Of Alternative Histories

The Hierarchy of Memories in Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado*

Farah Aimee S. Virador
University of the Philippines-Mindanao

Abstract

In this paper, I contend how the naming of alternative histories as "counter-memories" may only lead to the creation of a dichotomy between what have been presented as the "central," "primary," and "dominant" memories of the nation against what is suggested as the "peripheral," derivative," and "other." Even though the "multiplicity of voices" is acknowledged in alternative histories, there remains the question of whose voices dominate in this particular discursive practice. Thus, instead of a counter-memory, I propose in this study that even though some works can be considered as alternative narratives of history, these works can still contribute to the hegemonic narratives of institutionalized histories thus forming a hierarchy of memories. Alternative narratives of history can thus still be appropriated to serve hegemonic ends. Using Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado*, a novel that can be considered to present an alternative narrative of history as it is able to recognize, both by *form* and *content*, the varying postcolonial fissures left unacknowledged by nationalist discourses in Philippine historiography, I present in this paper how it remains complicit in

the hegemonic discourses of institutionalized histories by privileging certain voices and memories over others in presenting an alternative narrative of history.

Keywords

alternative histories, counter-memory, historiographic metafiction, *Ilustrado*, hierarchy of memories

Introduction

The construction of official histories of the nation has always been subjected to what national identities are to be considered as "acceptable" and "positive" representations of the people. In terms of how these identities have been constituted over the years is usually based on historical events and memories that are institutionalized to be collectively remembered. Dominant memory, however, is "produced in the course of struggles" (Olick and Robbins 2), and is always open to contestation. Larger social processes continually rework the past that shapes a society, and thus history has to present itself as an "enlightened, corrected memory" (Nora 7). In every society, social memories that are considered to uphold order are preserved leading to their institutionalization as official histories, while those that threaten the "balance" of the community are excluded leading to the marginalization of certain groups in ~~the~~ society. In this sense, social memories play a very "important factor in struggle, for if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism and [...] their experience and knowledge of the previous struggles" (Foucault 252).

In literature, alternative narratives of history have been produced with the aim of countering hegemonic practices and discourses constructed by official or institutionalized histories. These alternative narratives of history in literature which literary theorist Linda Hutcheon refers to as "historiographic metafiction" are novels that present historical events but at the same time are critiquing the idea of doing just that. They are "self-reflexive" (Hutcheon 106) as they present both literature and historiography as matters of discourse where relations of power are actualized by ignoring certain fissures in the society in order to present a monolithic national history. This notion of history writing is in line with what Hayden White contends about historiography as mainly a matter of "emplotment" (23) because in order to present history as a linear progression of events, historical writings tend to make use of certain literary tropes in writing an account of history, especially if the historical account is used to serve nationalist ends.

In postcolonial countries like the Philippines, repressive and hegemonic state nationalisms are often embraced after nominal independence has been

achieved in order to promote national unity and development among the nation's people. In a study on Ilustrado nationalism by Filomeno Aguilar, the "Filipino nation" for the members of the Ilustrado, or the elite and educated class during the 19th century, is conceived with the notion of the superiority of the Malay race that consists of the third wave of migrants in precolonial Philippines. Aguilar contends that those who do not belong to this category of the "civilized" and Christianized people in the lowlands such as the indigenous peoples in the highlands and Moro Muslims in Mindanao are thereby relegated to "savage" or "primitive races." Having the most social and cultural capital during their time, the ilustrados' idea of the nation led to the construction of a monolithic nationalist historiography that marginalizes the experiences of other social groups that they consider to be below them in a Westernized concept of racial and civilizational hierarchy.

Even though the Philippines may have gone beyond this Ilustrado concept of nationalism with the growing number of studies on history writing from below and local histories since the 1970s,[1] Resil Mojares points out that there is "still little direct, critical engagement with established conceptions of the nation or its constituent units such that much work on the study of local histories does not significantly reconfigure the familiar, dominant national narratives" (150).

Caroline Hau in her book, *On the Subject of the Nation: Filipino Writings from the Margins, 1981-2004* argues how certain memories are privileged over others in nationalist discourses and contends that there is a need to pay more attention to the individual and collective experiences of those in the margins, such as the Filipino-Chinese communities and Filipino revolutionaries, to help redefine notions of belonging against the hegemonic discourses of Philippine historiography.

As pointed out by Lily Rose Tope in her study of nationalism and postcolonial literature in three Southeast Asian countries,[2] contestatory discourses to hegemonic narratives of nationalism from those who belong to the peripheries are often silenced in order to promote the needs and interests of dominant groups. This takes place when the project of nationalism is transferred from the hands of the colonizer to the colonized as

newly appointed or elected national leaders are forced by circumstance to transplant a Western or European concept of nationalism amidst having a diverse and multicultural population. In order for these minority voices and discourses to be recuperated, literature and postcolonial writers, according to Tope, should be involved in "the ideological project of providing spaces for dialogue between the dominant and marginalized discourses of the nation" (243) through writing alternative narratives of history that present reimaginings or alternative perspectives of nationhood and cultural identities.

Alternative narratives of history in literature have thus been produced and they are commonly associated with the movement of postmodernism. Postmodernism, although challenging to precisely pin down, can be considered as a response to the modernist movement by attempting to do away with grand theories and narratives brought about by the (Western) Enlightenment. Postmodernist literature is characterized by a narrative that acknowledges and celebrates the fragmentation, multiplicity of voices or "heteroglossia," and often combines previous art forms and styles in order to distinctly establish the intertextuality of texts where the myth of originality is questioned and everything becomes "traces of the past (writings)" (Hutcheon 3).

In the Philippines, a study by Ruth Jordana-Pison about Martial Law novels[3] functioning as "counter-memory"—a term she adopted from French philosopher Michel Foucault—shows how seven novels about Martial Law in 1970s Philippines "deconstruct the concept of truth and its role in history [by transgressing] disciplinary boundaries" (151). These novels, according to Pison, are examples of historiographic metafiction that "celebrate the multiplicity of voices" (153). Instead of presenting another *logos* or center, these novels give an avenue for the representation of the diverse alternative readings of history. Putting these novels in Philippine historical perspective, these novels examined by Pison can be considered as a response to institutionalized Philippine histories such as *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino Nation* authored by the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos. *Tadhana* presents the history of the Filipino nation as a linear progression of events towards

"development" in order to forward the late dictator's agenda of extending his presidency during the period of the 1970s-1980s.

The naming of alternative histories as counter-memories, however, only leads to the creation of a dichotomy between what have been presented as the "central," "primary," and the "dominant" memories of the nation against what the study suggests to be "peripheral," derivative," and "other." Even though the "multiplicity of voices" is acknowledged, there remains the question of whose voices dominate in this particular discursive practice. Thus, instead of a counter-memory, I contend that even though some works can be considered as alternative narratives to what can be considered as dominant or official history, they can still contribute to the hegemonic narratives of histories that aim to serve dominant class' interests and thereby form a hierarchy of memories. Alternative narratives of history can still be appropriated to serve hegemonic ends. By looking at how these narratives construct alternative versions of history through the recuperation of peripheralized histories and memories, one may still see that a hierarchy is created where certain voices, and thus memories, are given more privilege over others. Using Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado*, a novel that can be considered to present an alternative history as it is able to recognize, both by *form* and *content*, certain fissures left unacknowledged in nationalist discourses of Philippine historiography, I attempt to show how the novel remains complicit in the hegemonic discourses of nationalist historiography as it privileges certain voices over others in presenting an alternative narrative of history. Before that, I will discuss first the importance of recognizing the subjectivity of both history and fiction as discourses in representing the past.

History as Fiction, Fiction as History

According to philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault, history is a discourse and is related to power relations. He posits that those who possess greater power over others in framing one's and other's subjectivities are the ones who determine how others are positioned by and positioned within discourses. He contends how history should not be seen as merely an objective account of the past, but rather, as a discourse that "involves both the

potential for manipulation and also the possibility of evasion of responsibility through silence" (Marshall 153). The nature of history must be re-read to discover how it operates in constructing notions of a nation's identity and its past (156).

Apart from history, fiction, according to Hayden White, also has a "referential function to represent the past" (25). Historical and literary discourses both use language as their medium of representation and both create realities and re-create already constructed knowledge. Both also refer to realities but in different ways with history presenting the past as an "objective reality" while historical fiction, in particular, presents the past by focusing on certain particularities of individual and group experiences in relation to "historical events."

Michel de Certeau, on the other hand, claims that both history and realist fiction are similar because "(1) of the conditions of their production, i.e. the use of language and rhetoric, (2) as discourse, they survive because they often displace and silence other discourses considered to be their rivals; and (3) as the historian writes, he is placed at the center of the nation which implicitly has resulted in the elimination of other nations" (Ungar 65). This similarity in the use of narrative structure in history and realist fictions, according to de Certeau, produces the notion of history as similar with realist fiction.

Thus, in trying to access remnants of the past, one can turn not only to historical writing, but also to literature. In societies like the Philippines where nationalist discourses dominate the writing of history, one can turn to literature to create and read counter-narratives and discourses. According to Ruth Pison in her study of Martial Law novels in the Philippines, writers of this literature celebrate the "multiplicity of voices" instead of creating or adhering to another "center." Their novels can be considered to form a "counter memory" as they present a reading of history that is "against the grain" (18). However, whose voices and memories dominate in certain types of this counter-discourse remains a question to be answered.

Given this theoretical perspective, I will look into Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado*, a historical novel written in the 21st century, to examine whether

it is able to recognize the fissures in nationalist discourses of history and whether it is able to account for the multiplicity of voices in giving its own account of the past. If it is able to account for the multiplicity of voices, a further question will be asked regarding whose voices dominate in its recognition of this multiplicity.

Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado* as an Alternative Narrative of History

Ilustrado by Miguel Syjuco received the Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Award for the Best Novel in English as well as the Man Asian Literary Prize in 2008. It throws light on issues of Filipino identity, history, and politics, covering a century and a half of Philippine history. It presents the story of a young protagonist, Miguel, in search of what he believes to be the *magnum opus* of his mentor, the infamous Filipino author Crispin Salvador. This is the overarching narrative in the novel, which is told in the form of fragments together with clippings of Crispin Salvador's stories, memoirs, and interviews, as well as blog entries from Crispin Salvador's critic, Marcel Avellaneda.

This narrative style characterizes a pastiche where different narrative forms and styles are evoked in order to present a non-linear narrative of Philippine history. Apart from the use of pastiche, *Ilustrado* also throws light into issues of Filipino identity, history, and politics by making use of different points of view in constructing the cultural identity/ies of the Filipino. From a diasporic Filipino writer wanting to write The (Next) Great Filipino Novel (whose first name Crispin is an allusion to one of the characters in what is still deemed as The Great Filipino Novel(s), Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* and his last name Salvador which implies his desire to bring salvation to his country through his writing) to the family of an overseas Filipino worker in the USA whose first paternal figure worked different jobs in order to attain a comfortable life when he and his family return to the Philippines, and to the generalized "masses" or more particularly, the urban poor communities who are all waiting to be redeemed from their sordid conditions by a "messianic figure," different perspectives are used in presenting the current conditions of the Philippines and its people in the era of transnational capitalism. This use of pastiche and a multiplicity of voices

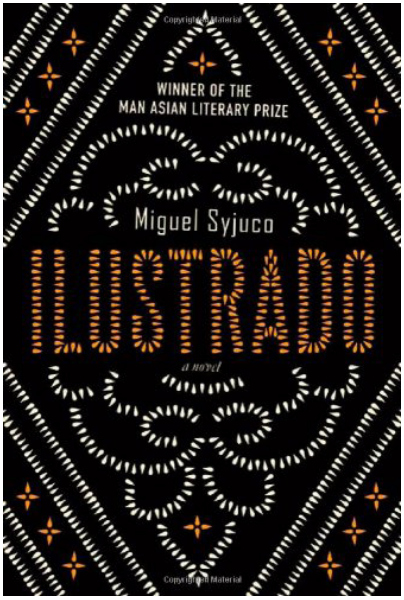

Fig. 1. Miguel Syjuco's *Ilustrado*, published in 2010. https://www.amazon.com/Ilustrado-Novel-Miguel-Syjuco/dp/0374174784.

in the narrative thus makes the novel an example of postmodernist literature. Its self-reflexive discussion of Philippine history, especially of US-Philippine relations, with the narrative problematizing Crispin Salvador's "rewriting" of Philippine history by exposing the abominable secrets of Filipino political families of which he and the narrator are portrayed to be a part of, also makes the novel fall under the category of historiographic metafiction.

As historiographic metafiction, the novel presents an alternative narrative of history by showing that no matter what revolutions the nation will go through, it will continue to search for an identity/ies that will account for its past and present subjectivities. In contrast to nationalist Philippine historiographies that generally present teleological and hegemonic versions of history, the novel focuses on the fragmentation and heterogeneity of Philippine history and society. This can be observed in the stories and biography of Crispin Salvador as well as the journey of the protagonist Miguel in

search for his mentor's greatest work, *The Bridges Ablaze*. As the novel shifts to different points of view by presenting clippings from Crispin Salvador's works, interviews, and biography, the setting of the story also changes from the present time of the narrative in the year 2002 to the time of the revolutions against Spanish and American invaders in the late 19th and early 20th century respectively, the Japanese occupation in the 1940s, and the Martial Law era in the 1970s.

The images used in portraying these scenarios show how the Filipinos in the novel, whatever class they may be, continue to struggle against their social and colonial entrapments. Even though they are regarded as having attained liberation from the subjugation of their colonizers, imperialist invaders, and by their own neocolonial government, they are still struggling for their right to assert their own sovereignty as a nation and as a people. As is shown in the novel, after the revolution against Spain, Filipinos continue to become beings-for-others whose cheap labor is taken advantage of in order to satisfy the incessant demand for capital in the neoliberal economy (Diaz 65). Cristo in Crispin's novel *The Enlightened*, already lives a comfortable life, but after witnessing the revolution against Spain that he wanted to involve himself in had already "succeeded," he agonizes on how he was not able to take part in this revolution even though he himself is one of the first Ilustrados or "the enlightened ones" who were able to leave their country to study in Europe. He eventually considers having his children educated in the United States to know the ways of the new colonizers, the Americans, who have only replaced Spain in subduing his people:

> "We will become American," Cristo says. "Our children will learn to speak American. When they are ready, we will send them to America to be educated. Just as I was in Europe. All this land will be theirs when they return. They'll return to make a difference" (180).

However, as soon as Cristo engages himself in the war with the American military, he and the people in his command eventually find themselves unable to do anything to suppress and defeat the American troops. They eventually conceded thinking that no matter what they do and how

many lives they sacrifice, the new invaders will still continue to send more military troops to subjugate them. Instead of subverting them, Cristo, as a Western-educated Filipino during the American colonial period, resorted to appropriating the ideologies of the colonizers and started gathering *indios* from neighboring islands to work in his *azucareras* that cater mainly to the demands of American corporations. This shows how only those like Cristo, the landed and educated elite during their time in history, have benefited from the subsequent colonization of the nation. Inequalities have only exacerbated as the privileged minority are able to have real properties and hire workers in exchange for the assertion of the rights of the native peoples in their own lands. During the Japanese occupation, Crispin and his family, specifically his uncle, resorted to siding with the Japanese for they knew that it would be the only way for them to secure their ownership of their lands. Those who do not have the same power as Cristo's and Crispin's families, however, are the ones left with no other option but to resist and struggle or to concede their fates and thus were the ones who suffered the viciousness of the Japanese military. After the Philippines was "saved" by the Americans from the hands of the Japanese and started constituting its own government and economy thought to be independent from any foreign control, the previous colonial entrapments still remain as the "benevolent assimilation" of the Americans continue to ascribe to the Filipinos the identity of "little brown brothers" (Rafael 32) who need support in tending their wounds from the previous revolutions.

Continued association with the United States has been considered in the novel as necessary in the building of the nation. Those who are able to receive education abroad like Crispin Salvador and Miguel, the narrator, are the ones who are lauded by the Filipinos who have remained in their country. They are the ones who seem to have the capacity to determine the discourses of Filipino identity that is necessary for nation building. The Filipino writers Rita Rajah and Furio Almondo in the poetry-reading event that Miguel attended appear to abhor Crispin Salvador for it is his works that determine the representation of the Filipinos in the international community and in the country itself. Not them who write for the Filipinos and the "essence of

being a Filipino" (180). Also, according to these writers, the reasons for the revolution against the administration of Ferdinand Marcos have been easily forgotten by the Filipinos, as what the country has reaped during the time of Marcos' neocolonial rule is thought to be beneficial in the "fattening of [the country as] a third world pig" from all the "first world dollars" (166). Those who benefitted, however, are the same people from the first and the succeeding generations of *Ilustrado*s. The rest of the people would have to live up to a little changing and still the same frame of subjectivities that continue to haunt the Filipino as always in the process of becoming, but never really attaining an identity that will account for "a true Filipino-ness" independent of any colonial significations. In these Filipino revolutions discussed in the novel, the struggles are portrayed not as collectively experienced, but rather, there is a recognition of the postcolonial fissures or fragmentations where only those who have the economic and social means have the power to get themselves involved or absolved in the struggle for Philippine independence from colonial and despotic regimes. The search for a collective identity continues to haunt the succeeding generations of Filipinos in the novel as they continue to struggle with a fragmented history and racialized subjectivities that create further divisions in terms of race and social classes.

These political and social conditions that Filipinos find themselves in affirm new forms of racialized subjectivities that the novel *Ilustrado* is able to bring into light. Apart from the recognition of this fragmentation in terms of content, the novel also emphasizes fragmentation in terms of form by presenting different perspectives or points of view in unveiling the narrative. The novel is told in a form of a frame narrative where there are clippings of Crispin Salvador's stories, biographies, and interviews embedded in the narrative of Miguel as the narrator of the novel to another omniscient narrator who considers Miguel as the young protagonist of the story.

However, even though the novel makes use of different perspectives or points of view to present a fragmentation or a "multiplicity of voices" in constructing an alternative narrative of Philippine history, the metaphors used in its description of the characters and the revolutions that the country has gone through still remain complicit in asserting the centrality of the

present dominant or "the modern ilustrados" in its representation of the Filipino political and social landscape.

There are many points of view that are used in the novel, giving the impression of a "heteroglossia" or a "multiplicity of voices," but one can readily perceive how most of the voices that dominate are coming only from one social class or the modern *Ilustrados* of Philippine society. In the novel, the characters that are given the voice to give their own accounts of history are Crispin Salvador, Marcel Avellaneda, and the narrator named Miguel. They all come from relatively the same social background and are all engaged in presenting their own narrative significations of the Philippine society. However, those who do not belong to the same social class as them are alienated from participating in the discourses of history and are ascribed with identities that portray them to be uncritical individuals who cannot participate in nation-building.

Examples of these are Erning Isip, the people who comment on Marcel Avellaneda's blog entries, and Wigberto Lakandula. Erning Isip is one of the characters in the Filipino jokes translated by Crispin Salvador into English. Jokes, according to Crispin, are the Filipinos' "true shared history" as they give a "sweetly bitter commentary" to the society (35). Erning Isip, a student from AMA Computer College, is portrayed as a self-effacing young man in Crispin's jokes in contrast to two other college students from Ateneo and La Salle. One of these "jokes" is about Erning asking for an autograph from a fair-complexioned woman while the other two, one coming from Ateneo and the other one from La Salle, invite her to Polo Club and Dencio's Bar and Grill respectively (36). Another condescending portrayal of Erning Isip is when he refers to what the novel describes "a skanky girl" in public as his "classmate" while the other two refer to her as "a veritable whore of Babylon" and "a puta" (50). Another joke, meanwhile, is about Erning, working in the United States, painting a Ferrari instead of the porch of a house for he thought the word "porch" can only refer to an automobile brand (88). Examined closely, one may wonder whether the jokes, as Crispin says, are really "a way for us to understand ourselves as Filipinos" (36) or whether they are mainly invectives to those who do not come from the dominant

social class in the society. Erning Isip represents those who are not educated in the ivory towers of the academia, which is, apparently, the majority of the population in the Philippines. Thus, this ascription of an identity for Erning as a laughing stock only because he is not educated in the same way as the two other characters in Crispin's jokes, shows how feelings of social and intellectual superiority by the elite may only lead to the further disenfranchisement of those who belong to the fringes of the society. As people from the lower social classes like Erning are portrayed in the novel as individuals who can be easily taken for imbeciles and are unable to think on their own and for their community, they are thus further alienated from participating in the more relevant discourses in the society and from knowing their real social conditions.

A similar bias can be observed with the people commenting on the blog entries of Crispin Salvador's nemesis, Marcel Avellaneda. The novel attempts to show how only those coming from expensive and exclusivist academic institutions in the Philippines (as indicated by the domains of their e-mail addresses) are able to come up with sensible comments while the rest are portrayed to be frivolous internet users that their comments are not by any means, relevant with the matter discussed in the blog. This portrayal indicates how even though there is already an increased accessibility of meanings and avenues for representation in the 21st century, not coming from and not being educated in the same way as those who belong to the upper social classes of the society, can mean being easily dismissed as a "troll" who cannot contribute anything to "intellectual" discourses.

A third example of this generalizing representation of people from the lower social class is Wigberto Lakandula who is dubbed in the novel as the "hero of the masses." Even though he holds a whole family hostage for killing his lover, he is portrayed in the novel as someone revered by the masses, especially by women, mainly because of his physical stature and of doing whatever means necessary to exact vengeance on the people who killed his paramour. He is sensationalized as a hero in the tabloid articles and by the end of the novel, even though he escaped as a criminal for killing his hostages, people continue to talk about him and report sightings of him

hoping that one day he will show up and run for government office. They believe that he can save the country from the control of those who continue to exploit people similar to him who belong to the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. He does not speak at all throughout the novel but the way he is used to divert people's attention from their real social conditions shows how this identity ascribed to him as a messianic figure is nothing but an assertion that people coming from the same or lower social class as him only concern themselves with matters of triviality. Their credulousness, as portrayed in the novel, attempts to show that because they belong to the lower rungs of the social hierarchy, they cannot contribute to the advancement of the society unlike those who belong to the group of modern *Ilustrados,* or the educated elite in the 21st century Philippines.

Both the media and some government officials in the novel further perpetuate this credulity of the masses who are generally portrayed throughout the narrative as passive consumers of information, with no one questioning why a man who committed crimes against humanity is popular. The veneration of Wigberto Lakandula by the masses only because of his physical appearance attempts to show that since the masses are unable to assess what is right from what is wrong, there is a need for the modern *Ilustrados* to intervene and assert their socio-political dominance over the people. As one looks closely, this can be seen as a way for the dominant class to legitimize their power over the masses by justifying their privileges (i.e. their intellect and wealth) while at the same time denying them to the dominated members of society.

Even though there are also some characters from the upper social class—the students from La Salle, the college friends of Miguel, and Sadie's family—who are condescendingly portrayed in the novel, they are at least given a "voice" to show how their upbringing negates the idea that they can be as injudicious as the masses who they all see as "lesser" than them. They are able to voice out their opinions and share their perspectives about the present Philippine scenario. The chances to speak and be heard then seem to remain exclusive to the members of the ruling class. Even though the novel may appear to recognize the fragmentation and the multiplicity of voices in

the society, only voices coming from the same social class, particularly that of the affluent and educated elites, are given the chance to eventually speak and be heard.

Thus, the notion of a multiplicity of voices is a mere appropriation of the ideology that the dominated class has been fighting for which is to be able to be heard and substantially take part in the transformation of society. As exemplified in the novel, it has always been the moneyed and educated classes whose voices are heard for they are always perceived as the ones who know "better" even though a good number of them have already long excluded themselves from the reality lived by those who belong to the fringes of society.

These biases toward the ruling classes, however, can only be attributed to the ideological limitations that dominant discourses in society have constantly been perpetuating. Even though the narrative form of the novel symbolically presents an alternative account of history that can be considered as something that recognizes fragmentation, as something that undermines linear representations of history and social reality thereby producing a counter or alternative narrative, still it has remained complicit to the hegemonic discourses of institutionalized nationalist histories as it is all about asserting the ideological rhetoric of the center/periphery relationship between the dominant and dominated classes in society.

Even though the novel *Ilustrado* may be considered as a counter-memory by giving an alternative narrative to official and institutionalized histories, able to recognize the fragmentations and fissures in nationalist historiography through its narrative content and technique, the way it privileges certain voices and social memories over others shows how a hierarchy is still being adhered to, a hierarchy where only those at the upper echelons are given the chance to speak and be heard while the rest are reduced to generalized representations that further alienate them from participating in the social and historical discourses in their society.

Notes

1. Studies on local histories have already been done prior to the 1970s such as Isabelo de los Reyes' study on the culture and history in Northern Luzon and in the Visayas and with the Department of Education's initiative in the 1950s to collect local folklore and traditions. However, as pointed out by Resil Mojares in his study on local histories, university-based research on the topic have only peaked in the 1970s as part of the growing interest in intraregional studies in Southeast Asia that looked into Philippine historiography's relation with the rest of the region.
2. The three Southeast Asian countries studied by Lily Rose Tope are Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore.
3. The novels studied by Pison are the *State of War* and *Twice Blessed* by Ninotchka Rosca, *Empire of Memory* by Eric Gamalinda, *The Great Philippine Jungle Energy Café* by Alfred Yuson, *Dogeaters* by Jessica Hagedorn, *Cave and Shadows* by Nick Joaquin, and *Awaiting Trespass* by Linda Ty-Casper.

Works Cited

Aguilar, Filomeno V. "Tracing Origins: Ilustrado Nationalism and the Racial Science of Migration Waves: The Journal of Asian Studies." *Cambridge Core*, Cambridge UP, 2 Mar. 2007, www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-asian-studies/article/tracing-origins-ilustrado-nationalism-and-the-racial-science-of-migration-waves/A39B9E81CB94FBEE749A208F0979F6FD.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhaïlovich. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, vol. 1. U of Texas P, 2010.

Claudio, Lisandro E. "Postcolonial Fissures and the Contingent Nation: An Antinationalist Critique of Philippine Historiography." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 61, no.1, 2013, pp. 45-75.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Writing of History*. Columbia UP, 1988.

Diaz, Josen Masangkay. "We Were War Surplus, Too: Nick Joaquin and the Impossibilities of Filipino Historical Becoming." *Kritika Kultura* 24, 2015, pp. 62-92.

Foucault, Michel. *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Cornell UP, 1980.

Hau, Caroline S. *On the Subject of the Nation: Filipino Writings from the Margins, 1981-2004*. Ateneo de Manila UP, 2005.

Hutcheon, Linda. "Historiographic Metafiction: The Pastime of Past Time." *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* Routledge, 1998, pp. 105-123.

---. "History and/as Intertext." *Future Indicative: Literary Theory and Canadian Literature,* edited by John Moss. U of Ottawa P, 1987, pp. 169-184, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cn6t2m.13.

Jameson, Fredric. "Postmodernism and consumer society." *Postmodern Culture*. Johns Hopkins UP, 1985, pp. 111-25.

Marshall, James D. *Michel Foucault: Personal Autonomy and Education*. 7th ed. Springer Science & Business Media, 1996.

Mojares, Resil B. *Interrogations in Philippine Cultural History*. Ateneo de Manila UP, 2017.

---. "Revisiting Local Histories." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 25, no. 3/4, 1997, pp. 225-231. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/29792222.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26. 1989, pp. 7-24.

Olick, Jeffrey, and Joyce Robbins. "Social Memory Studies: From Collective memory to The Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1998, pp. 105-140.

Pison, Ruth Jordana Luna. *Alternative Histories: Martial Law Novels As Counter Memory*. U of the Philippines P, 2005.

Rafael, Vicente L. *White Love: and Other Events in Filipino History*. Duke UP, 2000.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago UP, 2004.
Syjuco, Miguel. *Ilustrado: A Novel*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.
Tope, Lily Rose R. *(Un) framing Southeast Asia: Nationalism and the Post Colonial Text in English in Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines*. University of the Philippines Office of Research, 1998.
Ungar, Steven. "Against Forgetting: Notes on Revision and the Writing of History." *Diacritics*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1992, pp. 62-92, http://www.jstor.org/stable/465280
White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in The Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* 7, no.1, 1980, pp. 5-27.