are only some of the many possible figures of presence that one can trace and use as units of analysis when examining cultural performances. Chris Holcomb, for example, argues for figures to be considered as cultural forms that serve performative ends, "how they are rituals of language that structure and organize social experience, while shaping and managing relationships between speaker and listener, or writer and reader" (76).²⁸

²⁸ Holcomb's article traces the figures of tricolon and anaphora in the performance of Stephen Colbert in an episode of *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. At one point, Holcomb claims that figures are also "vehicles for performance," offering "structures for

Understood in this manner, presence then becomes not just a quality discerned in discourse but a way of *doing* discourse; presence not as noun but as verb. In Celdran's tour, the tour guide performs figures of presence for greater memorability.

Moreover, this chapter reminds us of the importance of doing rhetorical research at the ground level, going out to the places and spaces where rhetoric *happens*. Participant-observation immerses us in the myriad and messy ways of how rhetoric operates in the world, moving us from “the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials (such as texts, documents, buildings, or bones) [to] the so-called ephemeral *repertoires* of embodied practice/knowledge (such as spoken language, dance, sports, or ritual)” (Taylor 19). Much like the photos, images, objects and diorama figures that we encountered in the previous chapter, the body—and how we conduct the body with and among other bodies and with the materiality of the space around it—is also very much part of our repertoire of presencing.

Ultimately, what becomes clear in Celdran's tour is that presence in performance is an embodied experience. Presence, when encountered in written discourse, is discerned in the mind; when encountered in performance, presence is felt in the body. Presence is palpable, sensuous and immediate. The jolt of an abrupt shout, the communal laughter of fellow travelers, the knobby smoothness of stone lions, the icky softness of damp tunnel walls, the *clickety-clack* of your horse's hoofs down cobble-stoned streets, the smell of burning candles inside an old, musty church, the feel of a cold glass of halo-halo round your fingers and the taste of icy sweet preserved fruits sliding down your throat after a long walk—when these sensuous encounters in a walking tour bring to consciousness lost

organizing and presenting other performative elements such as pacing, intonation, and even gesture” (74).

memories, presence becomes not just a tool of the performer but a shared experience amongst members. Presence extends to co-presence.

Chapter 4

Overpresence, Network Presence, and E-Merging Memories:

The Cyberspaces of Intramuros

“Memory has been wholly absorbed by its meticulous reconstitution.”

Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History*

“Thus the coming to presence of technology harbors in itself what we least suspect, the possible arising of the saving power.”

Martin Heidegger, “The Question Concerning Technology”

“...remember that hypertext is the foundation of the Web and that no site is an island.”

Jakob Nielsen, *Designing Web Usability*

Mikhail Camacho, Information Officer and current Officer-in-Charge of Intramuros Visitors Center, raises a troubling concern regarding the official Intramuros website. He says:

It conveys to the point that it overwhelms the guest or the visitor of the website because you see everything...and the way how the website is made, it makes you feel like you've visited the place. And that should not happen. That should not be the case with the website. The website should

be enticing you, not bringing you there. *Kasi* (Because) if the website brings you there, what's the point of going to the place itself? (Camacho)

Camacho, with an exasperated smirk, likens the website to an online encyclopedia and shares his experience of the 360 tour of a Mayan temple on the digital Encarta Encyclopedia, saying, "Ah, ok, *ito pala yun* (this is how it is). No need to go."

Camacho's comments about the Intramuros website capture the fundamental paradoxes associated with conducting memory work in the virtual realm of the World Wide Web, the myriad tensions of inhabiting physical places versus digital spaces, and one's movement or traveling back and forth between the two. To the questions of materiality, embodiment, experience and memory—which I have been examining throughout this dissertation—I now add the question of virtuality. In previous chapters, I have examined the work of presencing memory in the real, physical spaces of Intramuros. This chapter explores how presence is achieved in Intramuros' cyberspaces. I ask: If presence implies materiality and embodiment, what does it mean to achieve presence in the virtual? Aren't presence and virtuality, in essence, antithetical? To put it another way, if cultural memory is made concrete in physical spaces (such as museums) or performed in ritual (such as walking tours), how does one construct cultural memory in a space that is inherently ephemeral? In short, how might we think of cultural memory as being *presenced* in a space of bits and bytes?

To address these questions, I begin the chapter with my trepidation at performing memory work in the digital era, and looking at its paradox and promise. Next, I do a quick survey of how presence is currently thought of in the field of digital and new media studies. Then bringing together concepts from N. Katherine Hayles and Lev Manovich, I

propose how Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's concept of presence could be reconceived for digital studies. I then proceed by examining the techniques of presentation in official and unofficial cyberspaces of Intramuros, including: the official Intramuros website, designed by an independent web design firm, as commissioned by IA; an Intramuros Facebook page recently initiated by young members of IA; and a weblog dedicated to Intramuros, founded and maintained by a young blogger-entrepreneur. I suggest that IA's official website suffers from what I'm calling *overpresence*, that is, an *over-*overestimation of rhetorical effects, which results in rejection. Using ideas appropriated from social network theory, I therefore argue for a practice of digital memory work exemplified by the other two spaces, a practice that invites and encourages participation, where individuals share memories of a common heritage site online. In the realm of the World Wide Web, overpresence must give way to what I'd like to call *network presence*.

The Paradox and Promise of Digital Memory

What does it mean to remember online? Before I can begin to address this chapter's overall question, I must first admit that I am a little anxious approaching this subject of the virtual, as I often am by moments that touch on anything remotely technological. My relationship with the internet has never been sanguine. Even now, I cringe remembering those times past when, at an inadvertent click of a key, I would erase whole paragraphs (if not entire files), or misplace links to important web pages, or crash a computer and lose hours of written work down the digital drain. This is the danger of ephemera. I share this anxiety with Derrida when he observes that "the figure of the text 'processed' on a computer is like a phantom to the extent that it is less bodily, more

‘spiritual,’ more ethereal. There is something like a disincarnation of the text in this” (30). Long gone are the days of conducting memory work on Plato’s wax tablet; today’s tablets are more fluid, discontinuous, transitory—and easily discarded for the latest model. Yet as we all know, phantoms wreak havoc, leave traces, and continue haunting for quite some time. Phantoms have presence.

Reading Heidegger’s seminal essay “The Question Concerning Technology,” I also recognize that the internet can pose a danger of “enframing” or “concealment,” where we, as users, are reduced to mere “standing-reserves” for capital and profit. (One can only think of how industries have penetrated YouTube and Facebook, sites that were once free of corporate presence and savvy marketing ploys.) Lynne Worsham, echoing Heidegger, finds technology to be indeed an insidious force in the world. She writes:

Science and technology have developed as ways to make existence more secure. But ironically the rule of technology has made us homeless and alienated and threatens us with perpetual alienation and homelessness, with never being truly at home in the world. As long as we seize technology as an instrument, as a means to an end, we remain held fast in the will to master technology itself and thus are held fast in the will to will. The will to mastery thus feeds itself, and as technological thinking hides its own revealing power and increasingly gets everything in hand, power is sought simply for its own sake. (Worsham 81)

The internet certainly threatens with “perpetual alienation and homelessness.” Nowadays we seek security paradoxically in virtual communities and face-to-interface interactions. More and more, we find solace in real-time chat, a certain measure of assurance in

intermittent tweets, pleasure in online multi-player gaming, and contentment in being digitally represented by a plethora of mutable avatars. The internet, in turn, has “disincarnated” us, making phantoms of us all.

Yet, though ephemeral and threatening ephemera, the internet, practically since its inception, has yielded an astounding multitude of memory work, which promises to continue long into this century. The World Wide Web, in fact, “developed as a consequence of scientists at the CERN in Geneva who felt the need to share a communal memory and to share individual memories” (Casalegno 125). (The original program called Enquire, created by Tim Berners-Lee, was referred to as a “memory substitute.”) From digital scrapbooks, fan sites, blogging and message boards, to digital archives, virtual museums and web memorials—we are awash in memories online. This should be hardly surprising as “the major characteristic of digital media is memory. Its ontology is defined by memory, from content to purpose, from hardware to software, from CD-ROMS to memory sticks, from RAM to ROM...Memory allegedly makes digital media an ever-increasing archive in which no piece of data is lost” (Chun 154). Compared to the physical spaces of regular memory sites, i.e. museums and walking tours, the internet poses great possibilities in terms of expanding current memory practices through “representational diversity, collective authorship, and interactivity” (Haskins 405).

Concomitant to this explosion of memory-making online is the growth of research and critical inquiries into such phenomenon by scholars from the fields of communication, new media and rhetoric. As one scholar says, we would be “remiss not to consider the increasing importance of new media in shaping our contemporary remembrance culture” (Haskins 401). This expanding state of affairs gives potency to

Pierre Nora's claim that we are now in the midst of a new consciousness, "the terrorism of historicized memory" (13).

Aside from the obvious problem of information overload, the common worry that comes with this glut of online memory work is the undue burden it places on the act of forgetting. As Manovich says, "in a computer, once a file is created, it never disappears except when explicitly deleted by the user. And even then deleted items can usually be recovered. Thus, if in "meatspace" we have to work to remember, *in cyberspace we have to work to forget*" (63, emphasis mine). Because no piece of data is ever lost, forgetting becomes more difficult and therefore highly valued. Mayer-Schönberger goes so far as to argue that in this digital age forgetting is a virtue, saying that comprehensive digital memory "undermines the important role forgetting performs, and thus threatens us individually and as a society in our capacity to learn, to reason, and to act in time" (197-98). Losing our capacity to forget, in Mayer-Schönberger's view, diminishes our humanity.

This may be true in Western and First World nations but in the Philippine cyberspace landscape, the situation isn't quite so dire, at least for now. As a developing nation, the Philippines has yet to experience this overabundance of memory work online, or online work of any kind, for that matter. According to AGB Nielsen, only 33% or roughly 30 million out of a population of 104 million, access the internet. This number is five percentage points below the Southeast Asian regional average of 38%. A study released by global media agency Universal McCann entitled "Power To The People - Social Media Tracker Wave3" in March 2008 reported that the Philippines has only 3.7 million active internet users. According to the U.S.-based Gallup poll in January 2013,

79% of Filipinos reported having no internet access at home. This survey is consistent with a United Nations report in September 2012, which claimed that 71% of Filipinos had no access to internet through any means (“State of Broadband 2012”). Though no accurate statistics exist, one can only reasonably assume that very few of those who do access the internet perform work online that can even be remotely referred to as memory work. The few that do perform this work though continue to struggle and deal with limited internet access, a lack of effective digital design knowledge, and a poor but improving digital infrastructure. In short, unlike other more advanced nations, the Philippines is still working hard to form a thriving remembrance culture online.

Returning to my question that began this section, then, what does it mean to remember online? To remember online means to be aware of both the promise and paradox inherent in virtual technology. To remember online promises that a great multitude of memories can be recorded, owing to the technology’s limitless storage capacity. It also means incorporating a diversity of accounts of a particular past, bringing to voice other narratives that may otherwise be suppressed. And because remembering online is interactive, memory is kept alive, as vernacular accounts of remembering can be put into conversation with “official” memory.

However, the promise of remembering online needs to be infused with its paradox: its ephemeral quality. Text is “disincarnated,” web pages are here today, gone tomorrow, blogs and avatars mutate, and links can lead to dead ends. The ghost in the machine *is* the machine. The paradox of digital memory lies in how memory, an abstract in need of concretization, can be represented in a medium that is itself virtual, fluid, amorphous, protean, even unfettered. Where is the internet? It is online, true, but it is

both everywhere and nowhere. As Manovich observes: “The space of the Web, in principle, cannot be thought of as a coherent totality: It is, rather, a collection of numerous files, hyperlinked but without any overall perspective to unite them” (257). Or, as he puts it more succinctly, “there is no space in cyberspace” (Manovich 253). In a way, this placelessness of the internet is the paradox that complicates the idea of presence in cyberspace.

How then might we think of giving presence to memory on the World Wide Web?

Presence in/and Virtuality

In digital and new media studies, presence has come to take on a multiplicity of meanings. It has come to be referred to as focus or selective attention, involvement and immersion, especially when applied to virtual environments or VE, such as those experienced in video game play; as voice, particularly to how it is tied to power and authenticity in the many-voiced hypertexts of internet discourse; as ethos, or character, as can be gleaned in corporations’ websites and the products they promote; and as the natural perception of an environment as opposed to “telepresence,” which is the mediated perception of an environment, as often encountered in virtual reality (Witmer and Singer, Mitra and Watts, Hunt, and Steuer, respectively).

Yet despite the centrality of presence in these fields, it has not yet been carefully studied; the work that has been done is “fragmentary and unsystematic,” partly because “the people interested in presence come from many different academic fields,” and partly because “research conducted for or by private industry and government has typically remained proprietary” (Lombard and Ditton).

Rhetoric studies has only recently started looking into sharpening Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's concept of presence and applying it to various artifacts, but no rhetoric scholar, as of yet, has looked into extending *The New Rhetoric's* concept of presence to virtual media. I believe this is largely due to how difficult it is to imagine presence in virtuality because the very materiality of virtuality has been put into question. Presence, as I've been demonstrating throughout this dissertation, entails materiality and embodiment, but how is ephemera *material*? Aren't virtuality and materiality mutually incompatible? And yet, "what is surprising is not that digital media fades but rather that it stays at all and that *we stay transfixed by our screens* as its ephemerality endures" (Chun 171, emphasis mine). Ephemera *can* call attention. Ephemera *can* be perceived. And what can be perceived has the potential to be made present. In order for Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's notion of presence to resonate in new media and digital studies, we have to think in codes. To do this, I turn to two authors and their works, published only two years apart from each other.

N. Katherine Hayles, in her impressively astute work, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics*, sees a postmodern pressure towards dematerialization, which she defines as "an epistemic shift toward pattern/randomness and away from presence/absence" (29). According to Hayles: "*Pattern tends to overwhelm presence*, leading to a construction of immateriality that depends not on spirituality or even consciousness but only on information" (35, emphasis hers). Information matters greatly now because it has been wrested from materiality. Because we perceive information "as more mobile, more important, more *essential* than material forms" (Hayles 19, emphasis hers), we have entered the condition of virtuality.

And yet, Hayles is aware that the dialectic of presence/absence (associated with matter) can never be superseded by the dialectic of pattern/randomness (associated with information). Information, after all, still needs to be instantiated in material constructs. Materiality, and therefore presence, in other words, has to be understood differently within the virtual realm. The posthuman condition in which most of us live now is a world where money and airline tickets do not exchange hands any more but rather are represented as, in Hayles' term, "flickering signifiers" on digital screens, where they are easily created, transformed and distributed at the click of a key. According to Hayles, "the signifier can no longer be understood as a single marker, for example an ink mark on a page. Rather it exists as a flexible chain of markers bound together by the arbitrary relations specified by the relevant codes" (31). To understand how materiality works in virtuality, we have to pay attention to these flickering signifiers that embody these codes of information. As Hayles wisely observes: "Information, like humanity, cannot exist apart from the embodiment that brings it into being as a material entity in the world; and embodiment is always instantiated, local, and specific" (49).

Two years later, Lev Manovich, in his landmark *The Language of New Media*, examines the materiality of computer-mediated technology, that is, the computer's interfaces and operations, its tools and databases, and how these influence production, distribution, and reception of information. He proposes five principles that characterize computer-mediated technology: *numerical representation*, which means that all information is represented in 0-1 digital code; *modularity*, meaning computer media elements, that is, text, images, sounds, are represented as "collections of discrete samples (pixels, polygons, voxels, characters, scripts)"; *automation*, or the removal of human

intentionality in the digital process; *variability*, meaning media elements are never fixed and they can “exist in different, potentially infinite versions; and *transcoding*, or the translation of something into another format, where “the computer layer and the culture layer influence each other” to create “a new computer culture—a blend of human and computer meanings” (Manovich 27-46).

The last three principles are a consequence of the first two, numerical representation and modularity. Because media elements are represented in binary codes and these codes are instantiated in modular, discrete media elements, new media is given its materiality. Pixels, lines, images, sounds, texts, frames—each represented in numerical codes—all of these can be created, changed, and combined to form what Manovich calls *new media objects*. In iMovie, for example, various elements, i.e. frame, photo, music, voiceover, SFX, subtitles, can be combined to create a personalized film, yet each element of the whole can exist independently of each other, easily manipulated or copied and transferred to different sources, different media. The World Wide Web, Manovich observes, is in fact a very material entity, composed of individual websites and pages, each of which are, in turn, composed of new media objects that can be independently altered.

Most importantly, Manovich notes that these new media objects resonate or have consequence in the “real” world:

New media objects are cultural objects; thus, any new media object—whether a Web site, computer game, or digital image—can be said to represent, as well as help construct, some outside referent: a physically existing object, historical information presented in other documents, a

system of categories currently employed by culture as a whole or by particular social groups. (15)

Taking Hayles and Manovich together now, we can begin to reconceptualize what it means when we speak of materiality in virtuality. Far from being “disincarnated” and filled with mere ephemera, the internet *contains* matter; in fact, it *is* matter. To think of materiality in virtuality is to revise our understanding of the internet as a conduit of information and embrace the idea that the internet *is* information, information that is embodied in flickering signifiers and media objects that have real representation and consequence in the physical world. Appropriating Hayles, materiality is not merely an inert collection of physical properties but a dynamic quality that *emerges* from the interplay between media objects as tangible artifacts, their conceptual content, and the interpretive experiences of its users (“Print is Flat, Code is Deep” 72).

For the purposes of this chapter then, I would argue that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s presence comes forth from this “dynamic interplay” of which Hayles speaks. To examine the presence of Intramuros memory in the cyberspaces of the internet is to study the interpenetration of Manovich’s computer and culture layers, the point where they’re at their thickest. As a quality of overestimation, presence can be seen as the thickening of Intramuros memory and the people who construct them (the culture layer) and the new media objects in Intramuros’ cyberspaces (the computer culture). My task in this chapter, therefore, is to examine the various encoded new media objects—the flickering signifiers—of these cyberspaces and understand how they’re being used to convey presence, that is, how they collude in order to fill a potential audience’s consciousness. I turn now to these spaces.

The Official IA Intramuros Website

As an institution of public memory, the Intramuros Administration has been slow to embrace the World Wide Web. When the Information Technology and Electronic Commerce Council (ITECC) was created in 2000, part of its directives under their Government Information Systems Plan (GISP) was to ensure that local government agencies begin to harness the capacities of information technology and to build their online presence (“Executive Order 264”). It was only in 2009, under the then-IA Administrator Bambi Harper, that plans to create a website for Intramuros were initially discussed inside the organization.

The current website was commissioned under IA Administrator Jose Capistrano to a local web design firm called Mite Asia Enterprise. One of the main objectives given to the design team was to “develop an interactive, dynamic website with a distinct baroque and colonial theme for the design and layout” (“Contract of Services”). Following several meetings where web designs were presented and approved, the official website was up and running in late 2011.

Many first-time visitors to the website see it as colorful and attractive. Throughout the site, its dark red and rust-brown and yellow orange hues combine with the sepia and black-and-white photographs to convey warmth and old-world authenticity. The website’s main page is divided into four frames: one horizontal frame on top and, underneath it, three vertical frames. The top frame, the banner, contains a sepia photo of a horse carriage, and, on the rightmost, the name “Intramuros” in dark, gothic script, and

“The Walled City” in plain sans serif font underneath. Running at the bottom of this banner are the following link topics: “Home,” “Historical Past,” “Experience Intramuros,” “Trivias,” “What to do,” “Shop! Play! Dine!”, “This Month!”, “About Us,” and “Feedback.”

The leftmost vertical frame contains two boxed sections. The top box is titled “User Menu” and the links repeat the topics from the banner above. The bottom box is titled “Resources” and offers the following link topics which are administrative and institutional in nature: “Book Your Event,” “Entrance Rates,” “Publications for sale,” “Dedication of the Bamboo Garden,” “Bidding,” “Landmark Projects,” “Partner Sites,” and “Monthly Gaceta.”

The rightmost vertical frame repeats some of the link topics from the banner, as well, including, “Historical Past,” “Experience Intramuros,” “What to do,” “Trivia,” and “This Week.” However, each of these topics are complemented by a short text and a photo which blows up and occupies the middle vertical frame when a visitor moves the cursor to the link. “Historical Past” has a black-and-white photo of a *carabao* or water buffalo in front of the Fort Santiago gate; “Experience Intramuros” has a colored photo of a couple in wedding attire next to a *caritela* or horse-driven carriage and the text: “Experience Life in Intramuros Today! Watch as we celebrate a new kind of vigor in the historic Intramuros”; “What to do” has a colored photo of a group of girl scouts walking on an unidentified area of Intramuros and the text: “So what can we do at Intramuros? Well find out and join us”; “Trivia” has a sepia-toned photo of the Fort Santiago gate and the text: “METRICS QUICK FACTS”; and “This Week” has a colorful postcard with a

picture of three gowns and the text: “An Exhibit opening of First Ladies’ Gowns at Almacenes Reales, Fort Santiago, Intramuros.”

The Official Facebook Page of the Intramuros Administration

In the middle of 2012, Mikhail Camacho recognized the need for another internet presence for Intramuros as the official website kept going down. A malware virus had infected the website, rendering it inaccessible often for weeks on end. Because of this issue, Camacho and other young members in IA decided to put up a Facebook page for Intramuros “to complement the website” and act as an easy access site for basic inquiries (Camacho). Jamie Ouano, an architect by schooling and the youngest member of the Urban Planning and Development division of IA, also understands the need for a Facebook page for Intramuros because, in her words, “people check Facebook, 8 million a day,” and, together with Camacho, pushed and advocated within the organization to develop the page. By July 2012, Intramuros on Facebook had been inaugurated.

The banner consists of an aerial view of Intramuros, showing the Hispanic red-tiled roofs of the main buildings, and the green IA logo on the lower left. Underneath this banner is the phrase identifying the page as one by a “Government Organization,” and underneath this is the text: “Welcome to the Official Facebook Page of the Intramuros Administration (IA). This page will be an extension of the Intramuros Visitors Center as part of IA’s frontline services” (“Facebook Intramuros”).

From the outset, Camacho and Ouano were determined to create a space that would be a corrective to what they perceived as the shortcomings of the official website. They wanted a space that won’t overwhelm visitors and that will just “entice” them to

visit Intramuros (Camacho), one that didn't hold too much information and that wasn't "text heavy" (Ouano). The Intramuros Facebook page, with its abundance of white space and scroll-down usability, proves ideal for what Camacho and Ouano intended. Entries are divided into pre-event and post-event information, and these are quite straightforward, made up of short advisories and announcements of events and their schedules. These texts are usually accompanied by flyers or posters announcing the events or photos taken after the events. Some of the more significant events, based on the number of photos posted, include the *Pasyal-Aral sa Intramuros*, "a free children's educational tour program for public school elementary and high school students" (84 photos); the Philippine Travel Mart 2012 (43 photos); and the *pIntramuros*, an art exhibit by the Intramuros Visual Artists of the Philippines (21 photos). Also, an embedded video clip highlights the recent visit of the Canadian Prime Minister and his wife.

The Unofficial intramurosmanila.asia Blog

As part of a class on entrepreneurship and social media, young blogger-entrepreneur Mark Joseph Delgado created and launched the blog in late 2011. Similar to the Intramuros Facebook page, the blog is dominated by white space, with scroll-down entries containing reflections of his visits, photos and announcements of events, and helpful hints and tips to potential tourists. The banner includes a black and white photograph of the front facade (tympanum) of the cathedral, bearing a notable Latin inscription which reads: *Tibi cordi tuo immaculato concredimus nos ac consecramus*. (In English: We consecrate to your immaculate heart and entrust to you [Mary] for safekeeping.) On the lower right-hand corner of this photo is a silhouette of the main gate

of Fort Santiago against a pink-and-orange hue that signifies the Manila Bay sunset. Running underneath this banner are the following link topics: “Blog,” “About,” “Advertisers,” “Bloggers,” “Privacy Policy,” “Tour Guide [written in Chinese characters],” and “Certified”. Running vertically on the right-hand side of the blog is a bullet-point list of category searches that help with navigation. These include: “Carlos Celdran,” “Exhibits and Announcements,” “Food Tripping in Intramuros,” “Tour Guide,” “Weddings in Intramuros,” among others.

More popular than the two official Intramuros sites above, garnering a total of 162 “likes” and hitting an all-time high of 1,539 pageviews in one week, Delgado’s blog has become, according to Camacho himself, “the unofficial Intramuros page.”

Overpresence, Networked Presence, and E-Merging Memories

According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, presence is based on the idea that “the thing on which the eye dwells, that which is best or most often seen is, by that very circumstance, overestimated.” The nature of presence then begins as a perceptual quality, the effect of which is “to [fill] the whole field of consciousness,” and what is “at first a psychological phenomenon, becomes an essential element in argumentation” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 116-18). For the eye to dwell, the thing seen must come forth into consciousness. But what if the thing seen *overflows*? Looking at the official Intramuros website and its media objects would help explain what I mean.

The apparently simple instrumentality of its main page, for example, hides the abundance of information contained within its repeating links. Navigating the website from this main page, I click on “Historical Past” on the left vertical frame and the

following links appear: “Historical Sites,” “Monuments and Plazas,” “Ruins,” “Buildings,” “Videos of the Past,” and “Baluarte.” Clicking on “Historical Sites,” I am brought to another page with a spread of eleven sepia photographs of *Fort Santiago*, *Puerta del Parian and Ravellin del Parian*, *Baluartillo de San Jose and Reducto de San Pedro*, *Baluarte de San Diego*, *Baluarte de San Gabriel*, *Puerta de Sta. Lucia*, *Puerta Real and Develin de Real del Bagumbayan*, *Postigo del Palacio*, *Baluarte de San Andres*, *Baluarte de San Francisco de Dilao*, and *Puerta de Isabel II*. Clicking on any of these photos takes me to a fairly detailed description of that site’s history and significance.

Apart from texts and photos, a map is contained in one of its pages. This “Intramuros Walkthrough” (via the link “Experience Intramuros”) shows an aerial three-dimensional view of Intramuros, with clickable numbered circles over important sites. (There are 27 numbered circles in all.) Clicking on Number 1 (Fort Santiago), for example, takes me to the same sepia photograph and text found in *Fort Santiago* under “Historical Sites.” Many of the gates or *puertas* and their corresponding texts are repeated in the “Trivia” link. Apparently, the same information contained in the historical links on the web site is again encountered on other pages.

As Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca state, one of the simplest ways of creating presence is by repetition (144). But repeat something too much and it grates the senses. Too much repetition breeds cliché. I suggest that the Intramuros website exudes too much presence, a quality of *over-overestimation*, what I’m calling *overpresence*. I define overpresence as an excessive overestimation that not only fills the whole field of consciousness but overwhelms it, resulting not in an “adherence of minds” but in the rejection of argument. If presence entails the selection of elements (*The New Rhetoric*’s

term is *data*) in order to begin to forward a rhetorical argument, overpresence is selection of any and/or all elements. In a way, overpresence makes no selection because it is either too inclusive or the choices made are neutral, even innocuous; there is no stand or position and a presentation of all available data is no presentation at all. We must keep in mind that presence begins with choice. As Fahnestock stresses, “among the spectrum of choices for a concept, there are no neutral choices” (35). If, according to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, “all argumentation is selective,” then the official Intramuros website fails to persuade for it has made no selection. Visitors to the website have commented that “there is too much going on,” that the site is “too packed” or “too crowded,” and “I’m lost.” Overpresence—because all the information is already there on the Intramuros website—has the potential to dissuade interested visitors from experiencing the actual, physical site.

Part of the problem certainly is that the website presents no rationale, no overarching narrative that would convey the significance of Intramuros, both to Filipinos who would be variously aware of it and to non-Filipinos who would not be. Another is that website is not regularly updated. On separate pages, there are still invitations to exhibits that date 2010. Also, there are conflations in both message and audience. Apart from the pages that contain information about important places to visit, there are two pages devoted to golf, a page that holds information on special event venues, a page on the educational tours for grade school and high school students, and another on “Proposed Capital Outlay Infrastructure Projects.” The audiences, therefore, include not just tourists, but golf enthusiasts, wedding couples and their planners, students, businessmen and corporate donors. This wide spectrum of audiences point to the double

ethos of the website: it is both about Intramuros *and* about the Intramuros Administration. Again, overpresence in the Intramuros website can be gleaned from these confluences of message, audience, and ethos.

Most importantly, the website fails to take advantage of the power and capacity and inherent feature of the internet: its interconnectivity. Apart from a token “Feedback” page, the Intramuros website lacks any identifiable links to other sites on the internet. The website, therefore, commits what web-usability expert Jakob Nielsen calls the error of linking strategy, that is, “treating your own site as the only one that matters, without proper links to other sites and without well-designed entry points for others to link to” (15). The website, used merely as a conduit of information, doesn’t speak, to use Manovich’s words, the language of new media.

Compare it to the new Intramuros Facebook page and Delgado’s blog. In many ways the Intramuros Facebook page is the opposite of the official website. First, far from being the complementary space of the Intramuros website, as originally intended by the young members of the IA, the Intramuros Facebook page seems poised to become the only official Intramuros site on the web, as the current website keeps suffering from malwares and constantly going down for weeks on end. This reliability keeps the Facebook page always available for potential visitors. Second, its scroll-down usability makes navigating the site easier, familiar, and a more pleasant experience. Third, it’s regularly updated, keeping the focus on recent events. In fact, unlike the official Intramuros website, there appears to be very little attention to the fixed histories and structures and spaces in the Intramuros Facebook page. As a terministic screen of the actual physical space of Intramuros, therefore, the Intramuros Facebook page presents

only part of the picture. Fourth, this Facebook page underscores IA's beginning attempts to embrace the discourse of the web. By joining Facebook, IA potentially connects to millions of other Facebook members and future Intramuros visitors. Currently, the page has 149 likes and comments from visitors appear regularly.

Both the Intramuros website and Facebook page, of course, are still voiced by the official state institution, yet the Intramuros Administration enthusiastically welcomes and finds great merit in Delgado's blog, *intramurosmanila.asia*. According to his blog, Mark Joseph Delgado is "a Certified Blog and Social Media Entrepreneur who is passionate about Social Media Activation" and, most certainly, about Intramuros. He considers Intramuros as both "an interest and advocacy." He writes:

My goal is to raise awareness for Intramuros, the Walled City of Manila, as a major tourist attraction in the Philippines. By harnessing the power of Social Media, I know that I will be able to encourage more people, especially my fellow Filipinos, to rediscover the beauty of the old city as well as the glory of our illustrious past that is hidden within the "walls" of Intramuros. (*Intramuros Manila Asia Blog*)

Delgado, being a social media expert, has taken full advantage of the capacity of blogging. Blogs are a new genre, having been around for a little over ten years. Yet their impact on society has been such that they cannot be ignored. Already their influence has been seen to extend into, permeate and change almost every aspect of our social and cultural environment, most significantly in political discourse. In the Philippines, however, their impact has yet to be fully realized. Pinoy-Blogs.com, a source listing of the top blogs in the country, for example, tracks only 1,245 individual blogs, some of

them already discontinued. Nevertheless there is a growing number of public institutions and private citizens who are turning to blogging, encompassing various writing such as personal writing and self-expression, entertainment, literature, cultural lifestyle reporting and commentary, education and journalism.

I consider blogs as genre but not in the traditional sense of genre as texts that share certain formal structures and linguistic features (although, of course, they are that as well). Blogs are unique in the sense that it can make authors of us all, embodying what Anis Bawarshi calls the “genre function,” the democratizing reality that any one and every one of us can and do produce, enact and embody the genres that we “write.” As Carpenter states, “each new reader in the electronic environment can her- or himself become a contributor/designer/writer; the lines between consumer and producer can be transgressed, blurred” (140). In a way, blogs are, appropriating de Certeau, spaces of enunciation.

It is this egalitarian nature of the blog—that anyone and everyone can write a post and be read—that distinguishes it as a space that is created communally. In fact, “the most striking feature of the imagined community of blogging is that it enables users to both experience a shared base of knowledge and to contribute directly to that cultural consciousness...It allows for interaction in the small scale by giving readers the opportunity to add their own thoughts to an individual blog. It facilitates interaction in the large scale by promoting hyperlinking among individual blogs” (Lampa). Such a description recognizes the unique nature of cyberspaces: that they are inherently dialogic, non-linear, interactive, intertextual and dynamic.

This rhizomatic nature of Delgado's blog is evident in the presence of 11 other bloggers linked to his blog. Also, the blog has an active sign up page targeted to potential bloggers and advertisers. Moreover, the blog is linked to a number of social networking sites, including, Facebook (both profile and fanpage), Twitter, Google +, networkedblogs, feedburner, Reddit, Tumblr, LinkedIn, StumbleUpon, Digg, and foursquare.

One of the more salient demonstrations of the power of this connectivity came with the event conceptualized by Delgado, The Intramuros Bloggers Challenge 2012. The challenge was composed of two separate contests: a travel write-up and a food write-up. Bloggers were invited to visit Intramuros and write in their respective blogs about their experiences walking its streets, visiting its sites, and dining in its restaurants and eateries. Winners and finalists received gift bags, exclusive tours, memorabilia, and dinner at Barabara's Restaurant in Intramuros. The event was supported by the Intramuros Administration and generated over 20 donors and corporate sponsors, and invaluable word-of-mouth.

First, this event represents where the materiality of Intramuros memory work was at its thickest. The Intramuros Bloggers Challenge embodied the intersection of the culture layer (experiencing Intramuros) and the computer layer (blogging about the experience) in ways that could never be realized by the design team of the Intramuros website and that are only being recognized by the creators of the Intramuros Facebook page. And second, this event represents the remarkable opportunities that are inherent in the network. Like Jeff Rice, I see networks as spaces of connectivity: "They are ideological as well as technological spaces generated by various forms of new media that

allow information, people, places, and other items to establish a variety of relationships that previous spaces or ideologies of space (print being the dominant model) did not allow” (128). To see the bloggers’ performance—their traveling back and forth between the virtual and the actual, the electronic and the experiential, the blogging and the sight-seeing—is to recognize the importance and immediacy of the network in our postmodern condition.

Together, the Intramuros Facebook page and Delgado’s blog, highlight the idea that if Intramuros is to create any effective presence on the web, it will only do so from an ontology of the network. In other words, the presence of Intramuros has to be *networked*. To understand how networked presence works, I turn to a classic work published almost nine decades ago. Researching the linguistic practices of some Melanesian tribes of Eastern New Guinea, Bronislaw Malinowski, the pioneer modern anthropologist, observes a new form of linguistic use which he calls *phatic communion*, “a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words” (315). He describes a gathering of tribe members in the act of sharing gossip:

After the first formula, there comes a flow of language, purpose-less expressions of preference or aversion, accounts of irrelevant happenings, comments on what is perfectly obvious. Such gossip, as found in Primitive Societies, differs only a little from our own. Always the same emphasis of affirmation and consent...Or personal accounts of speakers’ views and life history, to which the hearer listens under some restraint and with slightly veiled impatience, waiting till his own turn arrives to speak. (Malinowski 314)

In this type of speech, what is built is “an atmosphere of sociability,” where words are uttered and exchanged not to convey meaning and information per se but to create social bonds and fellow feeling. According to Malinowski, these words

fulfill a social function and that is their principal aim, but they are neither the result of intellectual reflection nor do they necessarily arouse reflection in the listener. Once again we may say that language does not function here as a means of transmission of thought (315).

Though Malinowski was largely speaking of “savage life,” we can easily draw parallels to our modern life: gestures such as nods, winks, smiles, waves; small talk such as “how’s it going?” or “kamusta ka?” (in Tagalog) and “nice weather we’re having” and other idle chit chat—our daily lives are filled with talk and interaction that do not convey any meaningful information but instead enhance a general sense of connection and community by acknowledgement of one another’s presence. The emphatic gives way to the phatic.

Of course, one can already see parallels to this phatic way of communication in social networking sites and microblogs, Facebook and Twitter being the most popular. Comparing to a content-laden cyberspace such as websites and blogs, which rely on providing information and maintaining dialogue, Facebook and Twitter emphasize (!) phatic communication through digital gestures such as “pokes,” “likes,” short status updates, comments and gifts. Networked presence works by maintaining presence via merely acknowledging such presence. A sense of communion is created by prioritizing connection and acknowledgement over content and dialogue.

I am not, however, advocating for a content-*less* cyberspace for Intramuros. For Intramuros, it has to be a combination of both emphatic presence and phatic presence. The website has to take into consideration the necessity of building a strong presence online via a focused, constantly updated, and substantively useful information *and* taking advantage of the phatic nature of the internet, where every member of a community shares information, thereby nourishing communal memory. As Halbwachs says:

It is not enough to rebuild piece after piece the image of a fact in order to obtain a memory. It is necessary that this reconstruction is based upon data or common notions that are to be found both in our spirit and in that of the others, as these memories are continuously passed on from one to the other and vice-versa; and therefore this can only happen if they are or were part of the same society. (12)

The Intramuros Administration needs to re-vision its notion of communal memory, where the community as a whole can access it and nourish it in a constantly changing process.

Conclusion

At first glance, presence appears to be a fairly straightforward concept. Repeat an idea enough times, insert a well-turned phrase here, or throw in an inventive analogy there—and *presto!*—presence is assured. *So what's the big deal?* I must admit that I started this dissertation with a similar sentiment, wondering why and how this one seemingly simple concept has engrossed the attention of several scholars over the years. But now that I come to the end, what I've come to realize, and hope that I've managed to convey, is that presence (like many of *The New Rhetoric's* concepts) is multifaceted, ambiguous, and far from simple. Indeed, presence “has shown itself to be a compelling and enduring concept in the toolkit of rhetorical theorists and critics” (Atkinson et al. 377).

As I hope to have shown in the previous chapters, presence must be seen as more than just a single, isolated effect in a persuasive text but as an active interplay of effects and counter-effects located in various modes of discourse. Already, recent scholarship on presence has begun to focus on this “synergistic” dynamic, proving quite effective and useful for genre studies, in one, and media studies, in the other. First, Atkinson et al. extend Gross and Dearin's “superordinate presence” and “propose theoretically and implement practically a notion of global presence that can be used for comparative analysis across texts and, in particular, across genres of texts” (379). Examining “language action types” occurring across genres of self-presentation, the cover letter and the self-portrait, they claim that it is “only by examining presence as a dynamic between presenting to and withholding from an audience that we can relate presence to the cumulative experiences across a whole text, and ultimately across rhetorical genres”

(382). Second, the article by Jamie Landau looks at both verbal and visual presence as they occur across pieces of advertising for HPV and women's health. Landau's essay "illustrates how presence and absence can function to make arguments stand out in today's jam-packed, multi-mediated matrix" (51). These works suggest the richness and complexity of presence, and amply respond to the question posed by John T. Gage in the latest volume of essays on the *The New Rhetoric*: "How might concepts from *The New Rhetoric* be applied?" (183).

This dissertation has responded in a similar way by looking at how presence has been deployed in a range of spaces of public memory in and about a single heritage district. Throughout, I have been examining how the space of Intramuros is being made significantly different through the presencing or public memory-making of its various memory sites. In the Bahay Tsinoy museum, the suppressed narrative of the role of the Chinese community in Philippine history has not only been presenced but made front and center in the dioramas, objects, images, spaces, and a hologram. That it simultaneously displaces the role of the Filipino native in Philippines history, renders the museum a fraught site of contestation. In the walking tour, presence is traced in the performative strategies of the tour guide. Celdran's presencing of hybridity in the tour opens up the official IA Spanish colonial narrative and reconsiders the influence and significance of ancient pre-colonial times, the American period, WWII and its aftermath, and its *mestizo* communities, helping us to see the possibilities and promise of Manila. Finally, in the official and unofficial cyberspaces of Intramuros, the problem of overpresence must give way to network presence, a development that takes advantage of the diffused sociality of digital technology.

As this study has shown, presence can be examined in multiple modes of discourse and underscores the need for a multimodal approach when studying specific sites of public memory. On the one hand, it is inescapable; the multiplicity of artifacts, images, documents, and spaces demand it. On the other, a multimodal approach, at the very least, assures us of a rich and contextualized understanding of a given rhetorical situation. A multimodal approach entails a recontextualization of what we mean by “memory sites,” that they include not just the very real and material spaces of built structures, such as museums, but also the movable (and moving) site of a walking tour, and the ephemeral site of cyberspace. Tracing the synergy of presence working through a range of multimodal discourses helps us to better untangle the many threads of meaning found in memory sites. Delineating these “cumulative effects of interactions” means presence can be most productive when public memory scholars look at the dynamic interplay of material, space, style and delivery. These multiple interactions—this synergy—ultimately suggest that presencing results in a kind of “worlding,” a process in which “to be persuaded is to live in a world made significantly different by the persuader” (Gross and Dearin 151).

Future research on presence might also benefit from attending to its affective dimensions, an element that I have only begun to touch on in this dissertation. My experience in Bahay Tsinoy, for example, felt so personal, so immediate to me, because I felt so implicated in the countermemory that the space was narrating. In Celdran’s walking tour, as a succession of historical traumas was being recounted and enacted one after another, all of us participants had more than our fair share of laughter at remembering these events. Is humor the correct, ethical response to such a painful past?

Or can one see this tactic as a more “palatable” and “acceptable” reconstitution of past traumas, to regard it as a way towards healing and recovery?²⁹ Thinking about emotion and affect in relation to presence seems to me an essential component to its mystery and a question barely explored yet. After all, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca introduce the concept of presence using this Chinese story:

A king sees an ox on its way to sacrifice. He is moved to pity for it and orders that a sheep be used in its place. He confesses he did so because he could see the ox, but not the sheep. (116)

Karon claims that “presence is a felt quality in the auditor’s consciousness” and that “its strongest agents remain the imagination and emotions” (164,165). She goes on:

The impulsiveness of an idea is proportional to our interest in it; and interest directs attention. Providing both the impetus of an idea and thus the attention it compels is a certain urgency inherent in the idea. It is quite probable that the feeling of vivacity or liveliness inhering to presence accounts for this urgency: that impelling idea, which draws and fixes our attention, is the consequence of the feeling or sensation imparted by the impression of presentness” (173-4).

An extension of this present study would include attending to these “feelings and sensations,” the audience’s adherence (or indifference) to what is presented, moving from the presence created by the mediator to the presence received by the auditor,

²⁹ Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca expounds on the comic in argumentation in her book, *Le comique du discours*, published in 1974. Here, she underscores how the comic is integral to the new rhetoric project, noting that “[l]aughter furthers the theoretical realization of argumentation” (qtd. in Frank and Bolduc). *Le comique* was translated into Italian in 1977 but has yet to find its way into English.

especially relevant to studies of touristic experiences. This attention to the non-material aspects of presence connects with what Nedra Reynolds says about sites containing not just its concrete aspects but also the affective encounters, experiences and moods that cohere around them. Sites are not just seen but (perhaps more importantly) they are felt (Reynolds 147).

Moreover, the “worlding” brought about by presencing becomes crucial when studying spaces of public memory situated in the postcolonial context. LuMing Mao cites for the importance of context, arguing for an engagement and representation that is “more culturally sensitive, more dialogically-oriented (“Doing Comparative Rhetoric” 66). In the case of Intramuros, this means situating the heritage district within its unique socio-historical context in the Philippines. As Bankoff and Weekley observe of the country:

The geographical and cultural reality of the Filipino nation-state, its numerous islands and diverse cultures, challenge any easy sense of “natural nationhood,” one where physical boundaries act to reinforce political divisions. Instead, the Philippines is very much the product of varied historical experiences, which have determined its present borders, while the notion of national identity is largely a contrived one, owing more to the political manipulation of appropriate images than to any sense of racial or cultural homogeneity. (2)

In a way, Intramuros is a “contrivance”; the public memory work that IA presents is a single, sanitized narrative of a unified nation, a perpetuated myth that serves the economic goals of tourism. Perhaps heritage work will always unavoidably obey the need for immediate and therefore superficial representations, an infrastructure that feeds off

essentialisms. And yet the existence and work of these other memory sites—the Bahay Tsinoy museum, the walking tour, the unofficial cyberspaces—disturb and complicate Intramuros, acting as vigilant correctives to that dominant representation, and it gives one hope. Jane Jacobs notes: “Heritage is not in any simple sense the reproduction and imposition of dominant values. It is a dynamic process of creation in which a multiplicity of pasts jostle for the present purpose of being sanctified as heritage” (35).

In very real and practical ways, the Intramuros Administration is realizing, albeit in slow steps, that the work of public memory must be inclusive, or, at least, open to new ideas. IA now includes Bahay Tsinoy in its tour guide maps and has recently started coordinating with Mean Ang See and her staff on special Intramuros-wide events. Celdran’s tour has become the only walking tour promoted in the Philippines’ Department of Tourism’s official website (itsmorefuninthephilippines.com), and in 2010 IA worked with Celdran to mark the 65th anniversary of the Battle of Manila by holding a day-long art event, which included exhibits, musical performances, and walking tours. Finally, Mark Joseph Delgado is now working with the young officers of IA on possibilities regarding integrating social media into their cultural events.

IA has also begun to aggressively address the issue of the squatter community or “informal settlers” who have relocated from the provinces and made Intramuros their home. IA has called on the services of *Gawad Kalinga*,³⁰ a poverty-alleviation and nation-building movement, to implement a “humane and holistic approach” in resettling the over 3,000 informal settler families (“Kalinga Intramuros”). This ongoing issue has implications again for how both space and memory is to be sanitized for touristic goals

³⁰ “Give Care” in Filipino.

(to remove “eyesores,” according to one official). In my interviews with some of the informal settlers, they recount a time in the late 90s when they were forcibly removed by IA and the Manila government from one of the walls surrounding Intramuros to make way for another reconstruction project. These interviewees speak of arson and the burning of their shanties and the displacement of some 20 families, about 200 people in all. Some of them relocated to other areas within Intramuros, but most moved away to settle in the other districts of Manila. A future study that attends not only to the presencing of space and public memory but the presencing (and absencing) of oppressed bodies, promises to be a more politically interventionist project.

In the end, the future of memory work in and about Intramuros would appear to rest on its being part of what Kendall and Phillips call “global memoryscapes”:

a complex landscape upon which memories and memory practices move, come into contact, are contested by, and contest other forms of remembrance; older ways of conceptualizing the past—largely framed in terms of national and local perspectives—are unsettled by the dynamic movements of globalization and new memories and new practices of remembrance emerge. (13-14)

Intramuros, since the 50’s has seen a complete decentering brought on by the modern development of other city centers in Metro Manila, such as Makati, Ortigas and Fort Bonifacio. Already the Intramuros Administration is looking at possible tie-ups with corporate entities such as the Ayala Corporation, The Lopez Group of Companies, and First Pacific Philippines (the same groups that developed Makati, Ortigas and Bonifacio) to revitalize Intramuros, transforming the heritage district into a hybrid project of public

and private sectors. The pull of the globalized economy seems to demand it. In this case, one can refer again to hybridity, but applied to the more transnational network of globalization. As Jan Pieterse contends, “the overall tendency towards increasing global density and interdependence, or globalization, translates, then, into the pluralization of organizational forms. Structural hybridization and the *mélange* of diverse modes of organization give rise to a pluralization of forms of co-operation and competitions as well as to novel mixed forms of co-operation” (52).

Considering all these overlaps and intersections, these densities and pluralizations, is commonplace in third space. And this is why examining public memory work in such an elaborate landscape can be a daunting task. But hopefully, as I’ve shown in this dissertation, presence and presencing can help rhetorical scholars navigate the complexities of third space, helping to unpack the multitude of tensions and oppositions between various publics, between the institutional and the vernacular, between forgetting and remembering. Third space must be seen as an opportunity; in Heidegger’s conception, a boundary, but not as a border or a wall that impedes movement, but as a threshold, where presencing not just begins, but breaks through.

Appendix A Interview Protocol for Workers

Introductions: Ask participant to state their name and acknowledge that they are aware that this interview is being recorded. After taking down their demographic information (age, gender, address, employment position), I proceed with the interview proper.

For Officers/Officials

1. Describe to me your role in Intramuros.
2. How did you come to work in Intramuros?
3. Describe to me a typical workday for you.
4. What do you like most in your work? Least? Why?
5. Tell me your favorite memory of Intramuros. Why is this significant for you?
6. What sites/events in Intramuros are important to promote? Why?
7. What role(s) does Intramuros play in the nation? How are you advancing this role?
8. What memory of Intramuros is important to convey? How are you conveying this memory? What texts and other media, for example, are you using?
9. Who is Intramuros' audience? How are you communicating with this audience?
10. What is the one image or text that represents Intramuros? Why this image/text?

For Staff

1. Describe to me your role in Intramuros.
2. How did you come to work in Intramuros?
3. Describe to me a typical workday for you.
4. What do you like most in your work? Least? Why?
5. Tell me your favorite memory of Intramuros. Why is this significant for you?
7. When you interact with visitors, what features of Intramuros do you emphasize? Why do you think these features are significant?
8. How do you prepare? What texts or notes do you refer to?
9. Can you share with me an interaction that didn't go very well? Why did this happen and what could you have done better?
10. How do you see your work in relation to the overall goals of the Intramuros Administration?
11. What does Intramuros mean to you? How important is Intramuros as a heritage site?
12. What do you think is the IA doing best in terms of promoting Intramuros? How do you think the IA could improve its services?

Appendix B
Interview Protocol for Residents

Introductions: Ask participant to state their name and acknowledge that they are aware that this interview is being recorded. After taking down their demographic information (age, gender, address, employment), I proceed with the interview proper.

1. How long have you lived in Intramuros?
2. Where were you before living in Intramuros?
3. Why did you move to Intramuros?
4. How would you describe the Intramuros community?
5. Are you an active community member in Intramuros? Why or why not?
6. Describe to me a typical day for you in Intramuros.
8. What are the important spots for you in Intramuros? Why?
9. What are the least important spots? Why?
10. What is your favorite memory of Intramuros? Least favorite?
11. What are the important cultural events in Intramuros? How do you participate?
12. Are you aware of the history of Intramuros? How did you learn of it?
13. What stories of Intramuros are important to you?
14. How would you describe your relationship to Intramuros as a heritage site? Do you feel a certain obligation?
15. What do you think is the significance of Intramuros for you today, especially as a resident of the place? For the Philippines/Filipinos?
16. How do you think should we commemorate Intramuros?

Appendix C
Interview Protocol for Visitors

Introductions: Ask participant to state their name and acknowledge that they are aware that this interview is being recorded. After taking down their demographic information (age, gender, address, employment), I proceed with the interview proper.

1. How did you learn about Intramuros?
2. Which materials about Intramuros were most useful to you?
3. Have you visited Intramuros before? Any memories?
4. Prior to your visit, what was your impression of Intramuros? After visiting, has that impression changed?
5. Which sites in Intramuros did you visit?
6. Which sites did you enjoy best? Least? And why?
7. Tell me an experience that stood out for you in Intramuros.
8. What do you think does Intramuros mean to you? To the Philippines/Filipinos?
9. Would you visit Intramuros again? Why or why not?
10. Would you recommend Intramuros to others? Why or why not?
11. Do you have any suggestions for the officials about improving the Intramuros experience?

Appendix D
Bahay Tsinoy: Hologram Script

I am Chinese.
 I docked on the shores of the island I only knew as Luzon,
 coming here in my sampan to trade.
 I came with many others in later centuries,
 not only as traders but also as artisans and farmers.
 We came to build towns and cities,
 to cultivate the land and make it yield riches.
 In heart and spirit we transformed.
 We became one with friends we met
 and came to love in these islands.
 We nurtured our families here.
 We settled and built our lives in these islands
 we had come to love.
 On sunsets I look at the sun
 but remember a distant past.
 But I know who and what I am.

I was once called the Chinese mestizo,
 from the marriage of my Chinese father and indio mother.
 I was born into this prosperous marriage
 blessed by the Spanish rulers
 with land to cultivate and opportunities to trade.
 Working together, blending the traits
 of industry and perseverance,
 my parents gained wealth and our family
 earned social rank.
 We became the middle class.
 I was sent to school in Manila and in Europe,
 like many children of other families.
 We became doctors, lawyers, and engineers.
 The thinking class.
 In our studies abroad, we absorbed European
 liberal ideas and among us was born
 the spirit of nationalism.
 Among us, the fire of freedom from Spanish rule
 burned through night as we dreamed of dawn.
 We were called ilustrados, the enlightened ones.
 I was once a Chinese mestizo.
 Now I am ilustrado, burning for freedom.
 I am Filipino.

I am Filipino.
 In my veins run the blood of my Chinese

and Filipino forebears.
My spirit is strong from the melding of traits,
the marriage of traditions
that my ancestors handed down
through generations.
We have marched through centuries
nurtured by the legacy of greatness
from China of our ancestral origin
and the love and pride for the Philippines,
the only country we had fought for
as martyrs and heroes.
The country we now serve with dignity.
Destiny has led my ancestors here.
Destiny marks my birth here.
The Philippines was the country of their hopes
and beginnings.
The Philippines is my country.
The land of my dreams.
I am Filipino. My country is the Philippines,
where I live and for which I would proudly die.

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