ART-ivism

A Study on the interpretation of Political and Protest Art in Social Movements

As a Manifestation of Social Realities in the Philippines

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“The art of our culture reflects who we are and what our relationships are to our surroundings and to one another. Art can provide beauty and inspiration, but it may also uncover disturbing truths. In the powerful distortions in some works of art we may recognize destructive aspects of ourselves and of society. This very recognition can inspire inner development and an increased social and political awareness. Today, when cross-cultural understanding, open-mindedness, and creative problem solving are urgently needed, art can elevate our consciousness and deepen our humanity.”

—Preble, Preble and Frank, ART FORMS (1999)

(emphasis added)

To the artists,

Let your art

Paint the mass’s heart.
Abstract

This study aims to determine how Philippine social realities are manifested through the political and protest art pieces used in social movements. The research is an in-depth observation and exploration on the mechanisms of political and protest art used as aesthetics in mobilizations. It also intends to show art as a constructive means to stimulating agitation in a social movement.

Through qualitative research methods, keen literature and study review as well as art criticism based on pictorial semiotics of selected art pieces, the objectives of the research was achieved. Four artist activists representing four different organizations were selected as informants and from their art portfolio came the material that were analyzed.

The findings indicate that there are several trends in political and protest arts used in mobilizations in terms of elements, location and, conceptualization and technique. Through an appropriate accent of elements, a sharp site as location, and realistic frame for conceptualization and technique, social realities were more effectively portrayed.

Keywords: political art, protest art, mural, effigy, pictorial semiotics, social movements
Art conveys alternative yet contemporary ways in depicting the prevailing political and social system. This form of art, mainly classified as political art, attempts to translate prevailing issues through inventive models such as murals, street art and effigies. These models exhibit an array of issues that is admittedly easier to comprehend (as opposed to their literary counterparts). Although art forms part of the larger cultural exhibit, its indefinable influence on political and social issue is especially pertinent as well. Central to this is the presence of art in social movements—especially in activism and rallies. By framing issues in such a way that it is easier to understand, artist-activists translate their own apprehensions to their viewers in such a way that will make them recognize the existence of their problem and, if agitative enough, will also make them abide by the ideologies of their organization.

Artist-Activists are locally known as street artists (or taggerz/taggers in the Philippines). Examples of world famous artists are Banksy, a New York-based street artist whose speciality lies on the desire for societal change and building strength through art, and JR, an Israel-based artist whose works include extremely large portraits of the oppressed pasted into walls of the Israel metropolis. In the Philippines, while there are prominent artist-activists such as Brian Barrios and Buen Abrigo, there are also mass organizations especially gathering artist-activists such as KARATULA, SiningBugkos and UgatLahi.

The social realities of life are normally rendered into words (in news, publications) or into images (in photographs). In these media, they are used descriptively: mainly to present or to show a situation. What political art attempts to do is to go beyond this function by promoting a more critical presentation of social realities. This is done by a visual transliteration of the social issues causing these situations. The purpose of the study is to show how artist-activists and groups choose and frame local issues through art. By using them in social movements, they are providing their viewers a chance to get acquainted with their ideologies and for them to know the reality from their perspective as well.

Through projection, artists convey their perspective of a certain situation visually by emphasizing (and conversely, deemphasizing) elements that is deemed important in the said issue. Under the constructivist approach, this process of emphasizing and deemphasizing elements is considered as a process of constructing concepts and knowledge. Moreover, this process can also be found in various social movement theories (such as in Blumer, 1951) as the concept of framing. Political artists (more so their organizations) employ different frames because of the different backgrounds they are in. The aim of the research is to determine the functions political art play in social movements in accordance to the frames used to portray the social realities. It also aims to determine whether there is a trend in political art pieces in social movements. It is hypothesized in the study that a social movement is contingent to its aesthetic construction and that the use of protest art is an indispensable factor of mobilization.

Traditional activism has come a long way in the history of social movements. However, both the failures and victories of mobilizations proved that the period requires a much more contemporary method, that which is the use of art materials. In the new age, where individuals are deemed to have less time to contemplate on longer messages and articles, art
deals with this by providing visually-enticing projects with less words but keener meaning.

As the art-based approach appear to be a modern choice as a complimentary method to letter-based, flyer-using, petition-circulating thread of traditional activism. However, even with an awareness of this notion, there has only been a few studies that have tried to put weight into the convention of artist and artistic activism concerning its essence in social movements. More so, there are very few local studies that focus on the role of art in expressing ideas put forward by social movements, notwithstanding its viability as complimentary to traditional activism.

Nevertheless, there are still vast gaps in the study between art and activism that needs to be understood. Indeed, it is true that there is yet for an author to articulate on an operative formula regarding social movements that social movement theorists are still in disagreement concerning a definite explanation, meaning, or even a list of objects that contributes as effective factors in the rise and fall of social movements (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004; McLaughlin, 1969).

Finally, this research attempts to illustrate the built of a social movement with regard to the aesthetic embodiment that forms it. Resting on the premise that art forms a large part of the attraction to a social movement, it is hypothesized that political art manifests local social realities by featuring critical social issues as its main frame.

The essence of this research, then, does not focus on refining the issue of social movement definition of an art piece but rather on the operation of art in social movement practice. Viewing the artists as projectors of the status quo or social realities of the local, it is also in perspective that their visual projections are transitively an organized projection of their affiliation. This is in acknowledgement of the point that social movement participants voice out the grand ideology of the bigger affiliation they are in (Blumer, 1969). In anticipation of this, the research shall serve for the political artists that it might lead them to finding out the most applicable way to relevantly frame situations in their art pieces which would effectively reach the young people today. It will also serve as a guide for the artists to see and compare perspectives as to the artistic perspectives of other groups.

On the other hand, viewers including social movement participants are also considered to benefit from this research through giving them an aid in the analysis of political art pieces by searching for the essential critical points highlighted in exhibits. Gaining from the constructivist approach, the paper acknowledges that audiences compose a very large genre of varying individuals whose interpretations may vary from person to person (Ackermann, 2001). In this context, although the research will cover only for the reception of audience that are directly present in the social movement as participants, it will be determined with regards to the context of the artists according to their objectives in doing the art pieces.

**RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

**To determine the material manifestation social realities are framed in protest art pieces**
To enumerate the functions of political art in social movements
To determine if there are trend or repeating categories in the elements viewed in art pieces
To determine the guidelines that artists ensue as a result of critical framing of issues

**HYPOTHESIS**

A political and protest art piece portrays local social issues according to a frame in accordance with the organization’s/artist’s general ideology
A social movement is contingent to its aesthetic construction and that the use of protest art is an indispensable factor of mobilization
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

...what our relationship are to our surroundings and to one another

Visual arts pertaining to politics such as digital arts, satire graphics, editorial cartoons are more familiar in this era due to the presence of digital media. However, in the earlier times, political artists remained as discreet as possible, so as not to be disputed as conspirators or collaborators. Artists including Jose Pereira, Jorge Pineda, Ireneo Miranda among others were the few who remained vocal in their woes about the nation. It was only until the following period that political and protest art developed as to what it is at present. By the early 1950s, marking the aftermath of the Great Depression, an abrupt rise in labor unionism and mass mobilization took place. All art forms, literary, visual, theatrical, graphics and others organized under the umbrella of “social realism” that which used “modernist idioms”. Ito’s study on effigies (2005) revealed that as a form of popular protest art in the Philippines, these are used not only to express social realities, but also to “arouse, mobilize and capture the sentiments of the people.”

In order to pursue the research on the arts, an investigation regarding the primary variables were conducted which led to the three-part division of this review. The first part tackles the world history of political art with a special emphasis on the examples of local political art. This is followed by a discussion of activism and mobilizations viewing political and protest art as invariable components to the activity of a social movement. Lastly, a concise definition of variables is placed at the end of the chapter.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL ART

The use of art throughout history is significant. Ever since, art was a means of expression whose progress has always remained sturdy even in the midst of dark times. However, the term ‘political art’ only started its emergence in the early 1880s, with the peak of its steady expansion by the start of the 19th century.

For instance, this century first marked George Grosz, a renowned satirical artist hailing from Germany who pioneered the New Objectivity Movement that eventually became immersed on art pieces of dire social critique. As he was well-acquainted with other satirical artists such as Otto Dix and Max Beckmann and the Berlin Dada group, he ultimately grew his own perspective on the issues, shifting his political technique from general propaganda to retelling of issues in a personal perspective. His works, over-all, is claimed until today to be influential in “awakening the general public to the reality of government oppres-
Other artists of the same political satirical genre include Ben Shahn, a painter and a writer, and Bertolt Brecht, a poet and a playwright.

An example of this is Picasso’s Guernica, an anti-war statement focusing on the events of April 1937, the bombing of the town of Guernica by a German war machinery. True enough, by the 1940s, political art has already emerged as a prominent figure in social movements.

Although it has only been recently coined (in the 60s as “politically-engaged art” by Theodore Adorno, Aesthetics of Politics), the concept of political art has developed to encompass the different art forms that tackle on “critical issues exhibiting a reaction to the existing status quo.” In this sense, not only dissenting or negative art pieces are considered under the definition, but also those pieces that are relatively positive, just as long as they tackle on political issues. To trickle down the umbrella of political art that Adorno has proposed, the Global Research (2009) have suggested a three-part category scheme for political art, basing mainly on the three main functions of general art. These three are: (1) Portrayal/Situational Art, (2) Promotional Art, and (3) Projectile Art. What is most commonly present on news briefs are pieces of portrayal, while those present on advertisements are considered promotional. For social movements, however, the pieces that are most commonly present are considered projectile art—which can also be called protest art.

Although artists seem to get a grasp on the concept of political art, especially since most of the first works regarded as ‘political’ where those that are against the government, scholars, however, has been through a difficult effort of clearly defining the boundaries of political art. For instance, some scholars regard all art as political—regardless of whether or not it has a definite social or political issue, long as it portrays something, art’s subjectivity and semi-autonomous characteristic makes it all political in a sense. A few of the authors who stand by this include Adorno, the proponent of the Aesthetic Theory, promoting that the examination of art must not only be through the lens of its artist but also through the lens of its audience, regardless of whether the artist’s and the audience’s interpretations are congruent with each other. Atkins, a student and follower of Adorno’s works, echoes this theory through his book ‘ArtSpeak’, stating that “Every art is political in the sense that it offers a perspective—direct or indirect—on social relations.” (Atkins, 1990, 1997). However, in his latter book he delineates his own definition by focusing only on “overtly political subjects” created for the main purpose of expressing “criticism of the status quo” as to be considered as political art.

The Global Research (2009) endorses this definition.
tion and proposes a three-part categorization for political art (1) Portrayal Art, or art that portrays, (2) Promotional Art, or art for advertisements, and; (3) Projectile Art, or art that fabricates. First, portrayal art is the art form that depicts a pertinent issue. This form of art is also called ‘situational art’ because it renders a subject straight from the situation or the story that it portrays. In this case, no exaggeration, much less altering of events must be and can be done, or else it wouldn’t be called as is anymore. If in any case an art piece that depicts a situation shows a bias on one side (either the oppressor or the oppressed), it will then be considered a form of promotional art. Art showing portrayal, by technicalities, must not cling to any side of the situation and must try to show both sides of the story accurately through meaningful organization of symbols. By that it means that portrayal art can be a bit ‘flat and naturalistic’ all the while promotional art tending to more explicit and strong elements, even more latching itself unto the sympathetic side of its viewers. The third category, conversely, shows an even more complicated view of political art. Projectile art, taking from its root word ‘project’ or ‘projection’ tries to use art as a means of creating a new vision or a perspective regarding a certain issue. It can be done by simple counterfactuals, such as realistic images of possible real-life situations only with different characters, or surreal yet in depth fictionalized versions of reality. Through projection, artists convey the reality that they want to happen—something that is remotely different from the reality that they are forced to live in. This is somewhat the visual counterpart of fiction novels, wherein the artist is free to paint whatever it is that the painter wants to happen, may it be the promotion of an admired one or the terrible dismissal of a despised another. Artworks of projection also include those by Ben Shahn, whose artworks that have depicted surreal themes of modern urban life, organized labor and justice is deemed to be an artistic representation of the what-could-bes according to Shahn as the artist.

What is most found in the political art of the new generation are usually forms of projectile art. Not only is projectile art present in paintings and flat surfaces of canvass, but are also present in effigies, street arts and other mixed media. To supplement this material on the categories of political art, Guillermo (As cited in the New World 2014) defines yet again the concept of political art. To wit,

“Political art bears a content touching upon the prevailing political/economic system. Relative to this, political art takes an oppositional stance towards the system by exposing its ills and advocating change, on one hand, or by simply reflecting or even supporting the system on the other hand.” –Guillermo, 2001

This definition converges on the idea that a recognizable political art must visibly express a prevailing system, and whether or not it promotes or repulses this system, long as it rests on a single viewpoint, it is considered political. Still, deviation this definition has opened the concepts of conservative art and the opposing progressive art. Guillermo regards the art pieces that commend the current administration as conservative whose artists are mainly bourgeois (thus, its other term ‘bourgeoisie art’). On the other hand, those that deters the current administration, including those of militant-progressive nature are regarded as progressive art. Tse-Tung (1942) considers the conservative art pieces, from the point of view of the progressive artists, to be ‘traitor art’ as they are traitor to the system
they progressives are vying for.

To further, progressive art (or militant-progressive art, or revolutionary art) is art that opposes the current status quo. It takes the stand of the proletariat and opposes the individualist and bourgeois perspective. According to his talk at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, Mao Tse-tung defines revolutionary art and literature as “products of the reflection of the life of the people” that are present “in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists”. His formulation of revolutionary art and literature establishes the four main groups that the art of the progressive must serve, all four representing the broadest masses that the purpose of political progressive art must serve: (1) the workers section, those that he considers the leaders of the revolution; (2) the peasants, the allies of the revolution—those that are the most numerous and always prepared; (3) the armed workers and peasants, including the armed units of the people, who are mainly the front line forces of the revolutionary war, and (4) those capable of ‘long-term cooperation’ with the people, the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie intellectuals.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Because social movements are considered “collective enterprises to establish a new order of life” (Blumer, 1951), they are inclined to serve this new order to the aforementioned groups. In order to serve these groups, art pieces are created in line with social movements with the cause of the revolution. Tse-tung considers progressive art (or protest art—since they are now used in movements) as the “cogs and wheels” of the machine—essential for building the strength of the movement. It is considered that art forms must reflect vividly the ideologies they are representing so as to translate their issues to the audience of the social movement. The role of framing in social movements is to determine which pictures are essential and must be emphasized in a situation. A ‘cognitive ordering’, frames are a way to appropriately interpret situations into essential elements and building them into one package (Ferree and Merrill, xxxx).

Theresa Deichert’s 2013 study on the new approach on Environmental Activism. According to the study, the waves of environmental activism has reached a new path. Amy Balkin, the author of the study and San Francisco-based artist, published her works that aimed for environmental awareness. Using critically picked elements on environmental justice and global warming, Balkin used various elements to portray these issues as activist art. The frames used in this study has been from her own definitions of her art pieces, but is coordinated with the appropriate regard for environmental activism. The study focused on Balkin’s art, with regards to Balkin’s definitions of her own art pieces, and in relation to the whole of environmental activism, as to how it was received and acclaimed in the public. Eventually, it was concluded that the aesthetic appeal of Balkin’s art, as well as those others that followed, brought to life a new visual culture of activism that leads to the stronger environmentalist movement that it is now.

The framing process is a cognitive activity derived from social negotiations of essential people. Framing is social, in the sense that it involves social negotiation between a panel of individuals involved in the situation. Conversely, in the Philippines, the timeline of protest art has had a long way, even only flourishing at the period of the Propaganda movement and the Revolution. Back in the said period, most of the protest arts were in literary form. This vast line of literary authors
not only include Rizal and his infamous Noli me Tangere and El Flibusterimo, but also the poetry of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto. In order to shed more light on the issues they portray, visual artists also contributed to this by interpreting these authors and their works in canvass. This first period as well accounted for other recognized paintings (such as the Spoliarium by Juan Luna among others). It is also strategic, however, because it tries to discern which elements are “good” or “bad” in a frame depending on the situation and how it will imply if applied to them.

The use of frames is a strategy employed by these individuals in order to provoke viewers into responding to their notions. As a sham of trickery hollowed the Filipino people into a pretend-Independence, protests became more intense especially in the arts. This period saw the two main branches of protest art branching into more extensive, revelatory fields of art. First, the literary arts, especially the novels, were adapted and developed to be portrayed in theatre productions and presentations. Moreover, these locally called sarswelas and dramas simbolicos mostly dealt with socialist ideologies that were considered delicate issues at the time. True enough, this has led to agitation, and to the best extent, motivation to act on the matter.

A response on an action, to progress as another cause to an action, is what the development of social movement is all about. Social movements, therefore, is the cause that have become through a cause as well.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Political Art.** Visual art pieces, finished in whatever medium, imbuing the manners of politics and social realities. Two kinds of political art (according to Guillermo): proletariat and progressive art. In this study, only progressive art pieces are studied.

**Protest Art.** Includes all progressive political art pieces that are used in social movements. They can be murals or effigies, even placards, posters, flags, and all those used to add to the aesthetic embodiment of the mobilization.

SUMMARY

The literature and supporting facts complimented the premise of the study that the presence of political art in the world and in the Philippines adds as an aesthetic embodiment to a social movement. Through the aforementioned review, the study was conducted in order as a supplementary affirmation that political and protest art in mobilization add aesthetic appeal to social movements by enumerating the ways in which art has been used in mobilizations. More so, its effect (at least, purported by their artists) to the viewers and the public are also detailed in the findings.
Chapter 3

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Art can provide beauty

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The new era of political art tries to rebrand social movements by stronger aesthetic appeals (Deichert, 2013). In order for this art to clearly represent in movements the aims of the four main sections of the masses, it must be established that there exists an inner and deep relationship between an organization’s art piece and the organization and its ideologies as a whole. As progressive art becomes the new trend to social movements, the research is faced with the goal of identifying the extent to which political and progressive and protest art affect the surge of social movements in the Philippine setting.

In this regard, the research considers the following questions:

**How are the social realities in the Philippines framed in political and protest art pieces?**

To answer this general question, the research must prove that there is indeed a relationship between an issue, the art piece and the artist/organization behind it. Moreover, the researcher must also establish that the conceptualization of the art pieces are created with a distinct inclination to portray or project a certain issue and the intent to reveal to its possible viewers the militant-progressive purpose of the artist and the organization as a whole.

**How does art function in social movements?**

For this part, the research must likewise establish that the relationship extends to its viewers, especially those present in social movements. It is critical that the study reveal how the political art’s influence is present in its viewers, even coming from the standpoint of the artists or art critics still.

And the following specific queries:

**What are the different ways in which art has been used in social movements?**

This part will now go deeper into the specifics of the research. Easily, this part will require an enumeration and brief analysis of the different forms of art used in social movements.

**What are the elements usually present in political art forms?**

The elements considered essential to analyse includes the fundamentals of art criticizing. For one, the basic lines, shapes and colors, which can reflect the mood and perspective of the artist and organization involved. For another, the canvas and/or medium used is also taken into account, for it, on the other hand, determines how the art piece will be received by its audience. Lastly, the heaviest element to consider is the issue behind the art piece, how it is chosen and what are the frames used.

**How are the social issues tackled in political art pieces framed by the artists?**

Because the issue element of the art piece is deemed to be of utmost importance, the research will allot a greater
section on the matter, including an in depth analysis of certain picked art pieces from the interviewed artist organizations.

It is important to note that the research only took visual imagery as examples for analysis. Most of the evaluated art forms were of visual nature. However, it is still acknowledged that there are also other forms of art that are present in social movements not visual in nature.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The fulfilment of the aforementioned objectives are to be guided by a set of theories as framework for the analysis of the materials gathered. The conceptual framework, as noted by Jabareen (2009) is the ‘product of qualitative processes of theorization’, within which the ideas coded and organized in the research are going to be linked together. To create the analysis of the research, further interpretation of the intentions of both artist and organizations are presented.

First, the interviews with the artists and key-informants were transcribed and coded thematically. Through a regard of the constructivist approach, it is presumed that the art pieces commissioned are based on a subjective understanding of reality (Flick, 2002) from the artist’s point of view. It is duly recognized that the social, political, economic and cultural backgrounds of the artists have shaped the way they create their art. Because of this, the role of the organizations they represent are also recognized as an influence to their line of work. This, however, in no way belittles the work of the artist as a mere translator, but rather refers to him as a manager of his own art piece.

Art analysis, on the other hand, is analyzed through pictorial/visual semiotics. Semiotics is the study of meaning-making through the understanding of signs and symbols. Pictorial semiotics is especially used in art history and art analysis. This framework will thus be applied to the discourse analysis of the chosen art pieces. This requires the basic information about the art piece, the artist, the commissioner, and the issues that it reflects and the event for which it was created. The main object, however, is analyzed through a keen examination on the elements used—including media and dimension, even color, lines and shape. The elements of the art pieces are categorized by purpose, hence, having a three-fold category, for the foreground (or the main object), background (the supporting elements) and middleground (usually the text, if any). Since the focus of the research is on the manifestation of local issues in social movements, all of the art pieces chosen are used or have been used in rallies, thus, mostly murals and effigies.

According to the semiotics triangle as proposed by Pierce, art is interpreted by its referent, object and interpretant. The referent denotes the art piece, which is built up by the object or the actual situation and the interpretant that varies on the side of its audience. They are connected by the three factors of art, symbol, icon and index. Symbols of art refer to the literal imagery of a character, for example to portray a specific person, his or her trademarks must be shown so that a resemblance will be established. Icons are used to complement these symbols because they are less stand-alone than their symbolic partners. Icons would be for example, literary references used as metaphors. The combined effect of these two apparently relates to the index. The index is deemed deeper in meaning, therefore, because it gives the substance of analysis.
The conceptual framework of the art pieces are divided into three portions, (1) Situation; (2) Construction; (3) Semiotics. The situation denotes to whatever a certain issue is. It is the whole package of a situation including its personnel, aesthetics, all the elements of the social movements. It also includes the backstory that which caused the rise of that social movement. In order to be constructed, the situation is framed into its political art form by getting its most striking elements depending on their values and biases. The elements deemed more important are highlighted while those that are deemed less are deemphasized. Conversely though, as this construction goes through the reception process, wherein the semiotics of the whole art piece is questioned and analyzed. With this, the political art form springs into a whole lot of value interpretation, although subject to its different audiences.
To successfully achieve the objectives of the study, various methods of analysis have been performed in the 2-month period of data gathering. Several interviews with individuals, acting both as artists and key informants have been done. Secured as well were also the rights and approval from the artists themselves on the use of the images for the pictorial analysis.

**INTERVIEW**

The in-depth interview was executed in order to establish firsthand association with the material art pieces that were to be analyzed. They were chosen from the leading artist and mass organizations in the country. It was also a prerequisite that the interviewee is an active or have been an active participant in social movements.

**Interviewees**

*Micahel Beltran*. He is the National Chairperson of the artist organization Kabataan Para sa Tunay na Kalayaan (Karatula). His beginnings in mass organizations started from his High School years through the League of Filipino Students, and in college through the UP Manila political party ASAP Katipunan (Alternative Students Alliance for Progress-Katipunan ng mga Progresibong Mag-aaral ng Bayan). His other affiliations include ALAC (Artista Kontra Korapsyon) and AKSYON, both anti-corruption organizations. He asserts his specialty in music, being a member of the FreeMusic Organization and the loose network Dirty Shoes Collective. His band (name of the band), has released an album in 2014 in which songs featured tackled about fighting corruption, activism and other social and political issues that the country is facing. He was a member of the Philippine Cultural Delegation for the People’s Global Camp 2013, held in Bali, Indonesia, last December 2013.

*Max Santiago*. He is the resident cartoonist and graphics editor of the Manila Today, an online publication based in Cubao, Quezon City that has started since September of 2014. Santiago is also a member of the artist group UgatLahi Artists’ Collective and SiningBugkos (alliance of cultural groups). He is also affiliated with the mass organization TutoK/TutokKarapatan. His first works which were mostly in accordance with the previous organizations he has joined (such as UgatLahi) were effigies and murals, but he is now known for his recurrent digital editorial cartoons in the publication.

*Brian Barrios*. He is the current Deputy Secretary General of AnakBayan National as well as the organization’s sole resident artist. He is a former affiliate of the Cavite-based street/graffiti artist collective CVTY before he joined the organization. His first works to be publicized were those he created when he was still 5 years old. They were street-based types, which can originally be found in Cavite. He headed to the Metro as his grasp of the material grew where he found the organization, AnakBayan. By 17, he became a full-time member.

*Buen Abrigo*. He is currently a member of Karatula Nasyunal. His portfolio include the largest yellow mural seen in the People’s Initiative Mobilization last August 26, 2014 at the Quirino Grandstand.
DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in which the interviewees were asked about the almost the same set of questions, which vary only through the specialty of the individual involved. After conducting the interviews, transcription and coding of the data were organized in order to plan out the transitions within the research.

Pictorial Analysis

The research employed discourse analysis through the understanding of pictorial semiotics. As discussed earlier, pictorial semiotics involves not only the basic description of images but rather analysis by element present.

Data Collection and Ethical Considerations

The researcher duly asked permission from the artists if they would agree to have their works analyzed in the research. After getting the consent, the research continued with the needed pictorial analysis.

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODS

Focus on the progressive art pieces

In the initial chapter, it was mentioned that there are two sides to the spectrum of political art (See: Guillermo). However, in the research created, only the side of the progressive art pieces are studied. Moreover, only a brief part of the research discusses about the proletariat art due to the fact that these mostly are state-commissioned, and therefore not used in social movements.

Critical Art Analysis

Because the research calls for a pictorial analysis under the lens of political science, some minor elements might have been overlooked. The researcher, in no way, supposes her analysis to be the most accurate analysis in terms of art criticisms, but considers it an applicable one sufficient under the political science perspective.

Interpretation of Elements

Eventhough the pictorial analysis has been done with high regard to the given analysis by the artist and the event that which it is situated in, it must be noted that this interpretation cannot completely embody the interpretation of its other viewers. Critical art analysis can be done by researchers and art analysts accordingly, but the bottomline is that not all audience are as keen or may have other interpretations of different materials.
Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

...it may also uncover disturbing truths

Just as the masses are needed in social movements, equally important is the political art forms that are present and utilized in the movements. Aptly called “protest art”, these art forms are situated to campaign against the prevailing social, political, and economic conditions. To do so, the artist, whether it be literary or visual or may even be in other forms, must be able to show a conspicuous imagery of the injustice portrayed.

The discussion and findings are segmented according to the three specific objectives presented in the previous chapters. Another segment is allotted to respond to the general objectives of the research and is further elaborated in the subsequent chapter.

Uses of political/protest art

Political art pieces used in social movements include placards, slogans, flyers, leaflets and other designed materials. Movements are usually accompanied by chants, wherein these textual contents in the placards usually come from.

Placards are usually 2-3 lines long, in bold and capital prints, written in flat panels which may have a scope from two square feet up to six square feet varying with size of content. There may be placards with only the words “OUST!!” (seen in SONA 2009) in black letters, but there may also be long spiels such as “SERBISYO PANLIPUNAN HUWAG PAGKAKITAAN” (seen in SONA 2013). They can be handled straight from the corners, or attached in a pole to be held up in the air with other placards (Ex: One-letter placards that when put side by side will create a word or even a sentence).

A compliment to the placards are the actual flyers and leaflets passed around by the organizations. These contain less design and more words as compared to placards. Normally, written in these leaflets are statements from the organizations, their stand regarding issues and the solutions that they propose to resolve the said issue. This is closed at the end by a reiteration of the organization’s chant together with a one-liner of their stand and their call for action.

However, the most critical of all political art pieces used as aesthetic in mobilizations are murals and effigies. For a fact, paintings of social consciousness appear as modernist idioms that portray the status quo, whether it be the misery of the poor or the overt dishonesty of the government, among others (Guillermo, 2001). Weber (2003) describes murals to have a moral claim on the public space they are present in, for their assertion results to an exhibit of “history, identity, and possible future” of the community they belong to.

Beltran and Barrios explains the process of transforming torn-down houses into public canvasses for murals. First,
wheat paste artworks are done earlier than its exhibition date. It is usually drawn on Manila Paper (or any other large paper for that matter), and cut in its outline so as to remove excessive segments. These are pasted days before the event for an earlier “screening” by those that pass by. Murals, on the other hand, although also prepared days before (with the exception of Sining-Iglap or on-the-spot-murals), does not need extensive pasting in locations, only a place where they can be exhibited (hanged) in.

Murals are hand painted or digitally re-mastered art works produced in a large scale canvass. In contrast with placards, murals are bigger in size, it has less text involved but rather focuses itself on the presentation of the story involved. Murals are used to depict a certain issue, but may approach through two different methods, either to project the issue or to project the solution. For murals, it is rather easier to portray either one of the two projections, but rarely both of the projections in one art piece. It is because the frames of the 2D mural limits itself to revealing only a certain part of an issue, and to reveal the rest create a compromise to the other elements that should be highly emphasized. Moreover, to center the focus of attention of the viewers on an artwork, a single projection should only be achieved more so to have the message come across easier and more orderly.

Most commonly, wheat paste artworks and murals are pasted in locations that are passed by the route of mobilization so that the intended viewers can easily see the exhibit. So the most common locations of these pieces are houses along side main roads, bridges, even street floors.

On the other hand, effigies are usually in the form of explicit satire, using surreal and exaggerated elements in order to entertain, arouse, mobilize and capture the sentiments of the people (Ito, 2005). Ito defines this pretense as a “gesture of subversion”, done to impart portions of the current political struggle that which reflect social reality one is in. Ito defines effigies as “…fabricated puppets that embody or represent personalities”. They are usually made in paper mache, these are assembled 2-3 weeks before its exhibition in a social movement or rally. UgatLahi collective is the dominant organization that produces these effigies especially made for rallies since 1995.

However, a main problem that the artists face is expulsion by the police. Barrios refers to this as the division between political art and non-political art. In his case, since the first art works that he have exhibited in the streets are mainly on the concept of ‘Filipino Culture’, they are not easily tore down by administrations. However, since his membership in
AnakBayan, where his usual art works now consist of social realities, specifically those that urge the people to be aware of the current situation, they easily attract officials and no sooner than later they are ripped from the streets. He exactly cites his own work as “brutal”, specifically with the police torturing individuals, with his intention to expose the faults of the system.

**Elements of political/protest art**

There is a significant extent of predictability in the elements of political and protest art pieces used in social movements. Generally, protest art pieces feature the incumbent President in the foreground, complemented by the allies of the government to the right side and the affected parties to the left. In the back, there is always the main sufferers, casualties or any other victims. Moreover, a string of texts can frequently be observed as well, in bold and capital letters, usually the agitated story explaining the issue or a persuasive line to join the cause.

**Foreground**

Most commonly, there is a great use of the President’s face in almost all political art pieces used in social movements. This is done by artists so as to signify his main involvement in an incident of any kind. By and large, the incumbent President will always be the face of the mural or effigy, unless another prominent person holds a greater role in the issue (although that rarely happens). To approximately present the appearance of the President, artists usually choose features or designs that can be easily noticed as a reference to that person. For example, President Estrada’s trademark is his armband in his right wrist, together with his action-packed stance and heavy moustache. President Arroyo’s most notable feature, however, is her mole on her right cheek and the noticeable smile she wears with her two front teeth. Lastly, President Aquino’s attribute will always be consistent with his lineage, the yellow color which he inherited from his late parents, his father opposition leader and former Senator Ninoy Aquino and his mother another former President, Cory Aquino.

**Middleground**

The plane of the middleground is technically supposed to be located between the foreground and the background. In this case, since the usual foreground in political art pieces in social movements are regarding the administration (thus, the Presidency), the middleground refers to anything that is outside the section under the administration. This usually consists of the individuals/materials/issues that may be directly or indirectly involved in the said issue long as they are not from the administration. This may seem a bit problematic, but in the analysis of the images, most art pieces typically include in the middleground either allies of the government or the mass organizations and victims of injustices. Allies of the government include the US administration, which can be depicted through Uncle Sam, or anything that is designed with the American Flag (*insert flag*). Oftentimes, it also include other individuals from the same line of the President, his cabinet or the senators that are affiliated to the Presidency. As these individuals are seen by
the right side of the President, to the left are the other parties involved, mostly the activists or the victims. Seemingly in line with the “leftist” movement, it can be observed in most mural cases that the activists are placed in the left side of the images, where they all raise their left arms in accordance with their ideologies.

**Background**

The background is observed to be laden with the issue that is portrayed in the image. This may involve an actual depicting of the casualties, but can also include an agitated cry which seems as a call from the organization to invite individuals to join the cause.

**Artistic Evolution and the Social Reality**

For a developed artist to successfully portray own material to an audience, one has to pass through an artistic evolution. This may be caused by childhood influences, or profound backstories, or even stimulus from the environment.

For instance, Barrios and his artistic evolution began even before his activity in the AnakBayan, the organization that he is representing. Owing to his experience in his early years as a teenager living in the urban slums, his first artworks, were of positive atmospheres, basically tackling normal issues of friendship and family as he wanted them to be all in line with the concept of *Filipino culture*. Barrios moreover noted that these first works of his were mainly influenced by the people around him, especially familial ties, people on the streets, even farmers and other laborers that he saw as the people with the most immediate needs. However, when he became more aware of the immediate threats in the environment, it was high time that he joined the mass organization, AnakBayan. Although his career in the organization started off with a few commissions in Tondo in 2011, he became a full-pledged member in 2012 and one of the leading artists of the organization, eventually becoming the Deputy Secretary General in 2015.

In another case, Santiago, who had been a cartoonist as early as 11 that he regards his influences originating from when he was a child. He claims that his artistic evolution shaped his artistry when he grew up, thus having to political art as his future career. As a young kid in the early years of Martial Law, his father was the first to influence him with his destructive views on the Marcos government. He pulled from his father’s stories the first inspirations that got him to draw political cartoons, even at a very young age of 11. By the time he went to university, he became more aware of the society, and how the people and the society do not live in a vacuum where everything is detached from one another. At some point, he admits that he became a part of the mainstream society who had to an extent a naïve view of art. However, his environment fashioned him so much until later on when he, himself, encountered other artists of his same genre, sharing the same progressive point of view.

However, as he grew up, his influence drove from personal inclinations to political and social issues. As he became a member of UgatLahi in 1995, his artworks adapted to the main artforms catered by the organization. A few of his seniors in the organization were Neil Doloricon, Tence Ruiz, Antipas Delotavo, Pablo Baen Santos, Emmanuel Garibay, among others. His immersion in the organization also led him to work with other artists and organizations such as TutoK (Tutok-Karapatan) and Sining Bugkos (an alliance of Cultural Orgs). From focusing on editorial cartoons, he also did murals, effigies, street art: all influences of the organizations he has joined.
In these artists’ history, they both regard their inclusion to the organization as one of the primary reasons to the intensification and deepening of the content of their art. As an artist, one’s work reflects those of his/her organization, with the conceptualization definitely leaning on the ideologies that the organization upholds. These artists maintain that their art pieces portray social issues faced by the country today which are in actuality the main matters that mass organizations such as AnakBayan, TutoK, and Sining Bugkos are inclined to. Barrios, even to a certain extent, goes beyond mere portrayal, and even directly projects the goal of AnakBayan which is to call for action needed for the prominent issues.

Function of Art

Differentiating the uses of art from its more critical function is to evaluate the projection the frame presents to the movement. Barrios establishes two projections that are the usual routine of political artists, one being the problem part of an issue, which is the background story and major characters involved, and the other being the solution part of the issue, whether it be a call to action, or a long-awaited jail time for a prominent criminal.

The problem-projection is most common in editorial cartoons (seen those in Santiago’s works) published in newspapers. It is common here as compared to other protest opportunities because as part of journalism, the artist is needed to present only what is the situation, and all other biases must be gone or minimized. Solution-projections are therefore more common definitely in social movements and protests/rallies. Also due to the fact that social movements are used by activists in order to voice the ideologies of their organizations, it is more practical to have their mechanisms inclined to promote themselves in order to garner more participants in their movements. In this sense, the function of political art can be categorized into two: 1) for the problem-projecting political art, its function is to correctly portray the issues of the nation, and; 2) for the solution-projecting political art, the function is to suggest an action in order to address these issues.

Mentioned earlier, the artists and their organizations has a legitimate perspective or stand on social issues in the country. But in order to properly project issues of the nation, the artists must reduce all biases and present only the significant part of the story without having to urge the audience to join (whatever the cause or probable solution suggested). For example, in 2D art pieces such as murals, street arts and editorial cartoons, the artist must garner all essential elements and organize them in a single flat piece, with heavy emphasis on the ideas that are highlighted, and lesser emphasis on those that are considered not as important or is secondary. Also, there might be certain cases wherein text props are needed in order to make the message clearer. This is clearly seen mostly in Max Santiago’s works in the Manila Today. However, most artists agree that as much as possible, less text should be placed so as to preserve the artistic ambience of the art itself.

Usually, since most of the artists interviewed were of progressive-militant backgrounds, their solution-projecting political art pieces consists of call-to-action posters, involving possible connections to movements.

However, as simple as it may seem, these artists admit that art has not always been that easy to understand. Even artists agree that between and amongst themselves, it is very rare that a single person, much less an organization or a whole nation, comprehends and responds to their art piece in the way that the artist truly intended to happen. For example, is an problem-projecting political art telling the story of the farmers and landowners in Batangas who have been forced to move out of their homes due to private companies who have apparently bought their farmlands in order to build in the site condominiums and resort. Although this may seem only as a normal problem-projection, this can also be taken as an appeal to the emotions of its viewers, as the people projected in the mural are unjustly removed from their homes due to privatization.
3D art pieces such as effigies and dada pieces are given more freedom since more components can be involved in its presentation. This is an apparent opportunity to political art to function beyond its regular routine of just projecting problems and solutions to the society. As presented by UgatLahi, effigies are made up of large materials that are easier to view by other people. Because of how they function, they can be considered both as a problem-projecting and a solution-projecting political art. For example, the effigies that they customarily create for the President’s SONA are presented in such a way that not only do they reflect the issues of the nation (the President, social stratification, poverty, injustice, etc.) but also the solution to it: ousting of the administration or even a nationwide revolution. However, the solution does not stop there because the latter part of exhibiting the effigy, which is the burning of the whole piece, apparently pertains to the burning of the system that which they condemn.
Chapter 6

IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

Art can elevate our consciousness and deepen our humanity

The Art of Change

As an object that is inherently political in itself, art has undisputable ways of confronting matters in a way that no other field can. With the aim of knowing how to descriptively research on the term ‘political art’, key ideas from the different interviews conducted were collated and compared. As a number of basic yet vital concepts surface, we are driven to go further into the dimensions of art and the aesthetics of politics.

Beltran reiterated the seemingly circular predicament in the term ‘political art’ as he questioned the validity and rightfulness of the actual term. True enough, some other artists believe this term to be a redundancy in itself (art=politics; politics=art) that this confusion has caused quite a lot of stir in the art and political academe. These numerous attempts for an eloquent yet encompassing definition had proved to be tedious. Still, the nearest that we can get without any further objections is Guillermo’s own definition, as stated in the book, Protest/Revolutionary Art in the Philippines (2001), which goes as follows:

**Political art** bears a content touching upon the prevailing political/economic system. Relative to this, political art takes an oppositional stance towards the system by exposing its ills and advocating change, on one hand, or by simply reflecting or even supporting the system on the other hand.

Breaking down the definition, the phrase “prevailing political/economic system” reveals two different definitions that which art is said to suffice. On the one hand, it is given that ‘protest art’ (that seemingly equates to Beltran’s ‘Progressive/Militant Art’) or art that shows the faults in the systems with the reflected aim of opposing the current status quo, while on the other hand, the art that opposes this opposition, and rather, conforms and/or even commends the current system. Examples of this conformist art includes the MMDA art, Pol Art in Camp Crame, Advertisements, among others. Because these pieces and also all others of the same line are mostly state-commissioned, even others claiming their pieces to be a call-to-action, and a “peace mural”, they are claimed to be a part of a national propaganda machinery by the state that the state itself has strictly fashioned in order to boost the reputation of the government in favour of them.

Through the constructivist approach focusing from the perspective of the mass organizations present in social movements, the research is led to the leftist ideology with a more militant/progressive stand on local issues. To emphasize, Beltran recognizes the political-ness of the state-commissioned pieces but clarifies that this twisted perspective on art (twisted from the progressive perspective) of the conformist art pieces sets them and the protest/progressive art pieces apart. It is with much pride that he claims that his work as an artist, and all other cases of progressive art, must not be regarded in the same league with conformist pieces.

**Progressive Art: Art in the Service of the People**

Following the crossroads of political art, the artist must then decide where he will prop support to. Individually, this must mean that an artist, as a single person, decides on the flow of the art piece that he/she is doing. Through an under-
standing of the constructivist approach, the case of artist-organizations shows that once the artist decides which organization to join it is requisite and binding that his work reflect those of his organization as will. Accordingly, this entails that an artist, although an individual at work, upholds still the ideologies of his/her organization and portrays the needs of the viewers he directs his art to. This shift in perspective actually stems from a wide artistic evolution in the part of the artist himself/herself.

**Conclusion**

The research attempted to provide the evidence as to the role of political and protest art in social movements. Traditional activism complemented with the use of political art pieces have intensified mobilization.

As revealed by the data, it is indeed that political art in the form of murals and effigies are a representation of the social issues of the time. The functions of political art are revealed to be categorized and linked to the two types of projection of art: 1) to project the problem; 2) to project the solution. Due to large layers in the issues, only a single frame of projection can be employed. The challenge of projection is left with the artist who then must recognize what essential elements must be maintained in the frame.

Because of this, artist-activists of progressive backgrounds tend to fashion their art pieces into agitative and stimulating images that will attract the viewers to the point where they will feel the struggles of their organization. It is deemed more effective for political art pieces if they imbibe in art both the problem and the solution (which is in progressive language, the first part will be joining the mobilization). This is not an act or appeal to emotions of the viewers because of the fact that these art pieces adhere to evidences of the social reality that they are in. These art pieces are therefore considered as a visual statement representing the position of one’s organization.

Even though a call for action for prominent issues has been established by political art, it was also made known that this is still not enough to fully recruit an individual into joining a mobilization. According to the second function of art in the aforementioned chapter, art has agitative powers. In the sense that they can stimulate the feelings of its viewers, but not including the time when they will actually get to join the mobilization. There may be cases where individuals join mobilizations because they are enticed only by the visual aesthetics of the mob. It is recognized by almost all of the artists that in mobilization, art is only the first part of agitation. The real thing where the person will actually stand up and face the movement happens after and in-depth educational discussion.

In this sense, art serves as an attraction or a recruitment booth that is used to gather the interested people. Among these interested individuals, a number will push through with discussions where they can choose whether or not to actually join the mobilization. Had it been the first case, that they become agitated enough to contemplate on joining, the role of literary and verbal communication emerges. However, it was also noted that a limitation of political art is that visual statements tend to leave more of the interpretation to the audience, leaving gaps open for mindless interpretation by other viewers. As compared to literary statements, political art that is visual tend to be although attractive, more problematic in explanation. With that, it is remarked that it has still more to improve regarding its effect and power to mobilize people. Political art can be considered as adding an aesthetic appeal to the extent that it attracts people to move towards the mobili-
zation, but with regard to the effect that it actually converts people into protesters that the mobilizers are dependent now on the individuals capacity and understanding of the matter at hand.

Finally, social realities are and will always be there for people to realize upon. Art and all the other forms of media used by progressive individuals are bridges that connect people into recognizing that social issues exist. They are strategically framed to the approval of the artists in such a way that it will attract people to understand. Art is deep and inherently mysterious, but it doesn’t mean that it only takes keen understanding for its meaning to be appreciated enough. Has political art kept a mobilization burning then only then can it be considered to fulfill its final meaning.

REFERENCES


Appendix A

PICTORIAL ANALYSIS 1

Piston Mural and Effigy

Piston Mural by Brian Barrios
Drawn on Manila paper
Commissioned by the Bagong Alyansang Maka-bayan-Southern Tagalog
Digitally remastered by BAYAN-ST
Used in the SONA ng Bayan Protest—July 2013
Containing the words: "IBAYONG KAHIRAPAN AT KAWALANG KATARUNGAN!", “3 taon ng DAANG NAKAMAMATAY!” and "LABANAN, ITAKWIL!"

Piston Effigy by Bagong Alyansang Makabayan
Paper mache (13 ft tall)
Used in the SONA ng Bayan Protest—July 2013
Containing the words: "IBAYONG KAHIRAPAN AT KAWALANG KATARUNGAN!", “3 taon ng DAANG NAKAMAMATAY!” and "LABANAN, ITAKWIL!"
Commissioned by the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-Southern Tagalog, this mural was done by Barrios for the SONA ng Bayan protest event last July 2013. The image was a projection of the injustice done to the people from the demolished communities in Southern Luzon, specifically in Bacoor and Silang, Cavite and in San Pablo, Laguna. Due to the Public-Private Partnership for the LRTA extension plan, thousands of victims of demolition, including a peasant community whose harvests were ultimately destroyed, were forced to move out of their homes in claims of providing a “rapid and reliable access” by 2015.

The image depicts a person (Aquino) as the head of a steamroller that continuously flattens out the lands and destroys the homes of the people. The affected parties are depicted to be running out of the frame as a result of this.

There are three kinds of prevailing element categories in the image: 1) President Aquino and the steamroller; 2) the affected areas including the homes and lands and the people forced to evacuate, and; 3) the textual content present.

First is President Aquino’s head attached to the steamroller. His presence in the image has been emphasized not only through the size of his segment, but also through the hard hat he is wearing and the way that he is attached to the steamroller. It can be observed that Aquino is wearing a hard hat designed like the US flag. This American flag denotes that Aquino is not only working in favour of the US government, but also that the US government is the sole head of the Aquino administration. Moreover, a hard hat can also signify protection, which means that the US protects Aquino and his administration. Since Aquino is the President of the Philippines, his role to mediate between the administration (regardless of which) and the countrymen, is reflected through the steamroller and the way in which the steamroller is attached only to his mouth. It may be interpreted that Aquino is just a mouth or a spokesperson for another brain which is the US government. The presence of the steamroller, in this sense, does not only translate to literal cementing of the lands of the poor, but also cementing over their rights using the false hope of “Daang Matuwid” (thus, the parodical “Daang Namamatay”).

The second main element consist of the areas and parties that appears to be the most destroyed in the situation. For one, this refers to the destroyed lands that were to be harvested by the farmers. Due to the demolition program that bulldozed and cemented all over their arable lands, the farmers weren’t able to harvest their goods. Also, even though not depicted in the frame, it can also be implied as the destroyed homes in the back refer as well to the demolition program that displaced the communities to other places. Due to this, the people living in these areas are forced to move out of their homes. It can be implied that the demolition was not organized in such a way that it was done only when the community was already prepared to move out, but done so poorly they were very much taken aback and shocked as they are seen almost running out of the frame. These four individuals cover for the four main affected parties in the demolition, specifically: 1) Peasants, farmer, whose lands were destroyed, 2) Laborers, workers, who, since the demolition, must find now another job to compensate for all that
they’ve lost throughout the incident, 3) women, and 4) children.

Still, an element that is emphasized in the image aside from the drawings themselves is the textual content. Containing the words “IBAYONG KAHIRAPAN AT KAWALANG KATARUNGAN!” , “3 taon ng DAANG NAKAMAMATAY”, and “LABANAN, ITAKWIL!” . According to Barrios, it hasn’t always been that murals must contain words or any textual content, but due to the circumstances, and the perception of the artist himself that in order to be more understood, the image must contain text. For instance, the addition of the words “Daang Nakamamatay” (a clear play on Aquino’s promise of “Daang Matuwid”) placed exactly in the steamroller provides the idea of the fraudulence of his administration. It reflects the organizations views of Aquino as a misdemeanant President whose promises of Daang Matuwid is clearly overlayed by the US’ self-advantageous needs.

The frame used in the image is from the perspective of the activists who vie for the ousting of Pres. Aquino, who in the organization, also has members from the peasant group that are affected by the exact situation. Both the organizations AnakBayan and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan are leftist groups who wants to overthrow the government, the situation projected has been used as an argument why this must happen. In this sense, it projects both the problem and the solution that they think is appropriate and from their point of view.
Gloria Forever Effigy by UgatLahi

Used in SONA ng Bayan Protest — July 2009

Paper mache (11ft long, 10 ft wide)

Containing the words (in banner)—“GLORIA FOREVER”

Main element—Gloria Arroyo seated in a blue wheelchair, her hands attached to a IV line with the dextrose designed with the US flag

Textual content—“GLORIA FOREVER” decomposing text attached to the banner

Outer design—Attached to a bulldozer (a disembodied car with fully-functioning wheels) with the words CHACHA embellished on the blade.

Then President Gloria Arroyo is depicted as a decomposing entity President seated in a blue throne with the words “GLORIA FOREVER” in the orange banner above. Her whole body is covered with maggots especially the face which is already partially eaten out by the insects. She is also seen attached to an intravenous line with the dextrose designed as the flag of US. The body of the effigy is attached to a bulldozer, with the words “CHACHA” embellished on the blade.

The three main element categories present in the effigy are: 1) Arroyo—the main body, with the decomposing maggots as complementary elements, also including the medical equipment—includes both the IV line and the wheelchair;
and 2) the banner containing the words: ‘GLORIA FOREVER’ and the bulldozer the effigy is attached to.

First, the facial features of Arroyo are established. The overly-exaggerated parts of her include the infamous large mole by the left side of her nose as well as her big two front teeth. These are used to establish that the effigy denotes a specific person, which is Arroyo in this case. Moreover, the red dress is seen as to resemble the dress she wore on her 2007 SONA.

Regarding the entire face, the most noticeable parts are the ones where there are maggots and in which the rotting clearly occurs (see especially the left side of her face, as well as the right cheek *not in picture*, forehead and chin to teeth). These maggots take over her not only on the face but is also seen crawling in and through the dress. One way to understand this is that the maggots are a vague representation of the problems of the nation that eats the President alive—turning her to a zombie-like figure. The maggots evidently eats out her entirety as she rests on a wheelchair and ultimately feeding on life support from a dextrose attached to an intravenous line. On another level, the whole medical equipment element can also be seen as a metaphor for the support of the US given to Arroyo. The same as in the Pison mural and effigy, the US intervention in this case is for support and protection the US is giving the Arroyo administration.

Although the dextrose is not enough to keep the maggots off Arroyo, it is surely enough to keep her in place in the administration. This is denoted by the banner attached to the wheelchair. The words “GLORIA FOREVER”, in reality, has long been used by Anti-Gloria activists whose unenthusiastic jokes of a forever administration by Gloria may be having high probability of coming true.

Conversely, the bulldozer should also be qualified as having significant meaning regarding the effigy. The base of the bulldozer is a disembodied push chart, making it easier to manipulate in the streets. However, due to the heavy built of the effigy, it requires a manpower of (more than) six people to guide it through the route.

Hidden underneath the blade is the word “CHACHA” (signifying Charter Change). Remember that this was the period when Arroyo was introducing and pushing for Charter Change as a way to revamp (or in other terms—demolish) the Constitution, ultimately favoring her and her administration. According to Iggy Rodriguez, one of the artists of the effigy, the bulldozer symbolizes Charter Change that which will remove all rights that the people have long fought for. The bulldozer and all its effects denote, according to the artists, the actions of Arroyo leading to the ruin of the country by breaking down its constitution.
(1) **Panagutin! Digital Art by Max Santiago**

Commissioned by May Pag-Asa PH  
In full-color, digitally drawn and remastered in Adobe Photoshop  
Containing the words—“PANAGUTIN!” (in fire) and; “PROPERTY OF USA MAR-WAN” (in price tag)  
Main element—Aquino crowded over by individuals (each pertaining to an individual/sector)  
Textual content—“PANAGUTIN!” Designed in Fire  
Background—Violet and Blue gradient with silhouettes of individuals all raising their left arms

(2) **Panagutin! Digital Art by Max Santiago**

Commissioned by May Pag-Asa PH  
In full-color, digitally drawn and remastered in Adobe Photoshop  
Containing the words—“PANAGUTIN!” (in red ribbon); “P237 BILLION DAP”; “P1.3 TRILLION PSF” (in money bag) and; “FOR SALE” below the Philippine Map.  
Main element—Aquino crowded over by allies with a hand right above his head wearing the American symbol  
Textual content—“PANAGUTIN!” In the red ribbon  
Background—Orange grunge with rays starting beneath Aquino, framed with a black stroke
The art work was inspired from the point of view of the activists who are blaming Aquino in line with the events involving the SAF 44. His presence was established through a caricature of him with his receding hairline and his trademark glasses. He was also in yellow color (in contrast with brown and tan of the other characters) which may be a reference to his party color. Aquino’s involvement and the blame given to him through the picture is reiterated by the observance that all individuals are interacting with him, either plain looking at him, or even strangling him in the neck, or holding his already bloody arms. These individuals present in the image can be divided into two categories. To the right of Aquino are those that are considered his allies, including those who appear in the media as hitchhikers on the issue. To his left, conversely, are the activists, blaming him for the damage that has been done.

Right behind Aquino is a symbology of the US administration, in brown cowboy hat with red and blue stars and stripes, centered with the bald eagle, the emblem in the seal of the US. In his hands (near the farmer in green) is a cut off finger which belongs to Zulkifli bin Hir or Marwan, thus the tag attached to it with the words “Property of USA”. Near this character, is SAF Director Getulio Napenas, holding what appears to be a cellphone which is a reference to the text messages Napenas exchanged with the President hours before the incident. The two individuals who appear to be climbing monkeys are Senators Alan Cayetano and Antonio Trillanes III, both has released their own statements regarding the issue.

By the left are the leftists (pun intended), which comprises and represents the different sectors of the country. First is the farmer, holding a torch (with which the letter N makes up the fire). Directly below is a laborer, can be considered as a member of the labour group, wearing a red shirt designed with “IPAGPATULOY ANG REBOLUSYON NI BONIFACIO!” with the logo of the Katipunan and Bonifacio himself in the centerpiece. Next to him are two women, one in blue shirt holding an LRP book (LRP pertaining to Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino), and another, a brunette in pink shirt wearing a pink bandanna and holding the other torch attached to the letter P of the title card.

At the back behind the violet background is a silhouette of a group of people all raising left fists, seemingly inviting its viewers to join the movement. This is a symbol of the organization that tries to imply that through collective action by the people, the rivals shall be defeated (in this case, Aquino and his allies).

A complementary art piece to this is another “PANAGUTIN!” digital art still by Santiago. Again, Aquino’s presence is established by his receding hairline and large glasses. But this
time, he was caricatured to mimic the facial feature of a pig, with wide pointy ears and a big nose. In this instance, only allies to the President are seen. The characters include Janet Napoles (the woman whose name has been on the news since early 2013 for being the alleged mastermind of the Priority Development Assistand Fund or the Pork Barrel Scam), Senate President Franklin Drilon (he who revealed his own involvement in the scam, saying that he received P50 M worth of pork barrel projects, all of which not as bribery, but as incentive), and Vice-President Jejomar Binay. Special participation is a hand wearing a US designed arm band, that has strings attached to its fingers, with the other end of the strings in Aquino’s feet.

The same as the other image, in the background, beneath the clenched fist and the swords drawn are silhouettes of groups of people, pertaining to the activists. At the bottom is a red ribbon, with again, the words “PANAGUTIN!” in capital and shadowed type.

The use of all the elements in place with one another purports a keen interconnectedness between individuals and the SAF issue. Due to the fact that the image was commissioned and used in t-shirt designs worn in the mobilizations, it reflects truly the perspective of the activists.
Appendix D
PICTORIAL ANALYSIS 4
Aquino Handcuffed Mural

Aquino Mural by Buen Abrigo
In partnership with Karatula Nasyunal
Used August 26 at the People’s Initiative at Quirino Grandstand (was also reused at another mobilization in…. and was in long-term display at PUP)
In yellow canvass cloth sized xxxx
Main object: Face and hands of Aquino
Supplementary detail: Pillory clutching the head and hands of PNoy

In a yellow cloth representing his family’s color, Aquino is seen caught in an old fashioned pillory with his head and both hands cuffed under the hole. For reference, the pillory has been used in 13th century France as a preparation for execution. Although its use has been stopped since the 19th century, pillories are still considered as signs or a metaphor to attack or ridicule a person publicly.

The most noticeable feature of the mural is Aquino’s face, which is the main object of the mural. His facial features are presented correctly, undoubtedly resembling the President himself. His glasses are present, outlining his eyes within which his pupils are perfectly rounded. The nose is sketched with lines following his nose to his mouth, while the mouth is half-open, as if to speak or contend. The emotions portrayed by the face signifies shock from Aquino, with a hint of appeal. Observing closely, the hands seem to be clenched which give the contradictory emotion, however. Clenched fists can be understood as to refer to feelings of struggle, that he, as the prisoner, is struggling to get off the pillory.

While the whole face is laden with emotions of shock and gloom, his hands exhibit an alternating emotion, that is of wrath and struggle. It can be interpreted that the face is pleading for freedom, or appealing to the emotions, but his hands are showing a more hostile reaction. This can be a symbol of deeper and more malevolent reaction. To a certain extent, this conflicting emotions can be better understood as PNoy having a sly attitude towards his nation, his character is cuffed and his hands are tied and thus he appeals for mercy, but deep inside, he has coiled a corrupt plan of action.
ERAPZILLA by UgatLahi

Used in the November 2000 mobilization a week before the impeachment trial of then-President Joseph Estrade

Paper mache

Main description—Godzilla physique with Estrada’s facial features

Garnering a height greater than 15 feet, the Erapzilla effigy was commissioned for the November 2000 mobilization, a week before the start of the impeachment trial of then-President Joseph Estrada. The effigy, created by the UgatLahi Artist Collective, was the forefront of the mobilization that occurred a week before Estrada’s impeachment trial (December 7, 2000). It was joined by a lot of organizations, including those from the religious sector, labor sector, youth sector, and many others. The mobilization was a call for Erap to step down ahead of his impeachment trial with which the foremost reason for this was the corruption of millions of dollars through illegal gambling and tobacco taxes.

The effigy was modeled on the feature of the 1998 movie Godzilla, in which a giant reptilian monster raged over the city of New York, inducing destruction and fatalities in the area. Godzilla was used as a metaphor for he has troubled the whole population and that he “devours everything” (same as Godzilla, in the movie). The fact that a lot of organizations joined the mobilization, however, has implied that this issue has cut across all social classes and professions.

To establish the analogy between Erap and the monster, the then-President’s facial features was put in place. The mustache and heavy eyebrow was clear set to make the resemblance recognizable.

The artists behind the effigy chose the concept of Godzilla because it is to denote that Erap’s administration has done nothing more but wreak havoc in the country. The effigy was burned from the sides first to start the ritual of the burning of the effigy. All the while, fireworks were triggered behind to accompany the burning.
Paano kayo nagsimula sa larangan ng sining sa aspetong pulitikal?

Nagstart kasi ako street art talaga, pero di pa ako kasali sa org [noon]. Medyo political naman yung mga gawa non, pero mas, kumbaga, nabigyan pa sya ng content, mas lumalim pa nung sumali ako sa AnakBayan. Kaya din naman ako sumali sa AnakBayan ay dahil dun sa art, sa gawa gawa ng ganito, mga mural. Nung tumagal, nag full time na ako.

Sino ang nag impluwensya sa inyo para sumali sa AnakBayan?


Anong pong klase ng mga porma ng art yung mga una nyong nagawa, at mga ginagawa nyo ngayon?

Street art, wheat paste, yung mga dinidikit. Manila paper, pero kakaiba sya dun sa mga porma ng visual art kasi kadalasan yung traditional yung painting sa canvass.

Nung nagstart kasi ako, medyo masigla kasi yung street art sa metro manila, [katulad ng] graffiti, diba.. Hindi naman ano yung buhay namin, exciting kasi yung adrenaline rush. Pero sa mas madaling paraan, yung wheat paste, pinta mo yun sa manila paper, gawa ka ng pandikit, tas dikit mo sa kalsada..

Paano po kayo nagkokonseptwalisa ng mga bagay na ginagawa nyong art?

Dalawa kasi yun eh.. Yung noon, meron akong parang, may concept talaga ng Filipino culture. Dahil street art sya, masyadong malawak yung naaabot na mga tao, pagdinidikit sya sa kalsada, libo libo makakakita dun eh, so parang pino-promote yung Filipino culture. Kaya kapag makita mo yung mga gawa ko noon, [puro] mga street
children, yun yung unang mga batch, mga family family, mga simpleng taong nakatira sa kalsada, mga magsasaka, parang ganun.

Tapos nung pumasok ako sa org, syempre, nakaayon sa masa. Mga konseptong, gamit yung street art, paano mo mumulatin yung mga tao, paano sila magiging aware sa issue, ta’s dun sa kinakaharap ng bansa. Kaya nung pumasok ako sa org, naging brutal na eh, mga pulis, namamalo ganyan, mga torture, kasi inexpose mo rin yung nabubulok na sistema.

**Pano po kayo namimili ng mga lugar na pagdidikitan nyo ng mga ito? Nagtatagal po ba sila?**


**Ano ang nagiging reward sa ganitong linya ng trabaho? Ano ang iyong inaasahang epekto sa mga nakakakita nito?**


Kasi ano yan eh, parang battle sa art na ginagawa ng state, ng gobyerno. Samu’t sari yung mga advertisement, yung mga nakakalat, art in naman yun eh! [At] Yun yung araw araw na nakikita ng mga tao. Kaya bilang street artists, nakapalaki ng role ng artist, parang debate, pano mo maiwawaglit sa isip ng mga tao yun. Syempre mahirap yun kasi sa TV yung art ngayon nakikita araw araw ng mga tao. Naka mindset yung mga tao dun. Kaya yung role ng art: paano mo sila mumulatin sa ganyang sistema sa pamamagitan ng art.

Sa tingin ko naman meron syang impact sa mga tao kasi kumpara dun sa mahabang mga discussion lalo na sa basic masses. Kasi yung art naman na ginagawa naming ay nakabaon sa sya basic masses nakatong pala kaya kailangan mas simple lang sya, kung paano nila iintindihan ang ganyang issue, yung ngakas I kunyari yung sa picket ng mga manggagawa sa pentagon, last last year, gumawa din kami ng parang parang coaster lang ang nakalagay manggagawa magkaisa, parang ganon lang, namomotive na sila sa ginagawa naming, tas naeencourage na sila sumama

**Ano ang iyong magiging rekomendasyon sa mga kabataang artista?**
Syempre dun sa mga bagong kabataan na gusto ay tahakin ang sining, ang pagpipinta, syempre saumpisa bilang artist, andun ka sa panahon na ang mga gawa mo, maiisip mo rin kung para saan yung gawa mo, para kanino ka nagpipinta, pero ngayon, talagang karamihan ay gumagawa para sa sarili nila, para sa kaligayahan nila, para kumita sila. Okay lang naman yun, kasi kailangan din naman siya sa lipunan, lalo na yung mga fine arts, kasi 4 years nila yun pinag aralan tas sa dulo, okay lang yun, pero wag natin kaligtaan yung role ng art na napakalaki, hindi man magpakilos talaga ng mamamayan, ay maeducate sila sa mga nangyayari. Napakapowerful ng visual arts! Yung kulay—mapanlaro sya sa mata, lalo na yung magagaling talaga mappinta. Sa isang banda, wag nilang kalimutan yung aspect na ito. Yung tumuligis sa tunay na nangyayari sa bansa, Syempre yung iba impluwensyado na ng western culture.

**Artist Analysis on the Piston Mural**

Ito ay sa SONA, poster talaga yan. Para sa southern tagalog, poster nila ng sona. Nagpagawa sila, pinrint nila yan, blueprint na marami tas whineat paste nila habang nagmamartsa. 2013, SONA

Iyan kasi ay patungkol sa parte ng mga Batangas, sa parte ng Southern Tagalog na malapit sa lawa. Matingkad kasi ang issue dun ng pagpapalayas sa mga…sa gilid, kasi pnprivatize, ginagawang resort. Tapos yung mga maringisda pinapalayas, yung mga hacienda, pinaprivatize, at tinatayuan ng mga condominium, binubulldozer ng mga kaaway! Syempre tapos US.

**Coding Matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DATA</th>
<th>QUOTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How he started in the arts</td>
<td>He started with street art, mainly graffiti</td>
<td>“Nung nakita ko yung ganung kalagayan, syempre gumagawa ako ng art tungkol sa social realities na parang pinapakita mo lang sa iba…minumulat ka visually kaya yung mas nag impluwensya sakin yung mga nakita ko ring kalagayan.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences</td>
<td>Social realities</td>
<td>He directs his works toward the basic masses, and considers to make them as simple as possible so that the message can easily pass through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Kasi yung art naman na ginagawa naming ay nakabaon sa sya basic masses nakatuon pala”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization-anakbayan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Organization-anakbayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techniques</td>
<td>Believes that the <strong>contents of his work are now more deep-rooted</strong></td>
<td>“Medyo political naman yung mga gawa non, pero mas, kumbaga,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as compared to before. He refers to this as the reason why he became full-time.

| His current technique is called “wheat-paste” art. This involves sketching into large pieces of paper and sticking them into blanks walls. This, as opposed to street art/graffiti, involves less time in the streets (and therefore, less chances of getting caught) since preparation for the images are done before and the only needed quest in the streets are the two-minute pasting and cooling time for the piece to be ready. | nabigyan pa sya ng content, mas lumalim pa nung sumali ako sa AnakBayan. |

| Conceptualization | Because his first influences were his current surroundings, and as he was not as exposed to the organization before, he prefers to categorize his first works as depictions of “Filipino Culture” | “Kaya kapag makita mo yung mga gawa ko noon, [puro] mga street children, yun yung unang mga batch, mga family family, mga simpleng taong nakatira sa kalsada, mga magsasaka, parang ganun.” |

| As he joined the organization, his methods of conceptualization broadened with the ideology of AnakBayan rooted into his art. | “Tapos nung pumasok ako sa org, syempre, nakaayon sa masa.” |

| From mere projection of the poor, his works screamed a vision or a need for enlightening the masses—the same as what the organization wants to happen. | “Mga kons, gamit yung street art, paano mo mumulatin yung mga tao, paano sila magiging aware sa issue, ta’s dun sa kinakaharap ng bansa.” |

| His adjustment from personal artworks to those commissioned by the organization can be noted because of the drastic changes observed in the concepts he portray. | From: "mga simpleng taong nakatira sa kalsada”
To: “brutal na eh, mga pulis, namamalo ganyan, mga torture” |

| Situational —The pieces that the artist deemed special to his history as an artist (not exclusively political art only) | Bonifacio’s 150th
It was a commemorative mural depicting him as the head of a progressive movement. The artist refers to this act as a symbology for the continuation of Bonifacio’s legacy in the form of AnakBayan and their ideology. | “…yung AnakBayan, parang pinapapatuloy ung nasimulan ni Bonifacio at ng KKK. Kasama parin sya dun sa laban. lisa lang ang tinatahak nila.” |

| The other art piece discussed was a piece commissioned by the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan Southern Tagalog Chapter last SONA 2013. | “Mga konseptong, gamit yung street art, paano mo mumulatin |

| Effect | Mainly, the artist wants the viewers to be aware of the | }
The lasting outcome of the artwork to its audience, regardless of whether or not the artist has a concrete evidence to this situation that he is trying to exhibit.

yung mga tao, paano sila magiging aware sa issue, ta’s dun sa kinakaharap ng bansa” “kasi ineexpose mo rin yung nabubulok na sistema” “paano mo sila mumulatin sa ganyang sistema sa pamamagitan ng art”

Not only to inform, but also to agitate

“namomotivate na sila sa ginagawa naming, tas naencourage na sila sumama”

Government/administrative responses

Art pieces under the category of “Filipino Culture” are snubbed.

“Dati nagtatagal sila, kasi yung mga dinidikit ko mga bata, mga pamilya, kaya hindi sila tinatanggal. Syempre ikaw ba naman tatanggali mo yun eh mga bata yun?”

Art pieces that are political in nature are immediately teared down.

“Patungkol [na] sa gobyerno, dahil ayaw nila makita ng mga tao yung mga paninira, [kaya] mabilis talaga silang matanggal.”
Appendix G

TRANSCRIPTION AND CODING

Interview with Michael Beltran of Karatula Nasyunal

Michael Beltran

- Kabataang Artista Para sa Tunay na Kalayaan—National Chairperson
- [Myembro/Dating myembro ng]
- ASAP Katipunan—Alternative Students Alliance for Progress, Katipunan ng mga Progresibong Mag
- Aaral ng Bayan
- AKSYON—(member of the) Secretariat
- ALAC—Artista Kontra Korapsyon
- FreeMusic Network
- Dirty Shoes Collective
- Cultural Delegation for the People’s Global Camp 2013 (Bali, Indonesia)—Member

Sino ang mga nakaimpluwensya sa inyo ukol sa larangang ito?


Paano kayo namimili ng isyung tatalakayin?

Well generally ang gusto naming yung syempre yung may support para dun sa isang marginalized sector. Halimbawa yung unang graffiesta ay urban poor, yung 2012 sa workers picket line, tapos lalo na yung lugar kung
saan merong mainit talaga na isyung pampulitika, panlipunan o kung ano man. Form of support din sya, di lang naming dinedecorate yung lugar. Bahagi ng solidarity mo bilang artist. Although hindi lang naman ganon, yung last year na graffiesta ay sa panahon sya ng malapit na yung SONA ni Noynoy tapos naglunsad kami ng graffiesta along commonwealth papasok ng Batasan.

Medyo naharaass lang kami ng pulis nung time na yun, kasi sa tapat mismo ng congress yung mga artwork naming nun. Tas nagpaalam lang kami sa mga tao sa mga bahay nila na magbidikit kami dito ng mga wheatpaste artwork, tas magmumural, tas ittransform naming yung mga bahay nila sa mga mural. Ang idea sana naming ay pag dumaan si Noynoy papuntang congress, lahat ng makikita nya ganon. Although di umabot kasi 2 days later pinagtatanggal na. Pero isa pa namang layunin nya is hindi lang si Noynoy yung audience, syempre yung mga tao sa communities din. Mga one day lang [nagtagal]. Actually kung mapapansin mo sa political graffiti, kakaunti lang talaga tumatalagal. Mas tumatalagal pa yung ‘tbs gangstah’ yung mga ganun

Paano po ang konseptwalisasyon ng mga art pieces?


Paano po ba natin maqqualify yung term na ‘Political Art’?

Yun nga eh, yung term na political art, parang kasi lahat ng bagay political diba? Diba sa polsci? So ayun, yung art mismo, inherently political sya. Paano natin iqualify yung redundancy ng pagiging political ng art. Yung machine yung question mo….pero ang samin hindi naming sya chinacharacterize as pol art, sya ay progressive o militant art. O art in service of the people. Kasi kahit naman ang goyerno, ang MMDA art ay in a sense pol art. Kaya lang politics ng estado, translated to murals and whatnot sa publiko. It may not be good art, *laughs* pero in a sense bahagi sya ng propaganda machinery na nililikha ng estado. Yung isang example nga ng very political art ay yung sa camp creme, yun yung talaga very political dahil nag espouse sya ng…. And then may call to action sya na sumama sa AFP. Yung longest peace mural sa pilipinas, sobrang haba diba, P. Tuazon hanggang papuntang Katipunan yata. Basta kung pupunta kang Katipunan mula Krame. Pero yun diba, ironic yun. Kasi diba
sino ba ang pinaka-violator ng human rights sa Pilipinas, diba yung AFP commanded by the state? Tapos sila pa yung gagawa ng "peace mural". Edi political art din yan! Parang in a sense pag-nag-engage kami ng political art, nasa same league din ba kami ng AFP? Tingin ko hindi naman.

Sa paanong paraan nagagamit yung iba’t ibang art pieces sa pagkilos? Paano ito nakakatulungan?

Magandang tanong yan. Actually, hindi naman sa biased ako o ano pero sa pagtingin ko, malaki talaga ang tulong ng sinung at kultura hindi lamang sa aktwal na protesta kundi sa mismong pagiging kumbaga holistic. Parang nabubuo yung unawa at expression mo sa hindi lamang sa krisis, kundi pati sa iba’t ibang…parang sabihin na nating…panawagan para sa pagbabago. Yung basic analysis naman sa culture diba na sabi nga ni Mao Tse-tung, ‘ang hukbong mapagpalayang walang kultura ay hukbong mapurol’. Tapos generally ang pagkakacharacterize kasi natin ng culture and the arts ay yung mga resulta ng iyong expression. Kung paano mo pwede maarticulate ang isang bagay dun sya lumalabas. Halimbawa, malaking cultural contribution sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas ang Noli Me Tangere at El Filibusterismo. Yun ay works of art yun, magagandang mga nobela yan, pero actually sya ang nag introduce ng notion na…oo nga no, binuó nga yung larawan na naaapi tayo, [na] meron tayong bansa na pwedeng tawaging bansa. Ang limitations naman ng dalawang nobela ay di di nya sinabi kung anong gagawin pero yung basic recognition na mayroong ganitong…may ganito. At kaya para ito nangyayari for hundreds of years ay dahil sa panananokop ng mga Katista on a national scale. So meron ka nang cultural recognition, parang may swith na oo nga no, na naging precedent para sa pagbubuo ng katipunan dahil yung katipunan din ay nationwide din sya nilunsad, so ibig sabihin meron syang masasabi na may recognition din sya na ang paglaya ng Pilipinas ay nagaganap dapat sa buong bansa, hindi lamang sa mga sentro, sa mga ilang mga lugar. So in that sense, yung kultura at sinung malaki sya para, malaking bagay sya para, para introduce on a multisensory level, kung ano ba yung larawan at konkretong itsura ng crisis at pakikibaka. Halimbawa, yung hindi lang ‘to in terms ng art ah, pero sa maraming aspeto, maganda kung through art din as well.

Halimbawa yung sabi nga ni, maganda RRL ito eh, si Alain Badiou maganda syang ilagay sa RRL. Ang sabi nya, sa larangan ng kultura ang pinakamalaking tagumpay ng imperyalismo ay yung paglaho ng salitang imperyalismo sa bokabularyo ng tao. Diba, kasi ibig sabihin, culturally, nakikita mo, madaming mahihirap, may inaapi, ano ng aba ito, di mo mabubuo na ay oo nga imperyalismo ito, masama sya, dapat labanan sya, so pag wala sya sa bokabularyo mo, paano mo sya ieexpress, in the same way na ganun din ang sinung, binilibyan ng sinung ang mga tao ng ibat ibang pamamaraan at kasangkapan para iarticulate yung sarili nilng crisis at sariling ikang paghangada sa pagbabago.

Ano ang iyong mga benepisyo na natatamas? Kahirapan?

Pera, walang pera. Di lang naman yung pera pero yun lang talaga yung una kong naisip talaga. Kasi krisis talaga eh. Pero yung pera kata isaya yung kasi gagawa ka ng painting magkano ang brush, magkano pintura, magkano canvass, hindi naman yun, although syempre madalas may mga mababait naman, na pwedeng kausapin na tumulong, pero haharapin mo yan araw araw eh. Bago pa makanating dun sa performance, magkano yun. Hindi
lang sa visual arts, pati sa music, sa iba pang mga larangan, hindi lang pera, rekurso, kumbaga. Tapos bukod pa dyan, mahirap talaga sya in general dahil minsan, sa ibang antas, ibang bagay pa yung pagpapaappreciate ng role ng culture and the arts, o ng parang sabi nga, identity politics.

Nasagot ko ba yung tanong mo? Pero ayun nga, yung appreciation, kasi halimbawa, hindi ko naman parang iniinsulto o parang minamaliit yung appreciation ng mga, kahit mga aktibista mismo, kasi sa totoo lang kahit naman ako eh, hindi naman lahat ng aktibista ay namulat dahil nakanood sya ng pangkulturang pagtatanghal o nagkaroon sya ng interes sa mga pagpipinta ng mga makabuluhang mensahe. Hindi naman ganon eh, maraming naming aktibista nag alit talaga sya satuition increase os sa budget cut, galit talaga sya don kaya sya naging aktibista. Wala pa yung panimula na oo nga mahalaga din yung kultura para pagbubuo ng isang larawan ng iyong mensahe, tapos actually may mahahagip ka na seksyon ng pubiko na interesado. Kasi nga multi-sensory yung art, madami kang pwede maexperience dyan eh, kahit yung performance art pa lang eh. Tapos yung, pero parang halimbawa ako, personally kasi ako ay aktibista noong high school ang talagang, pumupunta talaga ako sa mga tuntunan,

meron pa dati, na wala na kasi sya ngayon, dirty shoes collective, pero wala na yun ngayon. Yung DSC lagi ako pumupunta sa mga events non, athough LFS ako. Kasi yung dsc loose network, tipunan ng mga bandang progresibo.

actually di lang progresibo eh, lahat sila ay punk bands, mga underground punks, kaya maraming mga aktibista ngayon na nagsimula sila na punk lang, hindi ung punk na, di ko gusto yung term, yung punk na definition na basta yung naggganyan sa UP fair, pero actually hindi eh, mayaman at very connected pa nga sila sa anti fascist nature ng music ang ano eh ang roots ng punk maging sa Pilipinas. Yung mga icons naman ng punk sa pilipinas, anti-marcos yan eh.

Ano ang iyong inaasahang epekto ng mga art pieces sa mga taong nakakakita nito?

Well bilang isang organization, hindi lang naman kami nag eengaged sa art, mass organization pa din, so ibig sabihin malaking bahagi ng aming gawain at sa tingin ko eh dapat maging mahagi na magsasabi na sya ay cultural worker ay yun hindi lamang ang paglikha kundi pati yung pag oorganisa, so dalawahan yun eh, hindi lamang sila dapat magexperience ng art ng “wow ang ganda napanood ko narinig ko nakita ko” kundi maunawaan pa nila on a deeper scale, at supplementary at complementary ang kulturarang kuhol, ang pagoorganize ng mga tao pa, kase yun yung parang, central na usapin talaga yung, ano ba ang pinagkaiiba ng artista o artista sa isang cultural worker o manggagawa pang kultura, magkaiba yun eh.

Well, hindi naman malaking malaki ang pinagkaiba nila, pero ang artist ay general term yan, may mga progressive artist, ang artist ang isang tao na lumilikha ng isang sining din physically or nag eengaged sa isang art production, yung cultural worker ay parang ano, nag eengaged sa tawag dito, nag eengaged sa pagbabago ng kultura, na kasabay ng pagbabago ng kultura eh yung , syempre yung politika, sya ay nag eengaged sa social
transformation, sa panawagan sa pagbabago ng lipunan, social transformation, with arts and culture, halimbawa, hindi naman sya yung bidang artista pero, sya yung nag organize ng boong event, dba.

Kaya hindi lamang ganon, pero artists themselves can also be cultural workers, pero not all cultural workers kung sa philo yan, not all cultural workers, ay ano, All cultural workers are artists but not all artists are cultural workers,

**Ano ang iyong magiging rekomendasyon sa mga kabataang artista?**

Ano ba, rebolusyon? Ano ba sinabi ng iba? Well yung rebolusyon naman talaga eh, wala naman kaseng pagbabago sa kultura kung walang mangyayaring rebolusyon, ung significant at totooong pagbabago, kaya nga pag sinabi mong halimbawa, yung term mismo na political art ay parang may deficiencies nga sya eh, kung sinabi mong halimbawa, militant art by revolution, hindi sya RaRaRa, kundi sya ay panawagan ng pagbabago, pagsinabi mong militant art meron syang message of change, message of Rararanist, kaya mas feeling ko ganon eeh, kaya sya Karatula naman kahit naman ako, hindi naman natin maitatanggi na ay isang National democratic, cultural organization, kahit sa kanyang mga basic principles, yung kanyang paniniwala na ang, ang kultura ang bunga ng tawag dito, ng material o ng historical at economical setup ng lipunan, ibig sabihin para baguhin din ang kultura, kinakailangan din baguhin ang buong lipunan, kase and pagbabago sa kultura ay parang, pang pulitikang pangyayari, ang pag iral ng kultura at pagbabago ay isang pangpulitikang pangyayari, mas ganun pa siguro, ang culture is a political product, ung sa tanong na anong mairerecommend nyo, matagal ng inirerecommend yun eh, di naman ako yung unang nagrecommend nun eh.

Naturally, yung sabi ngang, maganda nga basahan mo yung reciprocal basis of culture – franz ..

Ang sabi nya kase don, pero mas colonial feature yung tinatacak dyan eh, pano ba ngbabago ang kultura sinasabi nya ren, na actually binibigyan din naman ng society ng tools yung mga tao, ang sabi nga ni ano, ibangon nyo ang inyong sarili sa colonial insecurity complex, na forcibly ipinapatak sa mga tao, kaya parang hindrance din sa isang banda yun, yung existence halimbawa ng hipster culture, diba, yung mga ganyang bagay, yung existence ng napakaraming mga distractions, yung left wing, peoples art, hindi naman sya, simplistic o basic, sabi nga mafufully realized lang sya, kapag nagtagumpay ang rebolusyon, so ibig sabihin kung nasa infancy pa sya, even at infancy kaya nyang maging makapangyarihan, kumpara sa iba pang mga forms ng “borshua” o ng state sponsored art and culture, kayaga ng mga ano, dati kaya ano, inimitasyon yung mga estudyante ng UP manila para lang manuod ng mga Pro US films.

May mga announcement pa ata sa bulletin boards, di lang naman isang beses nangyari yon, yung mga kanta ni Sarah Geronimo para sa AFP, parang ganon, at marami pang iba, madalas kase, wala naman akong personal experience dito though nabanggit din naman ng mga nakapunta na ng ibang bansa, yung progressive art ng Pilipinas, ng National democratic movement, tinitingala naman sya sa ibang bansa eh, kase marami sa mga European countries halimbawa, sa art, ung naabot pa lang nila eh, yung questions na “bakit ganto pa lang ang
naabot ng lipunan?” eh, kaya sa totoo ang dapat na pinoforward ng progressive art eh sa puntong ito eh ano yung mangyayari, anon a yung directions ano na yung soluyon, kaya kahit anong gawin na recommendation na magbago ang lipunan, sa kahit isang balangkas sya, uunlad maging ang kultura.
Appendix H

TRANSCRIPTION AND CODING

Interview with Max Santiago of Manila Today and Sining Bugkos

Max Santiago

Features Editor and Resident Graphic Artist—The Manila Today

[Member]

UgatLahi

Sining Bugkos

Ano po ang iyong mga naging impluwensya?

Kasi naalala ko nung bata pa lang ako, mahilig na akong magdrawing, so ayun. Bata pa lang ako, parang naalala ko panahon pa lang ni Marcos nun, iyong ‘yung unang time kong gumawa ng political cartoon tapos natuwa ‘yung tatay ko kasi tatay ko pro-Cory so nilagay pa niya ‘yun sa may bahay namin. So iyong ‘yung earliest recollection ko ng…siguro nasasaya may mga Grade 5 ako nun.


Well, ano rin eh… parang hindi rin naman naging instant para sa akin. Parang naging isang mahabang proseso din ‘yung dinaan ko rin (nung) college na parang ever since, sa college kasi very naïve na ‘yung pagtingin ko sa art eh. Parang magandang magpinta ng mga bulaklak o kaya ‘yung mga usual subjects na babaeng anong… so ayun naman… dun naman ‘yun nag-umpisa pero later on narealize ko parang may nangyari sa lipunan eh so hindi ka… hindi naman tayo nakatira sa isang vacuum na parang detached tayo.


Ano ang mga grupong iyong nasalihan at bakit mo napiling sumali sa mga grupong ito?

Uhm, parang naging natural na lang bilang…bilang isang kumbaga artist, quote unquote artis, parang kailangan meron siyang, narealize ko na dapat meron tayong responsibilidad sa lipunan eh. Kung meron tayong talent, eh di gamitin natin doon sa mabuti, di ba? Parang gamitin natin para makapagmulat ng mas maraming kabataan, ng mga, ayun…”

**Sa anong klase ng art mo maibibilang ang iyong gawain? Ano ang mga tema nito?**


Well, syempre iyon nga political art, anything na related sa Philippine and local issues na… na pumapukaw nga dun sa damdamin ng mga tao. Kung ano ‘yung mainit na issue lalo na sa editorial cartoons, iyan yung mga topics. Halimbawa, nag-speech Noynoy tungkol dun sa SAF, iyon.

**Yung inyong mga ginagawa art, ano sa tingin mo ang mas naiипresenta ng mga ito, problema lang ba o yung solusyon o pareho?**


**Meron po ba kayong specific audience na tinatarget?**

Ang Manila Today, supposedly, parang ang sabi nya ay issues sa Metro Manila. Target audience ay youth, so sinisikap nya magdagdag ng flavor dun sa mga issues. Yun nga, kung kayo nagsusulat pwede kayo magcontribute.

**Ano ang inyong mga layunin at sa tingin nyo ba ay naisasakatuparan nyo ang mga ito?**

bukod dun sa pag inform, gusto ko ring maipakita yung mas malalim, na hindi lang sana surface level.


Kung ang goal ay makapagpukaw, tingin ko naaachieve naman sya, pero iba pa yung pagpakilos, o sumama sa rally. Nakita ko yung ano, di naman ganon automatic. Pero siguro yung makapagpukaw, tingin ko naman abot yun ,at a certain extent, sa mga facebook like, shares.


Mahirap i-gauge eh, kung successful o hindi, pero nakakatuwa lang kapag may mga nagsshare, ngayon kasi dahil online..yun lang yung gauge ko para sa “success” (quote unquote). Pag merong “okay lang bang pwede iprint ito,” or pag may nagtatanong, isang peasant, pwede raw ba ishare, ayun natutuwa ako kasi hindi lang sya nailalabas online, naipprint na sya. Mas marami nang nakakakita.


**Sa iyong pananaw, epektibo ba ang political art sa mobilisasyon?**


**Pano ninyo nirerekomenda ang art para sa ibang mga kabataan (kung ito man ay inyong nirerekomenda)?**


Well nung nasa UgatLahi ako, kausap-kausapin, sasabihaan na ito sining. Parang yung pag imbibe sa kanila ng values bilang artist meron tayong responsibility sa lipunan. Yung art nagcocommunicate kasi yan san sa tao diba, edi gamitin natin yung talent.

**Artist Analysis on the Panagutin Digital Art**


Tapos parang mga lies niya pero parang mas maganda yata kung meron si Napenas , andun sa dulo ah. Tapos parang, parang nalalaglag na, parang…

Oo, nilalaglag na ni PNoy so iyon lang ‘yung nakadagdag na element after nun ‘yung additional element lang ‘yun, eh pumatok so ayun.

**Artist Analysis on the See No Evil, Hear No Evil, Speak No Evil Art**

So tapos ito rin, originally din see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil. Basta, iyon ‘yung idea pero naisip ko na maganda yata kung nasa likod si Uncle Sam kasi si Uncle Sam naman ‘yung… U.S naman ‘yung…

Oo, ‘yung tapos iyon nga gusto lang niya lang ay makuha lang talaga si Marwan eh so nasa kanya ‘yung daliri tapos nangungulangot. Ito after nito, iyon naman parang, iyon kasi after nun BOR Report parang naglabas na ng ano, naglabas na ng statement si Mar Roxas tsaka si Justice Secretary De Lima. Sabi nila wala na sa chain of command, parang sila ‘yung institusyon ng PNP therefore hindi dapat ano, hindi dapat, uhm, accountable si PNoy. Something to that effect, basta’ nagdetract si ano eh, sabi niya responsible daw, pero parang naging playing safe naman si ano, si De Lima tapos sabi naman ni Mar Roxas, “He should not be held accountable.” So parang bina-baby si ano tapos eto dagdag na lang kasi may kasong siya nung DAP tsaka ‘yung ano U.S.

**CODING MATRIX**

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<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DATA</th>
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<td>Influence</td>
<td>Father who is pro-Cory</td>
<td>“Bata pa lang ako, parang naalala ko panahon pa lang ni Marcos nun, iyon ‘yung unang time kong gumawa ng political cartoon tapos natuwa ‘yung tatay ko kasi tatay ko…”</td>
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| **UgatLahi, the organization he joined in 1994** | “Kung political naging mas social, uhm, mas naging personal, from personal naging social na ‘yung naging theme. Nagstart ‘yun sa sumali ako ng Ugat Lahi nung 1994”

“…mas iyon ‘yung atake, public art, in a sense na sa kalsada gumagawa ng mga sining” |

| **Encountered other artists that are progressive** | “… may mga senior artist nun eh. Mga mahuhusay na artist sina Neil Doloricon, sina uhm, Tence Ruiz… Jose Tence Ruiz, sina Antipas Delotavo, sina Pablo Baen Santos, ‘yung mga earlier generation ng social realist, Emmanuel Garibay” |

| **Exposure to public art through UgatLahi** | “Kasi iyong tipo kasi ng art ay depende din sa audience mo, depende din ‘to sa… dun sa nais mo ding iparating, depende din sa medium, depende din sa tatalakayin. Dati rin, uhm, naexpose din ako dun sa tinatawag na public art so ‘yung isang group na sinalihan ko, ‘yung Ugat Lahi, mas iyon ‘yung atake, public art, in a sense na sa kalsada gumagawa ng mga sining” |

| **Technique** | He adjusts his technique with the medium where his art is exhibited:

1. **The Manila Today** |

“Oo…very challenging kasi ano eh, mahirap makuha yung kiliti minsan para sakín. Parang trial and error, hindi ko alam kung kailan papatok.”

“For Manila Today, yung average internet user, kabataan.”


| **Influenced by the Social Realities** | “pero later on narealize ko parang may nangyari sa lipuna eh so hindi ka… hindi naman tayo nakatira sa isang vacuum na parang detached tayo. Hindi tayo nakatira sa bubble na…” |

| **Owes to his senior artists** | He does not have a personal trademark or style |

<p>| <strong>Influenced by the Social Realities</strong> | “…mas iyon ‘yung atake, public art, in a sense na sa kalsada gumagawa ng mga sining” |</p>
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<th>Effect</th>
<th>To agitate the people regarding the issue presented</th>
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<td>“Syempre iyon nga political art, anything na related sa Philippine and local issues na… na pumupukaw nga dun sa damdamin ng mga tao”</td>
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<td>“'Yung artist kasi, yung nature parang gusto niya mag-express…‘Yung pagbabago dun sa theme eh. Kung political naging mas social, uhm, mas naging personal, from personal naging social na 'yung naging theme”</td>
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<th>Effect</th>
<th>On the context and concept of satirical art</th>
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<td>“Satirical by nature ang editorial cartoon so ang intention niya nga ay mag-poke fun sa mga political figures, sa mga situations, so yes, definitely satirical.”</td>
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<td>On the involvement of US affairs</td>
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<td>“Gusto ko maipakita dito yung involvement ng US sa ating mga affairs”</td>
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<td>“Dun sa Charlie hebdo. Dun sa umabot sa pinatay, siguro extremes na yon dun sa power ng cartoons. Kung nakakapag-evoke sya ng emotions, siguro kung nakakapag evoque sya ng extreme hatred, yan ang nangyayari.”</td>
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<td>“Napakadry kung mga tao lang sa mga placards, kung puro slogan.”</td>
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<td>“Parang yung pag imbibe sa kanila ng values bilang artist meron tayong responsibilidad sa lipunan. Yung art nagcocommunicate kasi yan sa tao diba, edi gamitin natin yung talent.”</td>
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<td>Pinocchio PNoy</td>
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<td>“Parang nagsinungaling si PNoy tapos parang sunod sunod na 'yung kasinungalingan niya. Parang naisip ko originally, parang Pinocchio lang.”</td>
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