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Rolando B. Tolentino

Lino Brocka's social drama film, *Jaguar* (1980), relates the "wanna-be" attitude of Poldo. The male lead character ingratiates himself to his boss, hoping some of the signifiers of "high society" would be rubbed on to his body. Poldo's desire to achieve the signifiers of the attainment of social mobility is attuned to the way subordinated national bodies have been positioned through their poverty. Though better built than his boss, he allows himself to be at the beck and call of his master. He accepts his feminization for the possibility of eventually becoming remasculinized when he becomes his own boss, with his own lap dog someday. Poldo accepts his fate for the promise of movement. On another level, Phillip Salvador's star projection as a masculinized Filipino male is attuned to Marcos' own depiction of his body. In film, however, the constant emasculation of Salvador's characters—in *Jaguar*, he was incarcerated; in *Bona* (1984), he was doused with boiling water; in *PX* (1982), he was dumped by his girlfriend—and the other male leads in Brocka's films call into focus the unstable foundational issues in the construction of the ideal body of power.

In this article, I discuss the symbolism of national bodies and sexualities through their politicization for hegemonic means. The first section presents the process of institutionalizing the presidential body as a model of difference, whose signifiers are made pronounced yet inaccessible to other national bodies. The politicization of national bodies involves the hegemonic institutionalization of poverty. The second section further explores the ways in which bodies and sexualities are made inimical to national development. It analyzes the figure of Imelda's own body and sexuality as the trope for policing specifically women's bodily parts for sex and multinational work. I am interested

to find out how bodies and sexualities are symbolic through a dual process of ideal equivalence and material difference.

Material National Bodies

In *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Judith Butler presents the notion of materiality as the normative regulation of power constructs. Specific to "sex," the reiteration of the construct represents that power is never complete and thus, resistance is subsumed within the very operations of power. She reworks an earlier concept of performance as site of resistance, now interrogated principally as site of power.¹ Materiality rests on the reiteration of the performance, equally calling attention to its immanent relation to power through citationality. This means that power regimes (the "law") come into existence through repeated citings. Sedimentation or the materialization of power relations takes place in the same location from where to interrogate issues of identity or subject formation. This subjectivation in turn informs the materialization of power.

While Butler is specific to a discursive analysis of the materiality of "sex," I use this concept to denote the cultural and political play in the contestation of the nation-space, the mattering of bodies and sexualities through cultural politics. I begin this article with the construction of the presidential body and national bodies in and as spectacle. The body of the national leader is differentiated through a regime of power signifiers made distant and inaccessible to subordinated bodies. Though devoid of such signifiers, the subordinated bodies imagine and construct versions and equivalence of the leader's body. This amounts to the politicization of national bodies, en masse reproduction of variations of the leader's body. The site of hegemonic construction of national bodies and sexualities however becomes the site of locating reiterative performances of its subversion.

The presidential body as the model to emulate is both prolific and distant to national bodies. Though the cultural landscape is dominated by images of the president bearing markers of power, it is also these same markers that are inaccessible to most other bodies. His physique, clothing, voice and gestures evoke signifiers of hegemonic power privileged in the healthy maintenance of the presidential body. Furthermore, Imelda becomes the presidential body's pivotal supplement, the marriage of "primordial strength with eternal beauty" (Rafael 1990, 283). While Marcos' body interiorized power through its centralization

in the presidency, Imelda as "First Lady" exteriorized its play, donning excessive embellishment in a quizzical display of power. Her 3,000 pairs of shoes is the iconography of feminine display of excessive power. Marcos first staged the spectacle on his body, made to serve as an analogue of the material transformation of the nation-state. This effort has allowed Imelda the ability to do the same, transforming however in the spiritual domain. What then results is a body politic signifying abuse of national power that directly translates in Marcos' use of power (e.g. human rights violation and economic crisis) and indirectly in Imelda's "misuse" (e.g. "edifice complex," moral crisis). The gender related use of national power complements the conjugal aspect of the dictatorship, which can be further read as positioning themselves as "the origin of circulation [of power] itself in the country" (282). What I am trying to arrive at in the couple's manufacture of national power through their bodies are the various spheres and negotiations in which these are represented. Within the margins, a further peripheralization occurs that reifies and rejects the national power play. In this sphere, national bodies are *mass* produced through its reiteration of the spectacle of power. Within the insular plane as enmeshed in multinational operation, the specific effect is produced on women's bodies doing "homework outside the home." While the two spheres translate the hegemonic effect, the third sphere discusses the sense-making process involved in the cultural translation of national power. Transvestism, the third sphere of negotiation, is also a cultural idiom to analyze the couple's spectacularization of their bodies, the massification of national bodies in the margins, the recodification of women's bodies for multinational work, and the divergent and parallel negotiations of power in the gay subculture.

For this article, body and sexuality are constructs interpretable through an analysis of gender relations. As "sex" is in the position of regulatory ideal, its interpretation is based not on "*accru[ing]* of social meanings as additive properties but, rather, *is replaced by* the social meanings it takes on" (Butler 1993, 5). Sex is relinquished in the emergence of gender, a materialist analysis of sexualized social relations. The body provides the space for the articulation of sex as regulatory ideal and gender as interpretive tool for deciphering social meanings. In this article, I use the constructs of body and sexuality to discuss the contestation for the nation-space. The body is culturally linked both to the city and the family. On the one level, as Elizabeth Grosz (1942, 242) mentions, "the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the

body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, "citified," urbanized distinctively as a metropolitan body." On the other level, the body designates fragmentation similar to the family unit. Specific body parts of perfect eyesight and nimble fingers increasingly become dismembered corporeal investments in multinational operations, similarly as the family's organic unity is fragmented as selected young and elder daughters work in the sex trade of the Japanese business underbelly and the domestic abodes of Hong Kong and Singapore's *nouveau riche*, respectively. Furthermore, in a kind of a figurative play of body politic through the family, the body figures prominently in the Philippine family as bodily parts denote degrees of extended familial relations: *apo sa tuhod* (first generation grandchild), *apo sa talampakan* (second generation grandchild), *apo sa tagiliran* (a more marginal designation), *nuno* and *apo* (referring to both older and younger family members).

In the particular analysis of the mattering of national bodies, I begin with a discussion of the mapping of the presidential body, one enmeshed in a dialectics of high media profile and high maintenance, vigor and decay, democratization and authoritarianism, popularization and imposition of "high" standards, and organic and fragmented bodily representations. Through the dictatorship's use of spectacle—the involvement of leaders and citizens in a ritual of presidential iconography—I turn to the issue of politicization of subordinated national bodies that imbibes and dispels the ritual through a renegotiation of power. The article ends with the localization of power negotiations within the insular plane, one that mimics national power through a further peripheralization of the margins.

The Presidential Body

Sometime in 1983, soon after the assassination of Aquino in August, President Marcos called for a press conference in his private office to quell questions on his ill health. A photograph taken during the conference foregrounds the relationship between discourse and the presidential body. Taken by photo journalist Sonny Yabao, the picture shows a dual image of constructing the presidential body.² Marcos, appearing harassed with a bloated face, visible tensed lines on the forehead, and shrunken eyes, points to an almost life-size photograph of himself in swimming trunks, smiling, in robust health with firm breasts and arms, and his eyes hidden by dark sunglasses. The "real"

Marcos is covered to the neck by a white barong, his other hand on the table, supporting his compact body. He points his finger to the crotch area of the “doubly photographable” Marcos, carried by an aide whose face is hidden by the picture and whose body is equally dressed in a long sleeved barong tagalog. Later accounts hypothesized that Marcos was actually indisposed when Imelda and Chief of Staff Fabian Ver were plotting the Aquino assassination. He was supposedly recuperating from a kidney transplant, making himself conspicuously absent from the national scene. Consequently, when he came back in the limelight, his body constantly shifted from a normal to grotesquely bloated figure; its expansion caused by intakes of huge dosage of drugs to prevent the body’s rejection of the transplanted organ.

The real Marcos signifies decay, death and struggle for power, while the photographable Marcos is one of health, vigor and self-assured power. The former reassures the people of his idealized image, however parodic in its attempt to foster unity between the real and the photograph. The scene poses questions of which is the original and which is the copy. The former is the regulatory ideal, showing immediate distinction between the physical attributes of the modern leader and its non-existence in subordinated bodies. In pointing to the phallic locus in the photograph, Marcos himself points to the ideal locus of power maintenance. The robust image of the presidential body is not only proof of the presidential health, but more so is targeted to be an analogue of the health of the presidency, its hold to national power. The analogue is symbolically carried by a Marcos supporter, faceless and nameless, donned in the same formal wear. Marcos’ body is supported by its naming and contouring of national bodies, subordinated in poverty and therefore lacking in middle and upper class signifiers.

The picture of Marcos in swimming trunks was taken in an exterior area, his body teeming with available space like the direction of the radiant rays in the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In the exterior shot, there are no other figures except himself. The real Marcos, on the other hand, is surrounded by cluttered interior space—bodies of supporters on the left; papers, documents, pens and two eyeglasses foregrounded on the table; and a pulley probably used to hoist the flag on the center. In choosing to be photographed in his private office, he was exposing the interior operations of the presidency in a current state of crisis. The interior space presents the notion of self-reflexivity in the presidency. The operations are laid bare and therefore susceptible to interrogation.

This section interrogates the symbolism of the presidential body along the dialectics of vigor and decay, high media profile and high maintenance, democratization and authoritarianism, popularization and imposition of “high” standards, and organic and fragmented bodily representations. The height of the national economic and political crisis in 1983 coincided with the decline in Marcos’ health. After investing his body with signifiers of national power, his age and declining health “conspired,” so to speak, to foreground and intensify the national crisis. His long absence from media attention to recuperate from the lapses of a kidney transplant did not go unnoticed. Ironically, this absence was made obvious by his very efforts to proliferate his presence in the media. At the height of the crisis, the operations of the dialectics were being more pronounced, producing contradictory images of the presidential body he had sought earlier to homogenize as the ideal national body.

Marcos’s Youthful Body

Marcos was so fascinated with his youthful prime that he concocted a presidential apotheosis based on the vitality of his youthful body—his alleged guerrilla leadership during the Japanese Occupation, and the twenty-eight medals he earned for this experience; as the exemplar of the all-around athlete in his college days; as the “young turk” in his various political party affiliations; the young senator who swept the beauty queen off her feet in eleven days of courtship; as presidential material. Though these stories have remained questionable privately, the wholesale public approach Marcos made of his presidential body has somehow sedimented his grasp of national power. This pristine youthful body has permitted Marcos to forcefully remain in power, allowing for a potent political rhetoric to be tied to a brute pacification drive in the founding and implementation of the New Society and the New Republic. In the polemic of modernizing the nation on all fronts, Marcos’ vision of Philippine society is equally represented as youthful and innovative, as it remains clutching of traditional values and institutions.

His youthful body politic reverberated in the fierceness of his political speeches delivered extemporaneously, the wide gesticulations, the Malakas painting, the decisiveness of his presidency, the affair with American movie starlet Dovie Beams, among others. The fetish for the

youthful body also projected Marcos' fantasy to remain in power. His control of the media allowed him to maneuver his body as the image of national fetish. The day martial law was declared, all television shows were canceled. What remained was the static frequency, waiting for his singular presence to give an "important announcement to the nation." In awaiting and partaking of the national figure in this televisual event, national bodies were going to be defined in ways that would continue to contour their present form and location. For even after this event, Marcos' image continued to haunt the everyday lives of national bodies. The image of the leader is made prolific yet unreachable to its citizens.

In the latter part of his regime, the contradictions were made more pronounced by the nostalgia for the youthful body. During his recuperation from the kidney transplant, Marcos' body moved between normal and grotesque. He would maximize his "normal" state by staging scenes of the "healthy" use of the presidential body. In this period, he would immediately be photographed golfing one day, swimming the next, or lifting his shirt to dispel rumors of a surgical operation. The presidential health became front page material that directed to other lingering national news. Marcos' aging and disfigured body became a trope for articulating the discourse of crisis in the political, economic and moral arenas. Like the state of the presidential body, "by the time the 9th Philippine Business Conference came about, its theme had metamorphosed from 'National Recovery' to 'National Survival'" (Maglipon 1993).

The physical body has obviously aged, but the ideal regulatory body remained in its robust shape, widely circulated in official national discourse. Like the paranoia of the deposed dictator in *Autumn of the Patriarch*, Marcos' doubly imaged body has lost touch with reality. Holding on to dear power, "spying and intrigues had escalated" (Burton 1989, 265). The social crisis has no use for neither a presidential body in decay nor its utopian ideal. In the ensuing "February 1986 Revolution," the presidential body has been detached from the fast changing national reality. Its abrupt loss of currency is noticeable precisely because the loss stems from an earlier drive towards its wide circulation. I trace the circulation and loss of currency of the presidential body along two junctures—the presidential clothing, and the presidential voice and gestures. While the presidential clothing addresses the historical positioning of local elites in Philippine society, the presi-

dential voice and gestures mark Marcos' specific use of body substitutes ("body doubles") to invoke a body politic in the larger sphere of national politics.

In formal gatherings, the presidential body has always been clothed either by traditional wear or western styled fashion. The presidential clothing evokes the privileged positioning of local elites, allowing them to shift between a nationalist and an internationalist position. In other countries, nationalist policies would find affinity in some form of adherence to outside mode of production. In India, for example, Gandhi's advocacy for self reliance in the household level has been incorporated in Nehru's socialist planning of the national economy. China's acceptance of multinational business has found justification in the state's "democratization" of its socialist economy. While calling on an indigenuous rhetoric of self-reliance, Philippine local elites have historically relied on international assistance: that national development can only be achieved through foreign borrowing and aid. Their ability to physically and intellectually move through national spaces has culturally positioned them differently. For most Filipinos, the impact of this international engagement translates either to the proliferation of American goods and ideals in the national sphere or immigration to the U.S.

These two types of formal wear already foreground the elites' hold on a local base and national stature, and access to western styled education, foreign travel and western ideals. Marcos reified both the elite's privileged position and the social stratification. Seeing himself as a maverick, along Kennedy's impact in U.S. politics, he introduced casual and sports wear in informal gatherings. In his campaign contact with the people, Marcos dressed casually, mostly in a short sleeve white polo shirt but nonetheless bearing the presidential insignia. He donned sports wear to further construct an active presidential body attuned to the fast changing developments in the local and global scenes. These two other presidential wears rested on a body politic based on Marcos' youth. Anchored in youthful vitality and drive to lead the nation into modernization, the president is perennially depicted in kinetic motion, busily working in infinite official activities.

Whether garbed in formal or informal wear, the presidential body is always at work. A trip to the airport to welcome his children taking their breaks from schools abroad becomes a media event. The presidential body's personal and family activities are translated into official business. In proliferating the presidential body, media's role has also extended its official bodily life. This means that the presidential body

has gone beyond the legalities of the constitution limiting the presidential term and to a large extent, even defied the natural impediments of aging and sickness. So long as it is deemed working for certain national ideals, the presidential body remains centrally positioned. Like its semblance of sustained national prominence, the presidential body's central positioning creates a semblance of national unity.

The semblance becomes the contradictory trace in the narrative of the presidential body. It results from a motivation to engulf all others into the rubric of the "presidential body." The national bodies are constructed in official discourse to be beholden and accepting of the presidential body's benevolence. Drawing on themes of national unity, the presidential body becomes the substance that flattens internal differences and catalyzes the nation into a semblance of organic being. However such unifying function of the presidential body only presents its further disappearance, fragmentation, depreciation and obsolescence. Brocka's constant use of presidential portraits disseminated to local offices and households calls attention to both their material and imagined dominance in the political landscape. Like the proliferation of religious icons, the images of the presidential body are simultaneously naturalizing and alienating of personal and social experiences. As the presidential body is profusely circulated by its unlimited access to media, what remains are the similitudes of the body made more and more devoid of presidential authority.

The kinetic drive to unify the nation for modernization ironically rests on the fragmentation of the presidential body. The body could not possibly be everywhere every time. Thus the presidential body metonymically functions through its parts, to be in one place and elsewhere. Specific to Marcos, it was his voice and gestures that substituted for the organic body. Media proliferated these body parts—radio disseminated the voice, newspapers the active gestures, and film and television both. Marcos' baritone voice is characterized by its deep enunciation of perfect English, Tagalog and Ilokano. His extemporaneous speeches were marked by their forceful delivery. He knew the rhetoric of getting people's attention. His gestures reiterated authority. Regardless of the audience size, Marcos' gestures were wide and animated, similar to actions done in speaking to a huge crowd.

These parts then amount to a "quasi-corporeal body," a body whose unity has been lost in the efficacy of the parts to represent the entity.³ On the one level, these parts have produced "afterimages" of the organic presidential body, resuscitating whatever is left of its unifying

substance. On the other level, their proliferation calls attention to their dispersion and the impossibility of coherency. Thus the organic component of these bodily parts will fail the test of time—Marcos begins to stutter more frequently, he becomes more incoherent, his gestures have become frail and even comic. Still widely disseminated, the ailing bodily parts no longer produce the same resonance these had in the past, further calling into attention the breakdown of the entity that is the presidential body.

Marcos' sick body was further aggravated by its association with dead and healthy bodies of other prominent national figures. On the one hand, his sick body did not equal the torment of Aquino's assassinated body, which laid in state retaining the bruises and blood stains in the aftermath of his brutal death. Designed to expose the atrocity, Aquino's body lay in an open casket while hundreds of thousands of mourners walked through and paid their respects. So potent is the image of the assassinated body that even when finally sealed for burial, an estimated two million people witnessed and participated in the funeral march. Marcos' sick body further suffered in contrast to the enduring health and energies of the national women (Imelda and Corazon Aquino). Imelda did most of the campaigning for Marcos' presidential bid in the snap polls. A van equipped with a dialysis machine was on standby for Marcos' unreliable health. Corazon Aquino remained tireless as she recounted Ninoy's story and her torment in all the campaign venues.

What is ironic in Marcos' encroachment of power through television in 1972 is its disruption through the same media in 1986. While gripping to the whole nation about the insurrection led by Enrile and Ramos, Marcos' image was zapped by a television dot, and static replaced both image and sound. Addressing a national broadcast in the company of his complete family, including small children running around the makeshift news area in the palace, his image was ended by the insurrection's control of the television station. The televisual display of a cohesive presidential family was not enough to unify the nation. He tried to use the same forceful voice and gestures that characterized his fiery 1972 televised declaration of martial rule, but failed. A newer image of the presidential body was beginning to form, whose "housemaker's" body has maximized the political mileage of an assassinated husband. Corazon Aquino's body would be constantly draped in yellow, her favorite color, which in the snap election campaigns, Imelda has referred to as reminding her of "jaundice, or a lemon."⁴ It

would also be initially constructed as a maternal body, whose newness comes from being the silver lining in a dark period of the nation's history. Ramos thereafter surrounded himself with phallic symbols to remasculinize the presidential body. A cigar in his mouth and the thumbs up symbol of his medium term vision of an industrialized Philippines 2000 were phallic reinvestment in the premier body of the nation.

One result of the proliferation of the image of the presidential body is the continuing discourse built on Marcos even after his absence and death. When the couple departed Malacañang Palace, people flooded the parameters and inner sanctum of the presidential home, stomping on presidential portraits, tearing documents, uprooting plants, and performing acts which would have otherwise been deemed illegal. His body was returned to the country after being kept in a refrigerated mausoleum in Hawaii, only to be kept in the same state in the museum in his hometown. Together with his dead mother, their bodies were both regularly being retouched and disinfected, open to public viewing. Scrupulously a Sacred Heart image stands beside Marcos' body, his face inscribed in Jesus' place. A "post-mortem" remnant of the presidential body's legacy emphasizes Butler's notion of the "deed without the doer." So naturalized is the effect of power that subjectivity is preceded and succeeded by this power; one speaks and is spoken for only in relation to power. For if the presidential body is hegemonized to be the model of national bodies, then one can only speak of other identities only in relation to his hegemony.

National Bodies

While the presidential body is constructed based on a "legacy of excess on display," national bodies are represented through their internalized lack (Rafael 1990, 282).⁵ National bodies participate in the display only to remain invisible thereafter. The institution of this dialectics of excess and lack, display and invisibility, were undertaken through the politicization of national bodies. The spectacle is the paradigm utilized by the Marcoses to construct difference based on a hierarchy of power-knowledge. Involving a clear demarcation of positions, the spectacle becomes a ritual for reaffirming privileged and marginal positions in national politics. During Gerald Ford's trip to Manila in 1975, the first by a U.S. president after the declaration of martial rule, the couple did "pull out all stops":

Imelda Marcos forcibly moved squatters, and on arrival day the seven-mile route from the airport to Malacañang was lined with at least 1 million Filipinos, cheering, waving flags, and tossing flower petals at the motorcade. Some 10,000 Filipinos, attired in native costumes, from loincloths to butterfly dresses, performed in the streets—elaborate dances, banging on steel drums, blowing on flutes. It was all “elaborately stage managed” and “carefully contrived,” with most of the participants obliged to be present,” the [U.S.] embassy reported. As the motorcade moved slowly through the gathering dusk and sporadic drizzle, two trucks mounted with huge floodlights directed their beams on the two presidents, who stood through the sunroof to wave at the crowd. (Bonner 1987, 154)

In the staging of spectacle, the leaders’ bodies bask in the foreground while the amassed national bodies constitute the background. The singularity of bodies of leaders in the empty highway is juxtaposed with the massification of national bodies along the sidewalks. In other words, national bodies matter only in the sheer mass they are able to constitute, rendering appropriate the deep presidential voice and wide gestures. The consignment of bodies in terms of their ability to populate space for the staging of national spectacles is symptomatic of how family planning and population control have become equally charged issues, connoting a disciplinary function. The subordinated bodies are made to perform a nation beholden to the presidential body, staging the landscape of the nation for another foreign body that mattered. This foreign body represented Marcos’ ideal of being considered as equal to his U.S. presidential counterpart. The televised event marks a macrospectacle that has a transnational predicament, linking the nation with the desire for international capital.

Spectacles have been staged by the elites to set the parameters that distinguished them from the rest of the local population. Ricardo Manapat cites at least three examples of social circles flaunting their wares:

The Moncomunidad Pampangueña, a social circle composed of wealthy families from Central Luzon, held parties and social gatherings expressly to parade the latest in fashion. The parties were carefully engineered so that the national dailies could publicize in detail the apparel worn by the society matrons... As recorded in the newspapers of this period, the prices of these dresses were between \$2500 and \$5000. What did these amounts mean in the late 1940’s and the 1950’s? In the Philippines, it meant that the laborer from the Central Luzon plantations of

these families had to work an equivalent of more than 12 years to be able to earn enough to buy one of these gowns....

The Ilongo families from the sugar-producing provinces of the Visayas region had their own social gatherings. They had the Kahirup, a social circle largely composed of the wealthy Negrense families from the sugar-rich island of Negros... They engaged in a form of social competition with the elites of other provinces, and ribbed the Pampangueños from Central Luzon for having wealth but not knowing enough flaunting it.

The situation was again not different in the 1960s and in period right before Marcos imposed martial law in 1972. The advent of the jet plane gave members of the elite a way to alleviate their boredom. One practice of the very rich at this time was to take quick plane trips to Hong Kong, arrive in time for lunch, shop for a few hours, and then go back to Manila on the same day (Manapat 1991, 71-72).

The Marcoses were building from the tradition of local elites. In staging elaborate spectacles, the local elites not only competed among themselves but also marked the stark income gaps between the few rich and majority poor. In so doing, the elites are able to maintain the distance and beholden of the poor whose poverty accepts its subordination. The historical advantage of landed holdings has produced a feudal body whose access even in present day politics and economics remains undisputed. Eighty-three percent of representatives during Marcos' time come from these elite families, while 67 percent came from traditional political clans.

The dictatorship similarly constructed the national bodies based on difference. While the presidential body projected health and strength, the national bodies projected emaciation and disease. Difference is constructed through the institutionalization of "invisible" poverty and the display of excess wealth. By "invisible" poverty, I refer to the official discourse of nation-building that renders the issue either as natural or eyesore, to be ignored, covered-up or effaced. A gaze towards poverty is institutionalized, constructing the poverty scene as an absent presence. The Lacanian formulation of subjectivity—I am where I am not; I am not where I am—is similarly invoked. Poverty can be likened to the primal scene where national identity can be deciphered. Just like the Marcoses' cover-up of their meager origins through their construction of apotheoses, poverty needs to be disavowed for the trajectory of national identity to be articulated in modernity. The rational of development and modernization is the elimination of poverty. The

project of nation-building however already foregrounds the poverty as a structuring absence.

On the other hand, poverty among those who continue to wallow in its institutionalization has opted for three related maneuvers. The first two present the hegemonic bind, the third breaks away from the bind. The first is to make do with their conditions; the second is to dream of social mobility through the attainment of higher class signifiers; the third is the group's mobilization as a social movement called "urban poor." The mattering of national bodies involves the politicization of bodies for hegemonic use. It entails the institutionalization of conditions where poverty remains widespread yet silent. With this condition, the form of the metropolitan body in recent modernization and national development begins to take shape. By 1975, for example, 48 percent of the population could not meet the minimum requirements for food, clothing and shelter.⁶ The number of "poorly fed"—those unable to meet the minimum food threshold—is estimated to be anywhere from 69.9 percent to 84.3 percent of households. The Food and Agriculture Organization lists the country in 1974 as among the top five countries with the worst malnutrition rates. In 1976, 76 percent of pre-school children were suffering from various degrees of malnutrition. A survey by the Philippine Nutrition Program of the Food and Nutrition Council said that among the effects of malnutrition were permanent damage to brain cells, stunted physical growth, impaired eyesight, and extremely poor conditions of the teeth. Such deficiency in food intake echoed in 1984 when consumption provided only 91 percent of the required energy intake, 43 percent of proteins and minerals needed, and 54 percent of the required level of regulating food. This made the Philippines second only to Bangladesh as Asia's lowest. Of 100 students who enter Grade 1, only 4 will complete high school, largely due to malnutrition and poverty.

The national body also wallows in disease and disability. Some 17 million people or 32.4 percent of the population suffer from tuberculosis; twenty percent of public school teachers suffer from this respiratory disease. Seventeen million suffer from a correctable form of eye defect in 1983; 97 percent of Filipinos in 1982 suffered from tooth decay. The Philippines has the third largest number of blind people in the world. Of 780 Filipinos who died every day in 1974, some 330 were from preventable diseases. Infant mortality rate is one of the highest in Asia; 24.3 percent of infants die for every thousand live

births, mainly from preventable causes like pneumonia and respiratory conditions. And for every 1,000 live births, one mother dies. About 10 percent of adolescents suffer from mental handicap due to poor nutrition. Malnutrition makes national bodies more susceptible to disease.

It was reported that 80 percent of those who suffer from communicable diseases which are preventable. Forty-three percent of all deaths in the country would have been prevented if the patients were provided with basic medical care. Sixty two of every 100 deaths did not even receive medical attention. The situation is made worse with the institutionalized policy of migrant labor. Eighty percent of nurses and 68 percent of doctors practice their professions abroad. In Central Mindanao, there is but one doctor for every 207,177 patients.

The formation of subordinated national bodies begins at an early age. Infants and children are most affected in the institutionalization of poverty. In a report on youth and underdevelopment, the following information provides a bleak picture of the effects on children of widespread poverty: 720,000 infants are born with low intelligence due to iodine deficiency; 1,227 children die from pneumonia everyday; 56.4 percent of 7.8 million school children are malnourished and underweight; 1.5 million children live on the streets; 120,000 children are affected by the insurgency every year; seventeen children become blind everyday due to vitamin A deficiency, twelve die in the process; there are about 777,000 age ten to fourteen years old and 1.4 million between fifteen to seventeen child workers; even with free primary and secondary schooling, 1.4 million children aged seven to twelve dropped out of school in 1993 due to their parents' inability to meet daily school expenses (Arao 1994, 3). What becomes obvious with this image of the emaciated national body is its readiness to yield to politicization for the national culture, bearing the promise of basic access to goods and services, and social mobility.

The only way, however, to figure out the insensitivity to these statistics on the nation's health is to imagine a process of detachment. In the delusion and confusion of nation-building, the local elites effaced everything that negated the vision of enforced health. Marcos built "designer" hospitals that specialized in body organs—kidney, heart and lung. Prime Minister Cesar Virata even went as far to suggest that "Filipinos may have to give up one meal a day." His wife complained "about the difficulty of finding Butter Ball brand turkeys in the Philippines" (Manapat 1991, 9).

Marcos was health conscious. He flaunted the body image produced in an austere and regimented diet. Before declaring martial rule, Marcos prepared his body like he was preparing for a bout.

[He] launched a regimen of exercise and diet intended to bring him to the very peak of fitness. His simple diet sometimes consisted of little more than sardines and vegetables. He drank water and fruit juices. He was particularly interested in a recently introduced Ukrainian vegetable "guaranteed to stop the aging process and to lower blood pressure." He lifted weights, jogged, played a form of handball, and golf (Rempel 1993, 165-66).

Marcos disciplined his body in ways that represented his administration of the nation—regimented, enclosed and forceful. Freedom becomes a luxury; as austerity and authoritarianism take to foreground national development. He shunned meat, for example, preferring vegetables and fruits; depriving the nation of this basic food group. In his diary, he mentions that meat is analogous to freedom: "so I conclude that freedom is not always good. There may be periods in a country's life when it is like meat. For the time being it must be curtailed or denied" (154). Through the drama of a fit body, Marcos defied its corporeal limits. He projected its healthy image as the image of the health of the presidency. He was able to incorporate foreign ways of maintaining this body. Like clothing, food intake, diet and exercise are also informed by the local elites' ability to move between national and international spaces in contouring the shape of bodies and power.

However, the image of the virile body is punctured by its own contradictions. Marcos' midsection has always been the area of his ill health. The exercise of power produces its toll on the body. While maintaining the health regimen prior to installing his own regime to the nation, Marcos also suffered from stomach pains: "My tummy shows some hyperacidity so I take something every two or three hours. It is most probably due to the tension arising out of the plans for the proclamation of martial law" (125). An earlier account of presidential sickness is a report on the inflammation of his gall bladder (Quijano 1981, 81-88). His eventual bout with kidney and lupus problems calls attention to the breakdown of the filtering system of bodily fluids. No longer able to cleanse its own system, Marcos' body initially shifted from normal to grotesque, then eventually breaking down. Like the national crisis it signifies, the sick state of the presidential body is not able to get a grip of itself. It poisons its own system until the po-

litical network produces a new presidential body from the bodies of disenfranchised oligarchs.

Furthermore, the presidential body indulged in high maintenance sports and lifestyle so few would be able to emulate. Accounts of his golfing placed peripheral bodies in complicity on his regular attainment of decent scores, "Marcos' handicap was kept low by caddies, who altered the number on his scorecard, and solicitous security men, who, upon arriving at balls before Marcos, nudged them into better lies" (Bonner 1987, 47). What struck some U.S. diplomats in a round of golf with the president was "the scene in the locker room afterward: Marcos' aides would sit the president on a locker room bench, remove his golf spikes, loosen his belt, remove his golfing shorts, slip on a fresh pair of trousers, then tighten his belt" (ibid.). The scene presents an analogue to the way subordinated bodies have maintained the image of the presidential body. Most national bodies did not have the economic resources to reproduce the signifiers of the presidential body, and therefore would rearticulate these in terms of renegotiations of power. The middle class would slowly lose access in the duration of the regime. Only a favored body from the middle class became privileged during the regime. Others were shut, choosing to go into exile. Some of those that stayed on were of the traditional rich, beyond the machinations of the nouveau riche lifestyle of Marcos' hold of national power. Thus the choice to pursue the presidential body lies only with certain privileged class formations. Those without the choice are inculcated into the hegemony of the presidential body, resonating the culture in negotiated ways: enforced with the dominance of the presidential body, national bodies would translate the culture into their own class and gender specific terms.

Bodies and Sexualities for National Development

In this section, I first turn to the linkage between the female body and sexuality with multinational work. Reliance on multinational investments, after all, has been a thrust in national development. I begin with the differentiation of Imelda's body and sexuality as the model for Filipinas' development of their own bodies and sexualities. In her role modeling as the "new woman," Imelda provides basis to how women were subjugated to emulate the modern woman. The model and actual women share a related visual culture through their expo-

sure to "outside" work, maintenance of a "feminine" interior, display of bodies, among others.

While Marcos interiorized material power, Imelda exteriorized spiritual power. On the one hand, she evoked feminine excess, assuming the traditional role of women as nurturer of the nation's inner sanctum. According to her, the ideal woman is "gentle [and] does not challenge a man, but... keeps her criticisms to herself and teaches her husband only in the bedroom" (Ellison 1988, 235). On the other hand, she equipped herself with multinational skills, becoming Marcos' ambassador of goodwill to foreign missions abroad, and his Human Settlements minister and Metro Manila governor. More than transcending women's traditional position, the First Lady affirmed women's role in a fast changing capitalist economy of Marcos' New Society and New Republic. In this sense, she complemented the modernization of the nation through her efforts to emulate its model of the "new woman."

Rafael has traced Imelda's ascent to power in relation to the "new images of female ambition and subjugation [that] emerged in film and politics" (Rafael 1990, 238). He sees her "cultural projects" as "logical extension of Ferdinand's attempts to leave traces of his power everywhere" (295). So while Marcos involved the rhetoric of nationalism in modernization and development, Imelda complemented this rhetoric by invoking the spiritual role of women in a kind of partnership for nation-building. She mentions in a speech at the 1975 International Women's Year Conference:

Indeed the Filipina, like her Oriental sisters, knows by instinct and by tradition that as the bearer of life she has the duty, and yes, the right to nourish it thereafter, and to cherish it, and that to cherish is to love... I trust we would remember and keep in mind the Oriental woman and her mystique, her concept of sharing and participating, her understanding that a woman does not only have an equal status but must play an equal role which should not seek to divide and to antagonize but to unify. In such a partnership, we achieve our full humanity.

Thus we must explore further the participation of women in ensuring international peace, in the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, and in the integration of women in the processes of development. That is surely a measure of the role that we must play, and are entitled to play, in the future human race (1976, 83-84).

Imelda's work reveals the dual task of women in the modern nation. While maintaining their traditional role in the home, women are also desired to be integrated in nation-building. Her own position reveals

the specific terrain where she envisions women, "to remake Philippine culture into the totality of the marks of the regime's patronage" (Rafael 1990, 295).

Imelda's various commissioned portraits were done to emphasize an overpowering Filipina body—slimmer than usual, made taller by her hair in a bun, her body fully covered by formal wear, sometimes bearing her parasol. Her body is distinguished by her difference from other women's bodies unable to have the same signifiers of feminine national power. Her portraits do not gaze at the viewer; though in her excessively feminine way, she knows she is being gazed at. The uncunning seductress plays on transference of excess desire in the very impossibility of identifying with her. Though disavowal is also an alternative, it remains equally distant as the image concurs the material basis of the partnership in national power. The viewer can neither completely ignore nor identify with her image.

It almost seems natural that Imelda's spectacles were in tune with the equal spectacularization of her body. Projects were intended to be spectacles in two ways, in their abnormal expanse in the landscape of Philippine poverty, and in their ability to cohere in Imelda's body rather than with any one else's. The term "imeldific" connotes grandiosity, campiness and excess. Her body, like Marcos' virile regulatory ideal, is prolific yet inaccessible to other national bodies. Like Marcos', it is also a body working; however, working in the realm of "cultural projects" intended for high visibility in the local and global scenes. She was able to initiate her own sphere of operation by complementing Marcos' rhetoric and projects of national development, "turning state power into a series of such spectacles as cultural centers, film festivals, landscaped parks, five-star hotels, and glitzy conferences which seemed to be present everywhere yet whose source was infinitely distant from those who viewed them" (295).

And like Marcos' body, Imelda's body was also high maintenance; as such, the stress from creating spectacles also has taken its toll. Her entourage was getting bigger, her social obligations getting longer. She has complained of insomnia, low blood pressure, kidney trouble, bad teeth, even fainting spells and miscarriages. Unofficial biographer Carmen Navarro Pedrosa (1987, 177) writes, "what the photographs did not show was the battle that raged within the beautiful body. The resplendently gowned and bejeweled figure was under a strict regimen of anti-aging tablet and anti-biotics to cope with a recurring internal infection."

Nonetheless, the imeldific body embodied the two standards imposed on women in the modern state. Imelda was always dressed in a conservative wear, maintaining allegiance to her boss and husband. However most of her ventures were initiatives sanctioned by Marcos. The First Lady's body grapples with the feminine aspect of national power by maintaining her traditional role as wife and mother, and by seeking out her own turf parallel to Marcos dispensation of power. In so doing, Imelda was mapping out a traditional and modern role for the "First Lady" as invoked in notions of "conjugal dictatorship" and "partnership."

Thus the concept of the "new woman" comes at a historical juncture when foreign capital was being induced to the national space, calling into focus the greater range of roles women can perform in its service. The sweetie roles portrayed by teen "megastar" Sharon Cuneta, a daughter from another family by a Marcos mayoral stalwart, typifies the roles attuned to the "new woman." Her films about rags to riches narratives have proven to be regular box-office draws. With perseverance, patience and luck, one can make it big. This actress validates Imelda's own story which "inspire[s] hundreds of thousands of Filipinos by reckoning her past as a proof that the poor need not despair" (Pedrosa 1969, 231). Similarly, the signifiers of middle and upper class lifestyles have been prolific in Cuneta's films—fancy clothes, jewelries, majestic homes, cosmetics and a certain aura that comes with wealth. Imelda's own clothing and accessories also come with a certain campiness that exhort a multicultural fashion—huge bottles of perfume from France, hundreds of Italian shoes, fake paintings, "native" yet excessively ornate formal wear, etc. What this "new woman" signified is a mobility and flow of bodies and wealth bestowed as gifts by the system. Without a strong middle class base, the image of the "new woman" remains attractive and distant to national bodies. This logic affirms what Imelda has done with national culture, "construed as a gift from above that circulated to those below" (Rafael 1990, 295).

Any discussion of the metropolitan body bearing the mark of spectacle and invisibility needs to make a brief detour to the declaration of martial rule in 1972 to foreground issues of prohibition and display of the body and sexuality. One thing noticeable immediately after the declaration of martial rule was that everything seemed to work. Garbage was collected promptly, people crossed on designated pedestrian lanes, even traffic seemed to flow fast. The price tag in experiencing flow and mobility involved the quelling of opposition, and media and

business control. The New Society's slogan is "*sa ikauunlad ng bayan disiplina ang kailangan*" (discipline is needed for the nation to progress), borrowed from the experience of the newly industrialized countries in Asia that imposed authoritarian rule to take off the national economy.⁷ Martial rule echoed the need and acceptance of discipline for the price of national development.

One effect of martial rule was the construction of ideal body types. Long hair was considered part of the youth and drug subcultures and therefore, prohibited. Also banned were miniskirts for invoking the promiscuity of the 1960s sexual revolution and being antithetical to the feminine ideals of the New Society. Those caught with long hair had instant haircuts done by the police in front of the public. Other petty violations, including jaywalking and violations of the curfew hours, were punishable with the visible and embarrassing chore of cleaning Manila's leading highway. The violating bodies are displayed in the highway's center aisle doing menial tasks such as pulling grass or picking up litter, a deterrent to all others witnessing the spectacle. The site of enforced work is also a "free" space to shout invectives and jokes to these violators. By cleaning up the highway, the excessive ways of these violators are also poised for some form of cleansing. The violating body cleans and is cleaned through menial work. The crimes of trespassing incurs a return of the violating body to its working ideal, to be disciplined by work as to work disciplinably.

This simple maneuver has effectively reinforced the construction of martial rule. Marcos sought to interiorize all material power to his body, as only the presidential and complementing First Lady's bodies can trespass and be excessive. All other excess of the body were to be prohibited by being placed in greater visibility. This making visible of bare bodies has its affinity in surveillance and punishment. The working body becomes the model for national bodies. There is an asexual impediment to the national body. As nation-building is defined primarily by male and female working bodies, sexuality is left behind in the domain of the prohibition. In being placed in the private domain, sexuality presents both possibilities and limits of transgression during the Marcos period. Even Imelda's relationship especially with the aging Marcos was embellished with love and devotion at the same time she was escorted and surrounded by male personalities. Marcos' dismal liaison with Dovie Beams remains the first and only news of extramarital affair.

The First Couple's asexual impediment to the national body is inversely poised against the themes of overtly sexual bodies of the masses. While popular representations of both the First Couple and the people have used sexual themes to distinguish their positions, they have done so for divergent interests. For the First Couple, sexuality was mobilized to socialize the people to the rudiments of citizenry needed for national development. For the people, sexuality became a form of subversion that bogs down the First Couple's project of nation-building that included population control, censorship, family code, and others.

Two of Brocka's films on prostitution invoke a cultural rereading of national power through its translation in the margins. *Macho Dancer* (1989) and *White Slavery* (1985) tackle the sexual trade in the underbelly of national power. Along this sphere, national power is recoded through a multinational redefinition of the residual feudal family and en masse display of subordinated bodies. In *White Slavery*, prostitution is enforced on women recruited from the provinces, tricked into working in the sex trade rather than the promised jobs of being waitresses and house helps in the city; in *Macho Dancer*, it becomes a temporal survival tactic, using youthful virility to financially survive.

Given these grids in which prostitution takes place in the city, national power is translated into a similar conspiracy among individuals and micro-institutions involved in the sex ring. Police are either directly involved in this ring—extorting “protection” money from gay club managers, as drug dealers and contacts to foreign pornographers—or indirectly by remaining oblivious to the oppression. Club and *casa* (whore house) owners are equally oppressive in the iron-willed ways their spaces are managed. The sex worker is governed by both national power and its translation in the margins. Poverty remains the naturalizing force of micro-interpretations of power. Because the sex trade involves a “hand-to-mouth” existence, the sex worker is busied with struggle to earn and survive. Like the presidential body, the sex worker is forced to work regularly. Even outside their “official” line of work, their spare time involves more work distributing drugs, doing a pornographic movie, and finding odd jobs to make ends meet. In a hilarious scene in *Macho Dancer*, the gay manager introduces the young male character to the club's side-line business, a cottage industry where boys during lull periods in the club work on quota basis making exportable flower crafts and lighted ornaments.

All other acts outside sexual work translate into additional costs or burden. The brother who looks for an only sister forced into prostitution in *Macho Dancer* risked losing his regular income and eventually, his own life. In the sexual underbelly, morality is lost only to be recovered through the further disenfranchisement of other subordinated bodies or the functioning of hegemonic institutions of its "public safety" task. Self-reliance becomes the only recourse to social entrapment. The brother dies in freeing an only sister enslaved in the sex trade. His friend avenges vigilante-style his death, shooting the police-syndicate chief in the forehead. The tabloid headline reiterates the official recourse to social chaos, blaming the shooting to communist insurgents. In using the insurgency tactic of eliminating "undesirable" elements of the state, the lead actor is able to escape prosecution. However, he suffers from a moral failure in the inability to save his prostitute girlfriend, who preferred maintaining her work rather than starving by taking a chance with a "decent" profession.

The residual family hovers to define relationships in the margins. The *casa*, Spanish for home, and club become the organizing principle of this feudal family. Forced into sexual work, the young men and women are positioned as siblings under the care of oppressive mother figures—the gay manager in the club assaults and shouts curses to squabbling dancers, and the "mama san" in the *casa* orders the lives of the confined women. At night, the *casa*'s living room space is transformed into a display window. All the women are originally positioned in this public domestic space before they are chosen and sent to their rooms to perform sexual work. A sibling relation is reconstituted through a similar value system among the sex workers. In *White Slavery*, sisterly bonds are constructed by three women initiated in the trade at the same period. In *Macho Dancer*, brotherly love and homoerotics are experienced between the more experienced and neophyte workers sharing the same living quarters.

In another set-up, the women are already positioned in their individual cubicles bearing the basic equipment for sexual work—electric fan, bed, and basin of water. The male customers are escorted to these rooms; doors are opened and available women are exposed for viewing before their selection for work. In the gay club, the male workers perform on stage as "macho dancers" prior to their selection by customers. They stage virility in their writhing snake dance, yet they are campily costumed in underwear and ornaments.

The pointing finger hails the chosen sex worker. Capital speaks for the body who speaks through parts. Like Marcos' voice and gesture in national politics, the customer's finger initiates the ordering and delivery of sexual bodies. The sex workers are hailed through their presence in the erotics of a public domestic space, then paid to do private sex work for the customer's leisure. What is then analogous in this location is the related mode in which national power is staged. Through the spectacle, en masse bodies are interpellated for sexual work. The public domestic space becomes a site of surveillance. Their lack of agency is exposed in the bodies use as display. They are emptied of middle class signifiers; cash flows into their body, constructing their identity as sex workers. Their bodies mark the division of labor in the sex trade. Like labor value, their performance of sex work translates to surplus value for the layers of business and institutions to generate profit. The sex worker's body is made to bear the weight of the sedimented layers of micro-power operations, forming other levels from which to negotiate with national power.

The worker's body becomes the location of citizenship, the heralding of individual's subordination to larger national constructs. For if the national leadership has not prioritized the basic delivery of social services, then people in the margins make do with their lack and lives. In most instances, resistance does not take an overtly political mode. Their enforcement to daily survival is the cornerstone that allows the dictatorship to be focused on its own amassment of excess. Their subjectivation under these conditions becomes the precursor of their citizenship. In being abjected, the national bodies are forced to be self-reliant from and integral to the national design. In doing what they do where they do the act of self-reliance, the national bodies are consequently poised as subordinate to the complexified arena of national politics. The extreme form takes place in the margin's reification of national power play leading to its further peripheralization. By creating further hierarchies, national politics hopes to further the distance between extreme income poles, thereby further perverting the possibilities of reversal and transgression. In creating citizens out of "denizens," the national leadership politicizes subordinated bodies for the project of nation-building.

There is another trope to understand the politicization of national bodies. The materialization of national bodies through poverty and national politics explains the acceptance of subordination. The notion of patronage, however, explains a materiality only in relation to its

mythification through the collective unconscious. Vicente Rafael invokes a nostalgia for patron-client relationship in the proliferation of images of the Marcoses:

Patronage implies not simply the possession of resources but, more important, the means with which to instigate the desire for and the circulation of such resources. In a political context ruled by actional rather than class-based opposition, patronage becomes the most important means for projecting power... Patronage thus mystifies inequality to the point that makes it seem not only historically inevitable but also morally desirable, as it recasts power in familiar and familial terms. As such, the display of patronage is meant to drain the potential for conflict from social hierarchy. Conflict is ideally thought to occur among factions... not between patrons and their clients (Rafael 1990, 296).

While it finds visible presence in the translation of national cultural politics, patronage also has a structural bent to its operation, providing both an ahistorical and automatic transliteration of traditional issues. Patronage, like the issue of subordination through poverty, can be materially reworked to invoke both the social construction of its own mythification and the negotiations taking place from "below." In so doing, agency in the margins is relationally poised, thereby shifting the notion from its "top-down" approach in the writing of cultural politics.

Conclusion

Sexualities and bodies are sites of contestation for meaning. While national development policies of the Marcosian state sought to mobilize the people for citizenry, Brocka's filmic representations of sexualities and bodies sought to challenge such hegemonic position. It is through the ensuing contest that sexualities and bodies are mattered, as both hegemonic and subcultural efforts remain neither thoroughly dominant or subservient. Just as the discussion of sex work in Brocka's films informs us, state strategy for control and subcultural tactics for subversion necessarily go hand-in-hand to fill in the lack of actual national development. Such sex work is both negated in the espousal of a puritan dictatorial democracy and covertly valorized in the name of national development. The mantle in which national development rests, after all, is vested in sexual work as ensued in the sexual global division of labor—from women in multinational factories, to men in

feminized overseas contract work, to the feminized position of the Philippines in the newer global division of capital and labor. In other words, bodies and sexualities are subjectivized for both national and multinational developments.

Notes

1. For an earlier innovation on performance, see Judith Butler (1990).
2. A copy of Sonny Yabao's photograph of the "two Marcoses" is reprinted in Jo-Ann Maglipon's "Reprise 1983" (1993).
3. "Quasi-corporeality" is a term used by Brian Massumi and Kenneth Dean to denote Reagan's body *without* an image, "has social prestige, not for its inherent qualities or the superior symbolizations and ideations but simply because its kinetic geography is more far-reaching" (166-67). See "Postmortem on the Presidential Body, or Where the Rest of Him Went," *Body Politics Disease, Desire and the Family*, ed. Michael Ryan and Avery Gordon (1994).
4. Quoted in *Imelda Steel Butterfly of the Philippines* (Ellison 1988, 235).
5. He uses the phrase to characterize Aquino's government efforts to transform the presidential palace into a museum housing the Marcoses' collection, composed mainly of items left behind in their hasty flight to the U.S.
6. I cull from statistics reported in Manapat, 6-9, and in Ros-B de Guzman (1994).
7. A return to the Marcosian discipline and punishment has been echoed through Aquino and Ramos' administrations. Ramos' men continue to argue for a "soft authoritarianism" and "martial rule tactics to stop crime." What these retro-calls are citing is the perceived strong base of East Asian states that paves the way for sustained industrialization. Jose T. Almonte (1993-1994, 9:2-3), a Ramos cabinet member, states that "in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, the state is strong, bureaucratic and authoritarian." Such mythification of the strong state flattens very culturally specific differences, and produces the tendency for greater and tighter political control of the citizenry.

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