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Problematizing the popular: the dynamics of *Pinoy* pop(ular) music and popular protest music

Teresita Gimenez MACEDA

ABSTRACT In 1973, the pop music industry in the Philippines, long dominated by the American Top 40, was jolted by the emergence of a new kind of sound that delivered soulful Filipino lyrics in the medium of Western rock. At about the same time the protest movement found, in the popular forms of Western rock and folk, powerful vehicles for cultural resistance. This experimentation within and outside the industry generated great interest across social classes and opened many possibilities for new kinds of popular music, later to be called *Pinoy* (slang for Filipino) rock or *Pinoy* pop music. This article looks into the dynamics of *Pinoy* pop/rock and protest music during the period of authoritarian rule and after, marking their points of intersection and divergence and analyzing the factors that account for the rich popular music production in the 1970s and the 1980s.

Shortly after Benigno 'Ninoy' Aquino was assassinated on August 21, 1983, an event that triggered massive demonstrations against the Marcos dictatorship, a song long considered the anthem of protest movements in the Philippines was suddenly heard on radio, voiced, not by militant activists or protesters, but by a *Pinoy* (slang for Filipino) pop music star. The familiar voice of Freddie Aguilar had given new interpretation to the plaintive *kundiman*, 'My Country (Bayan Ko)' (Aguilar 1984). Soon not only was it aired on radio, but blared as well on speakers mounted on the ubiquitous jeepney plying the streets of Manila and the provinces.

Written in 1928 by poet Jose Corazon de Jesus and set to *kundiman*¹ music by composer Constancio de Guzman, 'Bayan Ko' first became popular during the struggle for Philippine independence. Expressive of the desire for freedom from colonial rule, it became the metaphor for struggle against other forms of oppression.

'Bayan Ko' (De Jesus-De Guzman 1928)	English Translation ²
Ang Bayan kong Pilipinas Lupain ng ginto't bulaklak Pag-ibig ang sa kanyang palad Nag-alay ng ganda't dilag.	My country the Philippines Land of gold and flowers Love she holds in her palms Offering charm and beauty.
At sa kanyang yumi at ganda Dayuhan ay nahalina Bayan ko, binihag ka Nasadlak sa dusa.	And because of her delicate beauty Foreigners coveted her My motherland, you were enslaved And suffered in pain.
Ibon mang may layang lumipad Kulungin mo at umiiyak	Even a bird which flies freely When caged, weeps

'Bayan Ko' (De Jesus-De Guzman 1928)	English Translation ²
Bayan pa kayang sakdal dilag	What more for a country of such loveliness
Ang di magnasang makaalpas.	Why wouldn't it yearn for freedom!
Pilipinas kong minumutya	My precious Philippines
Pugad ng luha ko't dalita	Cradle of my tears and misery
Aking adhika	My desire
Makita kang sakdal laya.	Is to see you truly liberated.

Without benefit of recording, it thrived among workers in picket lines, peasants in the fields, guerrilla forces in the countryside, student activists in the universities. During the rise of the nationalist movement in the 1960s and throughout the period of the Marcos dictatorship, it was the only *kundiman* sung with clenched fists that had the affective power to consolidate protest marchers, and make them hold their lines in the face of the water canons, tear gas and truncheons used for violent dispersals.

That a popular icon like Freddie Aguilar would cut a single of this popular song of defiance was a clear indication that the spirit of protest had already seeped into the *Pinoy* pop(ular) music industry.³ It dramatically illustrates the dynamics of pop and protest music at a critical juncture in the history of the Filipino people.

This paper will look into the pop and protest songs created during the period of the Marcos dictatorship (1972–1986) and analyze the emergence and popularity across classes of what was then called *Pinoy* pop music⁴ and its dynamics within the protest movement.

Resurgence of nationalism in the 1960s

The intellectual ferment in the universities in the mid 1960s up to the imposition of Martial Law on September 21, 1972 provided the stimulus for the popular protest and *Pinoy* pop music of the mid 1970s and the 1980s. Amid political unrest, worsening economic conditions, and deepening involvement of the Philippines in the Vietnam War because of the presence of US military bases on its soil, professors and students began to question the relevance of their English-dominated educational system to the socio-cultural-political-economic realities in the country.

The late nationalist historian Renato Constantino critiqued the Philippine education as a systematic 'miseducation' of the Filipinos by the American colonial government to ensure its continuing presence and protection of its interests in the country (Constantino 1966). His landmark essay singled out English as the instrument that served as a wedge between the educated minority and the vast majority of the poor who could achieve only a 'smattering of English.'

The debate the essay spawned sparked renewed interest in research on Philippine culture as well as in creating songs and literary works in the Filipino language. By the end of the decade, not a few teachers at the University of the Philippines began to use Filipino as medium of instruction in both science and the arts, writers found a burgeoning audience for their works in Filipino, and activist artists translated to Filipino and performed songs of the Chinese Cultural Revolution in rallies and demonstrations (PAKSA: 1971). Consequently, many popular protest songs of the period were characterized by sloganeering, a martial beat and generalized messages. The word 'masa' or masses assumed a political color as activists were enjoined to follow the 'mass line':

Excerpt from 'Ang Masa'	English Translation ⁵
Sundin nang buong tatag	Follow with steadfastness
Ang linyang pangmasa	The mass line
Mula sa masa, tungo sa masa	From the masses, to the masses
Ito ang ating patnubay.	This is our guiding rule.

Original songs in Filipino, however, were written to document, for instance, the tragic death of young demonstrators (e.g. 'A Day of Lament [Araw na Lubhang Mapanglaw]'). Traditional song forms were used to stir people to action (e.g. 'Song in Mendiola [Awit sa Mendiola]') (Lumbera 1970), Mendiola being the bridge leading to Malacanang Palace where many demonstrations took place). 'My Country (Bayan Ko)' was revived but made more militant by changing the line describing a caged bird from 'When caged it cries (Kulungin mo at umiiyak)' to 'When caged, struggles to break free (Kulungin mo at pumi-piglas)'. The song was usually sang with the poem 'Weep, My Country (Lumuha Ka, Aking Bayan)' by the nationalist artist Amado Hernandez.⁶

Meantime, it was still the American Top 40 that ruled the airwaves.

Opening new pathways in protest songs and pop music during the early years of the Marcos dictatorship

The phenomenon of blending Filipino lyrics with American rock, pop and folk happened simultaneously in the arena of cultural resistance and the pop music industry. shortly after the imposition of Martial Law in 1972.

With the imposition of Martial Law by then President Ferdinand Marcos on September 21, 1972, uncertainty and fear gripped the populace. Anyone could be arrested and detained/imprisoned without charges. Progressive organizations could no longer operate overtly. The pre-Martial Law activist/nationalist songs were too recognizable, so they could no longer be sung. Resistance had to find more creative modes of truth telling to challenge the dictator's own 'regime of truth' and combat the falsehoods churned out by the Marcos propaganda machinery.

Even before other poets decided to shift to songwriting, poet-songwriter-singer-painter Heber Bartolome was already writing powerful Filipino lyrics with rock instrumentalization as embellishment to an essentially Western folk music (much like Bob Dylan's fusion of folk and rock), perhaps hoping the military would not find electric guitars and Filipino street language threatening to the regime. How wrong they were, of course, for the first rock-protest song of Heber, 'Hey Brod, You're All Skin and Bones, and Still You Sleep (Oy, Utol, Buto't Balat Ka Na'y Natutulog Ka Pa)' (Bartolome 1973) already dramatizes the conditions after the imposition of Martial Law – the cries of anguish and pain under the façade of calm and gaiety; the hunger, repression and the climate of fear that gripped the populace:

Excerpt from 'Oy Utol, Buto't Balat Ka Na'y Natutulog Ka Pa' (Bartolome 1973)	English translation
Masdan n'yo ang ating paligid	Observe our surroundings
Akala mo'y walang panganib	You think no danger exists

Excerpt from 'Oy Utol, Buto't Balat Ka Na'y Natutulog Ka Pa' (Bartolome 1973)	English translation
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May saya at mayroong awit Pero may namimilipit At siya'y humihibik Kay hirap nang tumawa kung hungkag ang iyong tiyan Kay hirap nang mabuhay kung bibig mo'y may tapal Kay hirap nang mabuhay kung kalagaya'y ganyan Kay hirap nang lumaban kung takot ka sa kalaban.	There's gaiety and song But someone is wrenching And crying in pain. It's hard to laugh if your stomach is empty It's hard to live if your mouth is gagged It's hard to live with this situation It's hard to fight if you fear the enemy.
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The song decries the passivity of the Filipinos during the early years of the Marcos dictatorship and chides them for not doing anything about their condition of 'unfreedom', inequality and suffering:

At kung tayo'y mananahimik Huwag kayong magagalit Ang dapat sa atin ay tawaging Mga gago!	And if we remain quiet Don't get angry What we deserve is to be called Morons!
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As a rock piece, 'Oy Utol....' disturbs the conscience. There is bitterness in the tone and a sense of frustration over the impotence of the Filipino to act. Heber sparingly uses colloquialisms, but when he does, he succeeds in jolting the listener to recognize the oppressive reality. Unfortunately, it took some time before Heber could perform this song to a wider public.

It cannot be said that the nationalist spirit so strong in the 1960s did not affect rock and pop musicians in the culture industry who basically performed Anglo-American music. But the influence came as well from the anti-Vietnam war protest movement in the US that involved musicians in large marathon concerts such as Woodstock.

The first stirrings of patriotism in the culture industry, however, manifested itself only after Martial Law. Surprisingly it began with an extemporaneous performance, in a 1973 concert, of Joey (Pepe) Smith and the band he named Juan de la Cruz Band to signify the band's identification with the Filipino everyman. As Joey Smith and his band mates Wally Gonzalez and Mike Hanopol were doing rock instrumental improvisations during the concert, Joey Smith suddenly began to sing soulful lyrics in Filipino to the rhythm of slow rock.

In the context of the early martial law period and the Filipino pop culture industry, the ambiguity of the simple lyrics of 'Our Song (Himig Natin)' (Smith 1973)⁷ opens the song to several meanings:

'Himig Natin' (Smith 1973)	English Translation
Ako'y nag-iisa at walang kasama Di ko makita ang ating pag-asa Ang himig natin ang inyong awitin Upang tayo'y magsama-sama Sa langit ng pag-asa.	I'm all alone with no one beside me I can't see any hope for us Why not sing our own music So we can all be together In the heaven of hope.
Ako'y may kaibigan at siya'y nahihirapan Handa na ba kayong lahat Upang siya'y tulungan?	I have a friend and he's suffering Are you all prepared To help him?
Ang himig natin ang inyong awitin Upang tayo'y magsama-sama Sa langit ng pag-asa.	Why not sing our own music So we can all be together In the heaven of hope.

The song could be taken at its literal level: the loneliness of an individual and a plea to help a suffering friend. But it could also mean what is not explicitly said: the isolation of individuals from one another during Martial Law because of mistrust, the pervasiveness of fear and the sense of hopelessness. The suffering friend can be anyone who has been detained and has no one to turn to. On another level, the song can be a metaphor for the abandonment of Filipino music by both musicians and audience and the lonely struggle of a musician to make his Filipino music heard. The song could be all these. But what is clear is the message of the need for Filipinos, long attuned and addicted to foreign music, to sing their own songs. For songs in one's own language can bridge gaps between individuals and people, give identity to a people and inspire hope.

It must be stressed that the generation of Heber Bartolome and Pepe Smith with his Juan de la Cruz Band was nurtured in English and Anglo-American popular music. For Heber Bartolome, Martial Law freed him as a musician from the guidelines of what kind of music was suited for the politicization and conscientization of the masses. He knew that to reach out to a wider audience, he must use a kind of music people were familiar with, but in a defamiliarizing way. Drawing from the wellspring of Anglo-American popular music, which at this time had reached new heights with the innovations of the Beatles and the anti-Vietnam war culture, which spawned many new songs among rock and pop musicians critical of the war, Heber wrote Filipino lyrics for his Western rock inspired music. For Pepe Smith and the Juan de la Cruz Band, which had already by this time gained much popularity, 'Himig Natin' was the expression of their new found fervor in creating a kind of music they could call Filipino and which they thought was also a way of reaching out to a wider audience. The seeming jarring combination of Filipino lyrics with Western rock jolted the audience at first. But the experimentation found acceptance and opened many possibilities for new kinds of popular music later to be called *Pinoy* rock or *Pinoy* pop music.

Crisscrossing and diverging paths

The pop music industry was quick to cash in on the popularity of 'Ang Himig Natin' and, in 1973, produced the first *Pinoy* rock album of the Juan de la Cruz Band under the Vicor Music Corporation (VMC) label. It became receptive to other rock musicians like the Maria Cafra band, Sampaguita, Judas, Mike Hanopol (originally of the Juan de la Cruz Band) and even Heber Bartolome with his band 'Banyuhay'.⁸

In 1974, the year when the first Miss Universe international beauty pageant was held in Manila, for which event Imelda Marcos built the huge Folk Arts Theatre, a group calling itself Hotdog made a dent in the Manila music scene with its first hit, 'You Are the Miss Universe of my Life (Ikaw ang Miss Universe ng Buhay Ko)'. This was immediately followed by other hits such as 'Pers Lab' (Filipino respelling of 'First Love') (Garcia and Garcia 1974) and the classic 'Annie Batungbakal' (Garcia and Garcia 1979). Led by the Garcia brothers, Dennis and Rene, the Hotdog pioneered in what became labeled as the 'Manila Sound', a teeny-bopper kind of music reminiscent of the American pop songs of the 1950s. The young identified with the Manila Sound because of its irreverent and sometimes chiding tone, use of colloquial and *Taglish* (combination of Tagalog and English) language and seemingly incongruous though nevertheless startling depiction of everyday situations and experiences of ordinary people. The Hotdog, for instance, avoids the mushiness of puppy love by the use of unusual metaphors and by describing the awkwardness of young love:

Excerpt from 'Pers Lab' (Garcia and Garcia 1974)	English Translation, 'First Love'
Tuwing kita'y makikita, ako'y natutunaw Parang ice cream na bilad sa ilalim ng araw....	Every time I see you, I melt Just like ice cream left under the sun....
Di na makatulog, di pa makakain Taghiyawat sa ilong, pati na sa pisngi	Can't sleep, can't eat Getting pimples on my nose, even on my cheeks
Sa kakaisip sa 'yo, taghiyawat dumadami....	Just thinking of you gives me lots of pimples....

The group does not restrain itself in criticizing the sudden change of appearance of the nouveau riche. The chiding tone is evident in the very first line of the song 'Flashy Lady (Bongga Ka Day)': 'Hala! Hala! Hala! Aahyy'⁹ already warns the listener not to be dazzled by the new flashy look of the lady – hair done by an expensive hairdresser, Bujii, shoes by Gucci, dress designed by the famous clothes designer Pitoy Moreno. The mention of 'Eloy,' a store selling cheap secondhand clothes, is the give-away to the humble origins of the newcomer to the disco joint.

Excerpt from Bongga Ka Day (Garcia and Garcia 1979)	English Translation
Lahat ay nagulat nang buksan ang pinto Sayaw ng mga tao'y biglang nahinto Buhok mo'y Bujii, Talampaka'y Gucci Suot mo'y gawa ni Pitoy Di nanggaling kay Eloy	Everyone was shocked when the door opened People suddenly stopped dancing, Your hair, done by Bujii, Your soles wrapped in Gucci, Your dress made by Pitoy Not bought from Eloy.

The Hotdog 's most popular song, 'Annie Batungbakal'¹⁰ narrates, in disco sound, the misfortune that befalls a salesgirl who escapes from drudgery by spending her nights at the expensive Coco Banana, a disco club popular during the 1970s:

Excerpt from 'Annie Batungbakal' (Garcia and Garcia 1979)

English Translation

Si Annie Batungbakal na taga-Frisco ¹¹	Annie Batungbakal who's from Frisco
Gabi-gabi na lang ay nasa disco	Every night she's at the disco
Mga problema niya'y kanyang nalilimutan	Her problems she forgets
Pag siya'y yumuyugyog, sumasayaw	When she shakes and dances.
Sa umaga dispatsadora	During the day, she's a salesgirl
Sa gabi'y siya'y bonggang-bongga	At night, she's a flashy dresser
Pagsapit ng dilim nasa Coco Banana	When darkness falls, she's at the Coco Banana
Annie Batungbakal sa disco isnabera	Annie Batungbakal, at the disco such a snob
Sa disco siya ang reyna!	At the disco she's the queen.

Annie Batungbakal can ill afford her nightly jaunts. Reality sets in when she is fired from her job:

Si Annie Batungbakal na taga-Frisco	Annie Batungbakal who's from Frisco
Bigla na lang natanggal sa trabaho	Was suddenly dismissed from her job
Mga problema niya'y lahat nagsidatingan	Faced with an onslaught of problems,
Di na yumuyugyog, sumasayaw!	She no longer shakes or dances!

The life of pretension is over for the salesgirl turned disco queen by night. And so the moral lesson not to live beyond one's means and not to aspire for a lifestyle only the moneyed can afford.

The popularity of *Pinoy* pop and rock music was bolstered by the Memorandum Order No. 75-31 of the Broadcast Media Council in 1975 for all radio stations to play at least one Filipino composition every hour. This requirement was later increased to two in 1976 and to three in 1977. The annual Metro Manila Pop Music Festival launched in 1978 further encouraged the entry of more *Pinoy* pop music composers into the scene.

In a way, these government aids to *Pinoy* pop music were palliatives given by the dictatorship to create a semblance of an atmosphere of freedom for artists even as summary executions, unlawful detentions, food blockades and other violent measures continued to be imposed on the populace by the mailed fist of the dictatorship.

Outside of the pop music industry, another kind of experimentation with new forms of protest songs was undertaken by some of the socially-committed poet members of the organization 'Arts and Poetry Guild (Galian sa Arte at Tula)'. Along with Heber Bartolome, Jess Santiago became convinced of the necessity for more poets to migrate to songwriting in order to offer the public alternative songs to the already well-entrenched *Pinoy* pop music and to seriously look for venues outside the recording industry for their songs to be heard. They held workshops where they critiqued each other's works and honed their craft in songwriting. In their first public protest concert held in 1979, the poets-turned-songwriters-performers explained:

... it cannot be denied that much of pop music heard today is the result of the mindless imitation of whatever is the fad, and the shameless wallowing in commercialism... the present pop songs are devoid of any intention to depict the Filipino's present condition,

despite their avowed aim to create 'Filipino music'. Except for the entertainment [which often ends up in ridicule] of listeners, there is nothing Filipino in the current pop music.¹² (Pabigatan Concert 1979)

True, there were many inane *Pinoy* songs produced by the pop music industry. But looking back at the period when *Pinoy* rock and the Manila Sound flourished, the criticism is rather harsh. Many experimentations were going on and were encouraged by the music industry. Pop musicians teamed up with poet-scholars from academe to create art songs for popular vocalists such as 'Bidding Goodbye (Pamamaalam)' (Lumbera and Cruz 1978) written by Bienvenido Lumbera¹³ to the music of Willy Cruz and popularized by Hajji Alejandro; 'Love Is for Sunny and Rainy Days (Pagsinta'y Pang-araw at Ulan)' written by the late Rolando Tinio¹⁴ to the music of Joel Navarro as an entry to the first MMPMF. Both Tinio and Lumbera also translated American pop songs for popular singers Celeste Legaspi and Hajji Alejandro, and, in the process, Filipinized the experiences depicted in the songs (e.g. Tinio took the essence of 'The Lady's a Tramp' and adapted it to Filipino life to make 'Ako'y Bakyang Bakya'¹⁵ relevant to the Filipino audience; Lumbera translated Barbra Streisand's 'Evergreen' (Lumbera 1979a) and Paul Simon's 'Bridge over Troubled Waters' (Lumbera 1979b) and made the songs comprehensible to non-English speaking Filipinos. Rolando Tinio explains the significance of translating foreign pop songs in the back cover of the long playing album of his translations as performed by Celeste Legaspi:

Translating foreign pop songs into Pilipino is not intended as an exercise in fadmongering or yellow music-making. Rather, it is an attempt to fill up the Pilipino ear with insights into common experience, nuances of thought and feeling, and discovering through the lyric consciousness of the human world (especially the world of love) not ordinarily found in original song writing. The purpose of translation is not to stifle or replace original creation, but to open doors and windows for native genius, by showing new possibilities and approaches for the Pilipino creator. (Tinio 1976)

Lumbera also wrote librettos for rock operas and rock-opera-ballet, not hesitating to partner with pop music composers like Nonong Pederero ('Tales of the Manuvu' 1977), Ryan Cayabyab ('Rama Hari' 1980) and Jim Paredes ('Hero [Bayani]' 1984). Some of the songs from these rock-operas became hits after the performances. That the songs of Lumbera and Tinio were aired on radio and turned into long playing albums indicated that there was an audience for *Pinoy* pop music to flourish.

It is important to emphasize that the use of familiar Filipino language by rock and pop musicians caused a radical shift in the pop music industry which discovered that *Pinoy* music was no longer sneered at but rather gained popular acceptance across classes. Admittedly, the influence of Anglo-American pop music remained strong, but the lyrics of *Pinoy* pop/rock music in Filipino gave it its Filipino or *Pinoy* character.

While the popular culture industry thrives on commercialism, it could at times be subtly subverted to produce and disseminate socially-relevant songs. Heber Bartolome knew this, which is why when a recording company offered to produce his first album, he inserted a song with strong anti-American sentiment, 'My Song (Awit Ko)' among his other compositions that seemed like harmless social commentaries on overpopulation ('Filipino Life [Buhay Pinoy]') the fate of prostitutes like 'Nena', the crowded buses and traffic situations ('Passenger [Pasahero]'). He used humor and colloquial language to criticize the pro-American sentiments of many Filipinos in his hit 'We're *Pinoy*s (Tayo'y mga Pinoy)' which he was brave enough to enter for competition in the First Metro Manila Pop Music Festival and which became the title of his recorded album (all songs are included in Bartolome 1978).

What must also be taken into consideration when assessing the development of *Pinoy* pop music is that under martial law conditions, the industry was monitored by the Broadcast

Media Council. The industry allowed social criticism but only in so far as the songs dealt with ethical behavior and moral responsibility.

Freddie Aguilar's 'Child (Anak)' (1978), although a loser in the First Metro Manila Popular Music Festival on March 3, 1978 sold an unprecedented 30,000 copies on the first day of its release by the VMC recording company. The song has since been translated into 20 languages worldwide. Its familiar Filipino theme of the ill fate that befalls children who do not heed their parents' advice endeared 'Anak' to thousands of Filipinos. To the strains of a violin, the song opens with tender images of loving parents. But as the music of the violin soars, so too does the rebellious spirit rise in the now grown child. Too late does the defiant son realize the damage he has done to himself and his parents,

Excerpt from 'Anak' (Aguilar 1978)	English Translation
Nung isilang ka sa mundong ito Laking tuwa ng magulang mo At ang kamay nila ang iyong ilaw At ang nanay at tatay mo Di malaman ang gagawin Minamasdan pati ang pagtulog mo At sa gabi'y napupuyat ang iyong nanay Sa pagtimpla ng gatas mo At sa umaga nama'y kalong ka ng iyong amang Tuwang tuwa sa 'yo.	When you were born into this world How happy your parents were And their hands became your light And your mother and father were so happy They didn't know what to do They looked at you lovingly even in your sleep Your mother spent sleepless nights Preparing your milk In the morning, your father overwhelmed with joy, cradled you in his arms.
Ngayon nga'y malaki ka na ... Naging matigas ang iyong ulo At ang payo nila'y sinuway mo ...	Now you've grown ... You became stubborn And their advice you spurned ...
Nagdaan pa ang mga araw At ang landas mo'y naligaw Ikaw ay nalulong sa masamang bisyo At ang una mong nilapitan Ang iyong inang lumuluha At ang tanong anak ba't ka nagkaganyan At ang iyong mga mata'y biglang lumuha Ng di mo napapansin Pagsisisi at sa isip mo'y nalaman mong Ika'y nagkamali.	The days passed And you lost your way You became immersed in vice And the first person you approached Was you mother in tears And her question was, son, how did you become that way And without your noticing Your eyes suddenly brimmed with tears Filled with remorse, you realized how wrong you were.

In the same vein, Mike Hanopol's rock piece, 'Spoiled Brat (Laki sa Layaw)' (1977) became popular overnight with its introduction of the colloquial term 'jeproks' as a criticism of the youth who grow up spoiled and irresponsible. In songs such as these did the pop music industry encourage the didactic strain in *Pinoy* music.

The paths of both protest and pop musicians crisscrossed at two points: Filipino lyrics and Western-influenced pop and rock music. Language gave the songs their vibrant *Pinoy* character. Content was where the paths diverged. There is no clearer example of this

divergence than the dramatic contrast of the protest song "Latest News" (Huling Balita) (Santiago 1976) and 'Bonggahan' of Gary Perez (1975) made popular by pop star Sampaguita.

In 'Huling Balita', Jess Santiago gives voice to the warrantless arrests and extrajudicial killings (popularly called salvaging) of individuals the military considers enemies of the state. During the time of the dictatorship, such happenings were suppressed and silenced in media. In disclosing the practice, Jess Santiago does not engage in simple reporting. He gives it flesh and blood by painting the tender scene of a child longing for the warm embrace of his vanished father, Mang Kardo:

Excerpt from 'Huling Balita' (Santiago 1976)	English translation
Narinig n'yo na ba ang huling balita Tungkol kay Mang Kardo, isang manggagawa May ilang buwan na siya'y hinahanap Ng mga kaibigan at mga kamag-anak Ang kanyang asawa'y walang maisagot Sa tanong ng anak tuwing bago matulog 'Inay, ang itay ko'y ba't di umuuwi Ako'y nasasabik sa yakap niya't halik.'	Have you heard the latest news About Mang Kardo, a work Several months have his friends and relatives Been searching for him His wife has no answer to the question of their child each night before sleeping 'Mother, why has father not come home I long for his kisses and embrace.'

He captures the desperation of the wife, Marina, as she goes to military camps and police jails in search of her husband:

May ilang beses na si Aling Marina'y Nagtungo sa kampo't kwartel ng pulisya Ilang listahan na ang kanyang natingnan Ngunit di makita ang hanap na ngalan Nakapagtataka, nakapagtataka!	How many times has Aling Marina Gone to the camps and police barracks How many lists has she gone over Yet unable to locate the name How strange, how strange!
Pagkat si Mang Kardo nang huling makita Kasakay sa kotseng may ilaw sa tuktok Ang ilang armadong handang magpapatuok...	Because when Mang Kardo was last seen He was riding a car that had lights on its top And several armed men ready to fire...

Simple narration is what Jess Santiago does. But the very act of recounting the 'salvaging' of an ordinary worker is already a testament to the bitter reality of life under the dictatorship where an individual loses control over his own fate. How easy it is for authorities to fabricate reasons for the slaying.

Narinig n'yo na ba ang huling balita Tungkol kay Mang Kardo, isang manggagawa Siya'y patay na, katawan ay tadtad Ng tama ng balang sa kanya'y umutas At ang sabi ng mga awtoridad Itong si Mang Kardo'y nagtangkang tumakas.	Have you heard the latest news About Mang Kardo, a worker He's dead, his body riddled With bullets that snuffed his life And the authorities say Mang Kardo attempted to escape.
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The melody that cradles the experience brought to life is likewise simple – slow and quiet at the start, yet inquiring; then the rhythm picks up speed when the Mang Kardo's mysterious death is suddenly revealed. In concretizing the experience of summary execution silenced by the dictatorship, the listener's memory is triggered to recollect a similar incident affecting family, friends, neighbors. In this way does the protest song become a preserver and transmitter of muted yet painful stories of life under martial rule.

A contrasting picture of life during the dictatorship is presented in the noisy rock 'n' roll piece, 'Bonggahan' (Perez 1975)¹⁶ that became the hit song of Sampaguita. There is no space in the song for complaining about bitter situations under martial rule. A curfew¹⁷ may be present, but one can always 'rock 'n' roll till the morning (rock 'n' roll hanggang umaga)'. On the surface, the song appears inane, replete with suggestions to do away with problems and just have a good time.

Excerpt from 'Bonggahan' (Perez 1975)	English Translation
Di ko say na magwala ka Ang say ko lang ay magpabongga ka Stop ka na sa pagdurusa Ride ka lang sa problema.	I don't say be wild I just say, be flashy Stop your suffering Just ride on your problem.
'Wa ka say na lang kumadre Bow na lang ng bow Pa sing-sing ka lang Para ikaw ay sumaya.	Don't say anything, friend Just bow and bow Just sing along So you'll be happy.
Kaya join na lang kayo And let's all have a good time.	And so all of you join in And let's all have a good time.

Entertainment is indeed an effective way to avoid confronting the ferocious face of martial rule and to suppress complaints and grievances.

But is there some meaning to what the song does not say? Why the need to warn a friend to keep mum? To what or to whom should one bow? And why the need to bow? The song is silent. Behind the facade of gaiety, of song and laughter, is there a hint of sarcasm on the idiocy people are forced to take on in order to survive? Is the song in fact a criticism on life under martial rule? In its ambiguity, the song opens itself to such interpretation.

The subject matter and even the use of language may be similar between a *Pinoy* rock song and a popular protest song, but the treatment is almost always radically different. For example, both the Juan de la Cruz Band's composition 'Teacher's Enemy No. 1 (Titser's Enemi No. 1)' (Smith 1981) and Ani Montano's 'Moron of Diliman (Bobo ng Diliman)' (1979)¹⁸ which is an adaptation of Chuck Berry's 'Johnny Be Good' deal with a student who has lost interest in attending class. But while the Juan de la Cruz Band's original composition looks only at the superficial manifestations of why the student has become the teacher's worst nightmare and constitutes his/her enemy #1:

Excerpt from 'Titser Enemi No. 1' (Smith 1981)	English Translation
Mayro'n akong kilala sa haiskul Palagi siyang nagbubulakbol At pag kinausap mo siya'y nabubulol.	I know someone in high school He's always absent in class And when you talk to him, he stutters.

Excerpt from 'Titser Enemi No. 1' (Smith 1981)	English Translation
Palagi s'yang kaaway ng titser Binabato s'ya ng eraser Nahuli s'yang nangungupit ng test paper.	He's always the teacher's enemy He's often thrown a blackboard eraser Once, he was caught stealing a test paper.
Titser's enemi number 1 Lagi na lang kinagagalan Titser's enemi number 1 Taun-taon siya'y naiwan. Hay.	Teacher's enemy number one He's often scolded Teacher's enemy number one Every year, he's left behind. Sigh.
T'wing papasok s'ya sa klasrum Sinasalubong na s'ya ng sermon Walang ibang dalang gamit kundi baon.	Every time he enters the classroom A sermon greets him He brings nothing with him but his food.
Pag eto na ang pasahan Namumrublema sa kanyang magulang Ang bagsak niya sa Avenida ¹⁹ na lang.	When the time for passing the year comes He's the worry of his parents He'll surely end up only in Avenida.

poet and songwriter Ani Montano looks into the deeper roots of a student's lack of interest in school and shows the larger picture of an irrelevant education that gives priority to facts about the Western world rather than imparts to students knowledge of their own history and a sense of their own cultural identity. In this way does school become a site for blunting rather than sharpening minds:

Excerpt from 'Bobo Ng Diliman' (Montano 1979)	English Translation, 'Moron of Diliman'
Ako'y pinagbabasa nila ng libro Ngunit di matanggap ng aking ulo Si Washington daw ay matapang na tao Aba'y andyan naman si Bonifacio ²⁰ Mabuti pang mag-aral magluto Busog ako't wala pang sakit ng ulo.	They force me to read books But my mind refuses to accept them They say Washington was a brave man But I say, we've got our own Bonifacio Better I learn how to cook It'll keep me full and won't cause any hassle.
<i>Refrain</i> Sige, durugin n'yo ako Sige, basagin n'yo ako Sige, durugin n'yo ako Sige, wasakin n'yo ako May araw din ang mga kontrabidang tao Tiyak na maglalaho sa mundong ito.	<i>Refrain:</i> Come on, crush me Come on, break me Come on, crush me Come on, destroy me Time will come when the villains Will vanish from this earth.
Tawag ng titser ko sa akin ay bobo Dahil sa exam laging bagsak ako Di n'ya lang alam sa iba'y ako'y uno Ayaw maniwala siya pala ang bobo Biruin mo sa klase kung siya'y magturo Nakakatulog lahat ng kaeskwela ko.	My teacher calls me a moron 'Cuz I always flunk my exams Only he doesn't know in some ways I'm # 1 He can't believe he's the stupid fool Imagine when he teaches in class He puts all my classmates to sleep.

'Bobo ng Diliman' was so popular among students, it became a staple in protest concerts and sang by other groups.

In scanning both *Pinoy* pop/rock and protest songs, a cause of wonder may be the number of songs that are proud declarations of being Filipino or *Pinoy*. This is true of the 1970s and continues to be so today. There is the state-sponsored 'I Am a Filipino (Ako ay Filipino)' popularized by Kuh Ledesma that asserts the nobility of the Filipino race. There is Florante's 'I'm a Filipino (Ako'y Isang Pinoy)' (De Leon 1977) that has been the staple in schools all over the country in the annual National Language Week celebration because of the significance he attaches to the national language as a key to Filipino cultural identity:

Excerpt from 'Ako'y Pinoy' (De Leon 1977)	English Translation, 'I'm a Filipino'
Ako'y isang Pinoy sa puso't diwa Pinoy na isinilang sa ating bansa Ako'y hindi sanay sa wikang banyaga Ako'y Pinoy na mayroong sariling wika.	I'm Filipino in my heart and soul A Filipino born in my own homeland I'm not conversant in a foreign language I'm a Filipino who has his own language.
Wikang pambansa ang gamit kong salita Bayan kong sinilangan Hangad kong lagi ang kalayaan.	The national language is what I use Country of my birth My desire is for you to always be free.
Si Gat Jose Rizal noo'y nagwika Siya ay nagpangaral sa ating bansa Ang di raw marunong magmahal sa sariling wika Ay higit pa ang amoy sa mabahong isda.	Our hero Jose Rizal once said He left a lesson for our nation They who haven't learned to love Their own language Smell worse than a rotten fish.

There is protest singer Heber Bartolome's entry to the MMPMF, 'We are Filipinos (Tayo'y mga Pinoy)' (Bartolome 1978), which although losing in the competition, became immensely popular for its catchy refrain 'We're Filipinos/ We're not Americans/ Don't be embarrassed if you're pug-nosed (Tayo'y mga Pinoy/Hindi tayo Kano/Huwag kang mahihiya kung ang ilong mo ay pango)'. The song opened the door of the *Pinoy* music industry to Heber. The industry encouraged patriotic fervor and love of country but rarely allowed the larger nationalist perspective to be expressed.

In another composition, 'My Song (Awit Ko)' (1978),²¹ Heber Bartolome enriches these assertions of being Filipino by bringing into the pop music discourse the issues of imperialism and sovereignty. He concretizes these in the presence at that time of US military bases on Philippine soil and over which Filipinos had no sovereign rule. Protest is immediately established in the opening stanza with the image of babies born with their fists clenched:

Excerpt from 'Awit Ko' (Bartolome 1978)	English Translation, 'My Song'
Noong tayo'y ipinanganak Ang kamao'y nakakuyom habang umiiyak Yao'y pagtutol sa kinagisnan Isang bayang uto-uto sa mga dayuhan.	When we were born Our fists were clenched as we cried. That was to protest the condition we awakened to A nation of puppets, beholden to foreigners.

The indignities Filipinos were made to bear in their own country (such as being mistaken for wild boars by US military servicemen), even the search for happiness and peace can only be resolved by correcting the condition of enslavement and restoring the lost humanity of a people. As Heber proclaims to the world:

Ako'y Pinoy, ako'y may kulay	I'm a Filipino, I have my own color
Ako ay tao, ako'y hindi	I am human, I'm not
Isang baboy-damo!	A wild boar!
Kayong lahat, pakinggan n'yo	Listen all
Itong mundo'y humihingi ng pagbabago	This world is pleading for change
Pakinggan n'yo ang awit ko	Listen to my song
Ito'y ikaw, ito'y kayo	This is you, this is all of you
At ako.	And me.

Heber's plea for the world to recognize the humanity of his compatriots led, unfortunately, to the sudden hostility of the pop music industry to his nationalist music. Rather than sacrifice his convictions, Heber was forced to leave the recording industry and rejoin his poet-songwriter friends in the continuing cultural resistance against the dictatorship, and in popularizing his songs by performing in the school auditoriums, town plazas, protest concerts and the streets.

Resourcefulness and artistry in the production and performance of protest songs as a popular alternative mode of truth telling

Not bound by the government's Broadcast Media Council memoranda and contracts with recording companies, protest songwriters were more daring in exposing martial law conditions, which did not mean, however, that they were not aware of the risks involved in the performance of their craft. Lacking resources for recording, duplication and organized distribution, they took their songs directly to communities through live performances in venues no well-paid pop/rock musician would venture into. Many of their songs remain undocumented but thrive in the memories of those who have witnessed the brutality of martial law. Others were recorded in portable studios and either sold as cassette tapes at minimal cost or duplicated freely.²² The protest songs found audiences in small communities, schools, town plazas, the countryside, and the streets as they served for the ordinary people a popular alternative mode of truth telling since the oppressive and repressive conditions during the dictatorship never found their way to the press.

The public, for example, had heard rumors of the hamletting²³ and food blockades imposed by the Philippine army in the countryside, but President Marcos had always denied these repressive measures on innocent civilians.

Joey Ayala, a poet from Davao²⁴ who wrote in English had turned to songwriting in Filipino. In 1982, he recorded his first collection of songs, 'First-Born of the Morning (Panganay ng Umaga)' as a test recording for a sound lab facility of the Development Education Media Services in Davao City in Mindanao, Philippines.²⁵ Joey Ayala can be said to be one of the first protest singers to use indigenous instruments like the *hegalong* (T'boli two-stringed lute) and the *kubing* (Jew's harp), not as embellishments to the songs but as integral elements in capturing the rhythm of life in Mindanao. The song 'Sunflower (Mirasol)' (Ayala 1982), for instance, is a good example of how Joey Ayala captures Mindanao sounds while using a Western instrument.

The 'Panganay...' collection contains the song 'No More People in Santa Filomena (Wala nang Tao sa Santa Filomena)' (Ayala 1982), one of the most poetic and powerful songs that exposed the truth about hamletting. Yet in the song, the poet in Joey Ayala avoids overt language to describe the hamletting of a village. He chooses not to focus his song on the misery of people forcibly separated from their homes and farmlands and mercilessly re-concentrated to areas the military could monitor. Instead, he recreates a deserted barrio and uses images of nature to lament the hamletting of an entire village. He opens the song with the image of a lone swallow flying over the village; it is greeted by an eerie silence and later weeps for the abandoned village and farmland where rice stalks droop in mourning:

Excerpt from 'Wala nang Tao sa Santa Filomena' (Ayala 1982)	English Translation
Nag-iisang lumilipad ang langay-langayan Anino niya'y tumatawid sa nanunuyong palayan Tanging sagot sa sigaw niya ay katahimikan At kaluskos ng hangin sa dahon.	A solitary swallow flies Casting its shadow on the arid rice field The only answer to its cry is the silence And the rustling leaves disturbed by the wind
'Sang ikot pa, huling sulyap mula sa ibabaw ng bayan Mga kubong pinatag ng nipa at kawayan Paalam na, paalam na ang awit ng langay- langayan Ngunit walang nakasaksi sa palayo niyang lutang.	One more round, one more glance from above the village Huts strengthened by nipa and bamboo Farewell, farewell, the swallow sings But no one witnesses his floating away.
Pagkat wala nang tao sa Sta. Filomena Walang aani sa alay ng lupa Nakayuko ang palay, tila ba nalulumbay Tila ba naghihintay ng karit at ng kamay.	For no one is left in Sta. Filomena No one to reap the gifts of the land The rice stalks droop, as if in grief As if waiting for the sickle and the hand.

The village seems like a wasteland. And the swallow seeks for the villagers who should benefit from the abundance of the yield of the land after the rains breathe new life into the arid land. There is a sense of hopelessness with the seeming loss of villagers' will to fight.

At pagdating ng tag-ulan sa pinaghasikan Upang hugutin ang buhay mula sa kamatayan Muling dadaloy ang dugo sa ugat ng parang Subalit and lahat ng ito'y masasayang.	And when rain pours once again on the rice beds To extract life from death Blood will flow in the veins of the fields But all these will be wasted.
--	---

But the swallow refuses to give up on the people:

Lumilipad, sumisigaw ang langay-langayan	The swallow flies and shrieks
Nasaan ka at bakit ka nagtatago taumbayan	Where are you, villagers, why are you hiding
Panahon na, panahon nang balikan ang iniwan	It's time, time to return to the homes you left
Dinggin natin ang tangis ng abang langay-langayan.	Listen to the pitiful swallow weep.

The indirection of Joey Ayala enables listeners to read several meanings into the image of the swallow. It can signify the voice of conscience prodding people to defend themselves. It can also signify the country lamenting the fate of her people.

Joining together of protest and pop musicians in the 'parliament of the streets' after the 1983 Ninoy Aquino assassination

The assassination of the exiled opposition political leader, Ninoy Aquino, on the tarmac of the Manila International Airport²⁶ upon his return home triggered massive anti-Marcos rallies all over the country. A broad coalition of different sectors in Philippine society was organized to demand justice not only for Ninoy Aquino but for many victims summarily executed during the Martial Law period. The almost daily rallies, then called 'the parliament of the streets' strained the already fragile dictatorship. Finally, Marcos had to give to the people's demand for a 'snap election' held on February 2, 1986.

Music and street theater performances were very much part of the rallies. *Pinoy* pop musicians like Freddie Aguilar and the Apo Hiking Society²⁷ (APO) who took a stand against the dictatorship, joined protest singers on stages set up in the streets or in large gymnasiums. A dynamic interchange between pop and protest would later invigorate the *Pinoy* pop music industry.

In performing during rallies, *Pinoy* pop musicians were astounded by the richness of the sounds and the depth of lyrics of protest songs. Protest songwriters, in turn, were equally surprised at how some *Pinoy* pop music icons like the APO had actually already been experimenting with indigenous music and writing on nationalist themes.

The song 'American Junk' (Paredes 1982) is a testament to the growth of artistry and the deepening of Filipino consciousness of the APO members – Jim Paredes, Danny Javier, Boboy Garrovillo. The group had been in the *Pinoy* pop music scene for quite some time, and their music demonstrates how adept they were in different American pop styles. Educated in English, they dared to write in Filipino. But they were not content in creating only safe and comfortable songs. They immersed in Philippine culture, captured the folk wit of *Pinoy*s (e.g. 'Proverb [Salawikain]', 'Doo Bidoo,' 'Princess [Prinsesa]'), experienced the ennui of life of the poor ('It's Raining Again [Pumapatak na naman ang Ulan]') (Javier 1978), and in the process, came to a deeper understanding of the fissures on the Filipino consciousness effected by foreign culture. They knew the mindset and taste of the *Pinoy* listeners and the way the pop music industry operates and so, in 'American Junk', they used wit and humor to tackle a grave issue like cultural imperialism.

'American Junk' is in English, but the words are pronounced with a heavy *Pinoy* accent. The first stanza of the song immediately addresses the root of the country's development problem:

Leave me alone to my Third World devices
 I don't need your technology
 You just wants²⁸ my natural resources

And then you leave me poor and in misery
 Third World blues is what I got
 Trouble yes, I've got a lot.

The song also underscores the power of popular culture to enslave minds and alienate Filipinos from their own selves, thereby strengthening foreign interests.

You call it new music, I call it pollution
 Your music I now can see on my television (American Top 40)
 Why is it now I can only sing (a-da-da-da, a-da-da-da!)
 In English language that you people bring
 Why is it now that they only play
 Top 40 music in TV and radio!

Language and music are the means to express one's identity. If these are subjugated by foreign culture, or if, using the song's metaphor, foreign culture has invaded a person's bloodstream or being, what possibility is there for progress? The song thus repeats over and over the lines:

(American junk) Get it out of my bloodstream
 (American junk) Get it out of my system
 (American junk) I can only take so much
 (American junk) Got to get back to who I am.

Aside from connecting the Filipino listener to their indigenous cultural past, the use of Philippine indigenous music and rhythm throughout the song emphasizes the need to know one's self.

It's been so long since I've had a glance
 Of what I think I really am.
 (American junk) Get it out of my bloodstream...

Throughout the song, lead singer Danny Javier who, like the rest of the APO members, was educated in the Ateneo de Manila University renowned for training its students in speaking English properly with the correct enunciation and pronunciation, assumes the personality of the Filipino everyman, Pedro (or as the character in the song insists, 'Pi-dru'). He casts away (at least for the song) his Americanized English and adopts the ordinary Filipino way of speaking the English language. This makes the song even more humorous. Adding further humor to the song are the dialogues between Pidru and an American that serve to bridge the stanzas in the song,

Dialogue:

'Oh, hi there, fella!'
 'Uy!'
 'Hey, what's your name?'
 'Pi-dru.'
 'Oh, Pey-drow'
 'No, no, Pi-dru.'
 'Yes, Pey-drow.'
 'No, Pi-dro. Pangalan ko na nga yan, babaguhin mo pa! (That's already my name, but you still want to change it!) (Paredes 1982)

Laughter has the power to subvert. And 'American Junk' illustrates this well.

'American Junk' was such a hit that it launched the successful business of selling 'PIDRU' t-shirts with historical/nationalist themes.

Of the three APO members, Jim Paredes was the most prominent presence in the anti-Marcos popular movement. He joined not only rallies but cultural workshops and fora

where he mingled and exchanged ideas with protest singers. Immediately after Marcos was ousted by what has since been referred to as the first People Power or EDSA I,²⁹ Jim Paredes wrote the song 'The Filipino People's Gift to the World (Handog ng Filipino sa Mundo)' (1986). The recording of the song gathered many of the pop and protest singers who participated in a peaceful revolution that remains, as the song's title asserts, the Filipino people's unique contribution to the world.

Innovations in pop and protest music after the dictatorship

The toppling of the Marcos dictatorship through people power on February 25, 1986 did not spell the end of protest songs. But the protest songwriters found the doors of the concert hall of the Imelda Marcos³⁰-built Cultural Center of the Philippines and the popular culture industry suddenly open to songs that once thrived only in the parliament of the streets. Cassette and CD albums of Patatag,³¹ Inang Laya, Susan Fernandez, Jess Santiago, Gary Granada, Noel Cabangun, and other protest singers became available to the general public. The albums of Joey Ayala and the 'New Indigenous People (Bagong Lumad)' were produced by the Universal (formerly WEA) recording company and vigorously promoted through arranged appearances by the group in TV shows and concerts.

For a time, the entry of protest singers into the pop music industry enriched and invigorated *Pinoy* pop and rock music. Dong Abay of 'Yano'³² considers the songs of Joey Ayala as the most powerful influence on his own music. Dong Abay is the songwriter and the voice of the very popular songs that gave expression to the anti-establishment sentiment of the youth in the 1990s like 'Holy Dog, Sainly Horse (Banal na Aso, Santong Kabayo)' that criticizes the hypocrisy of those who pretend to be religious yet whose actions belie them; 'ESEM' (Filipinized acronym for Shoe Mart) that depicts the fetish of the poor to frequent the shopping malls even if there is no spending money; 'State U' that criticizes the government's lack of support for education; 'How Have You Been (Kumusta Ka Na)' that is a painful recollection of the extraordinary bravery of the poor during the People Power peaceful revolution but whose lives have not improved (Abay 1994).³³

Special among the songs of Yano is 'Slippers or Flipflops (Tsinelas)' (Abay 1994). The pair of rubber slippers is such an ordinary object, yet the wear and tear it has taken tells the story of political repression:

Extract from 'Tsinelas' (Abay 1994)	English Translation
Mang Kulas, Pabili nga ng tsinelas Pudpod na at gasgas Baka mapigtas 'Tong luma kong tsinelas... Una akong nakaligtas Noong kami'y ma-teargas Buti't nakaalwas Sa mga ahas at hudas Ako! at ang aking tsinelas.	Mang Kulas, Can I buy slippers Already thin and worn-out These old slippers of mine Might snap... I was the first to escape When we were tear-gassed Good thing I broke loose From the snakes and judasses Me! and my slippers.

and is witness to the unequal treatment of the poor by a society that immediately passes judgment and derides those who wear but rubber slippers:

Sabay pinalabas	Together we were driven out
Sa grocering ma-class	Of the classy grocery
Masakim na balbas	Bearded and greedy
Mukha raw takas,	Looks like an escaped convict
Mukhang mandurugas	Looks like a thief
Ako ba? at ang aking tsinelas.	Who, me? and my slippers.

Music and lyrics are tightly bound. The fast rhythm of the song is aided by the short lines and captures the sense of urgency the persona conveys in needing to immediately replace his worn-out slippers before they snap.

Another development of pop music is the innovative way in which indigenous sounds are integrated with electronic instrumentation. Joey Ayala pioneered in this. This was continued by Bayang Barrios who was once a member of Ayala's 'Bagong Lumad', and who went solo in the late 1990s. As an artist who takes pride in her Bagobo³⁴ ancestry, she has distinguished herself in the pop music industry with her unique and beautiful blending of Bagobo chanting and rhythm with pop/rock music and her courage to create and sing songs that tackle social issues. An example is 'Ngansiba?' (Barrios 2001)³⁵ which opens with Bayang's traditional chanting and goes on to expose the poisoning of the environment by people themselves. The song is a call for all to involve themselves in once more caring for nature:

Excerpt from 'Ngansiba?' (Barrios 2001)	English Translation
Chant: Ngansiba, ngansiba, ngansiba, ngansiba (2x)	Chant: Ngansiba, ngansiba, ngansiba, ngansiba (2x)
Kinuha, inagaw natin ang buhay Sinira, hinalay natin ang kulay Nagkalat ang basurang nakakalason May pag-asa pa kayang Tayo'y makakaahon...	We snatched and stole life We destroyed and violated its colors Toxic waste is scattered all around Is there still hope? Can we rise again? ...
May paraan pa, ngayon na, ngayon na Habang may oras pa, ngayon na, ngayon na, Isa lang ang mundo, isang ang mundo	There's still a way, now, right now While there's still time, now, right now We have only one world, one world.

The dynamic exchange between protest and pop music sometimes goes beyond the boundary of time and place. A protest song of the late 1970s can be borrowed and cross borders to be re-contextualized and re-invented for a contemporary and international audience. Such is what happened to the popular song 'News (Balita)' (Bañares 1979) by the protest group ASIN,³⁶ the refrain of which was borrowed intact by the Grammy-award winning group, Black-Eyed Peas, to create another song about the Filipino migrant.

The original song, written and composed by ASIN member Cesar Bañares, Jr., describes the bitter situation in Mindanao, once called the 'land of promise,' which has since the early 1970s known no peace or freedom:

Excerpt from 'Balita' (Bañares 1979)	English Translation
<p>Refrain: Lapit mga kaibigan at makinig kayo Ako'y may dala-dalang balita galing sa bayan ko Nais kong ipamahagi ang mga kwento At mga pangyayaring nagaganap Sa lupang pinangako...</p>	<p>Refrain: Come closer, my friends and listen I bear news from my village I want to share with you stories About the events unfolding In the land of promise.</p>
<p>Ang lupang pinanggalingan ko'y may bahid ng dugo May mga lorong di makalipad nasa hawlang Ginto May mga punong walang dahon, mga pusong di makatibok Sa mga pangyayaring nagaganap sa lupang pinangako...</p>	<p>The land I come from is stained with blood There are birds who can't fly, imprisoned in gilded cages There are trees with no leaves, hearts that can't beat Because of what's happening in the land of promise...</p>

Allen Pineda and Will Adams of the Black-Eyed Peas uses the same refrain of the original song, but in rap music, voices nostalgia for life in the Philippines, which though impoverished, is where family and community work closely hand-in-hand to survive. Many Filipinos, like the narrator in this song, are forced to leave their homeland in search for greener pastures abroad. But the homeland always calls the migrant back home, for life outside the Philippines is even more lonely. And it is when one is abroad that the migrant appreciates more what his own country has to offer.

Excerpt from 'The Apl Song'.³⁷

(Song opens with the refrain of ASIN's 'Balita')

*Lapit mga kaibigan at makinig kayo
 Ako'y may dala-dalang balita galing sa bayan ko
 Nais kong ipamahagi ang mga kwento
 At mga pangyayaring nagaganap
 Sa lupang pinangako...*

Every place got a ghetto this is my version
 Check it out...
 Listen closely yo, I got a story to tell
 A version of my ghetto where life felt for real
 Some would call it hell but to me it was heaven
 God gave me the grace, amazin' ways of living
 How would you feel if you had to catch your meal?
 Build a hut to live and to eat and chill in.
 Having to pump the water outta the ground
 The way we put it down utilizing what is around
 Like land for farming, river for fishing
 Everyone helpin' each other whenever they can
 We makin' it happen, from nothin' to somethin'
 That's how we be survivin' back in my homeland... (Pineda and Adams 2004)

'The Apl Song' can be considered a hybrid Filipino-Afro-American music. Its re-contextualization and reinvention of 'Balita' serves as a good example of what can happen when music successfully crosses borders to acquire a new and different form and content. It is also an innovative way of using the past to speak in a new musical language to a contemporary audience.

Enriching the legacy of *Pinoy* music

The flourishing of protest music in the *Pinoy* pop industry resulted in the emergence of young groups with refreshing new ways of tackling social issues that do not sound too grim and determined as to alienate the young pop music audience such as the Eraserheads, Parokya³⁸ ni Edgar, Color It Red, River Maya and others. These groups were extremely popular during the whole decade of the 1990s and produced an extraordinary wealth of *Pinoy* songs.

In recent years, however, the resurgence of American music, the entry and popularization of the Taiwanese pop group F-4 through its tele-drama series, and the overnight success of novelty songs which usually serve to accompany the dance of the Sex Bomb³⁹ girls seemed to have sidelined *Pinoy* pop and rock music and, in extreme cases, consigning the works of serious pop and protest artists to the recording companies' warehouses.

But novelty songs are temporal in nature and quickly lose their glitter. On the other hand, decades may separate today's rock bands and pop composers from those who dared to fuse *Pinoy* lyrics with Western-influenced sounds, but there is today an appreciation for the legacy of *Pinoy* pop/rock and protest music as seen in the remixing of what are now considered 'classics' and in the new productions by young rock bands like the Sugarfree, Dicta License, Brownman's Revival, Jr. Kilat who write lyrics not only in Filipino, but in other Philippine languages like Cebuano to express contemporary issues in punk, hip-hop, revitalized reggae, and other forms.

There are other developments too that keep alive independent and protest music production outside of the industry and outside of Metro Manila. The astounding speed with which computer technology is advancing now makes available to lyricists, music composers, and independent producers new devices to create, produce, market and distribute their own creations. Moreover, with the political tempest brewing in the country, pop and protest artists will probably share the same stage. One thing is certain. Even in this new millennium, the protest anthem will still be 'Bayan Ko'.

Notes

1. *Kundiman* – a traditional song form usually of unrequited love popular during the Spanish colonial period. During the Philippine Revolution of 1896, however, the members of the revolutionary movement of the Katipunan interpreted the love experience metaphorically to mean an outpouring love for *Inang Bayan* or the Motherland and the desire for freedom.
2. English translation mine.
3. *Pinoy* music – generally refers to the blending of Filipino lyrics and Western folk/rock/pop music.
4. *Pinoy* – slang for Filipino. *Pinoy* music generally refers to the blending of Filipino lyrics and Western folk/rock/pop music.
5. All Filipino songs and excerpts were translated by the author of this paper.
6. These songs, including 'Ang Masa', which appear in the collection, *Bangon* (Gintong Silahas, 1970) were already popular among students in the late 1960s.
7. 'Himig Natin' is the lead piece in the Juan dela Cruz Band's first recorded album of *Pinoy* rock music which bears the same title. The album was reissued in CD format as a Special Collector's Edition by Vicor Music Corporation in Manila, Philippines in 1994.
8. Banyuhay – a term Heber Bartolome coined from the words 'bagong buhay' meaning new life.
9. 'Hala! Hala!' – no direct translation. Its equivalent would be 'Watch out!'

10. Music and lyrics by brothers Dennis and Rene D. Garcia of the Hotdog. First recorded by WEA Records in the mid 1970s. The long playing (LP) album which bears the title *Annie Batungbakal*, however, bears no date but was released in 1979. The song is included the CD collection, *Hotdog Greatest Hits*, Universal Records, 1993.
11. Frisco – shortened name for the San Francisco del Monte district in Quezon City, Philippines.
12. ... hindi maitatawa na karamihan sa mga popular na musikang naririnig sa kasalukuyan ay likha ng halos di pinag-isipang pagsunod sa uso at walang pakundangang pagbubumabab sa komersiyalismo. ... ang mga usong kanta ay hindi kakikitaan ng intensiyong maglalarawan man lamang ng pangkasalukuyang kalagayan ng Pilipino, gayong ang ibinabandilang pakay ng mga ito ay makalikha ng ‘musikong Pinoy’. Maliban sa pag-aliw (na madalas nauwi sa pag-uym) sa tagapakinig, wala nang iba pang bagay na maka-Pilipino sa kasalukuyang musika.
13. Bienvenido Lumbera was awarded National Artist in 2006.
14. Rolando Tinio was awarded National Artist in 1997.
15. Bakya – literally, the wooden slippers worn by the poor but which became figuratively the derogatory term of the elite for the ‘low’ taste of the Filipino masses or for Filipino pop(ular) culture the masses enjoy.
16. *Bongga* – is slang for flashy, ostentatious, showy. When the suffix ‘an’ is added to the word (*bonggahan*) it can either mean a heightening of the flashiness or extravagance or a competition for flashiness or extravagance.
17. During the early years of Martial Law, a time curfew of from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. was imposed on civilians.
18. ‘Bobo ng Diliman’ was performed live by the composer, Ani Montano, in the 1979 Pabigatan Concert. The song was reinterpreted by Rebecca Abraham Demetillo of the Inang Laya in 1982.
19. Avenida – short for Avenida Rizal or Rizal Avenue, a main street in Manila, Philippines, where second-hand books and cheap goods are available for the masses.
20. Bonifacio – refers to Andres Bonifacio, leader and hero of the 1896 Philippine Revolution, the first in Asia to be waged against colonizers.
21. ‘Awit Ko’ is part of Heber Bartolome’s LP album, *Tayo’y Mga Pinoy* (Dyna Products Inc., 1978). The song, however, was composed is 1976 as noted in the back cover of the album.
22. The protest group, Mother Freedom (Inang Laya), of which I used to be a member, recorded its first cassette album (*Pagpupuyos* or *Friction*) (1982) in a portable studio in the home of one of its members. Five hundred copies were duplicated in a commercial studio, and these copies were freely recopied. Later albums and CDs of the group were professionally recorded and sold commercially after 1986.
23. Hamletting – the Philippine military’s forced re-concentration of civilians and communities suspected of aiding and coddling members of the New People’s Army (NPA), armed group of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPA), to another locale where they could be monitored.
24. Davao – A city in Mindanao, southern Philippines. Mindanao, from the 1970s to the present, has been a site of armed conflict between government forces on one side, and Moro revolutionary forces and the New People Army on the other.
25. With the help of some friends in Manila, Joey Ayala was able to have his *Panganay sa Umaga* collection reduplicated in cassette tapes in 1983. Because of the collection’s popularity, it was remixed and recorded in 1989 with a grant from the Canada Fund/CIDA. Universal Records produced a new edition of the collection in 1991.
26. Manila International Airport has, since the ousting of the Marcos dictatorship, been renamed Ninoy Aquino International Airport (NAIA).
27. The Apo Hiking Society, composed of Danny Javier, Jim Paredes and Boboy Garovillo, is one of the Philippines’ top pop music group which composes and performs its own songs and has had the longest staying power in the industry. The group takes its name from Apolinario Mabini (renowned for being one of the brains of the 1896 Philippine Revolution, and whose name the group shortened to ‘Apo’. Starting out in the late 1960s by singing and at times composing songs in English, they shifted to composing and performing songs in Filipino in the mid 1970s.
28. The grammatical error is intentional in the song. For the song, Danny Javier adopts the way ordinary Filipinos not adept in American English would pronounce and speak English.
29. EDSA – is the acronym of the main Metro Manila thoroughfare which stands for Epifanio de los Santos Avenue. The first People Power occurred in EDSA which is why People Power I is sometimes substituted with EDSA I to distinguish it from the second People Power, also at EDSA, that unseated the President Joseph Estrada.
30. Imelda Marcos, the wife of dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos, was well-known for her extravagance.
31. *Patatag* – means to be firm. But it is also a musical bamboo instrument played like a xylophone, with the bamboo pieces arranged on the lap of a performer.

32. Yano – The word ‘yano’ has several meanings. Its dictionary meaning is ‘simple.’ For Dong Abay who founded the group with Mindanao musician Eric Gancio, the word fits the kind of songs he wanted to create with his band – songs that depict the simple realities of Filipino life. But slang usage, ‘yano’ is a derogatory term for Filipinos coming from the provinces, a shortened version of ‘probinsyano’ – ‘syano’ or ‘yano.’ The tendency to look down at those who live outside the center of Metro Manila can be likened to the way the elite employed the terms ‘masa,’ ‘bakya,’ ‘baduy’ which all connote ‘low class.’ Abay’s use of the term may be seen as a way of raising the status of the marginalized on whom the group’s songs are focused.
33. These songs, including ‘Tsinelas,’ are part of the CD album *Yano* (Abay 1994).
34. *Bagobo* – a lumad or indigenous cultural community in Davao, Mindanao.
35. *Ngansiba* – A Bagobo term used in chants for which there is no translation. The song is part of the collection, *Harinawa* (Barrios 2001).
36. *Asin* – literally means salt.
37. ‘The Apl Song’ is included in the CD album *Elephunk*, Universal Music International, 2004. As noted in the CD album, the song was completed in 2003.
38. *Parokya* – literally means parish. As used, it simply means ‘community.’
39. Sex Bomb – name of a group of scantily-clad dancers who often appear in noontime TV shows.

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