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Research Article

Radio: The Indigenous Peoples Media Construction of the Concept of Nation

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ABSTRACT

This study explored whether radio had an impact on the indigenous peoples or Bihug of Camarines Norte, Philippines in developing their concept of nation. Descriptive and exploratory research designs were used. Through a multi-level approach, the intensive qualitative component of the research procedure was addressed, the construction of the indigenous peoples' concept of nation through radio listening. Thematic analysis was used to process the data gathered. The study employed Anderson's theory on imagined communities as a social construction and Crisell's characteristics of radio. Radio in the community of the indigenous peoples did not appear to play a primary role in the construction of their concept of nation; rather their actual encounters with people in various activities, their knowledge of places, the recognition given to their benefactors and stories from ancestors which helped in the realization of the extent of their assimilation with the lowlanders, their being Filipino, and their membership of a minority group were the main contributory factors. Although radio was not the main source, it contributed to the formation of their concept of nation as events, places, sense of belongingness, and benefactors. This study, which dealt with the role of radio in the formation of the indigenous peoples' concept of nation in Camarines Norte, Philippines also considered other factors which may influence the construction of a concept of nation aside from radio like other mass media, and their social encounters with members of NGOs, other agencies and institutions, barangay officials and the constituents of the community where they stay.

Keywords: *concept of nation, indigenous peoples, media, media construction, radio*

Introduction

The media as emphasized by McQuail (2002) is a potent force for mass information, supplementing the institutions of family,

school, and government in shaping consciousness. Political and social reformers saw a positive potential in the media, taken as a whole, and the media also saw themselves as making a

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contribution to progress by spreading information and ideas, exposing political corruption and providing enjoyment for ordinary people.

Radio, especially AM radio, has evolved as a major source of news and information. However, Estonilo (2005) writes that nowadays, the only advantage radio has over television is its portability; that is, even without electricity, one can rely on radio for both news and entertainment. In the study conducted by Almadrones (2016), it states that as a family and community, the Bihug of Tuaca, Basud, Camarines Norte have been listening either for entertainment or information to radio stations Energy FM-NAGA DWBQ 106.3 mHz, For Life or My Only Radio (MOR) Naga DWAC FM 93.5, Bombo Radyo Naga DZNG-AM 1044 kHz and DWLB-FM 89.7 Mhz. Their radio set, which they hang on an upper corner of their dwelling, is oftentimes turned on from as early as 3am up to 10pm. Saturday and Sunday are the days looked forward to particularly by the adults for the program *Harana* (serenade) on DWLB-FM. The young Bihug listen anytime of the day, but those who are at school tune in during weekends.

For the past nine decades, radio, as a mass medium, has become the most accessible of all mass media. As emphasized by Tiongson in the essay of Enriquez (2003) on Philippine Radio, 85% of Filipinos from north to south capture the latest news in politics, the hottest pop music sensation and the most recent showbiz gossip from radio. Further, radio has constantly evolved throughout the last century. It has adapted to cultural and technological change to remain a popular and distinctive medium despite the growth of television, cinema, cable and satellite services, the ubiquity of recorded music, and even the Internet as stressed by Fleming (2002) and despite the fact that in the Philippines, television is the primary mass medium.

This reality on the capability of radio to reach millions of listeners only suggests radio's vigor as disseminator of information and opinion. Moreover, because of such vigor, Strelitz (2002) cited Kellner's concept that "radio provides the materials of which people construct their sense of class, ethnicity and race, of nationality; radio stories and images provide the

symbols, myths and resources which help shape our views of the world."

Whether intentionally or not, radio creates the voice heard around the nation; no matter what process leads to the creation of its unique representations, they possess the power to create a phenomenon greater than themselves (Hilmes, 1997). As observed by Cohen, (1963) cited by McCombs and Reynolds (2002), "the news media *and other media programs* [emphasis added] may not be successful in telling people what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling them what to think about". As conceptualized by Enriquez (2003),

Radio has provided some of the significant experiences shared by the country's diverse communities, making possible the imagination of a larger, common community and the sense of a nation...It has articulated the values and attitudes of a people and it has afforded its listeners a sense of connection to the rest of the nation.

Based on Enriquez' statements, those living in small communities like the Bihug of Tuaca, Basug, Camarines Norte, through radio, become a part of the larger world. Hearing voices that originate in faraway cities and listening to music played in glamorous big city concerts make audiences a part of a larger, more homogenous group. With its vigor, it can reinforce the preservation of these indigenous people's self-identity or, on the contrary, may weaken their "undisturbed existential possession" as termed by Mercado (1994) in his definition of indigenous people.

Numerous studies have been conducted on indigenous peoples and radio, which prove its vitality in influencing different aspects of human existence. However, not one has investigated the extent of its power in shaping one's concept of nation. The studies of Malong (2019), Tomaquin (2013), Almadrones (2016), Espina (1997), Castro (2004), De Ocampo (1979), and Domingo (2002) have dealt with how radio programs play a role in national security, radio listening practices, village institutions and rituals of the Mamanwas, emergence of group rituals, non-formal education, and construction of new politics and Philippine history. Another study on ra-

dio by Cabuang (2001) measured its effectiveness in inspiring the Filipino people to think and act positively.

This study explored whether radio has an impact on the Bihug's sense of identity, particularly their identity with and sense of nation.

Methods

Descriptive and exploratory methods of research were used in this study. Focused interviews and focused group discussion among the 15 informants were the primary approaches employed. Their narrative stories were also considered to organize the data.

Focused Interview (FI)

A series of interviews were conducted among the informants who were residents of Tuaca, Basud, Camarines Norte. The researcher herself visited these informants in their home, the *butukan*. It is their typical shelter made of poles and leaves of banana or anahaw. Several of these *butukans* are built wherever they work, particularly when they process charcoal.

During the conduct of interviews, the informants willingly and voluntarily shared their experiences on whether radio had impact on their sense of identity, particularly their identity with and sense of nation. Both open-ended and closed-ended questions were asked to draw the necessary information for the study.

Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

To validate the responses of the informants in the focused interviews conducted, three focused group discussions were organized. The first FGD had Luis, Rosie, Haidie, and Noel as the participants and after an hour, the second FGD took place with Narda, Haide, Rosie, and Joan. Haide and Rosie participated in both FGDs. The Bihug on that day had their *inuman* (drinking of 'gin') which presumably made them comfortable talking and sharing ideas and experiences to the researcher. While they were drinking, they started talking and exchanging views about nation, their being Filipino, their listening to radio and other related information. Thus, the researcher took the opportunity to raise questions which they enthusiastically and willingly answered.

The third FGD was planned and it happened under a coconut tree while some of the Bihug were busy making copra. Participants in this FGD were Luis, Noel, Nelly, Bong, Rosie, Reynante and Naning.

Results and Discussion

Films and other forms of media like novels and newspapers which offer representations come to be read as 'commonsense' thus, creating what is experienced as an adequate and unalienated representation of subjects' lives. These subjects abstract certain images from their own lives which 'stand in' for the nation (Radcliff & Westwood, 1996). Radio as another form of media also offers information and meaning similar to films, novels and newspapers which influence people in constructing their concept of things. The Bihug of Basud, Camarines Norte who had been listening to radio for years, had been shaped by the medium in many ways in the construction of concepts including their concept of nation which is the focus of this undertaking. However, aside from listening to radio, it should be noted that stories told by loved ones, parents, ancestors and lowlanders helped a lot in their understanding of the concept of nation and country, which both translate to "bansa" (nation) in most Filipino languages, including theirs. In this section, the role played by radio in concept formation is the focus.

Radio as a medium can be taken as a source of information rather than as a creator of a distinct ideology (Karpf, 1980) as mentioned by Fleming (2002), thus, it can help the Bihug in the construction of the concept of nation. In addition, despite its ephemeral nature and lack of visual representations, radio contributes to what McQuail (2002) calls our definition of social reality: 'the place where the changing culture and values of societies and groups are constructed, stored and most visibly expressed' which includes the construction of a concept of nation.

As elucidated by Crisell (1994), listening to the radio required people to imagine the world of a play or story and the real world of news, weather reports and current affairs. He added that the words, sounds, or other kinds of sym-

bols automatically create pictures in the listeners' minds that listeners form images thus, making sense of the codes heard. Listening to radio particularly to 'Mga awitin, balita, showbiz news, kalagayan ng panahon, pangkabuhayan, patayan, at jokes' (Songs, news, showbiz news, weather forecast, livelihood, killings and jokes), the Bihug visualized the things they listened to. The sounds heard created images which revealed their inner thoughts and feelings relative to the shaping of a concept like the concept of nation.

At the outset, the researcher directly asked the informants about their knowledge about the country, Philippines, for her to have an idea of whether the Bihug knew the place where they lived. When asked about the country, Philippines, based on what they had heard on radio Naning said, '*Nadangog ko duman sa bareta. Sinasabi ang Pilipinas pero dai ko man aram ang Pilipinas. Ini lang ang aram ko, ining iniistaran mi saka Bicol.*' (I heard from the news. Pilipinas has been mentioned, however, I don't know Pilipinas. This is the only place I know, the place where we live and Bicol.) Noel had a similar thought: '*Oo, Pilipinas. Pag-ano pag di pag-ano sa Pilipinas nagkakagulo duman sa Pilipinas, nag-aano ako sa radyo. Na arog kaini, sa Pilipinas arog kaini, naglalabanan. Dai ko ngani aram kung sain yan.*' (Yes, Philippines. In the Philippines, conflicts are there in the Philippines. I listened over the radio. It's like this in the Philippines, fighting. I don't even know where Philippines is.) On the other hand, Delia was definite in her statement when she replied: '*Ay, mayó. Iniisip ko ngani bansa, dai ko man naaabot kung sain to parte. Nadadangog ko man sa radyo pero iniisip ko kung sain. Dai ko man aram kung sain.*' (No. I was really thinking about a country but I couldn't reach its location. I just heard from the radio but I was thinking where it is. I really don't know its location.) The term Philippines was known to them because of radio, although some young Bihug learned it from school. The Bihug had been hearing the term in some news reports even if its location remained vague, not realizing that their place was part of the country, Philippines.

Despite very limited notion and uncertainty about the word Philippines and country as heard on radio, the Bihug knew that there was

a country called Philippines and that certain conflicts occurred in that country. They just could not say exactly where it is and the places comprising it, including the place of their residence.

The Bihug conceived nation as a sense of belongingness, among others, partly through what they heard on radio.

Gusto ko nganing madangog ang mga barabareta sa radyo. Tugon kaito sakuya basta eleksyon daa magdangog ako sa radyo. Nagsabi ito na kung yaon sya na kaiba sa botohan na ini, magduman daa ako sa Labo ta yaon sya dyan mahilingan kami, makumustahan. (I want to hear some news over the radio. He reminded me to listen to the radio every election day because he's there. He told me that if in case he will be there, I have to go to Labo for us to have some talk.)

Hearing his name would mean a reunion for the two of them who had not communicated for five months. Their transistor radio served as an avenue for them to meet not only as grandmother and grandson but also as individuals who belonged to one tribe, to have conversations and find out if they were both okay. Strengthening bonds and belongingness among the tribal members was also apparent in these statements.

Nadadangog ko din itong tiyuon kong Born Again, nabati. Nasabay kami sa panalangin. (I also hear my uncle who is a Born Again; he greets. We also pray as he prays.)

Radio became the channel for a member of a tribe to express his sense of belongingness to other members despite the distance. A mere greeting signified a warm acceptance and a happy feeling of who they were, their status, their culture and traditions.

Apparently, listening to radio provided the Bihug not only with direct information from the programs heard but also made them contemplate and ponder on what they had heard, which at the same time raised their sense of belongingness. As stressed by Gee (2003), "Words have histories... They have been part of specific historical events and episodes. Words bring with them as potential situated meanings all the situated meanings they have picked up in

history and in other settings". As the Bihug listen to radio, their loved ones especially lingered in their minds.

Naiisip ko itong mga katribu ko. Nagigirumduman ko lang si mga ninuno mi. (I think of my fellow tribesmen. I just remember our ancestors.)

Talking to and observing the Bihug made one realize how much they valued their tribal members, ancestors and loved ones and their being part of the group. Stories that reflected their lives now and then with their family and relatives, such as those invoked by singing *harana* (serenade) and *kundiman*, traditional Filipino love songs, indicated their bond with each other.

Moreover, valuing one's culture and tradition was equivalent to recognizing one's integration in a particular group, shown in one of the responses of the Bihug. Noel who used to tune in to the weekend program of DWLB, *Harana*, listened to the songs played not only for entertainment but also to:

Tanganing manuod ako sa kantang dagos-dagos na ta tuom ko ma na para makasabay sa pagkanta. (So that I could learn to sing continuously for I have memorized it already, so that I can follow in singing.)

Radio cultivates the Bihug's indigenous attitudes and values, that of giving worth to their customs, their tribal songs. Such is supported by Gerbner et al. (1986) who argued that mass media cultivated attitudes and values which were already present in a culture and the media maintained and propagated these values among members of a culture, thus binding them together. Although they were scattered in various places of Camarines Norte, the tribal songs heard strengthened their common values and united them as one community. Noel memorized not only the tribal songs in *Harana* for him to be able to sing during special occasions and gatherings, but also intended to teach the lyrics to his children. His purpose was for the continuous existence of their tribal songs, some of which were heard on radio in the program *Harana* and some were from their ancestors. On the other hand, the *kundiman* songs heard were rendered during their gatherings. However, they did not claim them as their own

even when these *kundiman* songs were translated by those Bihug who performed on DWLB to their language, *Manide*, so that Bihug listeners would tune in more to the program. As head of the family, Noel's wish was to preserve their culture. He was not alone in this aspiration for in one of the informal conversations with the Bihug, an elderly shared his thoughts on preserving whatever they had especially their traditions.

Ang mga Kabihug ay may sariling wika at ito ay aming iniingatan bilang pagpapahalaga sa aming pinagmulan at kultura. At kung sino man ang humingi o makiusap na baguhin ang sistema ng aming buhay at pagkatao ay hindi kami makapapayag. Kami din ay maraming kaibigang unat o lowlander na gustong baguhin ang aming buhay. Kaya kami ay iwas sa kung sino ang kumakausap sa amin. (The Bihug have their own language which is being preserved to give importance to our ancestry and culture. Those who will ask or request to change our lives and being will not be permitted. We have lots of lowlander friends who want to change our way of life that's why we tend to be aloof with those who start a conversation.)

Some of their practices, however, had been modified like in eating and being conscious of their dwelling. They had been adopting what the personnel of National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) taught them, to wash their hands before eating and be organized in keeping the utensils. These changes were directed toward assisting them to adopt healthier living. But, hampered by insufficient income, their desire to adapt hardly materializes.

Their sense of belongingness was manifested as well in one of the usual pastimes of the Bihug, which was drinking liquor, during which everyone sang his/her favorite and remembered songs from radio like those *kundiman* songs from *Harana: Dungawin mo Sana, 'Ako'y Bigo, Irog Ko'y Pakinggan, Awit Ko'y Dinggin, O, Ilaw, Neneng, Ang Tangi Kong Pag-ibig, Lihim na Pag-ibig, Ikaw ay Akin, Madilim ang Gabi, Luksa ang Puso Ko, Salamat sa Ala-ala, Inday ng Buhay Ko, Sa Isang Hagdanan, Bulung-Bulungan, Di Ko Kasalanan and Isang Lunday*. The elders

especially, in singing the *kundiman* songs, expressively rendered the tunes while others attentively listened and from time to time joined in the singing. The presence of a guitar completed their being together as their melodious voices reverberated together. Even the younger ones bonded with the elders. Their favorite songs included *I'm in your Life, Love is All I Need, Larawang Kupas, Every time I See You Smile, Muling Ibalik, Kung Sakaling Ikaw ay Lailayo, Promise Me, Basang Basa sa Ulan, Panday, Tila Ibon* and other Original Pilipino or Pinoy Music (OPM). Such activities strengthened their relationship as a community.

The songs that united the Bihug as one happy community ranged from contemporary to folk and *kundiman* songs. These songs reminded them also of the lowlanders who had been spending time interacting with them for years, a manifestation of assimilation which was also demonstrated in the findings of Rada (1978) on Ramah Navajo Radio and Cultural Preservation which showed that the radio station has provided the Anglo culture with the means to hasten the acculturation and assimilation of the Ramah Navajo into the greater Anglo society.

Nadadangog ko itong paghaharana ngani itong maganda bagang dangugon ang pagharana garo ito daraga pa kami, pinapasyar ako, pirmi kaming hinaharana kaito, mga arog nindong binata ang naghaharana. (I listen to the serenade. It's good to hear those songs. I also remember when we were still maidens; I was visited and always serenaded by the gentlemen like you.)

The Bihug's acceptance of the lowlanders which started through *harana* is still exhibited up to this time, thus, an evidence of assimilation between the two different groups of people. Genuine intention was their primary basis for accepting and appreciating the lowlanders. New faces for them were also welcome. However, visiting their community must be permitted by the Barangay Captain whom they considered their guardian. They believed that seeking permission from the head of the barangay secured them from any untoward incident. Also, they socialized with the lowlanders by at-

tending occasions like the celebration of barangay fiestas, the *pabayle* (dance), where they also opened conversations while enjoying the company of lowlanders. Besides, they have lowlander friends who cared and assisted them in their needs like the time when some of the tribe members suffered from malaria. The Barangay Captain especially initiated the immediate medication and recovery of the patients. These situations proved the Bihug's belongingness among lowlanders particularly the residents of Tuaca.

The Bihug's act of listening to radio as a community formed them into a group, making them an aggregate entity. Whether or not they all agreed with or liked what they heard, they were united in that experience. Thus, deliberate withdrawal from listening to the radio program *Harana* still contributed to what Naning felt towards her loved ones and the role they played in her life.

Ako dai ko na magkatarandaan, dai ako nagdadangog ta si mga ninuno mi garadan na. Ang namulatan ko si iná ko na lang. Mayó na din akong amá. (I can't remember anymore for I'm not listening because our forefathers were already dead. I grew up only with my mother because my father was already dead.)

Again as pointed out by Gee (2003), words have histories. The songs listened to by Naning had stories to tell. Although she could not relate to the songs, she was indirectly involved in the narrative account and episodes that took place in the past because of their kinship.

For Douglas (1999) as mentioned by Hugh (2009), the nostalgic quality of the radio and its ability to evoke the past were often related to an intensely personal feeling with a healing sense of sharing and collective memory. Listeners were even taken out of themselves but at the same time hurled into their innermost thoughts. Reminiscing a gloomy past was experienced by Delia while listening to the radio, bringing her to the thought of a loved one.

Parang nakikita ko yong asawa ko, patay na sya. Masama. Masama po kasi po bigla lang nawala sa aming mag-iina. Pag-ano pinapatay ko na yong radyo, napapayak ako. (It's like I could see my

husband. It's bad because we just suddenly lost him. I turn off the radio; I feel like crying.)

The depressing emotion felt was caused by the sudden death of a loved one and was triggered by the powerful characteristic of radio to evoke a connection to the past through nostalgic songs.

In the second batch of interviews where the researcher sought the assistance of Ms. Villaluz to raise again questions on the influence of radio in the formation of their concept of nation, when they were asked directly if radio helped them and in what way, they said:

Oo, dahil tinatangkilik ko ang radyo dahil nababangit nila ang mga katutubo. Naiintindihan ko at nakikisimpatya rin ako sa mga nagaganap sa lipunan. (Yes, because I listen to radio because they have been mentioning us. I understand and sympathize with what is happening in the society.)

Radio listening among the Bihug was very important as some radio programs, especially those aired locally, had recognized them as indigenous people who were part of the community. Being included in some news reports boosted their sense of belongingness. They believed that the lowlanders had already accepted them as constituents despite differences, particularly their physical appearance and life's condition. They felt it was an honor for them to be recognized in the urban area even if they had been staying in distant places like in the mountain and forested areas. They were relieved that they were welcomed every time they traded goods, asked for assistance, socialized and conducted other activities which improved their livelihood and helped in the preservation of their culture; that no one covered his nose in their presence, which offended them. They wanted to be accepted for who they were and such was the reason why they were very thankful for the radio program *Boses ng mga Katutubo* (Voices of the Indigenous People), where Bihug anchors, Pastor Ronnie Abriol and Edgar Lamadrid, both from Labo, Camarines Norte, disseminated among listeners their history, source of earnings and life's conditions.

The recognition felt and experienced by the Bihug did not end at letting themselves be accepted by the community. They also had the desire to help, like being involved in helping victims of killings as heard over the radio. How to extend help was not explained by the informant, but such a response arose when the Bihug explained his belief in God, that killing was not good.

Likewise, it was through radio that the Bihug learned of some things around them - the people, events and places locally and nationally. Specifically, exposure to radio programs gave them direct and indirect information about those they have been meeting in their lives, the lowlanders. These pieces of information provided them some information about the lowlanders which led to a better relationship between them. At the same time, the acceptance by the Bihug of the lowlanders was a response to the acceptance shown by the latter to the former.

In relation to the Bihug's concept of nation as people, radio listening helped in strengthening their identity as an indigenous people. The music heard on radio reflected and reinforced their sense of identity. As pointed out by Hendy (2000) 'if it is true that through radio we hear what we hear, it is also true that to some extent we are what we hear'. The singing of those songs listened to from *Harana* contributed to the idea of preserving the Bihug's identity as members of a tribal community.

Ako ang makanta pagmayong radyo ta tuom ko na. Pagmay tiripon nakanta tapos pagnagtatrabaho nakanta. Tinutukdo ko din sa mga aki. Habang madakula man yan, tatao nayan, dai mawawara. (I'll be able to sing in the absence of radio because I have memorized it already. If there are gatherings, I sing. While working, I sing. I also teach the children. So when they grow up, they already know the songs. These songs should continue to exist.)

Despite some lowlanders' participation in some of the Bihug's activities, in their moment of being together as one community, the Bihug still considered the idea of conserving their culture as an indigenous people as shown by how they gave importance to their indigenous songs

that reflected their identity as Bihug. For the Bihug, learning the songs to sing at special occasions or small gatherings was not what was important but the passing on of these songs to the next generation.

Aside from the music heard which contributed to strengthening the Bihug's identity, listening to some news reports and discussions of radio announcers reinforced their identity as Bihug. When they were asked if radio helped them as Bihug, they said:

Ang radyo ay nakakatulung sa amin dahil tinatangkilik namin at tinatangkilik din kami. (Radio helps us because we do listen and we are being recognized.)

For the Bihug, their inclusion in the radio programs was one way for the lowlanders to have an idea of who they really were. The dissemination of their history, livelihood and life's condition which tell something about their being Bihug was a manifestation not only of acceptance from the lowlanders but an indirect means of valuing their customs and traditions as tribal members.

Nation as events was another category of nation constructed by the Bihug. These events were also heard on radio. These incidents occurred in various places, like what Delia heard about a car accident in Baguio. She said:

Sa Baguio ngani daa, kang sarong al-daw may nahulog na byahe. Byahe, ano jeep. Siguro ang hinulugan kang jeep halangkaw pa dyan sa niyog, 15 ang gadan. (There was a vehicular accident in Baguio the other day. I think the jeepney fell from an elevation higher than that coconut. Fifteen individuals died.)

Knowing what happened to the jeepney and the number of casualties would not be possible without the radio. She relayed the news to other members of the tribe by describing vividly the actual incident and the victims. The news was even relayed to the researcher. Luis, tuning in to radio, also knew that '*Sa bareta, igwa ning rape, may ginagadan.*' (In the news, there is a rape case, there is a killing.) Aside from news of national interest, tribal reports and issues reached the Bihug, too.

Balita tungkol sa mga Bihug sa Osmeña ay positive sa malaria ang mga Kabihug kaya laging may mga sakit dahil

daw sa iniinom na tubig ay madumi. Tapos ang paligid daw ay puro bundok at kahuyan saka machemical daw ang lugar o mainit ang singaw. (News about the Bihug in Osmeña who are positive for malaria and have been suffering from sickness because of the unsafe water for drinking. Also, the environment is surrounded by mountains and trees and the place is contaminated with chemicals.)

Radio also influenced the Bihug in the construction of their concept of nation as benefactor. Through radio, they were provided with information about their benefactors and activities.

Mahilig ako dyan sa radyo ta pigdangog ko itong nag-aalaga sa mga Bihug. Ang sinasabi dyan sa radyo, kami daa magduman sa Panganiban ta may okasyon. Natao ning bagas, sardinas, yang mga dilata nayan. (My hobby is listening to the radio because I listen to those who take care of the Bihug. It is aired over the radio that we have to go to Panganiban because there is an occasion. They give rice, sardines and other canned goods.)

The National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) which looks over the situation and needs of Bihug in Tuaca, Basud and SPACFI have been assisting them in terms of food and clothing. Apart from handing over supplies, still included in the foundation's activities was organizing gatherings for the indigenous people of Camarines Norte. Usually, occasions were held in Osmeña, Panganiban where a Bihug community was located. The foundation had no fixed schedule for the occasions and distribution of goods so when it was time to conduct the distribution, the staff used three methods – through a middleman, a letter and announcement over the radio.

Moreover, receiving information about bad weather helped the Bihug prepare themselves, their shelter and basic needs like food. Typhoons as a natural occurrences were a serious concern.

Yan ngani sa bagyo. Napakarhay na ning turugan pagnakakadangog na may bagyo. Yan ang gusto ko na may radyo ta harayo kami. (because of typhoon.. We fix our house whenever we hear about the

coming of a typhoon. That's what I like about having a radio because our place is far.)

The above responses only show that the Bihug depended on media information to meet certain needs and achieve certain goals which were not always strictly personal but may be shaped by the culture or by various social conditions. In other words, an individual's needs, motives and uses of media were contingent on outside factors that may not be in the individual's control like the coming of typhoons that may really affect not only the Bihug's shelter but more so their source of living. Listening to the weather forecasts secured them from meeting accidents brought by typhoons. Through radio, they were also informed if the typhoon was over, so they could start fixing whatever the typhoon had destroyed.

Conclusion

Nation is imagined (Anderson, 1983) partly through the media, specifically print media as that "print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se". Thus, the importance assigned to various means of communication in the construction of the imagined community is highlighted in this concept of Anderson. However, radio in the community of the Bihug may have contributed to their imagination of nation, but other factors were stronger in developing their sense, such as actual encounters with people in various activities and occasions, their knowledge of places, the recognition given by their benefactors, and stories from ancestors. Thus, radio despite its technological advantage over television because of its portability and accessibility even in places without electricity, does not "invent nationalism" and construct a strong concept of nation among the Bihug of Tuaca. How powerful the media are, especially radio, must be re-thought and re-examined, particularly in its engagement with indigenous peoples.

Recommendation

With the presence of four tribal communities in Camarines Norte, namely, Guisican, Labo; Osmena, Panganiban; San Pascual, Basud; and the small group from Tuaca, Basud, further studies could work on comparing the

concept of nation of the indigenous peoples from different tribes as influenced by radio or media in general. The presence and use of varied forms of media may shape the consciousness of nation differently, thus, creating descriptions of nation with distinct perspectives, scope and meanings.

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