

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Terms of Endearment: The Displacement of *Inday*

Hazel T. Biana^{1*} and Ruel M. Nalam²

¹De La Salle University, Philippines

²Centro Escolar University, Philippines

*hazel.biana@dlsu.edu.ph

Abstract: The term *inday* implies two possible meanings depending on where one is in the Philippines. In the Luzon group of islands, more specifically in Metro Manila, *inday* refers to the female help, usually of Visayan descent. On the other hand, in the Visayas and Mindanao group of islands, *inday* is a term used for endearment and respect for female family members, friends, and women of influence. What this paper aims to do is to provide a theoretical grounding, through oppositional gazing, of why the term *inday* oscillates between varied definitions in the context of *placism* or discrimination of people based on where they (used to) live or where they come from, and displacement or the movement of something (in this case, someone) from one's place. Furthermore, it shows the role that the term *inday* plays in the complex web of oppressive realities given the actuality of *inday*'s membership in marginalized groups. Finally, it explores ways of how one can recover the endearment for *inday* despite *placist* culture.

Keywords: displacement, *inday*, intersectionality, placism, regionalism, Visayas

There have been many Filipino love songs dedicated to *inday*. *Inday ng buhay ko* (translated as *My life's inday*) is one of them, wherein its singer, Victor Wood, sings of how his heart aches from *inday*'s leaving. *Inday* is traditionally used as a term of endearment in the Philippines' Visayas region, like how love or honey is a term of affection used in certain English-speaking countries. Besides significant others, *inday* is also used as a term of endearment for young female family members; it signifies how precious they are, how dear, and how loved. Friends are also referred to as *indays*, a way to call each other or to say hello. Furthermore, as an expression of respect, a Visayan calls influential ladies, political figures, or women of good standing

in society as *indays*. For example, Sara Duterte, the present mayor of Davao City and daughter of the Philippine president, is referred to as Inday Sara.

Three possible senses can be made from the original context of *inday*: (1) an endearment, (2) an expression of friendship, and (3) an articulation of respect (Briones, 2008). In other Philippine regions such as Luzon or Metro Manila, in particular, the use of the term *inday* is not necessarily to refer to one's endearment, friendship, or respect for a certain person. It is used to refer to someone from the province (particularly from the Visayas region), specifically, the female house help. Calling someone *inday* in itself is already heavily loaded with oppressive layers, conflating classist, and placist notions. Calling someone *inday* in "imperial"

Manila reinforces *inday*'s place in society, a place that is not necessarily a place of endearment.

A person is oppressed for a host of various intersectional factors. Significantly, the person referred to as *inday* is discriminated against because of where she lives or used to live. Placist thinking is the marginalization of people based on where they live or where they come from. Incidentally, the term *inday* is abused because of its displacement or movement from its place or position. This paper will look at the role that the term *inday* plays in the complex web of oppressive realities in Philippine society through oppositional gazing. Given the actuality of *inday*'s membership in marginalized groups, how can the endearment for *inday* be recovered in a placist culture?

Concepts and Methods

The Endearment for *Inday*

The *balitao* or the traditional folk songs of the Visayan region in the Philippines sings of themes of courtship, marriage, and jealousy (Gutierrez, 1961). In almost every verse, depending on who sings them, one can hear the words *inday*/'*day* or *dong*, which are terms of endearment for the beloved. Passed from generation to generation, the *balitao* reflects the dreams and ideals of Visayan ancestors and, of course, of *dong*'s love for '*day* and vice versa. One example of this is the line "Day, ayaw na intawon ako pagpa-antusa/Sa paghalad sa tinuold kong paghigugma." which talks about how *inday* should cease *dong*'s suffering by requiting his truest affections (Gutierrez, 1961).

Inday is not only a term of endearment used to refer to the female beloved. It is also used as a nickname for young girls in the family. Most young girls in Visayan families are referred to as *inday*. In fact, they may be called *inday* even until adulthood or the day they die (Briones, 2008). The term *inday* is, of course, different from the person *inday*. It can be assumed that the person *inday* is also loved. Some claim that *inday* is the "loveliest sound any girl can possibly listen to" (Briones, 2008, par. 5). Girlfriends also refer to each other as *indays*. The term is used to express friendship to each other, something like the colloquial BFF or "bes" or "friend."

A typical conversation between *indays* would go something like "Day, kumusta naman ka?" (Friend, how are you?) with a reply of "Maayo raman tawn ko kaayo 'Day oy!" (I'm just fine, friend!). It is also

essential to understand that the word *inday* may also be considered a salutation, like a "Miss" or "Mademoiselle" (Zerrudo & Gupa, 2019). Like the word "chan," which initially appears as a salutation for young girls in the Japanese language, it is also a term for endearment used for young women who are "cute," young, and beloved.

To the Ilonggos, a subgroup of the Visayas region, *inday* is not only a term of endearment but also a term that connotes mothering (Galila, 2018). In a project entitled "Inday Dolls," female inmates in the Iloilo City District Jail handcraft dolls referred to as "Inday Dolls" as a livelihood project in order to support their families despite being incarcerated. These dolls narrate women's stories and their struggles and hope for regaining power over their lives (Yap, 2019).

Interestingly, *inday* is also used to refer to women of authority, women of good social standing, or even brave women. As an expression of respect, it can refer to an influential lady of a clan, a female political figure, or the wife of any political figure. It is a means to venerate or honor such women. Incidentally, "mayors, *hacienderas*, barangay captains and heads of religious organizations are called *inday*. The wife of the late Pres. Carlos P. Garcia was called Inday Garcia" (Briones, 2008, par. 9).

Intersectionality and Placism

The aforementioned positive usages for the term *inday* can only be observed in the Visayas region or through the Visayan languages. In other places, *inday* is used as a term to refer to a job title or something else. Moreso, with a thorough examination, it has meanings that employ layered discriminations or even interlocking oppressions. Someone from imperial Manila, who hails from Metro Manila (not any other province in the Philippines), may refer to someone as *inday* because of her perceived economic status, class, ethnicity, and, particularly, her place of origin. All these aspects of *inday*'s diversity wheel come into play as to why she is referred to as *inday*. So, the referrer's and the referee's place contribute either to the endearment for the person *inday* or otherwise.

These layered discriminations or interrelated oppressions have been pointed out by feminist theorist, bell hooks, as early as the 1980s. Hooks (2000) claimed that oppression is not a function of a person's particular sex, but it can be attributed to a multitude of other interlocking factors. This was the time when feminists

of the 1970s were fighting for the rights of women within the framework of merely their biological sexes. Hooks (2000) further contended that a person is not only marginalized because she is female but because of other factors, such as her being black or poor.

In this instance, *inday* is not merely discriminated against because of her perceived income class but rather because of other aspects, such as her place of origin, her culture, and her regional background. Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) termed this phenomenon as *intersectionality*. A buzzword in feminist circles, Crenshaw first discussed the multidimensionality of her black experience, the intersectionality of race and sex that both play roles in the systems of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139). In the United States, for instance, women of color are still invisible, discriminated, and marginalized by virtue of them being both women and people of color. Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality was preceded by bell hooks' notion of interlocking webs of oppression (Biana, 2020). Although women throughout the world share common oppression by virtue of their inherited sex, the diversity of their classes or races ends the commonality (Biana, 2020). Class, race, religion, or sexual preference, and many other factors are not given that much importance in the study of oppression (hooks, 1984).

Given the idea of intersectionality, it has been overlooked; however, that part of these oppressive factors is always located at a particular place. From Kant to Bergson, the importance of place in philosophy has already been discussed (Malpas, 2018). More recently, other philosophers such as Heidegger, Derrida, Deleuze, and Guattari reemphasized the formative influence of place and space (as cited in Malpas, 2018). Place is "a necessary structure of human experience," (it) frames experience in order to be understood, and "it is integral to the very structure and possibility of experience" (Malpas, 2018, p. ix).

Place is more than geography or the arrangement of places. Although political issues such as citizenship, diaspora, or immigration are discussed in connection to places of birth or origin, place in itself is not problematized enough (Cresswell, 2008). The human experience is molded by place as a concept, not only specific instances of places. Japanese philosopher of place, Nishida Kitarō, mentioned viewing the world from the point of view of the world rather than merely

viewing the world from the point of view of the self (Wen-hong 2009). In understanding the world, one must look at the notion of place from a more serious standpoint.

Each aspect of the diversity wheel is always situated in and influenced by place. A person's place includes the following aspects: current location, place of origin or place of birth (not necessarily the same places), place of migration, one's culture and background influenced by one's place (e.g., region, city, municipality, continent, country), place of citizenship, language/s, the place of ancestors and descendants, or even the food of a particular place.

To illustrate, *inday* is a poor young woman born in Bohol, is discriminated in Manila but is loved in the Visayan provinces and dreams of working abroad in the future. *Inday* can also be an affluent mayor in Davao, born in Davao City, who dreams of running for higher office someday in Metro Manila. Consequently, although *inday* is a person who has dreams and hopes, she can still be limited by her place of origin, present location, place of migration, and so forth. At the same time, where *inday* is located influences her values, beliefs, behaviors, experiences, and expectations. She is also discriminated against based on where she lives or where she comes from. This idea is known as placism, and it will be used as a framework to understand *inday's* displacement and the loss of her endearment.

Placism or placist thinking is the discrimination of people or groups based on where they live or where they come from. Certain people or groups of people may be abused because of their displacement or movement from their place or position, or the diasporic phenomenon. Placist oppression also restrains, restricts, and prevents one's motion and mobility. Placism is the parent of regionalism in the Philippines. Although hooks and other postfeminists criticize racism and its effects on African-American women, Filipinos are more "regionalists" than racists. Filipino national identity is questioned by some, particularly those who hail from the Muslim, Cordillera, and Cebu regions. There are more identification and affiliation with regional or ethnic origins rather than the Philippine nation as a whole. Accordingly, when contrasted against nationalism, Filipino regionalism is greater. Thus, anything that is associated with "other" regions that one is not a part of is seen as inferior (Banlaui 2004).

A recent case that exhibits this type of regionalism is the issue of Netflix's *Street Food* episode on Cebu. Erik Matti, a *Hiligaynon* from Iloilo, criticized the Cebu street food featured in the show as not being Filipino enough. Chai Fonacier, an actress formerly based in Cebu, answers Matti by saying that while the esteemed film director was *Hiligaynon*, he "reeks of imperial Manila" (Padayhag, 2019, par. 3). She went on by asking as to whether "regions (are) only considered Filipino if it's convenient for Manila" (Padayhag, 2019, par. 3) She even attacked the place itself, as if the place has the power to discriminate: "Here's the problem with Manila: I like you, but sometimes no (sic.)" (Padayhag, 2019, par. 6). She went on by proclaiming that (other) regions are alienated by Manila.

It should be stressed that "cultural identity has often been interpreted as connected with some place, either through notions of local culture or calculated constructions of national identity" (Raadik-Cottrell, 2011, p. 33). In the Philippines, cultural identity is tied to the constructions of regional identity. A usual topic of conversation among new friends is one's region of origin. One is asked where one's province is. It is assumed that everyone in Metro Manila has its original roots in a province. If one declares that one does not have a province, one is asked where their parents hail from. Even one's surname is traced to one's region of origin. For example, people with surnames such as "Maniago" and "Mañez" hail from Pampanga, a province in central Luzon, whereas "Simbulan" and "Ceniza" hail from Negros Oriental, a province in Central Visayas.

There are even stereotypes per region that can actually be regionalist at times. *Ilocanos*, for example, are typecast as stingy and the *Kapampangans* as show-offs. Incidentally, the *Tagalogs* and other non-Visayans have been criticized for their regionalist and placist notions of *inday* (Briones, 2008). *Inday* is a title given by most *Tagalogs* or *Manilenyos* to their house help or babysitters whose place of origin is the Visayas region. House help and babysitters who are not from Manila or Tagalog provinces are therefore then referred to as Bisaya (or hailing from the Visayas region) as well (Dacudao, 2007). Thus, an *Ilocana* (who hails from the Ilocos region), a *Pampangueña* (who hails from Pampanga), a *Panggalatok* (who hails from Pangasinan), or an Igorot (who hails from Ifugao) house help or babysitter is also referred to as *inday*. Similarly, this assumption that most *Manilenyos*

categorize the help as such could also be regionalist or placist from the perspective of those outside Metro Manila.

The Oppositional Gaze

In cultural criticism, one method that can be used to further understand the marginalization of *inday* is bell hooks' concept of the oppositional gaze. In "gazing," the oppressed (in this case, *inday*), is not given the power to "look" at the oppressor. This, in turn, results in a "daring to look, a rebellious desire, an oppositional gaze" (hooks, 2014, pp. 115–116). When using a critical gaze, that looks to document claims and cultivate awareness—one politicizes looking relations, and one learns to look a certain way in order to resist certain representations (hooks, 2014).

The oppositional gaze can be used to look at media. Do certain forms of media propagate knowledge and power systems by enforcing placist and other discriminatory notions? Through the oppositional gazing of songs, movies, and television shows that feature *inday*, one may see if the dominant, urban culture perpetuates negative images. An oppositional gaze is the recognition of the absence of the oppressed group or the "insertion of violating representation" (hooks, 2014, p. 122). It is an interrogation of the work, a cultivation of looking beyond—also an analysis of its content, form, and language. It is a resistance to the "imposition of dominant ways of knowing and looking" (hooks, 2014, p. 128). On multiple levels, it is a combination of contesting, resisting, revising, interrogating, and reinventing. One's place can either be privileged or not, but through the oppositional gaze, one can see that place affects the way one perceives from the reality of the oppressor's place and the oppressed' place.

Results

The Displacement of Inday

The Visayas group of islands is one of the three major island groups of the Philippines. Although parts of the Visayas region already had its own government system in the 1500s, the Philippines was supposedly "discovered" by the "civilized" Western world when the Spanish explorers landed in Cebu. Home to iconic beaches such as Boracay, Malapascua, and Moalboal, the Visayas region is one of the most breathtaking places in the Philippines. Although the Visayas is the

place, Visayans are a group of people who belong to the ethnolinguistic group native to the Visayas. It can be said that when non-Visayans refer to someone as *inday*, this *inday* hails from the Visayas and speaks one of the languages that belong to the said ethnolinguistic group. Majority of the Visayans speak Cebuano; thus, there are generalizations that most *indays* speak Cebuano.

According to a report in the Philippine News Agency (Gatpolintan 2017), the Visayan economy will outpace the country's economic growth in the next five years. One of the plans of the Philippine government is to decentralize development and re-channel investments in Metro Manila to the Visayas region in order to ensure economic growth in the entire country. According to the National Economic Development Authority Chief Ernesto Pernia, "the Philippine economy appears robust now, but inequality across the regions remains and chronic poverty persists" (Gatpolintan, 2017, par. 8).

The help whose place of origin is the Visayan region will not complain about being called *inday* instead of her name because it has a positive connotation in the place where she hails from. She never thinks that she is being defamed, discriminated, abused, exploited, or marginalized. When a female Visayan moves to Manila from the Visayas region, *inday* or the reference to her is displaced and taken out of context. *Inday* is no longer a term for endearment; rather, it implies her job description, her position in society, her place of origin, her "accent," her education, and so many other things. Of course, to other Visayans, the endearing meaning remains, but to non-Visayans, *inday* becomes a title, something used to refer to the help, which reinforces placist notions. Placism here is bigger than a person's origin; it encapsulates classism as well.

Most domestic helpers come from the Visayas regions, Bicol, Southern Tagalog and Northern Mindanao. According to a report in *Rappler.com* ("Fast facts on Filipino domestic workers," 2012), there were about 2.5 million domestic helpers in the country alone. Considering the numbers, it is assumed by employers that most of the hired help are Visayans, and people from the Visayas are mostly domestic workers. This type of stereotyping is a function that is not only classist in nature but rather placist as well.

Class elitism plays a big role in *inday*'s discrimination, as it involves one's basic assumptions, behavior, expectations, future plans, thoughts, feelings, and actions (hooks, 2000). A person from Manila, for

example, has certain assumptions and expectations from someone hailing from the Visayas because she thinks being from Manila gives her a higher status in society. Claiming that all the help are Visayans or all *indays* are Visayans is a way to assert one's place in society as someone who can afford to hire help or someone who is in a "better" place, so to speak. This better place could be the city or imperial Manila.

This brings the discussion to the mythical *probinsyano* or *probinsyana*. Anyone who comes from the province (and not a native of Manila) is considered as such, a greenhorn, someone who is not adept in city matters. Similarly, this person is allegedly innocent, uneducated, old-fashioned, and conservative. In contrast, the "*Manila girl* persona embodies urbanity...fashionable items...that distinguishes her from poverty and backwardness" (Ratliff, 2004, p. 42). Being and working in Manila is a status symbol for those who reside in the province. When the *probinsyana* moves to Manila, she tries hard to embody the Manila girl and does away with rural mannerisms to the point of joking about those who are not up to date with pop culture or urban lifestyles.

In the Philippines, "the province" has a different definition depending on where someone lives in or comes from. For those in Manila, the province is a place that is beyond "metropolitan borders" (Ratliff, 2004, p. 47). Manila is the center of cosmopolitan and sophisticated activities and a place of modernity. The province is a place of pre-modernity; people supposedly seek and dream of leaving the province to move to more progressive spaces such as Manila.

Although scholars might refer to this type of mindset as racist, especially to the Visayans, it is actually an instance of placist thinking. Racists discriminate and target their bigotry towards another race, and they feel and deem themselves as more superior to other racial groups. Both Visayans and *Manilenyos* are of the same race, the Filipino race. To be specific, Filipinos belong to the brown race. The basis for discrimination is not the other group's skin color or race, but rather the place or region from which one comes from.

Visayans, who obviously hail from the Visayas, are recipients of various placist slurs from those who are not from the same place. Most jokes are made about their distinct accents and career choices. One example of such is the fictional character Inocencia

Binayubay or *Inday* in the famous “*Inday*-jokes” that made waves on the internet and SMS a decade ago. She is supposedly the epitome of everything that the employer or *amo* seeks for in the help—she is educated, she speaks English articulately, and she could whip up a scallop and asparagus entrée, a “supermaid” so to speak (Derain, 2008). During the heyday of these *Inday*-jokes, the educated and affluent elite would laugh at *Inday*’s language and wit, finding it too improbable that the help would have such qualities. These *Inday*-jokes, although meant to be funny, reinforce classist and placist structures. Two points may be culled from these jokes—*indays* can never be as well-spoken and educated as the fictional *Binayubay* for they are *merely indays*, and being the help, despite being in an honorable job, is not a sought-after career. Anyone who speaks and reasons like *Binayubay* should not be the help. *Indays* are stereotyped as uneducated.

Indays who are mostly Visayans are also laughed at because of their thick accents. The accent is referred to as a “hard *Tagalog* accent” (Lagahid & Puyo 2016, 84). It is contrasted against the *Tagalog* accent, which happens to be the primary language of *Manilenyos*. What is prejudiced here is the voice’s rise and fall, the high pitch and style of intonation, and a “hard” pronunciation. The Visayan language is dominantly Cebuano. The said language uses the short “i” in pronouncing both vowels E and I, and U for both O and U. The word “breads” in English rules must be pronounced as “brɛds” with the vowels “ea” pronounced in the short “ɛ” (Kroch, 1978, p. 28). However, most Cebuanos pronounce it as “brɪds” with a short “i.” Thus, there is no difference between the words “breads” and “bridge.” The same pattern is observed for the word “tricycle.” The word would be pronounced as “traɪsɪkɪl” instead of “traɪsɪkəl.”

When non-Visayan people laugh at Visayans because of their accents, this is referred to as accent bias or the problem of accent discrimination (Matsuda, 1991, p. 1331). Accents are said to carry stories of people, who raised them, schools attended, age, languages known, ethnicity, profession, class position, among others. Most importantly, where a person lived, lives, or one’s place dictates her accent. Although accent discrimination is already being discussed in critical race theory, and there are moves for laws that prohibit such acts in other countries, it is essential to understand that such discrimination is equivalent to origin discrimination or placism. An accent is a

function of the place. A person’s *Tagalog* or English accent could reveal much about his or her place of origin. Famous Filipino-foreign comedians, Jo Koy and Mikey de Bustos, who reside in the United States and Canada, respectively, for example, always poke fun at Filipinos for their thick Filipino-accented English and literally-translated Filipino-English. Conversely, Filipinos who grew up and resided in the Philippines can determine one’s place of origin and educational background because of their accents. Word choice is also a function of the place. Certain slang words or jargon can identify a person’s place of origin, temporal location, class status, or even a profession.

A popular Filipino movie entitled *Sakal, Sakali, Saklolo* (Santos-Concio, Santos, & Reyes 2007) portrayed *Manilenyos* frowning upon their grandchild’s use of the Visayan language, which happens to be taught by the Visayan babysitter. The intent of the scene was comic relief, but former Philippine senator Aquilino “Nene” Pimentel, a Visayan himself, protested against it. He argued that such a depiction was defamatory, discriminatory, and racist (Dacudao, 2007; Lindio, 2015), and made the Visayan language appear inferior to the *Tagalog* language.

More than just language prejudice, there was a line in the movie where the grandmother questioned why the parents were raising the grandchild as Visayan. The line goes, “*Bakit pinalaki ninyong Bisaya ang apo ko?*” [Why are you raising my grandchild as a Visayan?] (Santos-Concio, Santos, & Reyes 2007). This attacks the culture and values of Visayans, a function of placism as well. Not surprising, though, is that the babysitter, “Yaya Susan,” was portrayed in the movie as a typical Visayan woman who tries her luck in Manila, and because she is not educated enough, she ends up working as a babysitter. Visayans are portrayed as always wanting or having to leave the Visayas for better luck in Manila.

The problems that arise in the displacement of the term *inday* is that the person *inday* that is supposedly loved in the Visayas region is discriminated in a placist manner because of her assumed place of origin. This includes discrimination against her language, accent, and word choice. Although she is assumed to be from the Visayas region because of her accent, she is also assumed to be a babysitter, which makes the intersections of marginalization more interesting. Being a babysitter, she is stereotyped as hailing from the rural lower classes and that she dreams of rising

above the ashes and making it big in Metro Manila.

For example, *Indays* in Filipino movies are always portrayed as struggling, poor women. In the movie *Inday Bote* (Monteverde & Carlos 1985), Inday is a poor young woman who sells bottles and newspapers for a living. She struck gold when an elderly woman gives her a bottle which housed magical dwarves that could help her fulfill her dreams. The film *Super Inday and the Golden Bibe* (Crisologo, Monteverde, Monteverde, & Tuviera 2010), on the other hand, portrayed Inday as a woman who comes from the province, who looks for a job in Manila, and ends up as a help in the same household as her mother. As with other *Inday* movies such as *Inday, Inday sa Balitaw* (Monteverde, Santos-Concio, Santos, & Carlos 1986), such movies have rag-to-riches, happily-ever-after storylines, which reinforce the supposed lower class status and job description of women referred to as *Inday*.

In the mid-part of the 20th century, Filipino rural-urban female internal migrants worked in industrial, healthcare, education, and secretarial jobs (Hart, 1971). Nowadays, as the UNESCO (2018) report on internal migration in the Philippines stated, female migration is significant as most women still migrate to urban places due to economic reasons. However, the migrants enter into domestic or childcare work, and this can be explained by a the lack of education or skills (UNESCO, 2018). Hasty generalizations such as all *indays* are from the province, all *indays* are poor, or all rural-urban female migrants are from the Visayas region could be based on these data.

Overcoming Placist Culture

In Iloilo, female inmates create the *Inday* dolls as a way to emancipate themselves through art and expression. Consequently, researchers uncovered that the word *inday* is decolonized and reclaimed “as significant inspiration in mobilizing the narratives of these women, by bringing its original meaning and re-formulating its identity as a term that scripts stories of the futures” (Zerrudo & Gupa, 2019, p. 204). By sharing their stories, the women creatively named and claimed their identities. Language is a place for emancipation, but otherwise, it can also be a place of oppression.

When languages are translated, they tend to mirror domestication and foreignization. An example of this is the manga translation of Japanese honorific suffixes.

Accordingly, “honorifics are used to indicate social status or levels of politeness, but can also contribute certain characteristics to the person they are referring to as well” (Watson, 2019, p. 70). Incidentally, when manga is translated into English, there may be some difficulty, considering that there may not be English language equivalents. To translate honorifics literally appears out of place within an English translation; however, not using these honorifics denies the relationships of one with another (Watson, 2019). Take, for example, a character referring to another as *-chan* (See the section on The Endearment for Inday) indicates the endearment of one character for *-chan*. Similarly, because there is no direct Tagalog translation for *inday*, the term may be under the guise of foreignization or domestication, but in this case, more specifically regionalization and “out of place” as earlier mentioned with the literal translation of honorifics.

In other countries, such as the United States, there is a call for language and cultural pluralism. More than the tolerance or assimilation of linguistic pluralism, there should be an active move for language rights (Mihut, 2019). These rights should ensure safe language spaces in “local, regional and professional communities” (Mihut, 2019, p. 68). Through a revamp of pedagogical techniques and global perspectives, scholars must make popular the transnational/translingual/multilingual approach to languages. Just as postfeminist bell hooks called for the acknowledgment of multiple voices, literally, attention must be given to “multiple linguistic voices” or, in other words, the “valorization of multiple languages and dialects” (Mihut, 2019, p. 71). However, it must not stop there, as part of overcoming placist culture involves the acceptance of these multiple linguistic voices, and “rich linguistic repertoire and community ties” (Mihut, 2019, p. 75). The term *inday* is used by various voices and communities and is representative of multiple Visayan places.

Places are based on peoples’ memory, “their pride of ownership, and produce anxiety and an aestheticized politics of exclusion” (Raadik-Cottrell, 2010, p. 22). Bourdieu stated that a person’s sense of place is “a positional good,” “a form of symbolic capital,” which includes a person’s “tastes, knowledge, appreciation, and consumption of aesthetically pleasing forms” (1984, as cited in Raadik-Cottrell, 2010, p.22). Cultural capitals are foundations for “social distinctions and the legitimation of political and/or social power claims” (Raadik-Cottrell 2010, p. 23). When Manilenyos refer

to *inday* without the endearment but with superiority, this action is a validation of their positions or places in society or, in a sense, their status symbols.

Rather than succumbing to placist attitudes, one must look at the term *inday* as a meeting place of Philippine rural and urban identities and cultures. Although there is no direct translation for the term *inday* in Manila, non-Visayan people should respect the context in which the term is used. There should be an “appreciation of local uniqueness” (in this case other-place uniqueness) considering that “identities of places are never pure but always porous and the product of other places” (Raadik-Cottrell, 2010, p. 32). The various constructions of the term *inday* show the social relations that emerge due to the meaning of people’s places. To acknowledge the problem with displacing the term *inday* is to tolerate linguistic pluralism. To advocate and work for the rights and global/regional perspectives is a “commitment to engage with and dismantle privilege and power discourses” (Mihut, 2019, p. 81).

Conclusion

The placist notions constructed against people from the province and people from the Visayas region is that most of these women are house-helpers, babysitters, or uneducated. Through hasty generalizations and the displacement of the term *inday*, the person *inday* is defamed, discriminated, and marginalized. The challenge posed is to dismantle these notions and to recognize the pluralism of various *indays* who hail from various places.

The divergent personas of *Inday*, be it a young, endeared Visayan woman, or a young woman from the Visayas region who works as a babysitter, or a publicly-revered government official, play important roles in Philippine society. *Inday* represents the two polar opposites of Philippine social classes: the rural-urban migrants and a person of authority. How one understands it depends on one’s place (of origin) in society.

Inday’s issue is not only about her career-choice or her class; it is an issue about her place—her place of origin, her language and accent, her place of migration, and her dreams and aspirations. One must remember that the term *inday* is used as a term to indicate love and endearment prior to its displacement. Questioning media representations and placist tendencies gives rise

to the awareness that superiority complexes of people in the center actually exists. These tendencies have to be dismantled in order to recover the endearment for dear *inday*.

Declaration of ownership

This paper is our original work.

Conflict of interest

None.

References

- Banlaoi, R. C. (2004). Globalization and nation-building in the Philippines: State predicaments in managing society in the midst of diversity. In Y. Sato (Ed.), *Growth and governance in Asia* (pp. 203–214). Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies. Retrieved from https://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernance%20book.pdf
- Biana, H. (2020). Extending bell hooks’ feminist theory. *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 21(1), 13–29.
- Briones, L. M. (2008, June 16). *Inday* is not always a maid: The business of governance. *ABS-CBN News*. Retrieved from <https://news.abs-cbn.com>
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, (140), 139–168. Retrieved from <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
- Cresswell, T. (2008). Place: Encountering geography as philosophy. *Geography*, 93(3), 132–139.
- Crisologo, M., Monteverde, L. Y., & Monteverde R. Y (Producers), & Tuviera, M. (Director). 2010. *Super Inday and the Golden Bibe* [Motion Picture]. Philippines: Regal Entertainment.
- Dacudao, J. (2007, December 18). Visayans always portrayed as maids in Manila films [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://kamaru.blogspot.com/2007/12/visayans-always-portrayed-as-maids-in.html>
- Derain, A. N. (2008). Ang katotohanan tungkol kay Inocencia Binayubay (alyas Inday) at ang pagsugo sa mga Pinoy supermaid sa iba’t ibang panig ng mundo. *Malay*, 20(2), 15–25. doi: 10.3860/malay.v20i2.677
- Fast facts on Filipino domestic workers. (2012, June 8). *Rappler.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.rappler.com>

- Galila, W. (2018, June 12). Inday Dolls help ease the way to Filipina inmates' redemption. *Inquirer.net*. Retrieved from <https://usa.inquirer.net>
- Gatpolitan, L. (2017, October 6). Visayas region economy seen to outpace GDP. *Philippine News Agency*. Retrieved from <https://www.pna.gov.ph>
- Gutierrez, M. C. (1961). The Cebuano *Balitao* and how it mirrors Visayan culture and folk life. *Folklore Studies*, 20, 15–135. doi: 10.2307/1177329
- Hart, D. V. (1971). Philippine rural-urban migration: A view from Caticugan, a Bisayan Village. *Behavior Science Notes*, 6, 103–137. doi: 10.1177/1069397171100600203
- hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Pluto Press.
- hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. South End Press.
- hooks, b. (2014). *Black looks: Race and representation*. Routledge.
- Kroch, A. S. (1978). Toward a theory of social dialect variation. *Language in Society*, 7, 17–36. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500005315
- Lagahid, P. Y., & Puyo, N. A. (2016). Sugbuanong “taras”: A glimpse of Cebuano personality. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, 49, 73–94.
- Lindio, L. (2015). *Father & son: Overlapping ordinary lives on the sidelines of extra-ordinary times 20th century Philippines*. Xlibris
- Malpas, J. (2018). *Place and experience: A philosophical topography*. Routledge.
- Matsuda, M. J. (1991). Voices of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100(5), 1329–1407. doi: 10.2307/796694
- Mihut, L. (2019). Linguistic pluralism: A statement and a call for advocacy. *Reflections*, 18, 66–86. Retrieved from <https://reflectionsjournal.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/18.2/18n2mihut.pdf>
- Monteverde, L. Y. (Producer), & Carlos, L. B. (Director). (1985). *Inday Bote* [Motion Picture]. Philippines: Regal Films.
- Monteverde, L. Y., Santos-Concio, C., & Santos (Producers), & Carlos, L. B. (Director). (1986). *Inday Inday sa Balitaw* [Motion Picture]. Philippines: Regal Films.
- Padayhag, M. L. (2019, May 1). Chai Fonacier speaks out on Cebu Street Food issue. *Cebu Daily News*. Retrieved from <https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net>
- Raadik-Cottrell, J. (2010). *Cultural memory and place identity: Creating place experience* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Colorado State University, Colorado, United States, Retrieved from https://mountainscholar.org/bitstream/handle/10217/39047/RaadikCottrell_colostate_0053A_10030.pdf?sequence=1
- Ratliff, E. A. (2004). Stages in life: Narrative practices and identities of Filipina go-go dancers. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 5(1), 35–48. doi: 10.1080/1444221042000201706
- Santos-Concio, & C., Santos, M. N. (Producers), & Reyes, J. J. (Director) (2007). *Sakal, Sakali, Saklolo* [Motion Picture]. Philippines: Star Cinema.
- UNESCO. (2018). *Policy brief on internal migration in the Philippines*. Retrieved from <https://bangkok.unesco.org/sites/default/files/assets/article/Social%20and%20Human%20Sciences/publications/philippines.pdf>
- Watson, M. (2019). Translation studies: Shifts in domestication and foreignisation in translating Japanese manga and anime (Part Three). 鹿嶋純心女子短期大学研究紀要 [Memoirs of Kogoshima Junshin Junior College], 49, 67–76. Retrieved from https://k-junshin.repo.nii.ac.jp/index.php?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_action_common_download&item_id=595&item_no=1&attribute_id=18&file_no=1&page_id=4&block_id=77
- Wen-Hong, H. (2009). *Frontiers of Japanese philosophy 4: Facing the 21st Century*. Nanzan Institute for Religion & Culture.
- Yap, T. (2019, March 27). Exhibit gives glimpse of Iloilo's brave women. *Manila Bulletin*. Retrieved from <https://news.mb.com.ph>
- Zerrudo, M. R. A., & Gupa, D. D. (2019). Inday dolls: Body monologues and lullabies for freedom in prison; scripting possible futures in justice art in Iloilo's correctional system. *Arts Praxis*, 5(2), 202–224. Retrieved from https://research.steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/media/users/cl1097/Zerrudo_and_Gupa_-_Body_Monologues_and_Lullabies_for_Freedom_in_Prison_ArtsPraxis_Volume_5_Issue_2.pdf