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MUSIC AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: STRATEGIES AMONG OVERSEAS FILIPINO YOUTH[1]

by Ricardo D. Trimillos

Introduction

The discussion considers six strategies used by Filipino populations in the United States in the maintenance of ethnic identity. These strategies are derived from the examination of the overseas Filipino as a generalized category. The study deals with music and music-related activity in the period 1984-1985. It intends to contribute a general typology of strategies for minority maintenance within a majority culture.

The use of the term *ethnic identity* in the United States generally refers to an individual's cultural proximity—self-recognized or externally ascribed—to a minority and (usually) immigrant culture. Like its related form *ethnicity* (Varese 1985), it is a convenient collective term that contrasts with "mainstream American culture," whose foundation tends to be Anglo-Saxon, Protestant Christian, agrarian, and egalitarian. The term *American* is used here to denote the dominant culture in the United States, a popular usage employed by Filipinos in the context of the study. Significant scholarly attention to music as an aspect of ethnic identity in the U.S. is a post-World War II development. It has largely focussed upon Blacks (Jones 1963; Sidran 1971) and European immigrant groups (Erdely 1964; Seeger 1961; Slobin 1982; Tawa 1982). The Asian population in the United States is a fairly recent focus of attention (Catlin 1981; Davis 1984; Riddle 1983), coinciding with the post-1970 refugee immigration from Southeast Asia and the growing economic importance of Northeast Asia.

The Filipino[2] population in the U.S. is the major Southeast Asian group of long standing and size. The principal database for this discussion encompasses the three western states of Hawaii, California and Washington. These three account for 67% of the projected 781,890 U.S. residents identified as Filipino (U.S. Bureau of Census 1983). Data collection for the study included a content survey of regional Filipino newspapers, interviews, and site visits in California and Hawaii.

The focus upon the youth segment is significant; this is the segment with the maximum interface between the Filipino minority and Euro-American majority cultures (and their respective values and traditions). The Filipino youth population (generally those under 25) is heterogeneous; it includes American-born children of immigrant parents, children of second and third generation Filipinos, and Philippine-born and (more importantly)—enculturated immigrant youth. Each group often holds contrasting attitudes about the desirability of a minority identity and its nature. Factors contributing to contrasting attitudes include Philippine language group of origin, educational background at the time of initial in-migration, and primary evironment in the U.S. (rural or urban). Each factor will be described briefly here.

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The Philippine language group of origin continues to be an important factor for identity in the United States. There are some 70 separate language groups analysed for the Philippines, each with a different degree of regional ethnocentrism and chauvinism.[3] Immigration to the United States came from Lowland groups, primarily the Tagalog, Ilokano, Bikolano, Pangasinan and Kapampangan language groups of Luzon Island and the Cebuano and Ilonggo groups of the Visayas. Particularly among Filipinos of two and three generations residence in the U.S.A., the tendency is to particularise identity to the specific language group of origin and even to a specific region within the language area.[4] However among post-1965 immigrants national rather than language or regional identity is more frequently encountered; most identify themselves as Filipino without further qualification. Thus, part of the question of identity for the young Filipino in America is its specific referent—region, language group, or nationality.

The time of immigration is a second factor. Mariano (1972) distinguishes four waves of immigration. The First Wave began in 1906 with scholarship students *(pensionados)*, seeking higher education. However this group was small (less than 1,000) in relation to the Second Wave, contract labourers brought into Hawaii (1906) and to the West Coast (1917) to provide cheap labor for the burgeoning agricultural industries; by 1930 their numbers had grown to some 40,000. This large and significant group of migrants was young, male, of rural background and of minimal education (eighth grade). The Third Wave (1945-1965) came after the close of World War II and included war brides and relatives of earlier immigrants. This group included a number of professionals—doctors, engineers, etc.—complete families, and individuals with an urban orientation. The Fourth Wave (since 1965) has increased the number of families with professional occupations and an urban lifestyle (Mariano 1972).

The third factor is the lifestyle pursued in the United States. Filipino youth who are in a rural setting or who are descended from agricultural workers (even though presently located in an urban setting), hold attitudes toward "being Filipino" that differ from those of their counterparts whose background is urban, "white collar," or professional (Anderson *et al.* 1984).

Thus the heterogeneity of the population in combination with each of the above factors generates a complex situation with respect to Filipino ethnic identity. This complexity may account for the multiplicity of strategies employed, six of which are identified and discussed below.

Six strategies for ethnic identity

These strategies appear to be the most often encountered in the U.S. Filipino population. Expressed here as processes, they include:

1. Maintaining traditional music ensembles
2. Imbedding Philippine repertoire in new musical settings
3. Creating neotraditional styles

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4. Disseminating Philippine music through the mass media
5. Presenting Philippine artists in performance
6. Becoming a Filipino exponent of Euro-American musics

Strategies 1-5 represent positive use of Philippine music; 1-3 feature a musically active involvement of Filipino youth and 4-5 a musically passive role (as consumers). Strategy 6 represents negative musical involvement with Philippine music but positive application of a Philippine social process.

1. Maintaining traditional music ensembles

The term *traditional* in this context denotes the overseas Filipino perception of "what is/was done in the Philippines." The musical products appear (from a musicological viewpoint) acculturated and highly derivative. However, for identity as described here the inculture viewpoint is operative.

At present a popular instrumental ensemble maintained in the U.S.A. is the *rondalla*, the Lowland plucked string ensemble reported upon elsewhere (Trimillos, in press). One large, active group is located in San Diego, California—*Magandang Pilipinas Rondalla*. It includes some 35 members and corresponds to the virtuoso rondalla category. The rondalla was formed from the ensembles of two folkloristic dance companies, *Pasacat* and *Samahan* (Philippine dance is an even more popular Filipino youth activity than music). It was founded and initially directed by Bayani de Leon, a recent immigrant and member of the prominent de Leon family of musicians located in Manila (de Leon 1949).

Magandang Pilipinas Rondalla performs in conjunction with a choral group, the *Pasacat Vocal Ensemble*. Choral groups constitute a second major ensemble for Filipinos. The performance of Philippine folk songs or other songs in Philippine languages (such as *kundiman* and film songs) in choral arrangements is much widespread; a smaller investment in equipment (in contrast to rondalla) is needed. The longevity of such choruses is not great; often within one area, such as the San Francisco Bay Area (California), choruses flourish, decline and re-form under a different name, often with a different (and competing) director. There have been a number of choral gorups in Hawaii. Currently active is the *Pamana Singers*, which was initially supported by funding from the state arts agency associated with the federal National Endowment for the Arts.

A third traditional ensemble gaining more participants in recent years is *kulintang*, gong-chime ensembles from the southern and Muslim part of the Philippines which have received ethnomusicological attention (Cadar 1971 and 1975; Kiefer 1970; Maceda 1963). The music is technically virtuosic and has a codified system of improvisation. Although kulintang instruments became familiar to overseas Filipinos through the early tours of the Bayanihan Dance Troupe in the 1960s, the lack of available instruments and knowledgeable teachers in the U.S. limited its development.

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However, the presence of kulintang artists in the ethnomusicology program of the University of Washington for the past seventeen years has led to the organisation of at least two Filipino kulintang groups, *Kalilang* in San Francisco and *Amauan* in New York. The kulintang ensemble points up the Philippines' cultural relationship to other gong-chime cultures of Insular Southeast Asia. The two groups reflect the present interest in a Filipino identity distinct from the Spanish and American colonial past. Such kulintang groups and their largely Filipino membership contrasts with institutional ensembles at the universities of Hawaii (Honolulu) and Washington (Seattle), where membership is general rather than Filipino-oriented.

There are other groups, such as the *Philippine Dance Company of Chicago*, who use kulintang only for dance accompaniment. However, their point of reference is the folkloristic style developed by the Bayanihan Dance Troupe, and they derive their repertory from recordings made by Bayanihan.[5] Such performance represents the re-creation of music as document rather than the improvisation of music as creative process.

Filipino music activity is largely amateur and part-time. (This contrasts with Japanese music and dance activity in the U.S.A., which has a large, professional teacher-performer segment.) Young Filipinos form a significant part of these ensembles, which are not limited to youth—multi-generational participation is also characteristic of traditional music groups in the Philippines. One exception is *Kalilang*, the San Francisco-based kulintang group whose members are all young adults and mostly second-generation Filipino.

The most often-expressed motivation for establishing and participating in such groups is to maintain some part of a Philippine heritage overseas. Although described in this paper as a participant strategy for Filipinos, there is a consumer component which extends beyond the Filipino community—the audience. All groups surveyed intend to perform for Filipino and non-Filipino audiences in order to further ". . . deeper appreciation and understanding of Philippine arts and culture. . ." (Amauan 1984).

2. Imbedding Philippine repertoire in new settings

A number of commercial bands (rock, middle-of-the-road, and jazz) are identified as Filipino bands in California and in Hawaii. Although made up of Filipino youth, their formation is part of the American "garage band tradition" (Shaw 1982:137), in which teenagers meet in one member's garage to play rock or pop on electrically-amplified guitars and keyboards. The garage band is a social as well as a musical medium. Garage bands may become skillful enough to perform for public events, such as dances or outdoor concerts. Filipino bands of this type often include Filipino songs in their repertoire, such as the 19th century *sarswela* song "Sampaguita," the film song "Mahal Kita" or an up-version of the Ilokano folksong, "Dumdumwen kanto."

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The family band is another group that plays commercial engagements. One example is the "Spinnares" that perform for social dances throughout the San Francisco Bay Area. The bass, lead guitar, drums and electric keyboards are played by four teenage brothers, whose father leads the ensemble and plays saxophone. Their repertory includes a number of popular Filipino songs (usually set to Latin dance rhythms) as well as a wide and eclectic range of American commercial music, from a jazz version of the Golden-Ubbell 1916 classic "Poor Butterfly" to Prince's 1984 hit "Purple Rain." The family band corresponds in structure to the family rondalla tradition still found in the Philippines (Trimillos, in press).

Finally, most Filipino performers of the Western art tradition usually include Philippine works, such as *kundiman*, in a program of art songs (Rosca 1972) or paraphrases of folksongs in a violin recital.

3. Creating neotraditional styles

The development of neotraditional music arises from the concern for a Filipino-American identity by (or for) the younger generation. It is part of a larger movement among Asian-Americans who seek to distinguish their cultural experience from both mainstream American culture and from the Asian cultures of their heritage. Music, dance and theatre are seen as major components of this Asian-American culture.[6]

Gong musics of upland and Islamic cultures—Filipino traditions least influenced by the west—frequently form the basis for such creativity. The *Samahan Percussion Ensemble* of San Diego and the *Cumbanchero Percussionaires* of Seattle, Washington, are examples of neotraditional groups. The Seattle group, the *Cumbanchero Percussionaires*, was organised as part of a Filipino youth program established in 1957. (*Cumbanchero* is a Spanish loan word that in Philippine usage denotes *ad hoc* percussion groups that appear during the twelve days of Christmas.) It was the result of concern by leaders in the Seattle Filipino community that there was an "emerging youth population without an identity" (Cordova 1984).

The Seattle ensemble, founded in 1968, grew out of the *Filipino Youth Activities Drill Team*. The adult organisers created uniforms derived from Muslim-Philippine dress and developed a percussion music based in part upon *gangsa* hocket gong ensembles of the Upland Philippines. Thus the creativity of Seattle Filipinos combined a Muslim-Philippine visual effect with an Upland-Philippine aural effect. Here is an instance in which a music for Filipino identity has no counterpart in the Philippines. It is an out-country creation in the service of this identity. The Seattle group has developed an hour-long presentation designed to "foster ethnic awareness" (ibid).

The three foregoing strategies involve active participation by Filipinos. The impetus has been to use music as a medium for maintaining a sense of identity overseas. It is difficult to ascertain statistically how all-encompassing or how marginal Filipino identity is at present. Based on the individual cases surveyed, there appears to be a wide range of moti-

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vation. It may be as complex as finding alternatives to a completely majority American lifestyle or as simple and direct as the expressed desire "to make my parents happy."

4. Disseminating Philippine music through the mass media

Of particular interest to the recent young immigrant is keeping in touch with the Philippine culture he left. This Philippine youth culture includes commercial music genres, called "Pinoy rock," which are sung in Pilipino (the national language). Cassette recordings of current Philippine pop singers, such as Jun Polistico and Freddie Aguilar, are available at Filipino grocery and notions stores. Hawaii, with its major Filipino population, supports two television broadcasts: "Good morning, Manila," a videotape rebroadcast of this popular Manila program, and "Filipino Fiesta," a locally-produced variety show that includes visiting performers from the Philippines as well as local Filipino performers. In a number of communities Philippine-language films are shown in commercial theatres; popular film songs are available to the overseas Filipino on a regular basis. These audiovisual media reinforce Philippine culture as a mainstream majority culture in the homeland, an important concept for the minority Filipino. Youths who do not speak a Philippine language can still derive a sense of current Philippine culture through the mass media. Home videotape technology has increased overseas accessibility for Philippine-produced music and films.

5. Presenting Philippine artists in performance

With the exception of touring dance troupes, most Philippine performance tours are directed at a Filipino audience. Such tours include popular, "folk" and art music genres from the Philippines. For example, the *University of the Philippines Concert Choir* tours the United States on a regular basis, performing choral arrangements of kundiman, folksongs and film songs. The choir also presents new works by contemporary Filipino composers, such as Ryan Cayabyab and Ramón Santos, as well as European and American choral repertoire. This Philippine chorus directly influences repertoire of the Filipino choral groups (see 1, above) and reinforces choral activity among them.

In addition, various government agencies have mounted cultural tours, such as the Balikbayan tour undertaken in 1973. This touring group of Filipino entertainers encouraged overseas Filipinos to return home *(balikbayan)* to visit the Philippines. It was established to help the Philippine economy and also to strengthen credibility for the Marcos government, which had declared martial law in 1972.[7] The tour specifically addressed the youth segment by including *Pangkat Kawayan,* a grammar school bamboo ensemble and a number of Pilipino pop singers. When the tour came to Honolulu, the 2,158-seat concert hall was filled to capacity; the event itself was a statement of Filipino cultural (if not Philippine national) identification.

In addition to Philippine government-sponsored performances, the

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private sector also mounts tours of Philippine artists. Recently Freddie Aguilar, whose 1978 song "Anak" was an international hit throughout East and Southeast Asia, toured American cities containing large Filipino populations. Although Aguilar (like most Filipino entertainers) speaks and sings in English as well as Pilipino, the performance was geared to a Pilipino-speaking audience. Most of the songs were Pilipino-language; the narration and jokes were also in that language. His San Francisco concert attracted many young Filipinos, many of whom were not Pilipino speakers. Nevertheless the concert was a reaffirmation of being Filipino, not only in the music presented but in the styles of dress and the forms of greeting among the audience members.

The presentation of visiting Philippine artists continues to reinforce Filipino identity through format and infrastructure, both of which assume a predominantly Filipino audience. Performances are often not announced in the general "American" media, but rather depend upon the Filipino-language media and informal Filipino networks to generate an audience. Because such performances maintain a *tayo-tayo lang* ("just us," i.e., the ingroup) atmosphere, an individual's presence is already a statement about identity. In the instances of mass media dissemination and the concert performance, the overseas Filipino assumes the role of "passive" consumer rather than active participant in music-making. It is nevertheless an active role in the larger context of ethnic identity and social interaction.

On the other hand, the international Philippine dance companies touring the United States do attract a general American audience, rather than a specifically Filipino one. However, because of the folkloristic nature of the presentation, the Filipino audience member may find an aesthetic or kinetic experience that is little different from that of a non-Filipino in the audience. The change to a presentational setting and the emphasis upon theatricality tends to make the performance of greater emblematic or symbolic value for the Filipino viewer, often expressed as ". . . [seeing the dance troupe] makes me proud to be a Filipino." The same viewer may also observe that the dances were done differently from the way he remembers them.

6. Becoming a Filipino exponent of Euro-American musics

In contrast to those involved with Filipino music, there are other Filipinos who have chosen to establish themselves in western art and popular genres. Examples include Priscilla Magdamo, former singer with the Gregg Smith Singers, a New York-based concert choral ensemble; George Muribus, jazz pianist in San Francisco; and Angel Peña, a symphonic bassist and composer in Honolulu. Although these Filipinos work almost entirely in western idioms and media, they project being Filipino as a major component of their identity. This is obvious in their advertising. Such artists provide a positive role model for Filipino youth planning to enter the western music industry.

The commitment to western musics is not original to the overseas Filipino. Rather it is a strategy of adaptation developed in the Philippines

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during the Spanish (1600-1898) and American (1898-1946) colonial periods, initially among the *illustrado*—the educated group of natives (Borromeo-Buehler 1985:84-88) and *mestizos* (creoles).

Success in a "foreign" genre is a Philippine value that continues to be expressed in the overseas context, where the Filipino sees his ethnic background as a positive factor in musical accomplishment. The opinion that the Philippines produces the best performers of western music in Asia is widely held (Asiaweek 1981). Among Filipino youth interviewed this stereotype is regarded as fact and as applicable to the overseas Filipino as well.

Discussion

Each strategy represents a distinct response involving music for ethnic identity; each also corresponds to Merriam's concept of *function* (Merriam 1964:209-210). The first strategy, maintaining traditional ensembles, represents preservation of music as artifact. Although the musical product and context are essentially unchanged—in some cases reproductions of a recorded Philippine model, the social context is considerably different. In the overseas setting the ensemble generally assumes an advocacy role for Philippine culture. In the second, repertoire in new settings, the Philippine repertory becomes one single component within a broader repertory of predominantly majority-culture music. The third and final of the participant strategies, creating neotraditional music, is an extension of the first—the artifactual value of the music is paramount and its musical authenticity becomes secondary. The music may express a group's ethnic identity but does not necessarily represent maintenance of a genre existing in the Philippines.

The fourth strategy uses mass media to disseminate the most contemporary Philippine culture; it provides a cultural and psychological bridge to the society where "Filipino identity" corresponds to the dominant one. The fifth further intensifies the connection with the Philippines; live performances include the potential for direct interaction with the Philippine artist, a possibility not provided by mass media transmission. Finally, the sixth strategy provides for a cooption of majority culture music while retaining a minority identity (here Filipino) as part of the persona. In this final instance, to acknowledge being Filipino while pursuing music in non-Filipino domains is a strategy developed in the homeland by the colonised to accommodate the presence of the coloniser.

The six, here posited as processes for minority maintenance within a majority culture, may also be viewed in the broader context of "processes and results of musical cultural contact," using the model advanced by Kartomi (1981). The consideration of the six strategies presented above with Kartomi's mechanisms of musical transculturation suggests further refinement of the model presented and of the Kartomi model, as well as the advantages of considering the data from two theoretical perspectives.

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The strategy of maintaining homeland traditions (1) is related to the mechanisms of withdrawal and segregation advanced by Kartomi, although in the Filipino case the mechanisms are selectively used. The Filipino music group, such as a chorus, counts upon the ethnic community for its membership and leadership. It defines itself by the boundaries of Filipino music in Philippine languages (all of which may not be controlled or even minimally understood by the participants). However, its performances are not intended exclusively for the Filipino overseas community. Rather, the performance serves as a structured occasion to put forward a positive image of the Filipino community and its culture to the general, non-Filipino community. Such performances are often the occasion for Filipinos to host non-Filipino friends for a social evening. Further, withdrawal and segregation are qualified by time factors, given both the nature and the intent of such music groups. In addition to the example cited above, the time of immigration (newcomer vs. oldtimer) and the region of origin (rural, urban and particular language group) also affect the realisation of Kartomi's two mechanisms. Among those recent immigrants who came as young adults, the national language, Pilipino, is more readily used than among other immigrants (Sibayan 1985), which differentiates this Pilipino-speaking group from those whose preference are regional languages and from those second and third generation Filipinos who have English as the mother tongue. Thus, the two mechanisms also can differentiate one Filipino segment from others; they may be invoked intraculturally as well as interculturally.

The neotraditional movement (3) is certainly part of musical revival. The need to find new social settings and performance contexts has already been discussed. In addition, the neotraditionalism tends to be more eclectic, since its point of reference is "Filipino" in the generalised, geopolitical sense. It no longer recognises the locus of Philippine cultural identity in the respective language or regional group. Thus the mechanism of revival described by Kartomi operates most accurately at the symbolic and artifactual level—it is the bringing back of symbols (the Upland rhythms) and artifacts (the Southern Philippine Muslim costuming)—to serve a new context and intent, such as Filipino pride and identity among second and third generation youngsters. However, like many other revivals the musical product can experience significant change from the musical model(s) it purports to revive. This observation, however, does not lessen its validity as a revivalist phenomenon. It only means that the criteria for its evaluation—in this case symbolic and artifactual—occur outside the domain of music investigation *per se;* musical veracity is less of an issue for Filipinos, whose primary concern is the reaffirmation of their self-perceived, distinctive sociocultural identity.

The use of mass media (4) and the new settings of traditional repertory (2) reflect a pluralistic adaptation, in which material from (or in the revivalist case, of) the homeland is re-cast within a wider musical soundscape. Again cultural pluralism is already a mechanism operative within

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traditional Philippine societies, so that it does not represent the acceptance of a new strategy as well as new cultural content. Rather pluralism has enabled the Philippine and the Filipino musician to enjoy a high rate of success in majority-culture musics. The Filipino dance band musician can play "American" popular music; however, in addition he can and does perform Philippine repertory. The pluralism further extends to a third area of specialisation for many Filipino commercial musicians—Latin-American and Spanish genres. Similarly, the individual who sings in a Filipino choral group is most often part of an "American" church choir or a community chorus as well. The phenomenon of pluralism affects the musical content of a specific performance but not necessarily the individual Filipino's performance domain.

Finally, the minority individual as exponent of majority culture (6) is at first glance an instance of Kartomi's musical acceptance; however in the Filipino context it is often qualified by the retention of ethnic background as part of the performer's persona. The mechanism of acceptance for western art and popular musics was already operative in the Philippines (Maceda 1972, 1974), and overseas activity simply represents a continuation of that practice. A significant alteration occurred, however, in the overseas context: the identity as "from the Philippines" or as "Filipino" enters into the presentation of the performer. It may be as subtle as a mention in the program notes for a piano concert or as obvious as a San Francisco jazz group that includes a rendition of the song "Ang Bayan Ko" ("My Land"), a tune used by anti-Marcos factions both in the Philippines and overseas. Acceptance of the western art music tradition is not unique to Filipinos, as the numbers of Japanese and Korean students (both nationals and overseas-born) in American and European conservatories show. However, embracing a foreign tradition and success in it are not necessarily linked. Thus Filipinos are most successful in the domain of western commercial music. In this case, the cultural identity is positive—being Filipino "explains" success in western music, rather than being a mitigating factor in its evaluation, i.e., "that's pretty good jazz for a [member of a non-Filipino, Asian ethnic group]."

Conclusion

The discussion has attempted to articulate a number of strategies used by Filipinos in the western United States to maintain or to establish ethnic identity. The invocation of a specific strategy may depend upon a number of variables, such as length of sojourn in the U.S. or the nature of the overseas community in which the Filipino population is located. From the consideration of this specific group and the strategies that is uses, a model (or at least a typology) for a self-ascribed minority identity within a majority culture emerges. In an attempt to see the advantages and the limitations of the approach, the various components of the model were compared with one developed earlier by Kartomi.

This approach and perhaps the model in its entirety would be useful in examining the relationships of music and ethnic identity in recently

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established overseas refugee populations, such as the Tibetans in Switzerland, the Cambodians in the United States and the Ethiopian Jews in Israel. The degree of relevancy of the model—generated from a specific database—to other overseas and/or minority cultures might suggest strategies that are universal, or at least widely employed.

NOTES

1. A revision of a paper presented in Helsinki at the 28th Conference, International Council for Traditional Music, Stockholm/Helsinki, 31 July - 7 August 1985. The Center for Asian and Pacific Studies at the University of Hawaii provided support for the development and presentation of the study.
2. The term *Filipino* is used here to denote a cultural heritage rather than a nationality; a significant majority are American nationals by birth or by naturalisation. For the purposes of this discussion the term *Filipino* refers only to Filipinos in the United States. Similarly, the form *Philippine* specifically identifies cultures and peoples located in the Philippines.
3. For an explication see Hollnsteiner (1967).
4. Filipino organisations reflect the language and regional identity; for example, *The United Visayan Club of Honolulu* and *The Sons of Naga* (a provincial capital in the Bikol-language area) in Stockton, California.
5. The recordings made by the Monitor Records Inc. are widely available in the U.S. and constitute the most accessible examples of Philippine music—for example *Bayanihan Vol. 1* (Monitor MFS 322); *Bayanihan Vol. 2* (MFS 330); *Bayanihan on tour* (MFS 428).
6. Periodicals such as *Amerasia journal* and *Eastwind* address this concern.
7. The Marcos era ended in March 1986, when Corazon Aquino was elected President of the Republic of the Philippines.

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