

**FILIPINO BANDS PERFORMING IN HOTELS, CLUBS AND
RESTAURANTS IN ASIA: PURVEYORS OF TRANSNATIONAL CULTURE
IN A GLOBAL ARENA**

by

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DEDICATION

To Matthew, Noah and Seng Hock

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF APPENDICES	x
INTRODUCTION	1
Conducting Multi-Sited Ethnography in Urban Settings	4
CHAPTER	
1. MEETING AT THE CROSSROAD	13
Looking Beyond The Music	15
Cultural Imperialism, Globalization and Localization	16
Locals, Cosmopolitans and Migrants	25
Globalization, Cosmopolitanism and Filipino Labor Migrants in Asia	32
2. GLOBALIZATION AND LABOR MOVEMENT	40
Crossing Manila Bay: History of Performing Overseas	45
The Third Wave: Filipino Overseas Performing Artists (OPA)	59
Diaspora Consciousness and the Global Imagination	69
Conclusion	74
3. GLOBALIZATION AND MUSIC	76
The Musical Edge of the Filipinos	84
Performing ‘Mainstream’ Popular Music	102

4. GLOBALIZATION AND THE ASIAN AUDIENCES OF FILIPINO BANDS	114
The Audience	115
Globalized ‘Locals’ in Singapore	116
Seeing Their Culture as Multiple or Multicultural in Malaysia	122
Engaging with the Global Through Music in Shanghai and Nanjing	135
5. ‘FILIPINO’ IN THE CONTEXT OF A GLOBAL PERFORMANCE	159
Creating the Filipino, Performing the Filipino	162
2 BY 2 at the Crossroads Lounge and LOVE JOY at the Paulaner Brauhaus: Performing for ‘locals’	162
GEMS QUARTET at the Mutiara Beach Resort: Performing for ‘foreigners’	180
Beyond performing Western and Asian hit songs and oldies	184
Conclusion	186
6. CONCLUSION	189
Filipino Bands in Asia: Quo Vadis?	198
APPENDICES	200
BIBLIOGRAPHY	234

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

2.1	City Bayview Hotel, Penang, advertisement	42
2.2	Holiday Inn, Penang, advertisement	43
2.3	City Bayview Hotel, Penang, promotional leaflet for NITE STAR and BEAT CULTURE	43
2.4	City Bayview Hotel, Penang, promotional leaflet for GLITTERS	44
2.5	Mutiara Beach Resort, Penang, promotional leaflet	44
2.6	Copthorne Orchid Hotel, Penang, advertisement	44
2.7	Jazz Bistro, Bangkok, advertisement	44
2.8	Angel Peña performing with King Bhumipol of Thailand in August 1963.	50
2.9	The Trolley, Bangkok, advertisement featuring Jun Cadiz	51
2.10	The Romy Posadas Band in Hyatt Singapore Hotel in February 1975	53
2.11	Philippine Constabulary Band at the St. Louise Exposition in 1904	54
2.12	Juan Cadiz	55
2.13	Juan Cadiz Jr. or Jun Cadiz	55
3.1	PEACH APPLE TREE, a sequencer band	95
3.2	THE BLOCKS, a sequencer band	96
3.3	BEAT CULTURE, a show band	97

3.4	ROYAL STRINGS, a string band	98
3.5	SILVA BROTHERS, a strolling band	99
3.6	Duo BONNIE AND RHEA	100
4.1	Map of Penang	128
4.2	Starbucks at Xin Tian Di	136
4.3	Va Bene at Xin Tian Di	136
4.4	TGIF restaurant at Hengshan Road	137
4.5	The Bund	138
4.6	Xujiahui	140
4.7	Jinmao Tower in Pudong	140
4.8	Oriental Pearl Tower in Pudong	141
4.9	Skyscrapers in Lujiazui, Pudong	141
5.1	Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di, Shanghai	168
5.2	Poster advertising Paulaner Brauhaus' featured bands	168
5.3	Romy Posadas and Roger Herrera Jr. performing at Merks Bars and Bistro	187
6.1	Clipping about the New Fusion Band's members	196

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix

A.	Band Information	200
B.	Musician Information	202
C.	Bands' Playlist	203

INTRODUCTION

My interest in Filipino bands began several years prior to my enrollment in the PhD program. At the time, I was a masters' student at the Science University of Malaysia, doing a thesis on advertisement music, which my professors there thought was an interesting topic but lacked the seriousness of a 'real' ethnomusicological study. In fact, my advisor then, Professor Tan Sooi Beng, proposed that I consider writing about the music of the Penan tribe of Sarawak for my doctoral dissertation since the Penan were about to be displaced by the building of a dam. So you can imagine her surprise to learn recently that I had embarked on yet another unserious ethnomusicological endeavor at PhD level! This time made worse by the fact that the music studied was not even original but pop and rock from the Anglo-American tradition.

I had had many opportunities to observe Filipino bands while living in Penang, Malaysia, because my brother worked at the Rasa Sayang Hotel, one of three five-star hotels on the island. His job as an events coordinator then required his presence at the hotels on many evenings to oversee weddings, conferences and company dinners. I would tag along on these occasions in order to listen to the Filipino bands playing at the hotel lobby. The Rasa Sayang Hotel sometimes employed two or three Filipino bands simultaneously. Although my earliest exposure to Filipino bands began over ten years ago, I never considered their music to be of any scholarly merit then because reviews of

music journals and academic publications had shown me that only music that displayed ones cultural, national or political identity warranted scholarly attention.

I only began looking more seriously at Filipino musicians in Asia while attending a course on Modern Southeast Asian history here at the University of Michigan. In this course, Professor Rudolf Mrazek spoke of Asians in exile, and how this was not necessarily exile in the political sense but also in the social sense. I wrote about Filipino musicians performing in the Asian hotel circuit for my history term paper, focusing on the social aspects of their occupation while discussing little about the music they performed. After this history paper, I began to explore the topic of Filipino bands more critically. During several trips back to Malaysia, I observed that Filipino bands performed in the same hotels as the traditional Malay, Chinese and Indian dance and music troupes and that these traditional performances were in fact more of a spectacle to the urban Malaysian audience than the Filipino bands. I also read in the Malaysian newspaper that the Malaysian musicians union was protesting against the importation of Filipino bands because these Filipinos were depriving local musicians of jobs. The Malaysian musicians were objecting to the Filipino bands on economic rather than cultural grounds since the Malaysian bands also played Anglo-American pop music.

Filipino bands can be found performing in many other cities throughout Asia. In fact, Filipinos form the largest and most widely dispersed population of traveling entertainers in Asia. Economic difficulties since the 1980s have caused the Philippines to rely heavily on its “export entertainment industry” for foreign revenue. Filipino “overseas performing artists” (OPA) range from magicians and karaoke lounge hostesses to some of the best bands in the Asian hotel circuit. Their performance venues include five-star

hotels, cruise liners, international chain pubs and restaurants like the Hard Rock Café and Planet Hollywood, and tiny karaoke lounges in Japan where entertaining entails singing karaoke with guests. However, the performance sites of Filipino musicians are not limited to those in Asia. Filipino musicians can also be found performing in The Netherlands, France, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland and Germany, the Pacific islands of Saipan and Palau, Djibouti in Africa, and on cruise ships plying North American and Caribbean routes.

Although Filipinos partake in various types of entertainment in a wide variety of sites, this paper will focus on their performance of mainstream popular music in high-class hotels, clubs and restaurants in the cities Shanghai, Nanjing, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, and on the island of Penang in Malaysia. International hotels, and upscale clubs and restaurants are the mainstay for a large proportion of Filipino entertainers. Their audience ranges from tourists and business travelers to expatriates working for multinational corporations and the local middle and upper classes. They are in demand in these venues for their ability to perform mainstream western pop and rock in the most ‘authentic’ style, including the ‘oldies’ and the latest hits on the British and the American music charts. By ‘authentic,’ I mean they are able to imitate the voice quality, singing style, and dance movements of well-known singers from Britain and the United States. In other words, these Filipinos are ‘unoriginal’ in their singing in order to sound like the ‘original.’ Filipino musicians are also in demand in Asia because they can sing in many different languages and can appeal to the local audiences in the different countries where they perform. The local audience often makes up half the clientele at the hotels, clubs and restaurants.

Conducting Multi-Sited Ethnography in Urban Settings

James Clifford (1992, 1994) proposes that “travel ethnography” replace more traditional ethnography of natives bounded within villages because locals are becoming increasingly less localized as a result of travel experiences as well as by exposure to the mass media (Clifford 1992:97-103). Like Clifford, Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1996, 2001) rejects traditional ethnography in favor of “cosmopolitan ethnography.” For him, experiences shared by those who have traveled help fuel the imagination of those they come into contact with. Therefore, he insists that ethnography should take into account not just the lived-realities of people but also the imagined possibilities that had been brought within their reach by people and the mass media (Appadurai 1996:51-55). People who have traveled affect their home surroundings through their sharing of travel experiences, their gifts from abroad, and for the migrant workers, the money they send home.

Under these conditions described by Clifford and Appadurai, it is necessary to expand our locus of exploration beyond villages, cities and national borders. George Marcus and Michael Fisher (1986) propose that multi-sited ethnography be carried out in order to take into consideration the increase in transnational activity conducted by the people we study. Areas such as migration studies, anthropology of the borderlands, diasporic studies and media studies all reflect such multi-sited field work (Marcus and Fisher 1986:94-95). Despite increasing transnational political, economic and socio-cultural development in the world, George Marcus (1995) points out that many anthropologists are still hesitant to carry out multi-sited ethnography because anthropology has traditionally been local or micro-focused, intent on getting “intimate

knowledge” through “face to face” communication with their subjects. By taking ethnography out of this local context, anthropologists are concerned about their abilities to engage effectively with their subjects at multiple sites. Furthermore, Marcus adds that anthropologists want to continue championing subalterns in their work and are concerned that multi-sited ethnography will cause their focus to be on the macro system, consequently essentializing the people within the system (Marcus 1995: 99-102).

My research is on a group of entertainers who constantly travel for work purposes. Since performing abroad is how they make a living, most would prefer to remain abroad for as long as possible because returning to the Philippines would mean unemployment for them. Hence, I found it necessary to “follow the people” (Marcus 1995:106) in order to chart the impact of Filipino musicians on others as well as to discover how traveling has influenced them. In the course of one year from October 2003 to October 2004, I carried out fieldwork in several cities in East and Southeast Asia. My work was conducted in urban spaces, the “global cities” (Saskia Sassen 1991) where international flows of people, money, technology and the mass media intersect. These cities represent centers of trade and industry in the region as well as cultural centers that influence their surrounding peripheries. The policy-makers that inhabit these cities also are influential in shaping economic and political policies in the region. Through multi-locale ethnography, I planned to identify some links between these various sites in which Filipino entertainers perform.

I started with a visit to the Philippines, the homeland of Filipino entertainers. In Manila, I was able to trace their travels abroad to several veteran musicians who had been abroad as early as the mid 1940s. Most were based in the Philippines where they had

retired or semi-retired from performing. From them, I learned about the predecessors who had influenced their profession and established the reputation for Filipino musicians in Asia. It was also in Manila that I was introduced to the Overseas Performing Artists industry where I had the chance to see training being conducted for would-be entertainers in training centers, interview trainers responsible for training and grooming entertainers to establish the type of orientation and preparation provided to the Filipinos, witness auditions to select those who would get the chance to go overseas and get a glimpse into their selection criteria. I also had the opportunity to sit-in on rehearsal sessions with several bands preparing to go abroad and talk to the musicians about what motivates them to go overseas, as well as visit the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration office where final authorization is given for overseas-bound entertainers.

Having seen their preparation to go abroad in the Philippines, I then set out to observe their performances in hotels, clubs and restaurants in Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Nanjing and Shanghai. My observations of performances and interviews with Filipino musicians performing in hotels in Batu Feringghi and Georgetown in Penang over the last two summers provided the groundwork for this project. On these occasions, I made contact with several hoteliers in Malaysia and interviewed the Filipino bands performing in their hotels. These previous trips also enabled me to get to know some Malaysia-based agents representing Filipino bands. On this occasion, I began by approaching these band agents to arrange access into the upscale venues where the bands were performing. I also approached hoteliers whom I knew in Penang to get in-touch with their counterparts in other hotels so that I could get permission to interview and videotape their Filipino bands. Through the assistance of band agents and hoteliers, I was

able to interview and videotape the performances of over thirty bands in the five cities. In addition, I was able to observe the level of interaction these musicians had with their audiences and each other. These visits also enabled me to study the repertoire of Filipino bands and the ways in which they present their songs. Furthermore, in observing the audience's response to the bands and their music, I was able to assess the importance of the Filipino bands in these venues.

Interviews were conducted with band members to obtain information on their performance practices, and how they relate their music to their audience. Inquiries into the ways they interpret their repertoire were also explored. The musicians shared their experiences of performing abroad and made comparisons among the audiences they encountered in these different places. They also talked about the challenges and rewards of being transnational entertainers. In addition, I examined the composition of the audience of Filipino bands in these cities. I only managed to conduct informal interviews with a small percentage of the audience members as most of the performance venues had loud music which was not conducive for interviewing, and the audiences were elites who were not easily approachable. However, I was able to obtain some general demographic information about customers from the respective hotels, clubs and restaurants, and some particular information about the audience from the musicians themselves. The information provided by the musicians about their audience revealed how the audience perceives the music performed by the Filipinos, what motivates their song requests and what draws them to these performances.

I also made a careful study of the various locations where Filipinos perform since these hotels, clubs and restaurants appear to be international, Western and Asian all at the

same time. I wanted to discover how mainstream popular music fits into such spaces, and whether the performance by English-speaking Filipino bands somehow enhances one or all of these multiple images of the hotels, clubs and restaurants. Through interviews with the managers of the hotels, clubs and restaurants, I was able to determine the reasons the Filipino bands are hired. I also interviewed the agents that represent the Filipino bands in order to understand why these bands are in demand throughout Asia, how they are promoted to the various establishments, how different bands are put together and ranked, and what criteria are used to determine where a band is deployed.

Despite proposing multi-sited ethnography, Marcus expresses concerns about the abilities of researchers to carry out such research because of their varying levels of knowledge of multiple sites. Besides the language differences among these sites, he is also concerned about the ethnographer's ability to effectively translate the information acquired at different sites in order to produce a cohesive and comparable whole (Marcus 1995: 100-101). These were the issues that were taken into consideration when I was deciding on which sites to conduct my research. I chose the island of Penang, and the cities Kuala Lumpur and Singapore because of their multi-ethnic nature. It gave me a chance to observe how Filipino bands adapt their performances to meet the needs of such a diverse audience. In addition, I had the advantage of knowing these locales very well, having grown up in Penang and spending some time in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. I am also fluent in Malay, the official language of Malaysia and Singapore. Being a local helped in my understanding of the cultural and ethnic make-up, politics, economy and history of these countries as Singapore was part of Malaysia until 1965. Furthermore, carrying out field work in Malaysia and Singapore afforded me access to more hotels,

clubs and restaurants because of my acquaintance with hoteliers and band agents in these countries.

I chose to go to Shanghai because it is a highly cosmopolitan city with a large number of foreigners, from tourists to business travelers and expatriates, and has numerous international hotels and international-chain clubs and restaurants. It is also one of the biggest importers of Filipino bands in the Asian region at this time. I was fortunate enough to meet John Chacko, a Malaysian agent, who is a pioneer in sending Filipino bands to China. He was able to arrange access to several upscale venues both in Shanghai and Nanjing. Nanjing was chosen out of convenience because it is a train-ride away from Shanghai. It is also a major location for foreign factories like Volkswagen, Pirelli and Fiat, hence, it is fairly cosmopolitan as well. Being only moderately conversant in Mandarin, I experienced great difficulty in reading signs written in Chinese and in giving directions to taxi drivers. Fortunately, I was able to overcome this with the use of my cell-phone in which friends of mine in China had text-messaged directions to various locations in Chinese characters. I only had to show taxi drivers my cell-phone for them to know where I wanted to go. In Shanghai, I spent part of my stay with Malaysian friends who lived in an expatriate community in Pudong, and the other part of my stay at a local hotel on Caobao Road, a less international area in Puxi. Both these experiences exposed me to the different aspects of the city. Much of what I observed in the performances in Shanghai and Nanjing were translated by the Filipino entertainers. I did not interview any of the audience members in Shanghai and Nanjing because of the policy of these business establishments discouraging contact with their customers. However, seeing that many of these bands have been performing in China for some time,

I am confident that the musicians are qualified to interpret their audiences' actions, needs and motivations to me.

The trip to Manila in 2004 was my second. An exploratory trip the year before had enabled me to make contact with several musicians who had previously been abroad. They were very helpful in getting me connected to their contemporaries on this trip. Hence, I was able to interview over fifteen musicians in Manila. I spent most of my time on this trip visiting veteran musicians and attending their jam sessions in several clubs and hotels in the city. Although I am conversant in Tagalog, having studied the language for three years at The University of Michigan, I found that most musicians I encountered in Manila were as comfortable speaking to me in English as in Tagalog. Therefore I chose to conduct all my interviews in English to ensure that I would not misinterpret their information. My time in Manila was confined mostly to Quezon City, where I lived at a University of the Philippines hostel, and to the surrounding areas in Metro Manila like Makati, Mandaluyung and Calookan.

The advantage of conducting fieldwork in an urban setting is the easy access to transportation. I was able to do most of my traveling by monorail and taxi, and in Manila, by *jeepney* (jeep converted for public transportation) as well. Singapore, Shanghai and Manila are well served by reliable and affordable monorail services, while Kuala Lumpur and Nanjing have good taxi services. In Penang, I was fortunate enough to be able to drive myself around in my family's car. The main disadvantage in conducting fieldwork in these cities is the traffic jams. Like many urban centers, these cities, with the exception of Singapore, are congested for most of the day and a greater part of the night as well, with several windows for lighter traffic occurring in the middle

of the day. Hence, careful planning had to be done in order to avoid the traffic jams, get a taxi or standing space on the monorail, and arrive at appointments on time. These cities also had good cell-phone signals. There were few occasions when I was in an area that was out of range. My cell-phone was an essential tool in my conducting of fieldwork in these cities. It enabled me to keep in touch with the Filipino entertainers, all of whom carried cell-phones, and inform or be informed of appointment delays due mainly to traffic congestion. The cell-phone was also an important tool for communicating in a foreign language as I have illustrated earlier of my experience in China. Rather than utilize roaming services offered by my phone company in the USA, I purchased a cell-phone in Malaysia that was not locked onto a particular service provider. Hence, I was able to purchase pre-paid cell-phone cards in the different countries where I conducted my field research and change to SIM cards compatible to these countries in order to use my cell-phone there. It was the most affordable means especially because most of the entertainers opted to use text messaging instead of speaking over the phone, which saved on the cost of using the cell-phone.

This dissertation will address the following questions. Why is there a demand for Filipino bands in high-class hotels, clubs and restaurants in Asia? What are the reasons for the demand for performances of Anglo-American mainstream popular music in these Asian venues, and what does this phenomenon reflect of Asian countries and Asian identities? In what ways has globalization facilitated working transnationally, and does a specific culture exist among transnational subjects, those who constantly cross borders for work purposes? How does the culture of transnational subjects impact the cultures of locals, those who inhabit the region that transnational subjects work in and those who live

in the home country of these transnationals? And finally, has globalization paved the way for a greater range of cosmopolitanism and what, if any, are the ways cosmopolitanism is attained?

CHAPTER 1

MEETING AT THE CROSSROAD

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

I arrived at the Concorde Hotel at about 8:30pm on a Saturday evening. The taxi ride to the hotel had taken me over an hour although Sri Hartamas, the suburb in Kuala Lumpur where I lived, was only ten miles away. Amidst the honking of vehicles and my taxi driver's total disregard of traffic rules, we had weaved and negotiated our way through Saturday night traffic, the evening news interspersed with the latest Malaysian rock music blaring from the taxi's radio the whole trip. A sign pasted on the back of the driver's seat informed me that I would automatically be charged one-and-a-half times the rate on the meter after 12:00 midnight. This was important to note as I would be returning home after 3:00am when entertainment at the hotel finally wound down. The streets of Kuala Lumpur were colorfully lighted up in preparation for a national holiday. The splendor of the lighting above masked the stress and disgruntled feelings of the motorists below, all in a hurry to keep appointments with friends and family in the city as they inched their way along. Despite the availability of faster transportation into the city by light-rail, most of Kuala Lumpur's residents still opted to drive on the busiest night of the week.

The Concorde Hotel is a high-class business hotel located on Jalan Sultan Ismail in downtown Kuala Lumpur. Across from The Concorde Hotel is Shangri-La Hotel, a five-star establishment belonging to an international chain. Jalan Sultan Ismail and its adjacent streets are home to several of the largest business hotels in the city, such as the Mandarin Oriental Hotel, Equatorial Hotel, Mutiara Hotel, Renaissance Hotel, and New World Hotel. These hotels cater to the needs of the people in the business district of Kuala Lumpur and provide accommodation to tourists and business travelers from within the country and abroad. While this area is generally very crowded each evening because of the many nightspots located there, traffic virtually slows to a standstill on Friday and Saturday nights, and people have to wait in line to get into many of the more popular clubs and restaurants. Malaysia's only Hard Rock Café, the haunt of expatriates, travelers from the West and the Kuala Lumpur elite, is located at the Concorde Hotel. Here one can savor Western food and rock music. A Harley-Davidson motorcycle parked above the entrance of the Hard Rock Café serves as a landmark for people looking for this hotel.

What specifically drew me to the Concorde Hotel that evening was the band performing at Crossroads Lounge, located in the lobby of the hotel. An inconspicuous poster at the entrance of the lounge advertised the two bands that were playing there that evening, a Filipino band called 2 BY 2 and a local band, MEMORABILIA. Due to protest by the Malaysian Musicians' Union, the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism of Malaysia has mandated all entertainment outlets that hire foreign bands to hire local musicians as well in order to meet the one-to-one quota set by the ministry. Despite the additional cost of maintaining two bands, many of the establishments have not opted to

do away with their foreign entertainers. 2 BY 2 had been performing at the Concorde Hotel for the last three years and the hotel had pre-booked them for the next year.

Looking Beyond The Music

This dissertation deals with the subject of the global movement of labor, in particular entertainers, and looks at music as a global cultural and consumer entity. Globalization as an academic, political and business term became highly popular in the late 1980s, and was often used indiscriminately to describe anything and everything that involved movement across borders, or imagined movement and virtual movement via the internet and other mass media. While much discussion has been conducted on the subject of global movement, less attention has been given to unpacking the term ‘globalization.’

In this section, I will present the views expressed by some scholars who have risen to this task. Their views are relevant to the subject of music and globalization as they reveal the underpinnings of power, money, politics and technology as well as human agency at work in the global cultural arena. However, theories pertaining specifically to the area of music and globalization have been reserved for Chapter 3 since these theories are discussed in direct relation to my research. Furthermore, the work of these scholars reveals the different degrees of cosmopolitanism, and the ways people perform their cosmopolitan identities either by choice or because of a need to adapt to a transnational working environment.

I will also show how these theories are applicable to Asia and my work on Filipino bands. The work of these scholars contributes to understanding the reasons why Anglo-American popular music continues to dominate the repertoire of Filipino bands in Asia and how Asian pop music, while providing an alternative, still displays much in common with mainstream Anglo-American pop music. Their work also provides insight into the negotiations of power going on at the level of governments, employers of Filipino bands, the Filipino contract entertainers and their audiences. In discussing globalization, I will be focusing on the movement or imagined movement of people across borders, and the interaction between those who are labeled 'locals' and 'foreigners.' Besides showing the subjectiveness of the terms 'local' and 'foreigner,' I will demonstrate how these labels and others can be consciously performed either as a yearning to 'travel,' to return 'home,' or to be 'cosmopolitans.'

Cultural Imperialism, Globalization and Localization

Concerns about cultural domination began in the mid 1960s as television increased in importance as a media tool for disseminating information and entertainment. The First World or "core" countries, comprising USA and countries in Western Europe, were accused of influencing Third World countries through television, with the USA at the helm. Herbert Schiller (1991) argues that cultural imperialism has not diminished twenty-five years later, claiming that the "imperialist era" is now led by transnational media and communications corporations, many of which are US-based. By providing a "total cultural package [of] film, TV, music, sports, theme parks, shopping malls," these

corporations use “soft power” in the guise of entertainment to “co-opt rather than command.” Refuting pluralism and hybridity theories, and reception theories that credit audiences with the ability to be selective, Schiller insists that neo-imperialism by means of ideological rather than political or economic domination has led to compliant audiences in the “periphery.” Countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa that do not have the economic and technological means to produce media products of their own find it more feasible to import from these transnational corporations. The influence of American media products on the culture of the periphery is further reflected in their locally produced films, television programs and music that are modeled on the American versions (Schiller 1991:13-24). Cees Hamelink (1990) also expresses concerns about “cultural integration,” the homogenization of world culture as the culture of the core overpowers the cultures of the periphery, disables and disauthenticates whatever traditional or indigenous cultures might have existed before, and eventually replaces them with the homogenized culture of Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Levi’s and John Denver (Hamelink 1990:227).

In *The World Is Flat*, Thomas Friedman (1999, 2005) suggests that the advancement in technology in the era of globalization has leveled the economic playing field, thereby making it possible for many countries that were not formerly considered First World countries to compete globally. He cites India and China as two countries that have benefited substantially from American outsourcing and offshoring (Friedman 2005:103-127).¹ Despite the outward *laissez-faire* nature of the global economy, nation states are in fact forced to adopt international economic policies, the “golden straitjacket,” in order to participate in the global economy (Friedman 1999:86-88). As

the only surviving superpower post Cold War, the USA serves as the leader as well as biggest beneficiary in the present global arena (Friedman 1999:304-309). Although Friedman's work deals mainly with the global economy, his discussions reveal the different directions culture is flowing, and the ways people involved in the global economy have to conform to a global culture. Friedman goes to the extent of claiming that "globalization has its own dominant culture, which is why it tends to be homogenizing" (Friedman 1999:8). Furthermore, he brings to the forefront the conflict between local and global interests, the costs and benefits of participating in the global economy, and the political and socio-cultural repercussions of this involvement. Friedman pits the Lexus, a symbol of affluence brought about by participation in the international economy, against the olive tree, that represents tradition, to show the tension experienced at the local level (Friedman 1999:27-28).

On the contrary, rather than homogenizing the cultures of the world through dominance, pluralists like Marshall McLuhan and Bruce Powers (1989) believe that globalization enables everyone to contribute to the global melting pot by means of modern communication technology, thereby becoming more closely connected within a "global village" (McLuhan and Powers 1989). Does the idea of the global village then also suggest one village culture, or in this case a single global culture? While earlier debates on globalization and culture as expressed by Marxist and functionalist scholars such as Anthony Giddens (1991) emphasized the homogenization of cultures on the periphery by a few powerful core countries which possessed political and economic power, more recent discussions on the subject lean towards heterogenization of world cultures (Mike Featherstone and Scot Lash 1995:4). Mike Featherstone (1990) cautions

against seeing global culture as necessarily homogenizing the cultures of the world or relieving the nation states of their power. For him, a unitary global culture cannot exist without one single “world state.” Instead, Featherstone proposes that global culture be seen in the plural as global cultures, formed as a reaction to various political, economic, corporate, financial, communication, media and technological developments occurring in the world today (Featherstone 1990:1-7). Debates still exist as to the degree of power possessed by the cultural producers and brokers, and the amount of negotiating room and agency the consumers of these cultural products have.

Jan Pieterse (1995) suggests that globalization provides the opportunity for hybridization, the creation of new forms through a combining of the existing culture with other forms from the global pot. For him, “hybridization is the making of global culture as a global *mélange*.” This global culture, which Pieterse refers to as “translocal culture,” requires “an outward-looking sense of place” and focuses on “the mixing of cultures and not their separatedness.” However, he acknowledges that an unevenness of power exists in the world. Hence, he constructs a “continuum of hybridities: on one end, an assimilationist hybridity that leans towards the centre, adopts the canon and mimics the hegemony, and at the other end, a destabilizing hybridity that blurs the canon, reverses the current, subverts the centre” (Pieterse 1995:56-57). Ulf Hannerz (1989, 1990, 1996, 1997) shares Pieterse’s view that globalization encourages hybridity. Although the core appears to dominate as a source of culture, technology, information and money, Hannerz claims that cultural centers need not also be political and economic centers as well. Cultural activity and flows occur in what he refers to as a “global *ecumene*,” a space of “persistent cultural interaction and exchange” where “countercurrents” from the

periphery to the center can take place. Rather than homogenizing culture as is the claim of proponents of cultural imperialism theories, Hannerz believes “imported culture” can serve as a resource or tool for enriching local culture and expression. He objects to the notion that cultural purity should be preserved against foreign pollutants because a pre-colonial past and culture can no longer serve the needs of the present. Instead, he states that “the impact of the transnational cultural flow would have to say something about how the people respond to it.” Hannerz therefore places a great deal of confidence in the ability of consumer of culture to exercise their agency and to translate foreign culture to meet local needs (Hannerz 1989:66-74). Despite this optimistic note, Hannerz acknowledges that the “center,” here not only referring to the more technologically advanced countries in the west referred to as core countries, but also the state as opposed to the people in the periphery, determines what foreign culture is admitted, how it is manipulated to meet state needs, and how the state co-opts the government and corporations from the core for their mutual benefits (Hannerz 1997:112-125). Furthermore, Hannerz disagrees with the idea of a global village because it suggests “a sense of greater togetherness, of immediacy and reciprocity in relationships” which to him does not represent the reality in the world (Hannerz 1996:6).

Immanuel Wallerstein (1997), in his world systems theory, shows that nation states continue to dominate the production of culture and the creation of a national or state-sanctioned culture. Although the capitalist world economy forces nation states to admit cultural commodities from outside its borders, the nation states have incorporated these foreign cultural products in the name of “cultural diversity.” For Wallerstein, “culture has always been the weapon of the powerful” (Wallerstein 1997:98-101). In line

with Wallerstein's world systems theory which is based on the logic of capital accumulation and privileges the economy over culture, nation states admit foreign culture as part-and-parcel of their participation in the global economy in the same way that it welcomes foreign investment. On the other hand, Appadurai claims that globalization challenges the power of nation states because of their limited ability to control the diverse flows of people, money, media, technology and ideas across their borders. These "global cultural flows" or "scapes" cause "disjunctures" at the local levels because they are often inconsistent with local conditions and needs. For Appadurai, the mass media causes schizophrenia or a lack of "sense of place" and "camouflage[s]" the subtle differences in power and resistance as "a bottomless appetite in the Asian world for things western" (Appadurai 1996:29). However, the media also fuels the global imagination and inspires the possibility for changing one's life through migration, the seeking of international assistance, collaboration across borders, and the projection of one's identity whether ethnic or gender, among others (Appadurai 2001:6).

Roland Robertson (1994, 1995, 1997) differs from proponents of cultural imperialism theory in that in his view, global media and communication corporations do not homogenize culture but instead consciously heterogenize and hybridize it. Media corporations like MTV and CNN practice "glocalizing"² strategies in order to widen their market abroad in the same way that other business corporations glocalize through micro-marketing in order to make their products more differentiated and more attractive to consumers worldwide who want their uniqueness or differences to be acknowledged and satisfied. Through the "invention of consumer traditions," these corporations are able to capitalize on the consumers' need for "cultural capital formation." At the same time,

nation states also participate in the construction of difference, what Robertson refers to as “strategic essentialism” (Robertson 1995:41) by using western ideology as a “cultural resource” for forming “nationally constituted society” (Robertson 1997:83-84) as evidenced by the terms used to describe “particularities” like ethnicity and national identity which are consistent across the globe (Robertson 1994:42). He disagrees with Giddens’s view that globalization involves “the interlacing of social events and social relations ‘at distant’ with local contextualities” (Giddens 1991:21). Rather than consider the local as a “counterpoint to the global,” he instead proposes that globalization entails “the simultaneity and the inter-penetration of what are conventionally called the global and local” (Robertson 1994:38).

Leo Ching (2001) does not discuss the particularities of globalization in term of local reaction. Instead he talks about how Asia as a region, having been impacted by the global economy, media and communication, forms its own block, one that is not only politically or economically-based but also ideologically-centered because culture and ideology play important roles in regional identity formation. However, unlike Asianism in the 1930s that was conceived as a regional stance against western colonization, Asianism today is not about fighting the west but offering Asianized alternatives to Asians. “If the earlier Asianism was conditioned on the unequivocal difference between Asia and the West, where Asia existed as the absolute other to the increasingly colonized world system- its exterior- in today’s Asianism, that difference itself exists only as a commodity, a spectacle to be consumed in a globalized capitalist system precisely at the moment when exteriority is no longer imaginable.” Like Robertson, Ching sees regionalism not as an opposition to globalization but “an essential constituent” since “the

regionalist imaginary is fundamentally complicit with the globalist project” (Ching 2001:282-285). Although American hegemony is still present in Asia, Ching points to the existence of competing regional influences in particular from Japan. I would like to add Hong Kong and Bombay as well. Asianism, in the form of mass culture, is disseminated via transnational media and communication mediums like STAR TV (Satellite Television Asian Region) which reaches thirty-eight Asian countries. Hence, ““Asia” has become a market, and “Asianness” has become a commodity circulating globally through late capitalism” (Ching 2001:304-306).

Anglo-American television programs and popular music dominate the airwaves in many countries in Asia because of the hegemonic control possessed by the mass media industries of USA and Western Europe in this region. Most Asian countries admit these media products as part of their participation in the global economy. Furthermore, the governments of most Asian countries have limited control on the flow of foreign music and images into their countries because of the internet and satellite transmissions across borders. For many of these countries, buying imported media products is often cheaper than producing local ones. Furthermore, the imported films, television programs and music tend to be of a higher quality due to the more advanced technology used to produce them. Many of the American and British television programs have been dubbed and Anglo-American pop songs translated into the local languages. Some of the films, television programs and pop songs produced in Asia are also patterned on those from USA and Western Europe.

The mass media is an important tool for exposing Asians to the rest of the world. International news agencies like Reuters, Associated Press and Cable News Network

(CNN) provide Asians with information about world events. Unfortunately, their news content tends to be more USA and Western-Europe focused, with Asian countries only being featured when catastrophic natural disaster or political upheavals occur.

International media organizations based in Asia like Satellite Television Asian Region (STAR TV)³ and Astro All Asian Network (ASTRO)⁴ provide Asians with regional alternatives. While most of these alternatives come from Asian centers of finance, technology, commerce and culture like Hong Kong, Shanghai, Beijing, Tokyo, Singapore and Bombay, they also provide avenues for the dissemination of music, films and television programs from other Asian countries such as the Philippines and Thailand. By using Western technology and media as models, these Asian media organizations have created Asian alternatives to compete with those produced by media organizations from USA and Western Europe and have created a space for the views and interests of the region to be voiced. However, the emphasis on commercial value still determines what is aired by the Asian media organizations.

At the same time, Asian films and television programs are also influencing those in the West. The Japanese cooking program, Iron Chef for example, has been syndicated to USA's Food Network. As a result of globalization and the advancement in communication technology, cultural products now flow more freely across the globe. These products do not only originate from USA and Western Europe, the original perpetrators of cultural imperialism, but also from the other countries as well, thereby enabling films, television programs and music from these countries to be more widely disseminated. While a greater degree of cultural hybridity has occurred as a result of the availability of wider resources of culture from around the world, and the "world music"

and films from countries other than USA and those in Western Europe have achieved some worldwide success, the films, television programs and music of USA and Western Europe still continue to dominate a large proportion of the world's market.

Locals, Cosmopolitans and Migrants

As nations become increasingly interconnected through sophisticated communication technology, so too do their inhabitants become less hinged to national identities and more open to trans-border ones such as the international traveler, expatriate, professional, immigrant and migrant worker. However, this does not mean that categories of citizenship cease to exist. Representatives of multinational corporations abroad are, for example, still referred to as American, German, French or Japanese. Nevertheless, globalization and its threat of rootlessness have caused nation states to resurrect nationalist beliefs that “connected identities to imaginations of place: home, boundary, territory and roots” (Breckenridge, Pollock, Bhabha and Chakrabarty 2002:2). The category of the ‘local’ has also become less clearly defined as locals become more and more exposed to global flows and begin taking on global identities. Few locals today have not been exposed to the mass media or do not know of people who have been abroad. Lila Abu Lughod (1991, 1997) describes how television informs the women in a village in Egypt about life in the city and beyond, but stresses that these images are mediated by wealth, education and personal experiences (Abu Lughod 1997:124). These disjunctures in the interpretation of the global create an alternate cosmopolitanism, one that does not involve travel in the way the term usually implies.

Instead, these experiences of the global fuel the imagination and ignite in some the desire to be part of the bigger picture, one that is no longer confined to their village, city or even country.

For Jonathan Friedman (1990, 1995), “globalization is about processes of attribution of meaning that are of a global nature.” It involves “a transformation of the relations of self identification in the world at a specific historic conjuncture.” Hence, it generates social-cultural transformations in addition to political-economic ones within the “global system,” a global arena that is fraught with power relations including those that make up the core-periphery binary (Friedman 1995:73-76). In acknowledging such discrepancies of power, Friedman claims that terms like hybridity and creolization do injustice to the identity formation of the periphery since these terms are formulated by those in the core and in relation to the core. Friedman also disagrees with Appadurai on the matter of “disjunctures” caused by global cultural flows. For him, multiple cultural flows create “conjunctures,” the result of “fragmentation of the global system and the consequent multiplication of local projects and localizing strategies” and “a simultaneous globalization of political institutions, class associations and common media of representation.” Rather than “post modern chaos,” Friedman insists that they are part-and-parcel of the global system. “It is only chaotic for the culture experts whose identification of origins is disturbed by the global process of changing identities, a disturbance that is, consequently, translated into a de-authentication of other people’s ‘actually existing’ cultures” (Friedman 1995:82-89).

According to Robertson (1994), “locality” is often positioned as “resistance to the hegemonically global,” resulting in the need to recast local culture as national culture

based on a “standardized [...] recipe of locality” that is imposed from above and often does not represent the actual culture of the locals (Robertson 1994:37-38). Furthermore, these ideas of locality were historically the result of encounters with other-ness. Anthony Appiah (1992) claims that “nativism” was the result of encounters with the west and “western sentimentalism” (Appiah 1992:60). Abu Lughod also raises objections to these conceptions of culture because they discriminate the “halfies,” those of mixed national, cultural and ethnic background, who do not fit neatly into the cultural categories created by the nation states (Abu Lughod 1991:137).

The term ‘cosmopolitanism’ has been used in various contexts. According to Hannerz, cosmopolitanism can denote competence in adapting to various locales, an open attitude towards the culture of others, and a willingness to engage with these differences in an “interplay between mastery and surrender.” In Hannerz’s view, neither the tourist, exile nor migrant worker qualifies to be a cosmopolitan. Only expatriates possess the willingness to be abroad, the openness to participate in a foreign culture, the economic means to “experiment” in someone else’s culture, and the freedom to “go home when it suits them” (Hannerz 1990:239-243). However, Hannerz acknowledges that the contemporary expatriate is usually a representative of an international or multinational organization whose transnational culture is of an occupational nature. Such transnational cultures serve the purpose of enabling individuals and organizations to penetrate other cultures, not offer new cultural experiences to these transnationals (Hannerz 1990:243-245). Cross cultural training programs and guidebooks provide busy transnationals with brief information on the do’s and don’ts in a new culture, while international spaces like

international hotels and expatriate communes insulate these transnationals from any real contact with the locals.

In Friedman's view, cosmopolitans are "betwixt and between without being liminal," in other words "participating in many worlds without becoming part of them" (Friedman 1990:204). For him, "cosmopolitans are unauthentic and quintessentially moderns [who] only play roles, participate superficially in other people's realities" (Friedman 1995:78). Hannerz and Friedman's views on cosmopolitanism differ in terms of the degree of engagement cosmopolitans have or are willing to have with others. Hannerz's cosmopolitans seem to be from a bygone era, romanticized elites possibly from the era of western colonization such as the *sahibs* of India and the *tuans* of Malaya. Friedman, on the other hand, best describes cosmopolitans in the current age of globalization who constantly move across borders in their practice of flexible accumulation. However, they are no less elite than Hannerz's cosmopolitans. Referred to as "cosmocrats" by John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge (2000), they are a group of transnational business and economic elites whose engagement with global culture is based largely on consumption (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2000:229-233), coupled with "frequent flyer lounges and international standard hotels" that maintain familiarity thereby creating a condition for "soft cosmopolitanism" (Craig Calhoun 2002:104). For such soft cosmopolitans, guidebooks such as those described by Anne Tyler (1985) in *The Accidental Tourist* give information on how to find the comforts of home away from home, including familiar mattresses and food. "Travel is ideally home plus more and better business" to these soft cosmopolitans (Hannerz 1990:241). Peter Van Der Veer (2002) traces cosmopolitanism to "the western engagement with the rest of

the world” at the moment of western empire building. While cosmopolitans intended to engage with the colonized and understand their culture, differences between them in terms of language, for example, required translation to be carried out. In such instances, the language of the colonized was usually compromised so that the engagement ended up being conducted in the language of the colonizer (Van Der Veer 2002:166-167).

Despite the tendency to associate cosmopolitanism with the elite, Scott Malcomson (1998) argues that “actually existing cosmopolitanism” is present among migrants as well as refugees who participate in this lifestyle “under duress” for the purpose of overcoming poverty (Malcomson 1998:238-240). After all, the originators of cosmopolitanism were the non-citizens of ancient Greece whom Homer criticized for being “clanless” and “heartless.” In the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the outcast referred to the Jews and gypsies because of their “rootless [ness]” (Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen 2002:5-6). Outcast and “strangers” are not given provision by the nation state. Their power to challenge authority lies in their “indeterminacy” (Bauman 1990: 146), but this indeterminacy also leaves them at the mercy of nation states. Zygmunt Bauman (1990) believes that post-modernity and the “denationalization of the state” will bring about greater tolerance for minorities, and by extension, those who were once strangers would now find acceptance (Bauman 1990:167-168). While trying to incorporate the global condition and increasing diversity in his discussion, Bauman fails to consider the larger numbers and varieties of people coming over the borders that now pose a new threat to the safety and economy of the people within the state. Clifford coins the term “discrepant cosmopolitanism” to refer to people who have experienced

“violent histories of political, economic and cultural interaction,” conditions associated with “displacement and transplantation” (Clifford 1992: 108).

At the other extreme of constantly traveling cosmopolitans are cosmopolitans who have never traveled before or only travel to a limited extent. “Aesthetic cosmopolitanism,” for instance, exists among people at home who consume products that represent the global to them such as world music and exotic food. According to Calhoun, “cultural diversity” is represented by “the packaging of ethnicity for consumer markets” (Calhoun 2002: 105). The electronic media is also an important source of information about the world in the same way that travel books used to be in the past. The added attraction of the electronic media is its moving visuals and audio abilities which appeal to a large proportion of today’s society who would rather watch the film version of a book rather than read the book. “The biggest problem with mass media isn’t low quality – it’s high quality” (Michael Medved author of *Right Turns*, as printed on a Starbucks cup). Web sites also enable users to make virtual trips without having to leave home. Despite the proliferation of images, dominated by those from western Europe and the USA that are broadcast worldwide through the mass media and internet, Timothy Brennan (1997) reminds us that to the majority of people in the world, “familiarity with western images is much greater than their belief that the images will ever be theirs” (Brennan 1997:308).

As the traditional ideas of ‘home’ are eroded because people increasingly move around the globe and immediate families live in places thousands of miles apart, it becomes necessary to reevaluate the meaning of “‘home,’ ‘community’ and ‘locality’” (Robertson 1994:38). It also requires that we take into consideration the ‘halfies’ of the global era, the migrants who are not comfortably “at home in the world” as Brennan has

described of cosmopolitans (1997), yet “are never quite at home again in the real way that locals can be” (Hannerz 1990:248).

Linda Basch, Nina Schiller and Christian Szanton Blanc (1994) distinguish ‘migrants’ from ‘immigrants’ by virtue of their temporary presence in host countries (Basch, Schiller and Blanc 1994:3-4). Migrants range from laborers, maids and entertainers to transnational professionals in the business, communication and technological sectors. This constant flow of people of different skills and economic levels, and varying work durations across the globe complicates the defining of the ‘migrant.’ Research on migrants usually tends to focus on their economic aims, their search for jobs no longer available in their home country or for a better life attainable through the acquiring of jobs with higher salaries abroad. Some focus has also been given to the abuses endured by labor migrants abroad, but for the most part these comprise newspaper articles and reports by non-governmental organizations. Less attention has been given to “specific livelihoods” such as the reasons beyond economic factors that spur individuals to work abroad, the connections or networks they form with people abroad and at home, and the cultural values they acquire and impart at various locations. Ninna Sorensen and Karen Olwig (2002) point out that migrants are increasingly involved in their host countries. Hence, their moves “do not involve displacement, but rather multi-placement, that is, an expansion of space for personal, familial livelihood practices to two or more localities” (Sorensen and Olwig 2002:1-5). Migrants not only form connections with the locals, people of the host country, but also with other migrants, both those from their own country and elsewhere. Migrants from the same country usually also establish a support system among themselves. Furthermore,

connections with home and family are also important to migrants. Migration not only socially and culturally affects migrants, but also has an impact on the people of the host country as well as the people at home. Migration for work purposes has sparked a whole range of businesses established to serve the various needs of migrants such as packing and shipping of belongings and gifts, sending of money to rural areas not easily accessible to banks, importation of food and entertainment from abroad to satisfy migrants, and even the establishment of radio and television stations targeting migrants.⁵ In addition, migrants are not only impacted by the economy and socio-cultural conditions of the host country, but as foreign labor must also submit to its political constraints.

Globalization, Cosmopolitanism and Filipino Labor Migrants in Asia

Globalization or at least transnationalism in Asia predates western empire building in that region. However, western colonization exposed the region to the enlightenment ideals, industrial revolution and ideas associated with modernity including nationalism (Anderson 2002: 118). In their contact with the west, Asians have been receptive to foreign ideas and culture, often indigenizing these ideas in order to meet local and national needs (Robertson 1997:83-84). It was only when nationalistic sentiments arose in the late nineteenth century that colonized countries in Asia saw the need to emphasize their own cultural identities in order to distinguish themselves culturally from their colonizers and to rally the locals to fight off colonialism.

Since the mid 1970s, countries in Asia have been striving to play a bigger role in the international economy. Following the example of Japan, other Asian countries have

come to the forefront, most notably the Asian Tigers comprising South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Economic cooperation at the regional level through organizations like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have been beneficial in strengthening the economy of the region. The establishment of commercial and manufacturing sites by multinational corporations in Asia has also brought about an influx of skilled professionals from USA and Western Europe. Consequently, international hotels were built to cater to the needs of the Western business travelers and expatriates. Entertainment of an international standard was also required in order to make these foreigners feel at home away from home. Hannerz claims that transnational cultures are “extensions or transformations of the culture of Western Europe and North America [that are] organized so as to make people from Western Europe and North America feel as much at home as possible” (Hannerz 1990: 244). Such a view, however, fails to take into consideration the equally if not larger number of Asians participating in the Asian economy whose needs are also important concerns to the international hotels. Hence, the existence of Japanese, Chinese and Korean restaurants in these hotels, the availability of complimentary green tea in hotel rooms, and hotel staff trained to speak Japanese to serve this segment of the hotels’ clientele. Some hotels also have multi-lingual in-house directories and menus for their guests’ use. My study focuses predominantly on Asian travelers and cosmopolitans. I use these terms loosely to encompass those who physically travel abroad and those who travel only in their imaginations.

Research on cosmopolitanism has generally placed greater emphasis on elite cosmopolitans because of the belief that a cosmopolitan lifestyle is only achievable by

having the economic means as well as the freedom to conduct this international lifestyle. Many expatriates representing multinational corporations in Shanghai live in Pudong, the area located to the east of the Huangpu River. Most live in gated communities guarded by security guards. The homes within are ‘American style,’ complete with garage and deck, atypical of homes in China or Asia for that matter. Some homes have outdoor swimming pools, while other gated communities have clubhouses that provide recreational facilities such as swimming pools and tennis courts. A telephone directory published in English provides information to expatriates, specifically those from English-speaking countries in the west, with information on where to obtain food from ‘home’ ranging from hypermarkets like Carrefour, to agents able to ship food, clothing and any other supplies from abroad. There is also information on companies offering the services of local maids and drivers, with English-speaking help costing more. This directory also has a listing of all the restaurants available in Shanghai that offer French, Italian, American, Thai, Japanese, Indian and other exotic food. A few pages of the directory are dedicated to ‘useful’ Mandarin phrases that an expatriate employer can use to communicate with his or her maid and driver, for example to give instructions on what food to buy from the market, what dishes to cook, and what time to pick up the children from school. Many of the international schools offering education based on the British, American and Singapore curriculum are also to be found in Pudong.

By focusing on the economic resources of cosmopolitans, we fail to consider the agency of non-elite cosmopolitans, those who carve a livelihood while finding the opportunity for overseas exposure and experience, and through a genuine need to adapt amongst locals abroad have in fact ended up acquiring more knowledge and familiarity

with other-ness than the elites. In this dissertation, the cosmopolitans of my study are the Filipino entertainers and their local audiences who frequent upscale hotels, clubs and restaurants. I will evaluate their degree of cosmopolitanism and localness, and the various ways these are performed, whether consciously or unconsciously. In presenting my case, I will show that these categories often overlap since the entertainers and local audiences inform each other on what constitutes globalness and localness respectively. This does not mean that the Filipino entertainers are more cosmopolitan than the local audiences. In the same way that local audiences perform cosmopolitan identities, Filipino musicians also temporarily adopt local identities in order to connect better with their audiences and to adapt to life in a foreign country. I will also touch briefly on other foreigners in my discussion, the non-local audiences of Filipino bands that comprise business travelers, tourists and expatriates, who also perform their respective local and cosmopolitan identities. Furthermore, my work contributes towards better understanding of the “third cultures”⁶ of migrants, specifically those who constantly cross borders to wherever their new job contracts take them. In this respect, it deals not only with cross-cultural communication involving two sites but multiple sites. It deals not only with transnational job cultures, but also with the culture-of-adaptability associated with regular movement across the globe. Despite claims of a borderless world brought about by globalization, nation states and governing bodies continue to exert power and control over migrants entering or leaving their national borders. Migrant workers are also exposed to the power and abuse of employers, agents and in the case of Filipino entertainers, their audience. My dissertation will provide insight into how some migrants

negotiate these challenges of working abroad and find ways to overcome the control imposed on them.

My ethnographic project is conducted in international hotels and upscale clubs and restaurants, spaces frequented by local and foreign elites who keep to the ‘front-of-house,’ to borrow a term used in the hotel industry. However, these hotels, clubs and restaurants are also spaces inhabited by non-elites, migrants who work behind the scenes in housekeeping, maintenance, and the kitchen area – the space known as the ‘back-of-house’ where they are inconspicuous sometimes to the extent of being non-existent to the elites. Clifford claims that hotels are unsuitable as chronotopes for representing modern travel because they represent “gentlemanly Occidental travel” and have “nostalgic” connotation (Clifford 1992: 105-106). I argue that the international hotel, in fact, serves as an excellent symbol of modern travel since it is a place where traveling elites and non-elites intersect, though not necessarily coming into contact with each other, in their movements across the globe.

In addition to those who keep strictly to the back and front-of-house, there are those who are in-between, the non-elites who play a conspicuous role in the front-of-house as entertainers and public relations representatives who serve an important role in attracting business to the clubs, hotels or restaurants. These entertainers submit to the demands as well as shape the music that is performed in these spaces. They enable the intersection of global and local to occur smoothly and unobtrusively within the space of their performances. Filipino bands provide performances of a global nature using global ‘standards,’ mainstream popular music distributed worldwide by international recording companies, which compliment the image of international hotels and upscale clubs and

restaurants. Using the international *lingua franca*, English and Anglo-American mainstream popular music, they are able to obtain employment across Asia, some countries in Europe and in the USA. I will explore what constitutes a global performance. In addition, I will show that while Anglo-American popular music dominates their repertoire, its performance reveals more than mere cultural imperialism or an American cultural hegemony in Asia. The subtle and less subtle aims for engaging with this music will be exposed. I will also explore the history of Anglo-American popular music in China, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines in order to explain the appeal of this music in these countries. Understanding this history will explain why conjunctures rather than disjunctures have emerged among some Asians as a result of their engagement with this music. By tracing the history of Filipinos performing abroad, I will show that their global performance has been molded over several decades and that Filipino musicians have, over several generations, honed their skills in the business of entertaining abroad. Although my research is conducted in specific spaces, namely international hotels and upscale clubs and restaurants, the impact of Filipino entertainers extends beyond these spaces to economically, socially and culturally affect the lives of locals in their host countries as well as Filipinos in the Philippines.

In talking about globalization, we cannot ignore the importance of technology. Communication technology facilitates borderless communication at tremendous speed, and brings people thousands of miles away within talking or emailing distance from each other. I will discuss the importance of the cell-phone and internet among transnationals, not only as a means to communicate with families and friends, but also to communicate

with strangers in a foreign language. The internet is also an important source of song lyrics and musical arrangements for Filipino musicians.

In the subsequent chapters, I will be presenting different facets of my work. Chapter Two deals with the subject of globalization and international labor movement, traces the history of Filipino entertainers performing abroad, and reveals the ongoing industry of exporting entertainers from the Philippines. In Chapter Three, I will discuss some on-going debates about the effects of globalization on music, and show how globalization has impacted the repertoire of Filipino bands in Asia. Chapter Four provides an audience's perspective on the performance of Filipino bands, focusing on the reasons local audiences in these cities in Asia engage with the music and performance of these bands. The meaning of a transnational performance or a performance of regional marketability will be explored, and the intricacies of such a performance brought to light in Chapter Five, while Chapter Six provides a conclusion to my study.

NOTES

¹ Outsourcing involves the limited use of companies abroad to provide goods and services. One example of this is the use of Indian-owned companies to manage call centers for American companies. At these call centers in Bangalore, India's silicon valley, Indian staff assists American customers of Dell or Microsoft with computer problems, and Delta Airlines' passengers with lost luggage (Friedman 2005:21-29). Offshoring, on the other hand, entails the complete 'uprooting' of factories from one country to another, as in the case with many US companies moving to China because of the cheaper labor, lower taxes and other investment incentives offered by that country (Friedman 2005:114-125).

² 'Glocalization' refers to the "creation of products or services for the global market, but customized to suit local culture." It is a term originally used by Japanese entrepreneurs in the 1980s, but popularized in the English-speaking world by sociologist, Roland Robertson (Wikipedia).

³ Star TV Limited is a subsidiary of News Corporation, owned by Australian Rupert Murdoch. It broadcasts to fifty-three countries throughout Asia (STAR TV).

⁴ Malaysia-based Astro All Asia Network Plc (Astro), the second largest multimedia company in Asia, provides satellite television and radio services to over 60 million customers throughout Asia through its use of the Malaysia East-Asia Satellite (MEASAT) system.

⁵ During the Philippines Community Day celebration in Singapore in June 2000, several entertainers, including dance troops, musicians and comics, were brought in to entertain the Filipino migrants there (Gatdula). Additionally, ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corp., a Filipino-owned media firm, broadcast Filipino television programs, movies and news to Filipinos working abroad in countries like the USA, Middle East, Australia and Japan (Inquirer).

⁶ Featherstone explains that third cultures are “conduits for all sorts of diverse cultural flows which cannot be merely understood as the product of bilateral exchanges between nation states” (1990:1).

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALIZATION AND LABOR MOVEMENT

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

I was shown to a table near the stage, proffered snacks of *muruku* and *kacang puteh* and my drink order was taken. I ordered my usual pot of Earl Grey tea. Tea and Diet Coke were my staple beverages on my nights out observing bands. Tea usually was served by the pot-full, making it affordable and substantial in quantity. Furthermore, these beverages did not possess the intoxicating effect of alcohol which I feared would impair my ability to do field research, or to get myself home safely by public transportation after midnight. Drinking tea and Diet Coke also helped me blend in with the Filipino musicians who themselves usually drank soft drinks, mineral water, tea or coffee provided by their employers. Many employers discourage their musicians from drinking alcohol during their performances in order to preserve the good image of their bands and their business establishments. Hence, although Filipino musicians mimic the singing, music, dressing and gestures of pop and rock stars, they consciously steer clear of the drugs and alcohol lifestyle of these pop stars because of the detrimental effect it would have on their employment. While their music was meant to sell alcohol at clubs and hotel lounges, the musicians themselves did not sell these beverages by example.

Members of the group, MEMORABILIA, had just finished their set and were getting ready to leave while four other musicians from the band, 2 BY 2, were setting up in preparation to perform. Their equipment consisted of a keyboard, a laptop computer and several thick song books that were placed on music stands at the front of the stage. When 9:00 p.m. approached, the musicians took their place on stage. The band consisted of a male singer, two female singers, and a male keyboardist. The women were dressed in identical black pantsuits with gold fringe, while the men were more casually dressed in shirts and dark pants. The singers waved to some audience members with whom they were familiar and greeted them by name. “Good evening ladies and gentlemen. We are the 2 BY 2 band from Manila, Philippines, here to entertain you at the Crossroads Lounge,” Tina Argao announced, on receiving her cue from the keyboardist.

It is not uncommon for Filipino band members performing throughout Asia to introduce themselves in this manner. Even hotels where they perform advertise these bands in local newspapers and on promotional material as “[a band] direct from the Philippines” (see Figure 2.1), “sensational Filipino band” (see Figure 2.2) and “Filipino showband” (see Figure 2.3). These examples suggest that the musicians and the hotels perceive using the term ‘Filipino’ to be beneficial to them, either from an entertainment or business standpoint, and believe that the term has positive connotations for their audience (see Figures 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7). This chapter explores what being Filipino entertainers means to these musicians by drawing on the history of over a century of performing abroad. I will show that for these musicians, being Filipino goes beyond being a citizen of the Philippines. One may go so far as to say that, in this context of musical performance, the category of ‘Filipino’ constitutes a musical category and/or a

category of musicians, namely traveling musicians. Rather than a designation of nationality, the Filipino band is fundamentally diasporic both in its function and connotation.

**Don't Miss The Best Entertainment
With This Top Filipino Showband!
Performing Now!**



**"BEAT
CULTURE"**

*Direct from the Philippines!
The 7-piece highly entertaining,
high energy showband will thrill
you with their dance moves and great
impersonations of personalities
such as "Madonna", "Whitney Houston" &
"Westlife" performed right here for you!*

THE CITY *B*AYVIEW HOTEL
P E N A N G

25-A, FARQUHAR STREET, 10200 PENANG, MALAYSIA.
TEL : 04 - 263 3161 FAX : 04 - 263 4124

Figure 2.1 – City Bayview Hotel, Penang, advertisement
(*The Star* newspaper, 17 May 2002)

Buffet Extravaganza

Enjoy a sumptuous buffet spread at the Terrace Cafe. A great place to dine with friends and family in the cool comfort of our restaurant or in casual alfresco dining.

<p>International Buffet Dinner</p> <p>Date : Daily except on Saturday Venue : Terrace Cafe / Patio Area Time : 7.00 pm - 10.00 pm Price : RM 40.00 nett per adult RM 25.00 nett per child</p>	<p>BBQ Buffet Dinner</p> <p>Date : Every Saturday Venue : Terrace Cafe / Patio Area Time : 7.00 pm -10.00 pm Price : RM 60.00 nett per adult RM 35.00 nett per child</p>
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Holiday Inn
PENANG
 72 Batu Ferringhi,
 11100 Penang, West Malaysia.
 Tel: 604-881 1601 Fax: 604-881 1389

Catch our sensational 3 piece Filipino band "Starland", performing nightly (except Monday) at the Lobby Lounge from 8.15 pm-11.45 pm.

For reservation, please call 604-881 1601

Figure 2.2 – Holiday Inn, Penang, advertisement (*The Star* newspaper, 9 Aug 2002)

Come, relax and unwind at The Lobby Lounge after a hard day's work, be it for business or leisure and be entertained by our 3-piece Filipino band, "Nite Star". They will thrill you with their fine selection of songs & dance moves. Performing nightly from 9.00pm onwards.

Hang loose! Release your stress after 5.00pm at Carmen NY Club. Beers going at Happy Hours price from 5pm - 9.30pm daily and be entertained by our highly energetic 7-piece Filipino Show Band "Beat Culture", the hottest band in town. Performing nightly from 10.00pm onwards.

THE CITY BAYVIEW HOTEL
 PENANG

Winner of the WAM Millennium Gold Award for the BEST 4-STAR BUSINESS HOTEL in Malaysia 2001 / 2002

25-A, Farquhar Street 10200, Penang, Malaysia. Tel: 04-2633161 Fax: 04-2634124

Figure 2.3 – City Bayview Hotel, Penang, promotional leaflet for NITE STAR and BEAT CULTURE

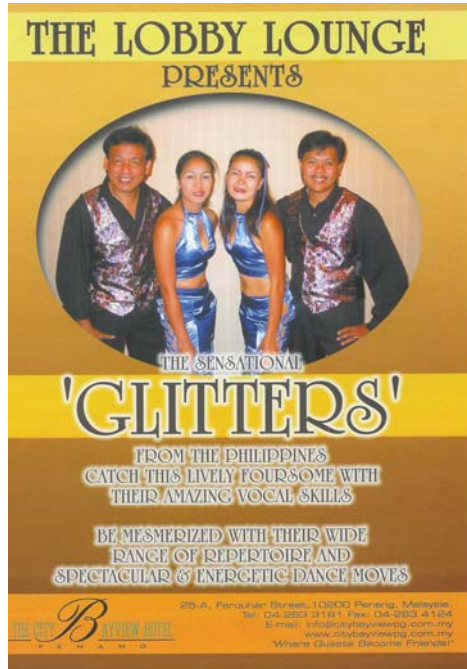


Figure 2.4 – City Bayview Hotel, Penang, promotional leaflet for GLITTERS



Figure 2.5 – Mutiara Beach Resort, Penang, promotional leaflet

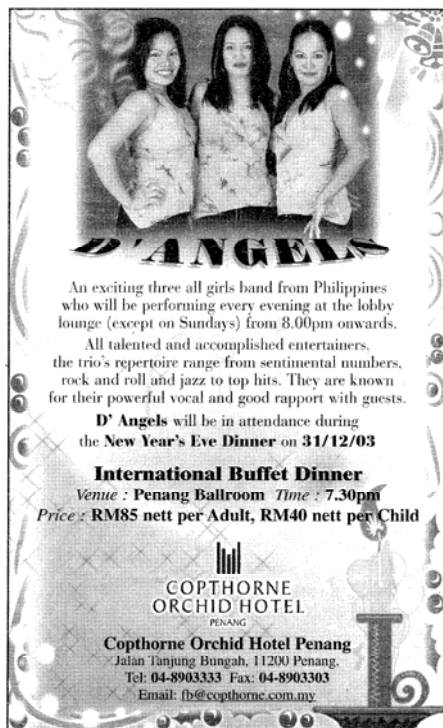


Figure 2.6 – Copthorne Orchid Hotel, Penang, advertisement (*The Star* newspaper, 24 Dec 2003)



Figure 2.7 – Jazz Bistro, Bangkok, advertisement (courtesy of Joey Isidro)

Crossing Manila Bay: History of Performing Overseas

The literature on Filipino musicians performing abroad is limited. Most of it focuses on classical music performers like piano protégées Nena del Rosario and Cecile Likad, opera singer Jovita Fuentes, or Broadway stars like Lea Salonga who have made a name for themselves overseas, mainly in the west. Filipino entertainers who perform in the hotel and club circuit in Asia are not stars or artists. They perform a wide selection of music made famous by others and are usually not themselves famous for any particular repertoire. These Filipino entertainers are under the jurisdiction of the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) which is an arm of the Department of Labor and Employment of the Philippines. Seamstresses, tooling specialists and seamen also come under the control of the POEA. Richie Quirino (2004) published a book on the history of jazz in the Philippines in which he recorded the performing histories of several Filipino jazz musicians including those who performed overseas. He was generous enough to share some of his research with me when I was in Manila in early 2004 prior to the publishing of his book. Increasing attention has also been paid to Filipino contract entertainers performing in Japan since the 1980s. Writers such as Ma. Rosario Ballescas (1992) and Carlos Medina, Amparita Sta. Maria, Jose Syquia and Mary Jane Zantua (1995:29-30), who are often supported by non-governmental organizations, women's groups and human rights organizations, tend to highlight the exploitation of these Filipinos, dubbed *Japayuki*, and the break-ups of their families. Filipino entertainers in Japan do not perform in hotels or major clubs, and do not usually perform outside Japan. A large proportion of the material in this section was obtained through interviews with Filipino musicians now living in Manila and in Malaysia.

Joaquin Gonzalez III (1998) gives a detailed description of the different “waves” of Filipino labor going abroad beginning with agricultural workers to Hawaii, California, and Alaska, and domestic, restaurant and hotel workers in New York City between 1900 to 1940, to servicemen and those in the medical profession after the World War II, followed by “non-professional contract workers” including artists, barbers and construction workers in the 1950s and 1960s, and engineers and technicians in the mid 1970s. He concludes with the third wave of migration from the mid 1970s onwards that was motivated by government policies that favored exporting Filipino labor such as caregivers and domestic help (Gonzalez 1998:25-36).

The movement of Filipino musicians abroad can also be divided into several stages. The first wave began in the 1890s. In 1892, a visitor to the Philippines commented that Filipinos had become renowned musicians throughout East and Southeast Asia (Bañas 1975:51). Members of the Manila Band came to Malaya as early as 1894 to form the Selangor State band. The initial musicians of the brass bands in other Malayan states and the Malayan police band also comprised Filipinos (Matusky and Chopyak 1998:440). They also played active roles as musicians in the royal courts and nightclubs of Cambodia,¹ and as orchestra and dancehall musicians (Gibbs Nov 1998) and teachers to the Vietnamese elite in French-ruled Vietnam in the 1900s (Gibbs Jul 1998). Furthermore, Filipino jazz bands were very popular in Shanghai in the 1930s. Despite the existence of many Gypsy Russian, Austrian, and Jewish jazz bands in Shanghai then, the Filipino bands were the most sought after (Shi 2001). In addition to foreign clubs and cafés, Filipino musicians performed at dance halls such as The Paramount and Ciros in Shanghai. Several Chinese jazz musicians, such as Jimmy King,

learned their craft playing in Filipino bands.² The top bands in Japan in the 1920s were also from the Philippines. Several Japanese jazzmen have credited Filipinos with introducing them to jazz. According to Taylor Atkins (2001), “in the 1910s and 1920s, Filipino bands were the most in demand for ocean liner gigs, and contributed much to the diffusion of American popular and jazz music in Asian port cities such as Shanghai, Manila and Hong Kong.” He cites an article in *The New York Times* that reported that “Filipino orchestras are the interpreters of jazz on the Pacific Ocean liners” (Atkins 2001:59-60). In addition, Filipino jazz musicians performed at the Europa Hotel, a high class hotel in Singapore (interview, Quirino, 26 Feb 2004). Filipino musicians flocked to these cities where they and other foreign musicians from America, Russia and France were regarded as the experts on western music. The first wave ended with the start of World War II.

Filipino entertainers resumed their activities abroad in the late 1940s. This second wave of singers, dancers and musicians performed at high class clubs and hotels throughout Asia. “Filipino musicians used to monopolize the area between Guam and Tokyo, and were to be found in places like Malaysia, Singapore, Okinawa, Hong Kong, Taipei and Bangkok” (interview, Cadiz, 16 May 2002). Band leaders from abroad would come to Manila to seek out musicians for their bands. They put on cabaret-like shows complete with elaborate costumes in the Middle East, and played jazz and dance music in Hong Kong, Tokyo, Guam, Singapore, and Bangkok. L.F. Marcial led the first all-Filipino dance band in the British-ruled Malayan Union. This nine-member band performed at the Great World Cabaret in Singapore before coming to the Lucky Cabaret in Kuala Lumpur in July 1946 (*Music Makers*, 20 June 1947). Filipino musicians have

also held important positions in Malaysian orchestras from the 1950s. Alfonso Soliano, for instance, helped steer the Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) Orchestra during its inception, while Danny Francisco was a conductor and musician with a number of Malaysia's orchestras in the 1970s, and continues to arrange music for the Kuala Lumpur City Hall Orchestra up to the present. Beginning in the 1950s, groups like the Bayanihan Philippine National Dance Company and Filipinescas Dance Company traveled extensively around Asia, Europe, South America and USA to give performances of Filipino traditional dances. The Filipino dance troupes were well trained in western as well as ethnic dances. Foreign audiences found the traditional Filipino dances, such as *tinikling* and *maglalati*, and the costumes exotic (interview, Dimayuga, 30 May 2002). Filipino musicians also entertained American soldiers during the Vietnam War because they were able to sing and speak in English and could perform music that appealed to these Americans. The disco era of the 1970s and 1980s further catapulted Filipino bands into the Asian hotel and club circuit. Bands of seven or eight members were popular throughout Asia because at that time, discos/clubs required live bands. These musicians helped establish the reputation of 'Filipino' bands in this circuit which ensures their marketability up until the present day. There is prestige attached to musicians who have been abroad to perform. "Old musicians tell us you are not a complete musician until you cross Manila Bay" (interview, Cadiz, 16 May 2002). Crossing Manila Bay qualified musicians to be placed among the best in Asia and allowed them to join the ranks of other Filipino musicians who had made a name for themselves in the Asian entertainment circuit. Top Filipino bands of the 1950s and 1960s, for example, entertained royalty throughout Asia. They played for royal engagements and even had jam sessions with

kings. Romy Posadas and his band played at the palace of King Bhumipol of Thailand on several occasions and at other events attended by the king and queen (*The Bangkok Post*, 25 March 1970), while Roger Herrera Jr. performed for the former Shah of Iran and King Hassan of Morocco (interview, Herrera, 18 Feb 2004). Herrera and Angel Peña have also jammed with King Bhumipol, himself an accomplished jazz saxophonist and composer (see Figure 2.8). Crossing Manila Bay also brought financial reward.

“Musicians in the 1960s earned about four times their salary in the Philippines which was considered very good money,” admitted Gil Galiluyo (interview, Galiluyo, 18 Feb 2004). Band leaders could earn as much as US\$1,000 to US\$1,500 a month at that time, which was substantial considering the rate of exchange was one US dollar to four Philippine pesos. Narsing Aguilar, a pianist who could play anything from classical music to pop and jazz, was reputed to be the highest paid musician in Bangkok, earning US\$2,500 in 1968 (interview, Valmonte, 23 Feb 2004).

Going abroad also afforded Filipino musicians more prestigious performing venues. Most of the good musicians in Manila played at nightclubs and restaurants in Roxas Boulevard and Shaw Boulevard in the 1950s and 1960s. Band leaders would go to these nightclubs and restaurants to scout for talented musicians for their bands abroad. Furthermore, a surplus of musicians in the Philippines led to a situation where unemployed musicians would congregate at the *palengke* or market square in Rizal Avenue to play billiards while waiting for employment. Band leaders and agents would therefore also go there if they needed to hire musicians (interview, Galiluyo, 18 Feb 2004).



Figure 2.8 – Angel Peña, on double bass, performing with King Bhumipol of Thailand, on clarinet, in August 1963

A classification system was set by the musicians union in Singapore whereby entertainment venues were ranked according to their prestige. Experienced Filipino musicians usually performed at international hotels that were ranked as class A venues, while less experienced ones played at nightclubs that constituted class B venues. Class C venues, comprised of cabarets, were relegated to local musicians because “they were only learning western music then” (interview Posadas 7 Feb 2004). A similar classification system was used in most countries in Asia where Filipinos performed, and is maintained even today.

Jun Cadiz started his professional career at nightclubs in Roxas Boulevard in the mid 1950s. In the 1960s, the band leader of Erawan Hotel approached him about going

to Bangkok. Cadiz took this opportunity to cross over Manila Bay and spent the next sixteen years in Bangkok (see Figure 2.9). Romy Posadas and his band were, on the



Figure 2.9 – The Trolley, Bangkok, advertisement, featuring Juan Cadiz Jr, or Jun Cadiz, September 1968

other hand, hired by an agent to perform at Singapore’s Intercontinental Hotel in 1963 after about five years of playing in Manila’s Shaw Boulevard. Two years after leaving the Philippines, the nine-member Romy Posadas Band headed for the Raya Hilton in Bangkok where they played dance music at the supper club and backed the floor shows. They remained in Bangkok for seven years where the hotel practically became home for them. Fortunately, Posadas’s wife, Rita, was the singer of the band. Their daughter Rowena was born there. When they were performing at the Hyatt Hotel in Hong Kong, Posadas even had his piano in his room for rehearsal purposes. Rita and Romy Posadas added personal decoration to their room to make it more homey during their eight years

there (interview, Posadas, 7 Feb 2004). In 1964, Angel Peña's five member band secured a job playing dance music at The Eagle's Nest, a supper club on the 25th floor of the Hong Kong Hilton Hotel. The band members were given rooms and meals at the cafeteria while Peña as the band leader had the option of eating at the "classy restaurant in the hotel for free" (interview, Peña, 11 Feb 2004). In addition to hotels and clubs, some musicians performed on luxury cruise ships. Abing Lavapis switched from guitar to bass in 1987 in order to join Ricardo del Rosario's all Filipino band which was performing on the Liberty Cruises ship that sailed between Los Angeles and Tahiti (interview, Lavapis, 16 Feb 2004).

Filipino musicians had a sense of fellowship and co-operation among themselves. They would recommend friends to jobs abroad and introduce them to band leaders. Roger Herrera Jr. recalled that Angel Peña provided him with his first opportunity to perform professionally by recommending him to the Tirzo Cruz Orchestra back in the 1950s. It was not usually necessary for musicians then to audition if they came highly recommended by other well respected musicians. It was also not unusual for band members to include their family members in their bands. The Romy Posadas Band, for example, included Posadas's wife, Rita, his brother Jesus and later Romy's children, Ricky and Rowena (see Figure 2.10). Posadas explained that it was a way to keep his family together. He candidly commented that he had asked his wife to sing in his band because there was "no point lugging around someone who wasn't going to be needed!" (*New Nation*, 24 Feb 1975). Furthermore, family members were given the opportunity to



Figure 2.10 – The Romy Posadas Band in Hyatt Singapore Hotel in February 1975. Romy Posadas is fourth from the left and Popoy Valmonte is second from the right. In the forefront is Rita Posadas.

perform because of the good earning potential abroad. Rowena Posadas was able to earn about US\$800 a month on her first trip abroad in 1984. Members of the Cadiz family have been musicians for over a century. Vicente Cadiz received his music education from the Spanish priests at St. Domingo's Church in his home province of Lumban, Laguna. Recognizing his musical talent, the young clarinet player was sent by the priests to Manila to further his education. In 1904, Vicente Cadiz and the other members of the Philippine Constabulary Band led by African American band leader, Lieutenant Loving performed at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 (see Figure 2.11). The band was praised by John Philip Souza. *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated*, a souvenir publication of this event, noted that "the little brown men are natural musicians, and capable of the highest training" (1904: 226). Two of Vicente Cadiz's sons also

performed abroad. Juan Cadiz played jazz in Shanghai in the 1920s, and in Japan prior to World War II, while his brother, Casiono Cadiz, performed with a Filipino band in Hanoi after World War II, later going to Bangkok with the fall of the French in Vietnam. Juan's son, Juan Cadiz Jr. or Jun, performed in Bangkok for over sixteen years (see Figures 2.12 and 2.13).

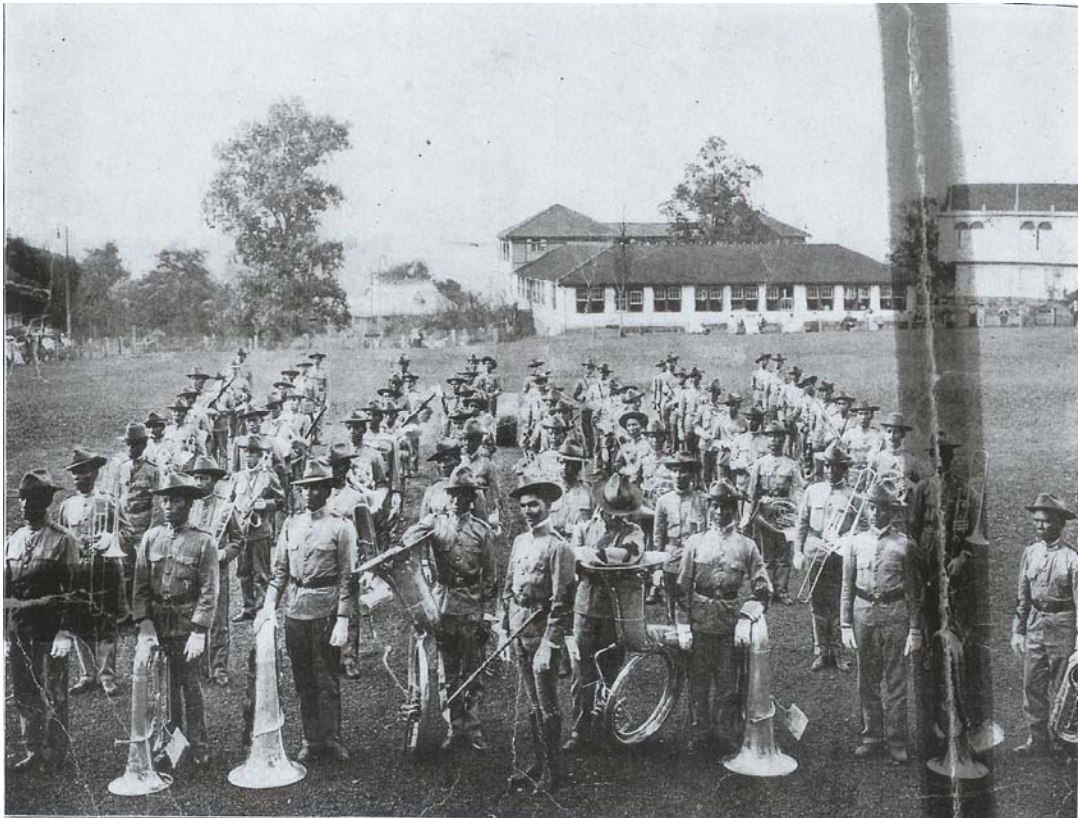


Figure 2.11 – The Philippine Constabulary Band at the St. Louise Exposition in 1904

Despite the promise of fame and fortune, crossing Manila Bay also meant enduring separation from family members for months, even years, at a time. Rita Posadas recalled how she had to leave their ten year old son, Ricky, in Manila while they were performing in Hong Kong in the 1970s. Abing Lavapis added that Filipinos were hired to go abroad because “we can withstand loneliness.” The long separations from

family resulted in infidelity and family break-ups. Danny Francisco, a Filipino arranger with the Kuala Lumpur City Hall Orchestra, related an incident that happened in



Figure 2.12 – Juan Cadiz, 1930s



Figure 2.13 – Juan Cadiz Jr. or Jun Cadiz, 1961

Kuala Lumpur around 1903 when sixty of the sixty-two brass band musicians from the Philippines who were invited by the British government of Malaya to perform at an official function in the Selangor Club decided not to return to the Philippines when their ship set sail. The clarinet player and conductor who returned to the Philippines had to explain to the wives and children about the absence of these men. The musicians who stayed back married Malayan women and became integrated into the society. Francisco came to know about this incident from some of these men and their descendants (interview, Francisco, 16 Mar 2004).

Some Filipino musicians were also exploited by their employers. In the 1960s, Filipino bands in Hong Kong faced competition from bands from Italy, Australia, and other European countries, many of which were receiving higher salaries than the Filipino bands despite lower performing standards. Many Filipino bands at that time were also 'willing' to accommodate the demanding performing schedules set for them by their employers. On one occasion, members of Peña's band were not given breaks by their employers during their performance in Hong Kong. "We are easy to handle and don't have a need to become a star," Galiluyo stated (interview, Galiluyo, 18 Feb 2004). Despite their musical abilities, most Filipino musicians did not harbor aspirations of signing recording contracts, and often behaved with a great deal of humility. Peña described his musical inclination in this way: "I didn't even have any formal schooling in music. I did not have the fanfare of Lea Salonga, or the nurture of piano protégé [cite] Nena del Rosario, to single them out of many...my self-taught ability in arranging and playing in orchestras was used for livelihood...I used music to beg for rice!" (Peña autobiography). In spite of his humble musical beginnings, he eventually earned a

Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music³ in double bass performance, and went on to play with and compose for the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra.

While veteran Filipino musicians chose music as a career because they loved it, they chose to go abroad to earn a better living. Musicians did whatever it took to secure jobs, including sacrificing their musical interests in favor of whatever music was required by the venue that employed them. Filipino musicians in the circuit had the reputation of being hardworking. They spent hours arranging, rehearsing and performing because their livelihood depended on it. Many of the musicians were self-taught. They switched instruments depending what was needed by the bands. Peña, for instance, was forced to switch from guitar to double bass when he joined the Cesar Velasco band at the Latin Quarter in Tokyo. He had to learn to play on the job from books like the Edoard Nani Double Base Method. Peña did not even own a bass at that time and had to borrow one from a friend. Herrera Jr., another self-taught musician, learned music by listening to records and reading music books. In addition to their musical talent, Filipino musicians were also well known for their versatility. They were able to play a wide variety of music from jazz to Hawaiian. Peña recalled his first trip abroad in 1954 to play jazz at the Golden Gate Club in Tokyo. The band of Filipinos was led by an African –American pianist, Larry Allen. Peña explained that while Japanese jazz musicians were capable of imitating American jazz, “they were not as flexible or versatile” as the Filipinos who could play dance music such as tango, cha-cha, rumba and pasodoble, in addition to jazz which was required by the club owner (interview, Peña, 11 Feb 2004). In 1956, Galiluyo received an offer to go to Okinawa with a Hawaiian band led by Jerry Brandy. He spent nine months in Okinawa playing Hawaiian music at the Naha Fighters Club on a US Air

Force base. Filipinos were also perceived as inventive and resourceful musicians who could adapt to new working environments and the musical demands of new audiences. They learned new music and instruments on the job. Several musicians among the Filipinos were also capable arrangers. Hence the musicians discussed in this section created a reputation for ‘Filipino’ musicians in the Asian circuit. They set musical standards and work ethics that Filipino musicians today are still expected to live up to.

Although the term was not widely used before the 1990s, Robertson suggests that globalization began in the nineteenth century when global consciousness emerged, assisted by the invention of communication technologies, and manifested through religious movements, international exhibitions and standardizations of time worldwide (Robertson 1995:35-37). I propose that Filipino entertainers were involved in disseminating global culture as early as the 1890s. These musicians introduced western art and popular music to many parts of Asia in the heyday of the recording industry in the first half of the twentieth century, and in this way helped in promoting this music in that region. Unlike other areas of technology like the industrialization of printing which began in the West decades before it was brought to the colonies in the East, recording technology and recordings spread abroad almost as soon as they developed (Gronow and Saunio 1998:11-12). Whereas “print capitalism” facilitated the imagining of “living parallel lives to those of other substantial groups of people – if never meeting, yet certainly proceeding along the same trajectory” in the 1500s to 1800s (Anderson 2002:188), recording capitalism brought on a similar reaction to listeners of this mass mediated music. Jazz, swing and other dance crazes were propagated by Filipino musicians to the Asian elites during the time of increasing Western cultural influence on

Asia. As purveyors of Western music, Filipino musicians played an important role in creating “imagined communities” among the Asian elites – those who were educated in the West or attended schools where a Western curriculum was practiced and could appreciate all that the West had to offer including its music. Asian elites were linked by “homogenous empty time” through the music performed by Filipino musicians. Benedict Anderson describes “homogenous empty time” in terms of which “simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence and measured by clock and calendar” (Anderson 2002:22-36). These Asians danced to the music of Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Glenn Miller and Benny Goodman with other members of their ‘community’ in the West who shared their interest in this music. More than that, Filipino musicians of the early 1900s contributed in shaping the ‘global imagination’ of Asians by exposing them to the music of the then more modern West. In a period when Western popular music was making its earliest impressions on Asia, mediated by recordings and the music emanating from dance halls, Filipinos traveled among the circle of foreign musicians that included Russians, French and African-Americans who brought music from America and Europe.

The Third Wave: Filipino Overseas Performing Artists (OPA)

The third wave of Filipino entertainers going abroad began in the mid 1970s. This period is marked by the large number of entertainers going to Japan. The majority of these entertainers, referred to as *Japayuki*, performed at small clubs and karaoke lounges in Japanese cities, while a small number also performed striptease or sexual acts

in theatres (Ballescas 1992:66-68). While a trade agreement has been forged between the Philippines and Japanese governments allowing the exportation of Filipinos, these workers enter Japan as ‘guests’ rather than foreign workers because of a Japanese ban on the importation of labor (Ballescas 1992:52). The abuse of Filipino entertainers in Japan as well as the many instances of illegal entertainers there has led the Philippine government to clamp down of the number of Filipinos, or more specifically Filipinas, going there. The Artist Record Book (ARB) was initiated for the purpose of ensuring that only legitimate entertainers were allowed to go abroad. Filipino entertainers without a valid ARB are prohibited from leaving the country as Overseas Performing Artists (OPA). To obtain an ARB, would-be dancers are required to complete a syllabus consisting of basic ballet and jazz dance training, and then pass a “skills” test based on the syllabus. The test is conducted by the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), a government agency established in 1994. Entertainers wanting a way around the skills test can also put on a completed production which has been choreographed by their trainers who are usually dancers with formal training. The judging of these productions is conducted by testers appointed by TESDA. The majority of singers and dancers headed for Japan have no formal training and no prior experience as performers. Hence potential dancers are trained at privately-owned training centers in order to pass the skills test. Some Filipinos choose to go as singers in order to avoid the training required of dancers, but they are still not exempted from the skills test. Many of the testers for both the skills and production tests are academic staff of universities, choreographers, and owners of dance companies in Manila. While the ARB was initially instituted for Japan-bound entertainers only, all Filipino musicians including those who

have gained employment at five-star hotels now have to possess an ARB. However, entertainers with “certification of work experience from recruitment/licensed agency, references from past employers, testimonial from clients, and work sample” are exempted from the various tests conducted by TESDA (TESDA 2002: Article 43). Furthermore, “professional and popular artists,” including recording artists, are given ARBs without taking the test (Department of Labor and Employment 2001: I.6). Filipino entertainers who have had experience performing in hotels, clubs and restaurants in Asia usually obtain “testimonial ARBs” by providing the POEA with newspaper clippings of their performances and letters of references from their former employers. New bands, however, are still required to audition with TESDA before musicians can receive their ARBs.

In March 2005, however, Japan clamped down on the importation of Filipino entertainers because of the problem of excessive human trafficking involving the sex trade. The Japanese would in future only issue visas to entertainers who have had at least two years of formal training in their trade or alternatively, two years of work experience in this trade outside Japan. Consequently, the ARB is now no longer a valid document for obtaining work visas abroad (Javellana-Santos), and is no longer required for Filipino entertainers going to other countries in Asia.

Michael Kearney (1995) describes global processes as “decentered from any national territory [that] takes place in a global space” (Kearney 1995:548). In addition, Appadurai suggests that we are now in the post national era marked by the increasing movement of people across borders – migrant labor, professional guest workers, immigrants and business travelers, which he refers to as “ethnoscapes” – whose loyalties

lie beyond the national state (Appadurai 1996:164-172). Despite the porousness of national borders implied by globalization, nation states continue to wield control over those who cross their borders either to get in or out. Furthermore, nation states have reconfigured their roles in order to adapt to the changes brought about by an increasingly globalized political-economy.

The Philippine government began to adopt an intensive labor export policy as early as the 1970s to take advantage of the demand for workers by its Asian neighbors. A large number of construction workers, for example, were sent to the Middle East to build infrastructures such as highways and hotels. The 1974 Labor Code gave provision for the establishment of the Philippines Overseas Employment Program aimed at promoting Filipino workers abroad (Orbeta and Sanchez 1997:238). The Philippines exports labor in order to accumulate foreign exchange and balance the country's trade deficit as well as help reduce the unemployment rate in the country. Presently, the economy of the Philippines is sustained by remittance from citizens who are working overseas. The Philippines stands as the biggest exporter of labor in Asia and is second in the world only to Mexico. For the year 2000, approximately 5.5 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) could be found in 152 countries around the world (Quiambao 2000). Over 58,000 Filipino entertainers were deployed in the year 2003 alone, according to a report by TESDA. Remittance from OFWs totaled US\$7.6 billion in 2003 (POEA Annual Report 2003). The government of the Philippines plays an active role in the deployment of its citizens abroad because it recognizes the economic potential of OFWs including OPAs. These OFWs are hailed as "heroes" because of their contribution to their country's economy (Dumlao 1999; Doyo 1999) and given the red carpet welcome on

their return from abroad for the holidays (Briola 2001). The government and private sectors, such as the agents and owners of training facilities, not only benefit from the remittances of OFWs but also rely on the various fees charged for training, testing and placement of the OFWs. Hence the government monitors the number of OFWs deployed through the POEA and keeps tabs on their remittances through the Philippines Central Bank.

The exportation of OPAs – dancers, singers, “self-contained performer[s]”, stage actors, mimes, magicians and “novelty act performers” – is a major industry that not only benefits the managers of talent agencies but also the families of entertainers, talent scouts, trainers, the Philippine Airlines, costume designers, costume material manufacturers, head-dress makers, shoe makers, make-up factories and countless others in the Philippines (Esguerra 1996:2). The exportation of entertainers is such a big business in the Philippines that a standard handbook has been produced for use by all Filipino entertainers going abroad. No other country to my knowledge possesses or needs to possess an infrastructure for the exportation of entertainers, one that involves several government agencies and the private sector. The Career Manual for Performing Artists published by the Philippines overseas entertainment industry with the encouragement of the Philippine government explains the expectations for those representing the country abroad. Besides being heroes sustaining the Philippine economy, OPAs are also expected to be “ambassadors of goodwill” who have the responsibility of showing off what the Philippines has to offer with the intention of attracting tourists to their country (Esguerra 1996:50). They are expected to utilize their “Filipino” qualities that include *pakikipagkapwa*,⁴ tolerance, ingenuity, adaptability and

pleasantness. Furthermore, “Filipinos are noted for their warm hospitality, friendliness to foreigners, musical and artistic talents, Latin-like passion, deep religiosity as evident by the presence of many churches and mosques, and bravery” (Esquerra 1996:59-64).

According to Jose S. Brillantes, the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Filipinos are generally regarded as very musical and there is a belief among Asian audiences that “all Filipinos can sing.” While there is no objective proof to back this claim, the Filipinos’ long-standing reputation as musicians throughout Asia and their success as recording and Broadway stars in Asia and the West helps explain this generalization. Brillantes explains that the “push factor,” the economic situation in the Philippines, is complimented by the “pull factor,” the demand in Asia for Filipino entertainers and the types of entertainment and music they offer. Due to this reputation, Filipino musicians have come to be regarded as a status symbol by hotels in many parts of Asia (interview, Brillantes, 26 Feb 2004).

A global networking approach is adopted by agents who deploy Filipino entertainers abroad. In addition to having offices in various parts of Asia, they also travel extensively in order to service their clients at the different hotels and to secure new performing venues for their bands. Hotels throughout Asia rely on these agents to obtain bands of various nationalities for them. Seagulls Promotions Private Limited, for example, has over one hundred bands, 90% of which are Filipino and the rest Latin American, Caribbean, Australian and American, which are booked in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and India. Because of the large number of bands under their charge, this agency is able to keep hotels constantly supplied with musicians of every kind. Some agents also ‘make or break’ bands by adding or

removing band members depending on the make-up of instrumentalists or the number of musicians required by the hotels. Employers from the hotels appreciate this flexibility in 'Filipino' band membership because the entertainment needs of the hotels vary from season to season, as do the needs of food and beverage outlets. The impermanence of Filipino bands is also reflected in the names adopted by these bands such as NITE STAR, STARLAND, MILLENNIUM STAR, STAR FRIENDS and GLITTER. These names are easily changeable once a band moves to a new venue or varies its membership. Names like STARDUST suggest the ephemerality of these bands, while FOREIGN AFFAIR reflects the irony of being displaced.

The Artist Record Book (ARB) is perceived as a bugbear by many Filipino entertainers. Since the ARB is only mandatory for entry to Singapore and Japan but a necessary document for leaving the Philippines as a performer (interview Chacko 30 Nov 2003), many musicians choose not to return to the Philippines, and instead renew or obtain new contracts abroad in a continuous cycle of overseas stints. Some musicians have not returned to the Philippines in over six years, while others have obtained temporary or permanent residency in other countries like China, Thailand, Hong Kong and Vietnam (interviews, Cadiz, 16 May 2002; Alberto and Ceballos, 4 Oct 2004).

In addition to facing political and economic pressure in the Philippines, Filipino entertainers also have to deal with various immigration policies and labor restrictions in their host countries. In Malaysia, for example, foreign musicians are only allowed to stay six months at a time. Once their work visas expire, musicians must leave the country in order to get a renewal stamped into their passports on reentry. The charge by Malaysian musicians and their musician union that Filipino musicians have deprived local musicians

of jobs has also led the Malaysian government to impose a quota requiring all entertainment outlets hiring a foreign band to match it with one local band, thus limiting the number of Filipino bands in the country. Furthermore, Filipino entertainers, despite higher salaries and more glamorous work venues, face the stigma of being a foreign worker, especially in countries that also employ Filipino maids and laborers. Musicians have recounted incidences in Malaysia when taxi drivers refused them transportation or when shopkeepers viewed them with suspicion because of the rise in crimes perpetrated by foreign workers in that country.

The façade of the ever smiling and friendly ‘Filipino’ entertainers on stage also conceals the job challenges they face that include physical, emotional, and sometimes sexual exploitation. Charles Tilly (1995) argues that globalization has resulted in a decrease in labor rights for workers who venture across borders, and crippled the power of the state to protect its citizens who are abroad (Tilly 1995:21).⁵ The friendliness of female Filipino entertainers is often misconstrued by male hotel guests as promiscuousness. Hence, some guests try to take advantage of the musicians by putting their arms around the women, holding their hands, or kissing them. In fact, both female and male entertainers have been solicited for sex. Because some guests perceive them to be in need of money since they are from a poorer country, money and gifts are often used to seduce entertainers. Some women have even been promised marriage, only to be jilted by their false suitors. Other challenges of working abroad entail maintaining connections with family members at home. Many Filipino entertainers have had to leave families, including young children, behind in the Philippines. A range of problems, including infidelity, has resulted.

The cell phone is a crucial communication tool for Filipino musicians abroad. In addition to facilitating communication with other band members and friends in a foreign country, the text-messaging abilities of the cell phone help these musicians give directions to local taxi drivers because these phones are able to display text in different local fonts. This ability of the cell-phone is particularly useful in non English-speaking countries like China. Most of the Filipino musicians also maintain a virtual family life through their use of e-mail and cell phone technology, in particular, text messaging or “texting” as they often call it, which is the cheapest means of communicating quickly with those at home. Sheryll Ballestar and Marvin De Chavez had a virtual birthday celebration with their three-year-old son back in the Philippines in 2004. An Internet connection and Web cam were set up in the musicians’ lodgings in Shanghai and at Ballestar’s mother’s home in order to enable the entertainers to view and share in this celebration. Because of her performing schedule, Ballestar has missed out on her son’s first words, first steps, and birthdays, and she is grateful that the Internet allows her glimpses into her child’s life (interview, Ballestar, 4 Oct. 2004). Butch Dejos also relies on the Internet to keep in touch with his sons in the Philippines and America. Through the e-mailing of news and photographs, he is kept informed on the goings-on of his children, whom he has not seen for the last two years (interview, Dejos, 7 Oct 2004). Despite spending most of their time away from the Philippines, to the extent that they have to create virtual homes and families, they still perceive the Philippines as the ideal home because it is where their families reside and where they intend to retire once they can stop performing abroad. Hannerz proposes that ‘home’ represents a “site of nostalgia” and “a constant reminder of a pre-cosmopolitan past” (Hannerz 1990:248).

Some of the older musicians, like Dejos, have bought land in the Philippines to build a retirement home for themselves sometime in the future. Others have invested their earnings in businesses in the Philippines, which they plan to run after they retire from entertaining.

Unlike maids and Japan-bound entertainers who are motivated only by financial rewards, entertainers in the Asian hotels and club circuit choose this profession because they love music. Many were already professional musicians in the Philippines, but chose to go abroad because of higher salaries. This pragmatism extends to the perceived “easy life” that musicians lead. Despite rigorous work schedules, Filipino musicians considered performing abroad relatively easy especially if band members have been together for some time and have accumulated a substantial repertoire (interview, Molina, 13 Jan 2004). Jun Dimaano concurred with Aracelli Molina’s view since his profession enabled him to “meet a lot of people and earn good money” while only working for a relatively short period of time each day. The members of his band, LOVE JOY, spent about three hours a day practicing and learning new songs and another three hours performing (interview, Dimaano, 2 Oct 2004). On the other hand, the members of 2ND. DEGREE who performed in a club in Shanghai’s Gubei area did not get a day off each week. It is customary for all Filipino musicians to get one day off per week. Because the employer of 2ND. DEGREE was unable to find a band to replace them on their day off, he paid them overtime on that day to perform at the club (interview, Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004). Furthermore, forming a band gives Filipino musicians the chance to stay together as a family. This challenges the idea that, ‘home’ and ‘family’ are synonymous with one another. For Filipino musicians, going abroad together is the only way for many to hold

their families and marriages together. Veteran musician, Edilberto C. Gonzaga formed PEACH APPLE TREE in 2003 in order to include his son, nieces, nephew and cousins in his band (interview, Gonzaga, 13 Jan 2004). Both Marvin De Chavez and Kevin Mirasol initially stayed in the Philippines while their spouses performed abroad, but they later joined their wives as members of their bands (interviews, Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004; Pomposo, 10 Oct 2004).

Diaspora Consciousness and the Global Imagination

According to Appadurai, media and migration play important roles in influencing the global imagination. In fact, Appadurai proposes that present day migration is often spurred on by the images and ideas presented by the mass media. The imaginative space, however, is volatile since individuals constantly negotiate “between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility” in order to “annex the global into their own practices of the modern” (Appadurai 1996:3-11, 31). The mass media in the Philippines fuels speculations about life abroad through its coverage of OFWs. From the mass media, the public learns about the processes of becoming an OFW, the life of OFWs in foreign countries, the abuse of Filipina maids and entertainers by foreigners, and the government’s justification for continuing to send its citizens abroad. The mass media also alerts the public to recruitment opportunities for jobs abroad.

The global imagination of Filipino entertainers is not only fueled by the mass media but also by Filipinos in the diaspora. Filipinos in the Philippines are captivated by stories of opulence and large salaries paid in “US dollars” told to them by other Filipinos

who are performing abroad. They are enticed by the material rewards that are brought back by these musicians, and the material comforts such as large houses and electronic appliances that these trips abroad yield for the families of musicians. Appadurai rightly states that the “diasporic public sphere” forms “part of the cultural dynamics of urban life in most countries” (Appadurai 1996:10). In the Philippines, where a large proportion of the population works abroad or has worked abroad at some point, few do not know someone who has been abroad or do not have a viewpoint on what life is like there. Discussions about life abroad involve young children whose parents or relatives are abroad to the elderly who have themselves worked abroad or who still have children participating in this transnational trade.

The list of “opportunities” in the Career Manual for OPAs also gives an idea of the ways the government and public sectors in the Philippines exploit the global imagination of interested applicants. A lucrative income, travel opportunities, international relations and the chance to pick up foreign languages and culture leading to “friendship, business, an alternative career and even marriage” are among the perks of becoming an OPA listed in the manual. In addition, this “golden career opportunity” is portrayed as providing a “fashionable, elegant, and charming lifestyle” that “draws the career artist very near to international stardom in the performing art” (Esguerra 1996:50). Vered Amit (2002) found that for mobile professionals, going abroad is associated with a sense of adventure and an “extrication from the embeddedness of everyday life.” These professionals welcome the challenges posed by a new environment, and considered “carefully calculated footlooseness as a standard of successful adaptation to high modernity” (Amit 2002:145-146). Considering the limited exposure and financial

resources of many Filipino musicians prior to leaving the Philippines, within months of being abroad many of them become fairly well versed in the culture of their host country. “Adaptability,” a key characteristic expressed by all the Filipino musicians interviewed about themselves, goes beyond their musical or entertaining abilities. Tina Argao of 2 BY 2 explained that Filipino entertainers are able to adjust quickly to the food, lifestyle and norms of the country where they perform, and pick up enough of the language to be able to carry on simple conversations with the local guests or employees of the hotel. The ability to immerse easily into new environments helps Filipino entertainers better understand and meet the entertainment needs of the local audiences (interview, Argao, 4 Dec 2003). In this respect their lives are similar to those of the elite cosmopolitans described by Hannerz who are able to “immerse themselves in other cultures” (Hannerz 1990:238-243). What differs between Hannerz’s expatriates and Filipino entertainers is the degree of freedom they have to pick up and go home, as well as the level of financial resources that makes it possible to afford this cosmopolitan lifestyle. Since musicians usually are re-assigned to new venues, often in new countries, every three to six months, they are constantly re-adjusting to new cultures, food and languages. This is part and parcel of the business of being a Filipino entertainer. Here, Fredric Jameson’s (1991) assertion that culture is business in late capitalism appears to have been taken to the extreme by Filipino entertainers (Jameson 1991:124-125). Despite time and work constraints, the opportunity to perform overseas is looked upon as an opportunity to “see the world,” experience life abroad and “make new friends” by many of the entertainers. These aspirations go beyond the aim of making a living and reflect the agency of Filipino entertainers in trying to improve the quality of their lives.

Filipino musicians display the culture-of-adaptability in conducting their daily lives abroad. Although their performances are conducted predominantly in English at the hotels, clubs and restaurants, many Filipino musicians are able to speak several Asian languages because their dealings with the locals go beyond the people they come into contact with in their workplace, and in most cases, necessitate their understanding of the local language and culture. Unlike expatriates and business travelers, the elite cosmopolitans, who often have people and spaces mediating their contact with local life, or migrant laborers and maids, the discrepant cosmopolitans, who have restricted access and finances to experience life abroad, Filipino musicians endeavor to lead as 'normal' a life as possible in the various countries they perform in. While musicians of hotel bands may be insulated from the local environment within international hotels, club and restaurant musicians are usually housed in apartments where they are given allowances for food and transportation. The members of 2ND. DEGREE share an apartment in Shanghai where they take turns to prepare meals for the other members. Pooling their food allowances to prepare meals at 'home' enables them to save on their meal expenses. The person in charge of cooking usually buys the ingredients from the local market. On one evening that I shared with the band, we enjoyed Filipino food consisting of grilled *talong* [eggplant], *bangus* [milkfish] and *sinigang* [sourish stew comprising meat and vegetables] that had been prepared by Mariano Manabat. Jun Aguilar, the bandleader of FORTE, joined a health-club while on assignment in Shanghai. Like most Filipino musicians in Shanghai, he rides the monorail or taxi in order to get around the city. Unlike the expatriates and business travelers in Shanghai who have English-speaking maids and drivers or who use the service of translators, Filipino musicians have to fend

for themselves without this assistance. After about six months, these musicians move to another city or a different country where they again adjust their lives.

OPAs are portrayed as heroes, ambassadors and “talents” by the Philippine government and the public sector that benefits from their labor. Despite these efforts to elevate their status, OPAs, in particular *Japayuki*, are generally viewed with disdain by Filipino society who consider these women to be nothing more than prostitutes (*Sunday Inquirer Magazine* 19 May 2002). Despite the rosy pictures painted about OPAs by the government, private sectors and other OPAs, Filipino entertainers are often viewed with suspicion because of the many stories told about OPAs, especially women, going astray. Media coverage of rapes or murders further add to these horrors associated with OPAs. Hence, OPAs not only face discrimination abroad but also in the Philippines as their lives and large fully equipped houses undergo scrutiny from neighbors. Although they have had the chance to go abroad, a chance that is viewed with envy and admiration by many Filipinos, Filipino OPAs are simultaneously caught in the web of ambivalence as they struggle to gain respect both abroad and in the Philippines.

According to Clifford, “Diaspora consciousness is produced positively through identification with world historical cultural/political forces” (Clifford 1994:312). In the case of Filipino entertainers, it is less about identifying with world forces as with finding connections with other Filipinos who have performed or are performing overseas. Ong provides the example of Chinese on the mainland and in the diaspora forming linkages or a “fraternity” in order to benefit economically from these business ties (Ong 1999:65). It is this “collective consciousness,” according to Appadurai that ignites actions (Appadurai 1996:7). As noted earlier, *pakikipagkapwa* is a characteristic that Filipinos believe they

possess. In addition to maintaining virtual communities with people in the Philippines, Filipino entertainers also nurture diasporic communities abroad. Clifford considers “a shared history of displacement” as a unifying factor of these diasporic communities (Clifford 1994:306). The need to earn a living abroad has engendered some survival tactics among Filipino entertainers. These entertainers alert their friends to new performing opportunities and attend the performances of other Filipino bands on their day off to offer support. Furthermore, they take on family members as new members of their band in order to give them the chance to work abroad. Some bands have also been known to accept the family members of friends from other bands into their band. The cooperation among Filipino entertainers abroad extends to performing in joint concerts with other Filipino bands for the purpose of raising funds for community projects.⁶

Conclusion

While the involvement of the Philippine government in the exportation of entertainers has increased over the years, factors motivating Filipino musicians to go abroad to find employment have not changed a great deal over the last century. A comparison of the different waves of entertainers going abroad shows that musicians continue to be in large supply in the Philippines, and demand for those who can perform mainstream Anglo-American pop music, dance music and Asian hits continues to exist and even to increase in Asia. Despite the claim that Filipino musicians were better respected prior to the mass exportation of entertainers in the 1980s because there were fewer illicit entertainers and unscrupulous agents sending non-musicians abroad,

exploitation and discrimination still existed then, even if these are more rampant or more highly publicized today. Furthermore, their image is being shored up by the Philippine government and the public sectors that rely on and benefit from the toil of these entertainers. The conscious promotion of working abroad by the government, private sectors and Filipinos in the diaspora has helped fuel the global imagination of Filipinos as never before. Despite the social problems related with going abroad, such promotion has made the OPA profession more attractive and motivated more people in the Philippines to try their luck overseas. If long distance family life has existed since Filipino musicians began going abroad and letters were the means of communicating with family members then, technology has given the illusion that families are now closer together than before.

NOTES

¹ They are credited with introducing Latin and western dance rhythms through the big bands that they formed. This music spawned a popular genre called *phleng Manil* (Manila music) in Cambodia; see Sam (2001:863); Sam, Roonruang, and Nguyen (1998:207).

² See Shi; “Shanghai Gets Jazzed Up;” “Jazz Up the City Life.”

³ The Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music in the United Kingdom (L.R.S.M.) is equivalent to a music degree given in the United States. It can be obtained both as a student in residence at the college or as an external student who will prepare and sit for the exam abroad.

⁴ *Pakikipagkapwa*, according to Lawrence Esquerra, is a Filipino value that encompasses hospitality, helpfulness and neighborliness, loyalty to one’s country and a sense of appreciation and debt for those who assist them (1996:59).

⁵ Two cases in point involved the hanging of Filipina maid, Flor Contemplacion, in Singapore for the murder of another Filipina maid, and the near execution of fifteen year old Filipina maid, Sarah Balabagan, in Saudi Arabia for the murder of her employer (Torrevillas 1996:46-66).

⁶ The Filipino community in Dubai that included entertainers, for example, organized a mass wedding for Filipinos with non-Filipinos in Dubai (Victor).

CHAPTER 3

GLOBALIZATION AND MUSIC

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

2 BY 2 began their performance with a fast number, “Can’t Take My Eyes Off You,” popularized in Asia by Andy Williams.¹ This toe-tapping number immediately caught the attention of the audience at the Crossroads Lounge, particularly since the singers also performed synchronized dance steps to the music. This was followed by “The Ketchup Song,” another fast-tempo song made famous by the group Las Ketchup, which was popular on the hotel circuit in 2003. Next, the members of 2 BY 2 sang Kenny Rogers and Dolly Parton’s “Islands in the Stream,” Nat King Cole’s “L.O.V.E.,” and the ever-popular Mariah Carey number, “Hero.”² Hotel employers do not stipulate the repertoire required of their entertainers. However, they do provide bands with information on the general age group, nationality, and social class of their customers so that the musicians can determine the music that would best appeal to these different customers of the hotels. Andrew Charles, Food and Beverage Director of Rasa Sayang Hotel in Batu Feringghi, Penang, explains, “People come here to relax. They want to hear something soothing [...] easy listening, something they are familiar with” (interview, Charles, 23 Jun 2001).

Although the music performed in the first set was upbeat, it appeared muted, not only in terms of its volume but also in terms of the degree of engagement the musicians were reaching out to their audiences. It seemed as if they wanted to allow their audience sufficient sonic space to interact with their companions and business associates without interruption from the band. At times, the combined voices of the audience members were more prominent than the music. From time to time, members of the audience glanced up at the musicians when a song they were familiar with was performed. Members of 2 BY 2 usually introduced ‘new songs’ in their first set. These were not necessarily songs that had just hit the charts, but were rather songs the musicians had not previously performed before or songs that were rarely requested by the audience. The musicians chose to perform these songs for the purpose of expanding their repertoire, for their personal enjoyment, and to add variety to the endless stream of popular hits constantly requested by their audience that they had to oblige. From this perspective, the musicians were temporarily claiming the performance space for themselves

Discussions on globalization and music tend to center around two specific concerns: 1) the homogenizing effect pop music from the West has had on the music of the periphery, countries outside of USA and Western Europe, and 2) the ways the periphery is producing musical hybrids as a reaction to this encroachment. Although recording companies have been active worldwide since the 1920s (Gronow and Saunio 1998: 11–12), scant attention was paid to this phenomenon until the late 1960s when media scholars began to express concerns about the increasing influence transnational media corporations from the USA and Western Europe, which they referred to as the “core,” had on the “periphery” (Schiller 1976; Hamelink 1983). Worldwide distribution

of recordings then was monopolized by the “big five,” international recording companies consisting CBS, EMI, WEA, RCA and Polygram who had their headquarters in USA, Britain, and Holland (Wallis and Malm 1984:49). Roger Wallis and Krister Malm (1984, 1987, 1992) describe how music in Tunisia, Tanzania, Trinidad, and Sweden has become commercialized as a result of the influence of music distributed by these major recording companies. Furthermore, they note the “emergence of what can be termed a national pop and rock” in many countries throughout the world. For Wallis and Malm, transnational music is not confined to western popular music. Musical elements from around the world are combined by transnational recording companies to spawn “nationless music.” This music is remixed and synthesized sounds added in a studio to create “a palatable pop mosaic with what the industry calls “hit potential”” (Wallis and Malm 1987:131). Furthermore, the use of expensive equipment in studios proved prohibitive to competitors (Malm and Wallis 1992:197-198).

With recent restructuring and corporate mergers and acquisitions, only one major recording company, WEA, is still US-owned. Canadian, Japanese, and German companies now control a large percentage of the global music market (Burnett 2001:9). However, about 80% of the market share for recordings in the world is still in the hands of a few players, BMG, EMD, WEA, UNI, Polygram, and Sony (Taylor 1997:198). Furthermore, marketing policies have not changed much since the time of the “Big Five.” Keith Negus’s (2001) study of transnational recording companies shows that offices in the periphery do not have the authority to set the agenda for the company even at the local level since all policies are made by the corporate headquarters. In addition, the head office has an international marketing division that determines what should be

promoted worldwide based on their constructions of a “global market.” In deciding what constitutes a global repertoire, they select artists and music that “travel well” – musicians who have had international success or the potential for international success. And music that has universal appeal. Negus quotes a senior vice president of Polygram as saying that ballads “will work in basically every country around the world.” Furthermore, singers are often required to “sing in English without an accent” which Negus explains means adopting an “American inflection and pronunciation.” Many musicians around the world are willing to adapt their music and singing styles in order to be included in this global repertoire (Negus 2001:21-31).

Concerns about cultural imperialism were exacerbated with the establishment of MTV in 1981. To date, MTV can be found in over ninety countries, thus fulfilling its marketing slogan of “One Planet, One Music.” MTV works on the assumption that a particular kind of programming appeals universally to young people, those between the ages of sixteen and thirty-four. Because the programming is universal, the image of the video jockeys (VJs) and the format of the music videos have also been standardized (Roe and de Meyer 2001:33-35). A study of MTV Asia’s website and programs on television reveals that this program is very USA–Britain oriented. It contains reviews of films from Hollywood, music from USA and Western Europe, interviews with stars and singers from these countries, news and information about their lifestyles, an MTV Asia Hotlist Chart containing the Top 20 songs in the west, and the MTV Asia Awards given to top Western singers, actors, films, music and fashion designers. Only one singer from each subscribing Asian country is included in this awards’ list. Furthermore, the VJs all display a transnational quality in the MTV sense. Of the eight VJs from Southeast Asia,

five are transnationals who have homes both in the USA and Southeast Asia. They are of mixed-parentage or look like they are of mixed-parentage [Eurasians and Ameri-Asians], and speak fluent English, often presenting their material with an American accent (MTVAsia).

Proponents of musical cultural imperialism often underestimate the power of nation states to restrict and control foreign music entering their countries. James Lull (1987) describes how rock music recordings from USA and Western Europe are censored in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Lull 1987: 29-30), while Linda Martin and Kerry Seagrave (1988) add that rock music considered subversive is banned by the South Korean government (Martin and Seagrave 1988: 241-242). Recording companies often have to comply with the national agendas in the countries in which they operate, and have the responsibility to promote the local musicians in these countries (Shore 1983). MTV's unsuccessful conquest of Europe was the result of the company's failure to address the needs of the different ethnic groups there. Furthermore, the emphasis on Anglo-American music was perceived by Europeans to be a cover for Americanization (Roe and de Meyer 2001:37-40).

These critics of cultural imperialism lead my discussion on globalization and music to a second and more pluralistic approach adopted by some music scholars who see music distributed by international recording companies as tools for creating new music. Processes such as hybridization, acculturation, and indigenization combine Western popular music with local music to create music labeled 'world music' or 'world beat.' Philip Sweeney (1991) explains that 'world music' was coined as a label for marketing music outside the Anglo-American mainstream. He adds that this music is "popular in

the sense that it is not classical or art music, is used by people to dance to, is heard via radio and cassettes...not artificially preserved as folklore” (Sweeney 1991: ix). Steven Feld (1994), on the other hand, associates the term ‘world music’ with “tradition, roots, authenticity” whereas ‘world beat’ is related to “hybridization, syncretic, fusion, creolization” (Feld 1994: 265). Veit Erlmann (1996) suggests that ‘world beat’ is the more popular term for ‘world music’ in the USA (Erlmann 1996:467).

Music scholars who perceive global music to be promoting heterogeneity take into consideration the agency displayed in the production and consumption of music. Reebee Garofalo (1993) argues that the cultural imperialism thesis neglects the “creative dimension of popular music consumption” as evidenced by the use of cassette technology by musicians in the periphery to create new styles of music and ways to distribute their music (Garofalo 1993: 23). The increasing popularity of world music has spurred musicians in the periphery to utilize the technology, distribution channels and musical material of mainstream music to create hybrid forms that can have commercial value beyond their borders. Joecelyn Guilbault (1993) considers mainstream popular music in the global market a lingua franca that is recognized by people around the world (Guilbault 1993: 37-40). Garofalo adds that rock styles are easily exportable because their relatively simple forms are easy to indigenize (Garofalo 1993: 26). Musicians in the periphery are rejecting the ‘hybrid’ label placed on their music because it contains undertones of a demand for authenticity they believe is imposed upon them by the West. Tim Taylor (1997) notes that these musicians prefer to see their culture as “double” as they grew up listening to both Western popular music and music from their own traditions. The lack of interest in producing authentic music stems from their refusal to

remain pre-modern and from their desire to become “global citizens” by “creating forms as modern as the west’s” (Taylor 1997: 143). Despite being a product of globalization, world music hardly qualifies to be called global pop since it does not have the worldwide reach of mainstream Western pop and rock. On the other hand, mainstream pop music that is distributed by international recording companies is the lingua franca for communicating with audiences worldwide.

Music scholars like Guilbault, Taylor, Mercedes Dejunco (2002), Eric Thompson (2002), and Timothy Craig and Richard King (2002) have tended to look at the ways mainstream Western pop and rock disseminated by international recording companies are used by musicians worldwide to create ‘world music’ through hybridization. However, their focus has not been on the performance of this music by individuals at multiple sites across the globe, but on musicians performing their music in their local settings for the purpose of furthering their political, cultural, economic or personal aims. There is also a tendency among some music scholars to privilege the engagement with Western pop and rock music by musicians, thus relegating the opinions of the audience to whatever can be obtained off websites and music magazines (Taylor 1997: xvii). The problem of isolating globally distributed music and its consumers for an in-depth study seems to be an issue here. Furthermore, in their discussions of music and globalization, some scholars like Lull (1987), Wallis and Malm (1984), Keith Roe and Gust de Meyer (2001), and Martin and Seagrave (1988) have shown that the engagement of musicians and listeners with unadulterated Western pop music is often linked to theories of cultural imperialism. They tend to view globalization and music in macro terms such as global flows of capital and culture. While broadly theorizing, few have inquired into why these individual

musicians and listeners choose to engage with this music. In reality, many musicians and listeners outside the United States and Western Europe including Asia enjoy this music. Western pop music often serves as a model to Asian musicians, who copy and perform it. While Filipino entertainers are the most prevalent performers of this music in Asia, musicians of other nationalities also play American and British pop songs either locally or regionally. The Batak strolling bands from Sumatra, Indonesia, who play mainstream Western music are one such example (interview, Baldon, 26 Jun 2002). Asian musicians do not play this music in order to cater to the musical taste of foreigners from the West as the majority of their audience are Asians.

In this chapter, I will explore the reasons behind the engagement of musicians and listeners in Asia with mainstream popular music from USA, Western Europe, Latin America and Asia. By mainstream, I refer to music that has hit the charts or has chart-hitting potential, and is receiving air time worldwide or regionally, as well as extensive marketing attention by major recording labels. I propose that mainstream pop and rock represent global music that no longer belongs exclusively to USA and Western Europe nor is exclusively generated by them. In claiming this, I am not denying the colonial history of Asia or the neo-colonial activities of multinational media corporations including transnational recording companies and MTV. I am instead cautioning against looking at global music merely as a global entity that homogenizes, void of the local dynamics of use and interpretation. My research on the performance of Filipino bands in Asia provides an avenue for isolating the performance of global music in order to carry out detailed ethnography. I have observed a consistency in the types of music they perform throughout Asia. Furthermore, a style of performance that typifies Filipino

bands also exists. While I will explore what ‘Filipino’ means in the following chapter, here I will focus on the repertoire of Filipino bands. Although I have only interviewed Filipino musicians in the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and China, the musicians I interviewed have performed in other parts of Asia and therefore are qualified to tell me what their repertoire comprises in these other parts.

The Musical Edge of the Filipinos

Scholars and travel writers have expressed various views about why Filipinos engage with Western popular music. Filipinos who engage with Western popular music have been accused of living in America’s past, what Appadurai calls “nostalgia without memory” (Appadurai 1996:30). Pico Iyer (1989) describes the prevalence of American pop music and pop star imitators in the Philippines and characterizes that country as “the world’s largest slice of the American Empire, in its purest impurest form” (Iyer 1989:168). Craig Lockard (1998) cites the scholar of Filipino popular culture, Doreen Fernandez, as saying that the American popular culture industry is to blame for the proliferation of American and pseudo-American media in the Philippines. She charges the industry with cultural imperialism (Lockard 1998:128-129). Drawing on Iyer’s account, Appadurai critiques the Filipinos’ fascination with American pop songs, charging that this is an example of “global culture of the hyperreal” since what they sing about is not relevant to the lives they lead in the Philippines (Appadurai 1996: 29). By essentializing ‘American culture,’ Appadurai appears to have forgotten that the majority of Americans who listened to The Beach Boys sing of the California sun, sand and surf in

the 1960s also had little or no personal experience with these elements. “The Beach Boys’ songs may have made surfing a national fad but since the activities could really only take place in certain coastal towns, everyone else had to retreat into the imagination to enjoy it. ... What land-locked listeners took from the images of surfing in these songs, then, is the concept of freedom ... it was as simple as the freedom from school and responsibility that summer represents” (De Curtis 2003).

Many Filipino scholars and musicians have, on the other hand, been less critical of the apparent appeal of Western music to Filipinos.³ In *Jewels of the Island*, a video produced in the Philippines that discusses what Filipino music is, William Geffrey explains:

As a result of centuries of Spanish and American colonization, they now “express themselves through styles that are borrowed or imposed upon them from outside their islands. ... To most of the islands’ people, Filipino does not mean indigenous. Descriptions of the music often suggest that while energetic and expressive, it is seldom original, has little that is unique and mostly reflects modern western music often of a popular variety. Because something is not indigenous to the Philippine islands does not mean to them that it is not Filipino” (Geffrey 1997).

While these debates provide background on the formative musical environment of Filipino entertainers, I do not intend to explore why Filipinos at home engage with Western popular music. Instead, I will specifically discuss, by citing interviews with entertainers, why Filipinos engage with Western popular music abroad. In the course of my inquiry as musicians reveal their musical training and experiences in the Philippines, these interviews provide information on the advantages these musicians have over entertainers of other nationalities.

Negative reaction has also been expressed about the reputation of Filipinos as performers of western popular music abroad. Eric Caruncho (1996) notes that “the international popularity of Filipino musicians is more of a tribute to their ability to imitate Western pop than anything else” (Caruncho 1996:66). Iyer describes the Filipino as “Master of every American gesture, conversant with every western song [...] the Filipino plays minstrel to the entire continent” (Iyer 1989:153). In focusing only on the repertoire and imitative style of performance, both of these authors have pointed an accusing finger at the lack of cultural identity displayed by Filipino entertainers in the Asian performing circuit. These authors fail to take into account the lives of the performers in relation to the very nature of their job of being Filipino entertainers, one that requires them to perform music that can blur various borders and appeal to a wide segment of audiences of different nationalities. In fact, their identity as ‘Filipino’ entertainers hinges on their ability to adapt to various performing environments throughout Asia.

Despite the apparent predominance of Western influence on the music of Filipino bands, the process of what has been considered as “imitating” evinces how these bands are not mere imitators of western pop and rock musicians. On the contrary, Filipino entertainers are able to inject something into their performance that makes it distinct or different and thus highly marketable among high-class establishments in Asia. Taylor offers the term “strategic inauthenticity” to explain the “strategic” use of western popular music forms by musicians outside the United States and Western Europe as a means of resisting western demands for “authenticity” in the Orientalist sense and to enable themselves to be “global citizens,” capable of using “cultural forms as (post)modern as the west’s” (Taylor 1997:143). Agency is displayed in the strategic ways Filipino

entertainers have made use of the cultural and musical heritage left behind by over four-hundred years of colonization. They have taken the musical foundation and sentiment of Spain and the jazz, popular music, and English language of America and have combined them with the hard work, discipline, adaptability, and cooperativeness of Filipinos, to create a transnational-cum-multicultural product that has put Filipino musicians on the Asian entertainment map for the last hundred years.

The music performed by Filipino bands compliments the space in which it is performed, that of the international hotel where guests can feel at “home” – routinized familiarity made of brands of goods and services for global consumption – because of the modern and international standards of food, décor, service, and entertainment provided there that can be found in international hotels the world over. The feelings of “home” invoked by Filipino musicians through their music are two-pronged. Mainstream western pop raises feelings of homecoming because it represents a return to the familiar for tourists, expatriates, and business travelers from the West faced with an unfamiliar environment abroad. The widespread dissemination of this music makes it intelligible and nostalgic, though, not just for audiences from United States or Western Europe, since the catchy melodies of many of these pop songs are recognizable even to those with limited knowledge of English, living within the expanding sphere of influence of the U.S. entertainment industry. Many top hits – for example, “My Heart Will Go On” from the movie “Titanic,” “Lemon Tree,” and “Unchained Melody,” popularized in the movie “The Bodyguard” – have been translated into several Asian languages. Asian and western favorites, on the other hand, also represent the actual music from the home country for some foreign audiences. The music chosen by Filipino musicians to typify the music of

the national homeland of the audience presents a very narrowly constructed sense of 'home.' 'Home' here is only represented by songs that use the official language of the 'home country' and rank high on the music charts in that country. Asian hits, for example, are often derived from genres of rock and pop and the local musical elements in them are limited, indicating a sense of 'home' that is deeply mediated by the lingua franca of the international entertainment industries.

Many Filipino entertainers believe they are able to monopolize the Asian market because "music is in our blood" (interview, Dejos, 2 Dec 2003). They cite early exposure to a musical environment in the Philippines for developing their interest in music. Romy Posadas considers the Philippines to be "lucky" to have been occupied by Spain and USA. He believes these colonizers gave the Filipinos the musical training and exposure to western music, both classical and popular, that enables them to have an advantage over other Asians in the entertaining circuit. In the 1950s and 1960s, Filipinos were able to meet the demand for western pop music and jazz by the foreign and local elites in Asia. Local musicians in these Asian countries had limited training in western music then. Most local musicians in Hong Kong and Singapore in the 1960s performed in class C venues, cabarets where they played Chinese pop music, while the Filipinos were playing in class A and B venues which comprised hotels and nightclubs respectively (interview, Posadas, 7 Feb 2004). Jun Cadiz recalls that the local musicians in Thailand in the 1960s played mostly Thai music, while the King of Thailand and many foreign and local elites were passionate about jazz. Hence, the majority of musicians playing at nightclubs in Bangkok then were from the Philippines, England, and America (interview, Cadiz, 16 May 2002). Local musicians trained in western music usually consisted of the elite,

many of whom had studied western classical music abroad. In Malaysia, for example, symphony orchestras and marching bands existed in several secondary schools but these organizations did not train musicians to play jazz, popular and dance music. On the other hand, Filipinos had been playing this music as early as the 1900s, first for a domestic and later, foreign market. There were no jazz schools in the Philippines in those days.

Hence, musicians learned from records and from other Filipino musicians. Angel Peña, for example, obtained records from his uncle who played on an international cruise liner that sailed to the USA in the 1930s. Commercial recordings and gramophones were also available in the Philippines from the early 1900s. American recording companies like Victor and Columbia were established in the Philippines to record Filipino music and actively market American music (Tiongson and Barrios 1994:193). Filipino musicians also observed American musicians who were performing in the Philippines and in other parts of Asia. There were, for instance, several African-American musicians in China in the 1920s and 1930s, who were fleeing racial discrimination in USA (Jones 2001: 1–6). Hence, travel not only afforded Filipinos the chance to earn a living but also to learn from other foreign musicians who were playing in Asia.

Filipino musicians are able to monopolize the entertainment market in Asia partially because of their versatility. In the 1950s and 1960s when bands of other nationalities specialized in one genre of music, Filipino bands were able to offer jazz, popular songs and dance music to their audiences. As Roger Herrera Jr. explained, “Because the market for jazz was limited, we needed to play commercial, tango, latin and pop” (interview, Herrera, 18 Feb 2004). Presently, Filipino musicians continue to be in demand because of their wide repertoire that ranges from Top 40 hits, ‘oldies,’ alternative

music, jazz, dance music like cha-cha, swing and twist, Latin music and Asian pop songs. Many Filipino bands have a repertoire of over one-thousand songs. In the performance described in the opening of this chapter, 2 BY 2 performed songs that spanned music from the 1960s to 2002 in the opening set alone. It is this ability to perform a wide selection of songs that puts Filipino bands in good standing on the Asian entertaining circuit and enables them to provide the wide range of songs requested by audiences in hotels. Stiff competition to meet market demands forces producers of every kind, including producers of entertainment, to be more flexible and offer more extensive choices in order to appear more attractive to customers. Members of different bands sometimes exchange music to ensure that they all have a good selection of songs and will, therefore, be able to maintain their reputation as quality performers in the region. In addition, Filipino entertainers keep their repertoire up to date by reviewing ‘oldies’ that are constantly being reissued on cassettes and CDs, as well as by learning the newest hits on the Top 40 charts. They also listen to local radio stations in the cities they perform in to familiarize themselves with local favorites. Members of 2 BY 2, for example, learn a minimum of three songs per week, as Andrew Granado, the leader and keyboardist of the group, informed me (interview, Granado, 4 Dec 2003). Clues concerning what is popular are also gleaned through the songs that are frequently requested by the audience. Filipino musicians who are unable to meet a song requested by a guest will make it a point to learn that song so that they can meet the requests the next time around. Genalyn Gaspar of TENDER TUNES related how members of her band had on occasion gone to a great deal of trouble to track down certain “remote songs” requested by their guests. In addition to scouring record stores and the Internet, she also contacted members of other

Filipino bands who were performing in the vicinity and in other cities for assistance (interview, Gaspar, 27 Jun 2001). Tess Domatican of RETRO has even had guests give her band members CDs in order that they could learn the song requested (interview, Domatican, 14 Jan 2004). In addition, bands belonging to the same agency provide each other with information on what is popular at a particular venue. According to John Chacko, an outgoing band will give an incoming band a list of the thirty most requested songs in that outlet so that they will be able to appeal to their audience' tastes the moment they start work (interview, Chacko, 30 Nov 2003).

“We'll sing anything that the audience wants to hear,” Tina Argao confessed (interview, Argao, 4 Dec 2003). “We sing for the guests, not ourselves,” Andrew Granado added. “We think of it as a business rather than what we like,” STAR GLOW's Diary Cornelio elaborated (interview, Cornelio, 28 Feb 2003). Suppressing personal musical desires in favor of the audience's musical preference is not something new to Filipino musicians in the circuit. Even well-known jazz bands from the 1950s and 1960s had to concede to the demands for commercial pop by the audience. The Romy Posadas Band, which performed at Hyatt, Hilton, Marriott, and Mandarin hotels in Bangkok, Manila, Singapore, and Hong Kong had to perform “bubblegum pop” in addition to swing and Latin jazz. Romy Posadas and his wife Rita expressed dismay at having to sing the same hit songs several times in one night. Roger Herrera, Jr., the bandleader of another jazz group, agreed, recalling how his band had played supper club, dinner-and-dance music while in Bangkok, Beirut, and Teheran. Juan Cadiz, a jazz pianist who was playing in Bangkok in the 1960s, added that he looked forward to Sundays when musicians from different clubs and hotels would get together to play jazz since he had to

play Chinese, Thai, and western pop music the rest of the week. Trumpeter and vibraphone player, Popoy Valmonte, remembered that getting together with the musicians at the President Hotel in Bangkok for these jam sessions enabled Filipino musicians to indulge in their personal musical interests.

Asian music other than the music of the Philippines is relatively more ‘foreign’ to Filipino entertainers than western popular music. As has been mentioned earlier, much Filipino music is western oriented. *Rondalla* music, for example, uses western instruments, scales and harmony. *Sarswela* and *bodabil*, on the other hand are patterned on the Spanish *zarzuela* and on the music of American vaudeville theaters. Like the musicians in the periphery described by Taylor (1997: 94), Filipino entertainers also see their culture as “double,” a mix of the west and Filipino. Filipino musicians do not perceive jazz and popular music from the west to be foreign to them since they grew up with this music. Furthermore, many musicians admit to having had more exposure to pop music, both foreign and Filipino, than traditional Filipino music. Filipino singers have less trouble learning and performing western songs because of the ease of language and their general familiarity with many of these songs. On the other hand, learning Asian hits and ‘oldies’ requires more effort because they are unfamiliar with the language. However, as musical styles go, most Asian pop songs show little difference from western pop in terms of rhythm, musical arrangement, scale and harmony. At the same time, western popular music can also hardly be considered ‘foreign’ to most of their elite audience who are familiar enough with many of the songs as to make requests and sing along. For Filipino entertainers in the Asian circuit, the concept of “local music” constantly shifts depending on which country is playing host to them. They do not refer

to Filipino music as “local” because they are not performing in the Philippines and their purpose abroad is to play to the tune of the locals there. Furthermore, Filipino songs are rarely sung with the exception of a few hits songs like “*Anak*” [Child] and “*Dahil Saiyo*” [Because of You]. Western music is also Filipino music since “musical forms heavily influenced by outsiders [Spain and USA] are Filipino in the same way that they are what Filipino want, feel comfortable with and use” (Geffrey 1997). The music performed by Filipino bands is best termed ‘local’ and ‘global,’ rather than ‘foreign’ since foreigners in one location can constitute the locals in the next for Filipinos musicians. Bollywood songs that are local in India, for example, become global once performed in other parts of Asia or worldwide. Culture does not only flow from West to East but in the opposite direction as well, as evidenced by the production of the Bollywood Broadway musical “Bombay Dreams,” and the release of American movies copied from Asian ones like “Grudge” from the Korean horror flick “*Ju-On*,” and “Shall We Dance” from the Japanese original, “*Shall We Dansu*” [Dance].

Filipino musicians are able to sing in English better than most of their Asian counterparts. Although many of them may still have traces of a Filipino accent when speaking, they are able to erase this accent when singing songs in English. According to Butch Dejos, “English is important everywhere ... for communicating with the audience and management. At least 75% of our songs must be English. Old favorites are sung in English, also popular dance tunes are in English, and top songs [Top 40 songs] still in English” (interview, Dejos, 2 Dec 2003). Many other Asian bands also attempt to sing these Anglo-American pop songs but despite being good musicians, their inability to sing with the proper diction, or rather, to erase their own accent makes them less popular with

premier hotels and clubs in Asia (interviews, Charles, 23 Jun 2001; Carreon, 3 Dec 2003).

The ability of Filipino bands to sing in various 'local' languages also sets them apart from bands of other nationalities. Genalyn Gaspar and her sister Jenelyn, the duo from TENDER TUNES who were performing in Golden Sands Resort in Batu Feringghi, Penang, take the time to learn local favorites at every city in which they perform in order to make the local audience "feel more at home" with their music. They learn these songs from recordings and solicit the help of local hotel staff with their pronunciation (interview, Gaspar, 27 Jun 2001). In fact, many Filipino entertainers can also manage a smattering of the local languages of the cities in which they perform. Through their travels abroad, they have acquired the ability to speak and sing in several Asian languages. Audiences in Asia generally give more leeway to Filipino entertainers when they are performing Asian songs because Filipino musicians have a reputation for mimicking western artists but not Asian ones. In the view of Tina Argao and Andrew Granado, their audience enjoyed challenging them to determine the number of languages and dialects they could sing in. Although Filipino bands are already well known in Asia for their ability to sing in several different languages, guests continue to be impressed when these musicians are able to sing in their language, particularly when they are foreign to the country (interview, Argao and Granado, 4 Dec 2003).

Filipino bands currently performing in Asia can be divided into sequencer bands or electric bands, show bands, string bands, strollers or serenaders, soloist and duets (see Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6). While there is a great deal of overlapping in these categories, I will define the common characteristics of these ensembles. Sequencer bands



Figure 3.1 – PEACH APPLE TREE, a sequencer band



Figure 3.2 – THE BLOCKS, a sequencer band



Figure 3.3 – BEAT CULTURE, a show band



Figure 3.4 – ROYAL STRINGS, a string band



Figure 3.5 – SILVA BROTHERS, a strolling band



Figure 3.6 – Duo BONNIE AND RHEA

usually use sequencers, sometimes as the only instrument or with other electrified instruments such as a bass and lead guitar and drum kit. Sequencers play an important

role in many Filipino bands because it assists them in storing the arrangements of the songs of their large repertoire. Synthesizers and keyboards also function as sources for sound effects, producing anything from handclapping to screams and thunder. Genres of music like hip-hop rely on synthesizers and drum machines for accompaniment, while ballads may sometimes have lush string accompaniment. Because the range of music sung by Filipino bands is wide, keyboards and synthesizers are useful in recreating the accompaniment required of these different genres. However, it is not unusual for electric bands to include one or two acoustic instruments such as a saxophone, trumpet, or even a piano.

Filipino showbands usually perform in clubs. These showbands often comprise seven or more musicians who entertain not just by singing, but also by dancing, performing skits or telling jokes in order to display their showmanship. The music performed by showbands usually is loud, and the driving rhythms of the drums lure patrons to the dance floor. Unlike the other Filipino ensembles that have to vary their volume based on their performing venue, the time of day, the number of patrons or the reaction of patrons to their music, showbands do not at any point of the performance play background music. The musicians are there to give a show and hold the attention of the audience through the loud volume of their music, the conversations with their audience from the stage, and the expected participation of their audience in the show.

Filipino string bands usually consist of violin, viola, double bass and piano. String bands play instrumental music and often dress in formal evening attire. Female musicians wear formal-style blouses and long skirts or evening gowns. Strolling bands or serenaders, on the other hand, commonly comprise double bass, rhythm, and lead guitar

players. These strolling bands move from table to table meeting requests made by the audience. They also tend to sing most songs in harmony compared to the practice of electric bands. Strolling and string band musicians are not exempt from playing popular hits, including Top 40 songs. They have to do their own instrumental or vocal arrangements of these songs as most Top 40 songs are not originally scored for string band and strolling band instruments or singing style. Although the instruments of the different ensembles and the performing styles may differ, there is considerable similarity in the music that they perform. All the ensembles play to the request of the audience, and are therefore required to have Top 40 songs, the 'oldies,' and Asian hits in their repertoire.

Performing 'Mainstream' Popular Music

While some Filipino bands specialize in particular types of music like light-classics, jazz, heavy metal, or dance music, these bands are usually still required to play commercial pop music when requested by the audience. TROPICARIBE, a Latin band from Colombia that I interviewed in Shanghai, pointed out that audiences at the Sofitel Hyland Shanghai Hotel still insisted on requesting songs like "Hotel California" despite realizing that theirs was a band that played salsa music. Members of TROPICARIBE play the requested songs in the "original style because the audience likes it to be like the CD" (interview, Moreno, 13 Oct 2004). The members of another Filipino band, 48, who consisted of Filipinos, showed their versatility by playing mostly rock music for fourteen months at a Hardrock Café in China, before going to another venue in China where dance

music such as cha-cha and samba were the main attraction. At their next performing venue, the Hyatt Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, they played rhythm-and-blues and Malay pop songs. Even Filipino string quartets playing in hotels have to play popular numbers in order to attract an audience. While some hotels like the Meritus Mandarin Singapore want to add a touch of class to their lounge by having a string quartet as opposed to an electric band, these acoustic ensembles end up playing music that is similar to the pop bands. Groups like DYNAMIC STRINGS and ROYAL STRINGS play popular hits such as the theme from the movie “Titanic,” Broadway favorites like “The Phantom of the Opera,” the ‘oldies,’ Top 40 hits and local favorites in addition to light-classics such as “Canon in D” by Pachelbel and Brahms’s “Hungarian Dances.” Araceli Molina of DYNAMIC STRINGS commented that Austrian and Hungarian string groups who also performed in Asia are unable to compete with the Filipinos despite being technically very strong because they were only able to play classical music. The General Manager of the Meritus Mandarin Singapore hotel requested that DYNAMIC STRINGS play the latest hits because these songs appealed to the local customers at the hotel’s lounge (interview, Molina, 13 Jan 2004). Freddie Cruz added that Chinese pop songs were very popular with the Singaporean customers of the Marina Mandarin Hotel. Cruz himself was a member of an electric band before forming the ROYAL STRINGS. The Atrium Lounge where the string quartet performed has always had a string band because having a string band “denotes class” (interview, Cruz, 15 Jan 2004). Filipino string bands also do not face much competition from Singaporean musicians as classically trained Singaporeans find playing in hotels to be degrading. However, this does not mean that the Filipinos are less qualified. Molina, for example, was a viola major at Santo Tomas University in

Manila, and the group's pianist, Nympha Genio, holds a bachelor's degree in music (interview, Molina, 13 Jan 2004).

The latest hits on the Top 40 charts receive substantial airtime on radios in many parts of Asia. Although most of the Top 40 songs are from USA and Britain, many of their themes are universal such as love and heart break. In the same way that Shakespeare ceased to belong solely to England (Robertson 1995: 38) and English is no longer just the language of the English, "pop music derived from American roots ceased to be American" due to reinterpretations of the meanings of the songs by both listeners and musicians alike (Lovering 1998: 39). While some listeners in Asia may have no idea of the origins of these songs from USA or Britain, they have re-appropriated these songs and given them relevance in their own lives. In fact, thirteen of the songs on India's Top 20 list and eighteen on China's Top 20 list in the 4th week of April 2005 were songs from the USA and Western Europe. The rankings on the Top 40 charts are usually based on airplay, sales of recordings and downloads from the internet (Top40-Charts).⁴ The highest ranked songs on the list are also the songs that Filipino bands perform. These musicians study the music charts and immediately set about learning the songs on these charts. Being able to keep up with the latest hits is one of the features of the Filipino bands. At the same time, their audience also receives cues on what to request based on what they hear on the mass media. Hence, Top 40 songs continue to be performed because there is a continued demand and supply for them.

The 'oldies' from USA and Britain continue to form an important portion of the repertoire of Filipino bands in Asia. Jon Lovering (1998) explains that the continued popularity of these songs from over thirty years ago is the result of major recording

companies trying to widen the market for their existing recordings, those of time-tested singers and musicians. Because major recording companies have cut back on promoting many new artists, old ones continue to be promoted. Rather than introduce new artists, these recording companies are using technology to provide new ways of listening to artists (Lovering 1998: 44-45). Some examples include “Billboard #1s: The 80s” (Rhino 2004), “80’s Energy: Club Versions of Favorite 80’s hits” (MCA 2002) and “The Police: Every Breath You Take – The Classics” (A&M 2005), which are currently being sold by BMG Music Service. In fact, BMG Music Service, a mail order division of BMG Music, compiled a catalog dedicated to the 80s called Totally ‘80s that, as Lovering has pointed out, is intended to clear old stock. Hence, Lovering is proposing that the ‘oldies’ need not necessarily be associated with a sense of nostalgia or history since younger listeners who do not share this nostalgia also have come to appreciate the ‘oldies’ due to current marketing efforts by recording companies (Lovering 1998: 33).

A large proportion of the audience of Filipino bands in hotels and clubs in Asia are middle-age people with financial means. For many of them, the ‘oldies’ invoke feelings of nostalgia. Songs by The Carpenters, The Beatles, Connie Francis, Andy Williams and Nat King Cole continue to be requested by Asian audience. People who are in their 40s or older form the bulk of the business at hotels like Rasa Sayang Resort and Golden Sands Resort in Penang (interview, Charles, 23 Jun 2001) and in other five star hotels in Malaysia, Singapore and Shanghai. Dairy Cornelio commented that the standards or ‘oldies’ were important in the repertoire of Filipino bands because they are in demand everywhere, and used the example of Frank Sinatra’s music to illustrate. “In my informal training, I started on standard songs, one of them was *My Way* by Frank

Sinatra. And I couldn't believe that people still stood to applaud! And that gave me a deeper meaning of what the song made people [feel] yesterday, today and tomorrow" (interview, Cornelio, 16 May 2005). The 'oldies' performed by Filipino bands are not limited to those of Anglo-American origin. Quite a number of the transnational Asian pop songs performed by Filipino bands are evergreens such as "*Yue Liang Dai Biao Wo De Xin*" [The Moon Represents My Heart], a Taiwanese song made popular by Teresa Teng, and "*Pang Yao*" [Friends] a hit by Hong Kong singer, Alan Tam. Musical preferences and age usually go hand-in-hand. At least, that is one of the assumptions Filipino bands have when deciding what songs to sing for their audience. The middle-age audience of Filipino bands in Malaysia and Singapore for instance, request the 'oldies' because these songs represent the music of their youth. People generally expose themselves to more music in their youth and therefore, build connections between this music and instances in their lives. This element of nostalgia is what continues to motivate the sale of recordings of the 'oldies' and the reissue of music collections from the different decades.

Since the margin of profit of major recording companies is small despite their large investments, they only chose to record music that they can sell. Independent recording companies try out new music and then go back to the 'majors' to get global distribution for their products once these samples show sales potential. In contrast to the view that independent recording companies resist being dragged into the mainstream by the major companies, Lovering shows that they in fact work together to sell music. Once a particular musician or band is picked up by a major recording company, the musicians and their music are refashioned so that they can be widely marketed (Lovering 1998: 33-

37). Japan and China form major markets for recordings.⁵ Because of the need to attract these Asian markets, major recording companies have to record more Asian artists, thereby bringing these artists to regional and even international attention. According to Ed Ochs (1993), American companies began exploring new sources of music abroad in 1992 (Ochs 1993: 32). In Asia, artists from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan who are signed by major recording companies gain Asian distribution for their music. Concert tours within the region are organized to further market these musicians and their music. MTV Asia also promotes these ‘international stars’ who have links with international recording companies by featuring their music videos. Whether the music of these artists reflects anything Asian or not is debatable. What is clear though is that it is music that Asian listeners, especially those of Chinese and Japanese descent, identify with and purchase. Hence, when I refer to Asian music as mainstream, I am speaking in terms of its distribution in the main stream of the recording industry. It is not my purpose to judge the ‘authenticity’ of the music, a term I use with caution. I refer to this music in order to explain how some Asian songs came to be in the repertoire of Filipino bands. In short, Filipino musicians adapt to the trends set by the recording industry.

Asian hit songs constitute an important part of the repertoire of Filipino bands. These songs, while not as widely distributed globally as mainstream western pop, are transnational and mainstream in their own right, at least in the Asian region. Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge (1988) point out the existence of multiple centers of culture besides Europe and the United States, centers that include Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Bombay (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988:2). Bollywood songs from India, for example, make it to Southeast Asia and even reach diasporic Indian communities in the

west, while Canto pop from Hong Kong and Taiwanese pop have a big following among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and the United States. One song that was constantly requested by the audience of 2 BY 2 at Crossroads Lounge was the theme song from the Bollywood movie “*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*” [Something is Happening]. This song was comically presented, with Tina Argao and Miguelito Villa’s exchanging of the roles of heroine and hero. Although Villa retained the lyrics sung by the male character, Rahul, and Argao sang the parts originally performed by female characters, Anjali and Tina, their actions showed Villa as heroine being pursued by the hero, Argao. The gender neutral nature of the lyrics, which spoke of the amazement of finding oneself in love, made it easy for male and female performers of this song to exchange parts without affecting the context of the song. The original performance of “*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*” by Hindi actors Shahrukh Khan as Rahul, Kajol as Anjali and Rani Mukherji as Tina was, in fact, a toned-down version of typical Bollywood song-and-dance scenes that usually involve lengthy songs, various changes of scenery and costume, and several dance sequences. Argao and Villa did not copy the dances and gestures from the movie faithfully. They instead deferred to stock Bollywood dance moves, gestures and actions, such as the playful hide-and-seek behind trees synonymous with decades of Bollywood love scenes, in order to evoke the overly romantic mood of Bollywood films in their performance. Furthermore, they adapted the song from a trio, involving the three main characters of the story who are involved in a love triangle, to a duet (see lyrics of “*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*”).

Kuch Kuch Hota Hai

Rahul: You came near me and smiled at me
You came near me and smiled at me
You don't know how many dreams you had inspired in me
You came near me and smiled at me
You don't know how many dreams you had inspired in me

(Chorus)

Rahul: Now my heart neither wakes up nor sleeps
What am I to do?
Something is happening
What am I to do?
Something is happening

Anjali: You came near me and smiled at me
You don't know how many dreams you had inspired in me
You came near me and smiled at me
You don't know how many dreams you had inspired in me

(Chorus)

Tina: Now my heart neither wakes up nor sleeps
What am I to do?
Something is happening
What am I to do?
Something is happening

Anjali: What am I to do?
Something is happening

(Musical interlude)

Rahul: Don't know what's this new experience
What's this never ending thirst?
Tina: Oh Dear! What's this magical effect of love on me?
It is overwhelming me

(Chorus)

Rahul: Nobody knows why anyone loses his comfort
What am I to do?
Something is happening
Anjali: What am I to do?
Something is happening

(Musical interlude)

Anjali: What a great effect my prayers had created
Don't know how I fell in love
Tina: Don't know why I am feeling comfort in discomfort

(Chorus)
Rahul: In my loneliness, your memories are my companion
What am I to do?
Something is happening
Tina: What am I to do?
Something is happening

(Lyrics as provided in the subtitles for *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*)

Songs in Bollywood movies are often sung by voice doubles or 'playback singers' rather than by the actors themselves who only lip-sync the lyrics. Playback singers are so important to Bollywood films that their contributions are acknowledged at the start of the movie together with those of the lead actors, directors and producers. In the performance of "*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*," I suspect that the same playback singer was used for both female characters, Anjali and Tina's, singing parts because of the identical singing voices of both women, but I was unable to establish this for certain from the credits provided in the movie. Hence, it came as no surprise that Argao also sang the parts of both women in her rendition of the song. The aim of the members of 2 BY 2 was not to perform a replica of "*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*" as seen in the Bollywood film. Instead, they merely intended to kindle the humor and spirit of Bollywood love scenes and music through their performance. At the end of the song, Villa acknowledged the applause of the audience with a *namaste* [Indian greeting and salutations] hand gesture. 2 BY 2's performance of "*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*" can only be appreciated by audiences who have had exposure to Bollywood movies and can recognize the scenes and gestures being imitated. 2 BY 2 were confident enough to perform this song because they knew that a fairly large

proportion of their Asian audience at the hotel had at one time or another seen a Bollywood movie or music video and shared the same frame of reference. Bollywood movies are well distributed in the Asian region, while music videos of Bollywood hit songs saturate the MTV Asia channel.⁶

Beside Asian hits and 'oldies,' Filipino bands also perform hits by Latin American and Spanish pop stars like Enrique Inglesias, Ricky Martin and Las Ketchup. These songs, though not from USA and Britain, have broken into the mainstream due to the publicity given to them by the recording companies. Despite not understanding the language of these songs, Asian audiences are still attracted to their rhythms and melodies, and find many of these songs danceable. This is more so for songs with specific dance steps like "Macarena" or "Ketchup Song." Some audiences learn the steps from music videos but the majority learn the dances from the live performances by bands, including Filipino bands.

Filipino musicians use the musical lingua franca when communicating with their diverse audience. This lingua franca comprises a selection of music called an "international repertoire" by the recording industry (Negus 2001:26-29) - music that has appeal worldwide despite language differences because it has been recorded by a highly popularized singer, possesses a catchy melody and danceable rhythm, such as the dance hits "Macarena" and "Ketchup Song." Therefore, the music need not have cultural relevance, as is Appadurai's concerns, nor must the lyrics be understood for it to have appeal worldwide. However, music from the Anglo-American mainstream still dominates the repertoire of Filipino bands since this music also dominates the airwaves in many parts of Asia. This condition reflects continued Anglo-American hegemony.

At the same time as they react to trends in mainstream popular music, Filipino musicians also shape these trends by reinforcing the music aired by the mass media. Since not all of their audience members are listeners to the radio or fans of music video on television, Filipino musicians serve as introducers of the latest music to their upper class audience. They also revive the 'oldies' by reintroducing them, thereby repeating what recording companies themselves do. Without intending to, Filipino musicians have inadvertently become a cog in the wheels of the international recording companies, at least possessing a degree of influence among the hotel and club-going elite in Asia. I have no evidence to indicate that these audiences actually purchase the products of the recording companies after being exposed to the music of the Filipino bands. Since audiences who know what to request are usually regular customers of these bands, I am inclined to think that these audiences might prefer seeing a live performance to listening to a recorded one. A live-performance involves interaction between audience and musicians, musicians and other musicians, and among audience members. Hence, while the music is important in these performances, it is only one component in a complex relationship that is absent from recordings. At the same time, Dairy Cornelio pointed out that some songs "may not be that popular amongst the majority where we are, not even much heard on the radio, but yet it becomes popular through word of mouth amongst the [Filipino] bands" (interview Cornelio 16 May 2005). Furthermore, audiences of Filipino bands also introduce songs into the repertoire of the bands, thereby expanding the musical experience of the musicians and other audience members. Since these particular audiences give the musicians CDs of the songs they want performed, some of the audiences members are the consumers of products made by the recording companies.

NOTES

¹ This song was originally released by Frankie Valli in 1967 (Ruhmann).

² Since its release in 1993, “Hero” continues to be regularly requested by audiences to the extent that many female Filipino singers have mastered this song including the particular expressions and embellishments employed by Mariah Carey.

³ See *Jewels of the Island* for the perspective of Filipino musicians, composers and scholars such as Lucretia Kasilag, Lucia San Pedro, and Ricardo Trimillos on what constitutes Filipino music.

⁴ See <http://top 40-chart.com> for the music charts of various other countries.

⁵ Lovering provides a market projection by the Music Industry Research Organization Limited for 2000 that showed that the Asian market combined would reach the size of the US market (1998:42).

⁶ While transnational hits might appeal to audiences in Malaysia, Singapore or China, local songs are very much in demand in India. According to Diary Cornelio, members of her band had to sing in different Indian dialects while performing there. She explained that members of STAR GLOW obtained assistance from local friends who interpreted the songs word for word for them, and gave them the “proper visual and feel of the songs” so that their Indian audiences would be “pleased that we are comfortable and able to send proper expressions” (interview, Cornelio, 16 May 2005).

CHAPTER 4

GLOBALIZATION AND THE ASIAN AUDIENCES OF FILIPINO BANDS

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

After the first set, Tina Argao and Andrew Granado of 2 BY 2 came to join me at my table. Tina informed me that a “friend” of theirs, a *datin*¹ had just arrived and had invited them to join her later. The *datin* was a regular customer at the Crossroads Lounge. They added that many of the locals at the lounge were regulars, some of whom they had befriended. The regulars knew the signature songs of the band and often requested them. It was therefore not surprising to hear an almost identical repertoire being performed two consecutive weekends in a row because of the large number of requests being made by these regulars. One signature song of the band was “Shanghai Nights,” the theme from the Hong Kong television serial “The Bund,” which members of 2 By 2 had adapted by replacing the Cantonese lyrics with rather suggestive and lewd English ones involving the discussion of lengths and “hardness” of penises. This song began with Miguelito Villa’s amusing imitation of *kungfu* star Jacky Chan. While the singers never mentioned the word “penis” at all throughout the song, the hand gestures of Andrew Granado, Miguelito Villa and Marites Santos clearly displayed their objectives. The audience cheered and laughed at the antics of the entertainers. None of them appeared offended or embarrassed by the topic of the song.

However, what was striking about this song, for me, was not its clever adaptation by the entertainers but the language in which it was sung. The use of Malaysian-English throughout the song suggested that the words to this song were ‘written’ specifically for a Malaysian or Singaporean audience, both of whom frequently use the word “one” when referring to one’s possession, for example, “my one is long one, my friend one is short one”. The use of “my one” instead of “mine” and “my friend one” instead of “my friend’s” are peculiar to Malaysian and Singaporean English. There is a possibility that the combining of these English words are a result of direct translation from Hokkien or Malay, whereby a possessive noun would be represented by two words rather than a single word, “mine,” used in the English language or the use of the apostrophe ‘s’. Hence, in Malay, “mine” would be translated as “saya punya,” and in Hokkien as “wa eh.” Members of 2 BY 2 used Malaysian colloquialism in an effort to make the setting less formal and to diminish the class differentiation between them and their audience by bringing their high class audiences to a more casual level. Rather than rely exclusively on imitations of Anglo-American pop singers, these Filipino musicians had tailor-made their performance in order to satisfy the demands of a particular audience in Malaysia.

The Audience

Discussions about globalization and music usually revolve around the reactions of musicians to the phenomena of globalization. Rarely are the views of listeners taken into consideration because they are often perceived to be passive receivers. Because musicians generate music, listeners are often considered only in a passive role. However,

one needs also to take into account the demand and purchasing power of listeners. Listeners, in fact, shape what music is produced or performed. In this study of the performance of Filipino bands in hotels and clubs in Asia, for example, I will show that the audience not only determines what music is played but also reveals their engagement with globalization through their requests and their participation in the performance.

In order to understand the motivations behind the requests of the audience and why they attend these performances, I conducted interviews with the audience members and with Filipino musicians, and also observed the audience's reactions to music played in over fifty performances. I have divided the audiences according to location - Malaysia, Singapore and China. These categories provide me with a means to differentiate the diverse audiences of Filipino bands. The topics I will engage in are, however, not exclusive to the locations in which they are discussed. The topic of globalized locals, for example, pertains to audiences in Singapore as well as in Malaysia and China, and both Malaysians and Singaporeans consider themselves to belong to multi-cultural societies.

Globalized 'Locals' in Singapore

When Filipino bands discuss their audience, they usually refer to them as 'locals' and 'foreigners.' 'Locals' refer to the people from the city or, more generally, the country in which they are performing. However, since Filipino bands migrate from country to country constantly, their conception of who 'locals' are also keeps changing. Those who are 'foreigners' to the bands in one country may, in the next country, be the

'locals.' This complexity in defining the audience also influences the defining of music performed by the bands for their audience. The 'locals' in Singapore who attend the performances of Filipino bands are less localized than the designation implies. Most of these middle-aged upper-middle class or high class audiences have been abroad either for holidays, work or to study. Many travel abroad at least once a year. Some have children who are studying in USA, Britain or Australia. These locals communicate in English for the most part, even if Chinese, Malay or Tamil are also frequently spoken. They live in urban areas and practice a modern consumer lifestyle. This includes buying imported goods such as designer clothing and foreign cars. Their lifestyle epitomizes that of upper-middle class urban dwellers in many cities in Asia, who engage with the global through their travels, their consumption of goods and services, and their exposure to the mass media. Singapore is a modern cosmopolitan country where its globalized locals engage with music on a scale larger than the confines of their own country. As Singapore is the second richest country in Asia after Japan, Singaporeans have many opportunities for exposure to Western classical music through the mass media and through live performances. Singapore often plays host to world class musicians from USA and Europe because of the ability of the Singapore Symphony Orchestra to accompany these musicians. Therefore, Singapore is the center for classical music performances in Southeast Asia with concerts held at the Esplanade Theatres by the Bay Concert Hall often attended by audiences from Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. Singapore also has the financial resources and infrastructure to accommodate touring companies that perform Broadway plays and operas. Hence, Singaporean and other Southeast Asians have had the opportunity to experience performances such as the musical "Les

Miserables” and Verdi’s “Aida,” among many others. In addition to live concerts, their exposure to music through recordings, music on the radio, MTV on satellite television, the internet, and at clubs and hotels also expands their musical experience beyond the music generated by their own country. This music, combined with the visual spectacle of singers, dancers and musicians, and the high technology of sound and light effects all reflect the modern hyper-reality that is neither here nor there, and definitely not local. The element of glamour and glitz is not only limited to music of the Anglo-American mainstream. Asian singers also project their fair share of glamour on music videos, CD covers and live concerts.

Filipino musicians generally refer to the ‘locals’ in Singapore as the “Chinese.” They form the majority of the audience at hotels in Singapore. Most of these Singaporean Chinese are well educated and speak English. They are familiar with the songs that are performed by the bands and make song requests. Their knowledge of the music ranges from having heard the songs before on the radio or elsewhere to actually being able to sing the songs along with the band.

Singapore is, to my knowledge, one of the few countries in Asia that hires Filipino string bands. During my visit there in January of 2004, there were a total of three string bands from the Philippines there. Hotels in Singapore hire string bands because they have some audience members who are appreciative of this music (interview, Molina, 13 Jan 2004). Yet, the music performed by Filipino string quartets is better termed muzak. The light classics are muted and often serve a background function to the comings-and-goings in the hotel lobby. Unlike sequencer bands that play amplified

music, talk to customers and have dancers to draw attention, string bands are comparatively inconspicuous.

In January 2004, there were four Filipino bands alternating at the Mezzanine Lounge in the Mandarin Singapore Hotel comprising one string band, two strolling bands, and one electric band. On weekdays, their audience consisted of foreign and local business people who were there discussing business or conducting business entertaining. Singaporeans made up the majority of the audience on weekends. They came for drinks and to listen to the bands. Many were regulars whom the band members referred to by name. A 'regular' explained to me that he went to the lounge almost every weekend and considered some of the band members to be his friends. "They know that I like the old Chinese songs...Teresa Teng's songs...those are my favorite and the band [THE CLIPPERS, a strolling band] always plays them for me." "Singaporeans like Chinese songs," one Filipino singer told me. These Chinese pop songs are mostly from Hong Kong, Taiwan and more recently, mainland China.

While Chinese songs were popular with the Singaporean Chinese at the Mezzanine Lounge, the members of THE CLIPPERS played German, French, Italian, Spanish and English songs at Top Of The M, a revolving fine dining restaurant at the Mandarin Singapore Hotel. A large proportion of their audience there were expatriates from the west. Charlie de la Cruz explained that it was important to judge the audience based on their age, as well as to determine if they were locals or foreigners because serenaders gave personalized performances to the guests at each of the tables. "We have to dedicate a song to them if they don't know what to request," he added. Their repertoire at Top Of The M included "La Bamba," "La Paloma," "Pretty Woman," "She,"

“Anak,” “Volare,” “Besame Mucho,” and “Love is a Many Splendored Thing.” While Charlie played the double bass when serenading at Top Of The M, he reverted to electric bass at the Mezzanine Lounge since THE CLIPPERS were not required to stroll there (interview, de la Cruz, 13 Jan 2004).

PEACH APPLE TREE was another one of the four Filipino bands performing at the Mandarin Singapore Hotel. When this electric band performed at the Neptune Ballroom and Restaurant of the hotel, their repertoire comprised ballroom dancing music from the waltz, to swing and cha-cha. Most of the customers there were locals who are over forty years of age. In addition, the band also played ‘oldies’ by Frank Sinatra, Manhattan Transfer, The Platters, and Bee Gees, among others. Unlike the higher level of interaction that the members of PEACH APPLE TREE had with the audience when performing at the Mezzanine Lounge, they limited their role to the performing of music at the Neptune in order not to distract customers from their meal (interview, Gonzaga, 13 Jan 2004).

90% of the audience at the Brass Rail, the lounge at the lobby of the Miramar Hotel in Singapore, were locals who were forty years of age or older. Many of them were regulars who had tables reserved for them on Friday and Saturday evenings. The audience here sang along and danced with the singers or among themselves. RETRO, the band performing there, comprised three female vocalists and a male keyboardist. According to Tess Domatican, the leader of the band and the aunt of the other two vocalists, local songs were very popular here. These local songs were in various Chinese dialects like Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hokkien. Asked how they learned these songs since none of the members spoke Chinese, Tess Domatican explained that they tried to

mimic the lyrics by repeatedly listening to the recordings. Although Chinese songs are important in the repertoire at the Brass Rail, local bands more proficient in the language are still not hired. Filipino bands confer status on a hotel. All the high-class hotels in Singapore have Filipino bands. For the management of Miramar Hotel, having a Filipino band that could sing in a variety of languages and build rapport with their customers was more important than having a band that could sing well in Chinese (interview, Domatican, 14 Jan 2004).

Ong proposes that overseas Chinese, those based in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, practice an alternate modernity, one that is based on Chinese sensibility, kinship and business links (Ong 1999:65-68). This alternate modernity or “Asian modernity” is based on the economic success and political stability of the region. Asian modernity takes into account the development at the regional level rather than measuring itself solely on the developmental model set by western modernity (Ong 1999:23). When this is applied to music, Hong Kong and Taiwan appear to be the alternative centers of popular music for the Chinese, not only in Asia but in Europe and USA as well. In fact, Hong Kong and Taiwan are the cultural centers that set fashion trends, and export music, films and other mass media such as fashion and entertainment magazines and television programs. These countries, home to movie stars and pop idols, have been monopolizing the Chinese entertainment industry worldwide for the last forty years. Since the late 1980s, China has also come to the forefront of this industry. The Chinese entertainment industry has provided a means for the Chinese worldwide to build linkages. Images of Hong Kong, Taiwan and China fuel their global and diasporic imagination and give the Chinese consumers of these products worldwide a sense of ‘community’ through the

following of trends set by these cultural centers. Even the Chinese who have not ventured from their homeland know what trends are current just by their exposure to the mass media. In recent years, China has also become a popular holiday destination for many Southeast Asian Chinese. Chinese from Taiwan and Southeast Asia also travel regularly to China for business. Many have set up businesses in China to take advantage of the cheap labor and other investment benefits there. These tourists and business people include many Singaporeans. The participation in the performance of Filipino bands in classy hotels is another facet of the engagement of Singaporean with the global and with their Chinese-ness. Their familiarity with Chinese and English pop songs, to the extent of being able to make requests, their continued exposure to music from the West and from Asia performed by transnational Filipino bands, and their presence at international hotels among other foreigners all reflect how un-localized these locals are.

Seeing Their Culture as Multiple or Multicultural in Malaysia

Malaysia is a multicultural country. The three main ethnic groups in Malaysia are the Malays or *Bumiputera* (Sons of the Soil), Chinese and Indians. The emphasis on *muhibah*, or unity despite diversity, cultivated in schools and through the mass media has resulted in Malaysians possessing an understanding of the cultures of the different ethnic groups that make up their society. Therefore, Malaysians see Malaysian culture as multiple, rather than a blend of many cultures that results in the blurring of any distinctiveness. In line with this spirit of *muhibah*, the Malaysian mass media attempts to cater to the entertainment needs of the different ethnic groups. Government-owned

stations, TV1 and TV2, and privately owned TV3 and NTV7 broadcast films, television programs and the news in English, Malay, Mandarin, Cantonese, Hindi and Tamil, which are not only viewed by the respective ethnic groups but by the other ethnic groups as well. In addition, Malaysians have also been exposed to the music of the different ethnic groups that make up their society. Malaysian singers, singing in Malay, Chinese and Tamil for example, are often featured on television and radio. The traditional music of the different ethnic groups are also used in advertisements and entertainment programs produced in conjunction with the different cultural festivals of these groups. Malaysians, however, are generally more familiar with Mandarin, Cantonese, Tamil and Hindi songs from abroad than locally recorded ones because of the amount of publicity and air time these songs receive. There is limited interest among local artists to record Chinese and Indian songs in Malaysia because of the relatively small market, as well as the inability of local recordings to compete with imported ones in terms of quality. On the other hand, local singers have found more success recording in Malay. Singers like Sheila Majid, Ning Baizura, Siti Nurhaliza, Fransisca Peters, Alleycats and Zainal Abidin receive media attention in local newspaper and magazines, and have their music featured on television and radio, thereby enabling them to generate a market for their recordings. Furthermore, there is less competition from abroad for recordings in Malay.

Anglo-American pop music has had a strong influence on Malaysians since the early twentieth century and has resulted in many Malaysian musicians producing local versions of “punk fusion, reggae, jazz, disco, synthpop (synthesizer-bass pop), new wave, heavy metal and other contemporary western style” both in Malay and English. “Kuala Lumpur remains a center for American and British music with well stocked record stores

offering good selections of rock, pop, jazz, country and western, even punk and new wave” (Lockard 1998: 242-243). Kuala Lumpur for example has a Tower Records store that is well stocked with music from around the world, with a substantial inventory dedicated to music of the Anglo-American mainstream and pop music from India, Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. There are also many Malaysian impersonators of American and British pop stars. Competitions for impersonators are often held in local pubs and nightclubs. With Malaysians so attracted to singers and music from USA and Britain, it is no surprise that they should find the performance of Filipino bands appealing.

The culture of Malaysians not only encompasses the cultures of the various ethnic groups in the country, but it also incorporates Anglo-American, Taiwanese, Hong Kong and Bollywood cultures.² As a former British colony until the mid 1950s, urban Malaysians are comfortable with the English language and Western culture, including Western music. Exposure to the mass media as well as opportunities to travel abroad either for holidays, work, or for further education has further provided educated urban Malaysians with a broader outlook. In the remainder of this section, I will be discussing how this multiplicity in urban Malaysians’ cultural orientation influences their musical demands, and why Filipino rather than Malaysian musicians best meet these demands.

While ethnicity and religion to some extent segment Malaysian society, income level and education segregate Malaysians into audiences and non-audiences of Filipino bands. Frequenting high-class establishments seems to be growing in popularity among the urban Malaysian upper middle-class. High-class hotels used to be the preserve of foreigners and the upper class, who could afford to patronize such establishments.³

However, the standard of living improved for a great proportion of Malaysians since the

late 1970s due to the boom in the economy that resulted from the entry of foreign investors into the country. Foreign companies like Bosch, Intel, Motorola, National, and Sony set up factories in free trade zones in Shah Alam in Selangor and Bayan Lepas in Penang. Malaysians were employed in these factories. A need for skilled labor in these factories led to many more Malaysians opting to pursue higher education at universities within the country and abroad. With the rise in the standard of living and level of education, the middle class are now able to encroach on a space formerly reserved for foreigners and the upper class. Today, upper middle-class Malaysians can be seen frequenting five-star hotels for meals with their families, to listen to live entertainment in the beverage outlets, and to spend a few nights in the lap of luxury.

A large proportion of the local audience of Filipino bands in Malaysia are over forty years of age. They compose the upper middle class, many of whom attended schools at the time when English was still the medium of instruction.⁴ Hence, they are fluent in English and can understand the songs sung by the Filipino bands. They consider American and British pop songs from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s to be the music they grew up with, and therefore approach these ‘oldies’ with feelings of nostalgia. Malaysian themselves perform these ‘oldies’ at karaoke sessions in clubs and private homes. Middle-aged Malaysians also enjoy singing these songs from their youth at social gathering such as parties and wedding receptions. To cater to these nostalgic sentiments, local radio stations like Radio 4 have programs dedicated to the “oldies but goodies.”

Malaysians living in urban areas in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s had a very Western orientation to music. The majority of urban Malaysians, particularly prior to the 1970s, comprised the Chinese whose families ran businesses in these urban areas. There

were fewer Malays and Indians at that time as most of them were involved in the agricultural sectors in the rural areas. The urban Malaysians who attended schools run by the missionaries, who based their curriculum on that of the British, had the opportunity to participate in orchestras and marching bands that played a predominantly Western repertoire. Until the establishment of Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) in the 1960s, most of the mass media was dominated by imported music from Europe and the USA. Those who lived in urban areas had radios where they could listen to Western popular and classical music. The Redifussion or cable radio was another important source of music for urban Malaysians. Singers such as Bing Crosby, Elvis Presley, Tom Jones, Neil Sedaka, Cliff Richard, Doris Day and Connie Francis became musical icons for these Malaysians. Local and imported magazines and newspaper also featured write-ups and pictures of the singers, so Malaysians could put faces to the voices they heard on the radio. Furthermore, the elites acquired gramophones for the purpose of playing recordings of this music. These “English-educated” Malaysians also frequented dance halls, cabarets and nightclubs where live bands played dance music such as samba, twist, waltz, cha-cha and rock-n-roll. In the 1970s, discos took over as locations for Western dance and music. Movies were another source of Western popular music for Malaysians. Shows like “Blue Hawaii” and “Summer Holidays” not only introduced popular music from Britain and USA to Malaysians, but also the lifestyle of youth in these countries. The introduction of television in the 1970s further opened up avenues for entertainment programs from Britain and USA. Hence, older English-educated Malaysians are generally more familiar with Anglo-American songs than local ones.

While this is only a brief account of the development of Western popular music in Malaysia since the 1950s, it demonstrates that Western popular music has been a part of the lives of Malaysians, particularly those in the urban areas, for decades. They have come to internalize this music as their own. In fact, many Malaysians in the urban areas who were educated in English schools did not have much exposure to local musical traditions. This was because these local traditions flourished in rural areas or in urban areas among the poor, places where English-educated Malaysians had little contact. These local traditions, however, appealed to those who were educated in Malay, Chinese or Tamil schools.

Members of the Malaysian upper middle-class go to hotels to listen to live performances of the music of their youth, sung by Filipino singers imitating the performers that these Malaysians used to idolize. For example, “Please, Mr. Postman” was originally released in 1961 by The Marvelettes. However, the Malaysian audiences know it better as a song released by The Carpenters in 1974. It is important that Filipino singers perform that specific version of the song in order to appeal to their Malaysian audience. Hence, it is common to hear Filipino bands announce that song as “The Carpenters’ Mr. Postman.” It is highly likely that the Malaysian audience do not know much about the composers or original singers of these songs. Nevertheless, they do know which pop singer made a song a hit in Asia, and it is that version that is requested and performed.

Likewise, many of the customers at beach resorts in Penang enjoy the ‘oldies.’ At the Rasa Sayang Resort, an upscale hotel belonging to the Shangri-La group, for example, the majority of the audience of Filipino bands comprises middle-aged locals

and Europeans (interview, Charles, 23 Jun 2001). Many of these older Europeans spend their winter sojourn at this hotel every year and have been given VIP status by the management for their customer loyalty. Unlike the in-house guests of the hotel, Penang residents drive over forty minutes from the city to get to the hotel which is located on the tourist belt of Batu Feringghi (see Figure 4.1). Most go to that area to dine at the



Figure 4.1 – Map of Penang

expensive restaurants located there before heading to the hotels for drinks and entertainment. According to Melanie Santos and Delsarpe Cortez, two Filipino

musicians performing at this hotel, many of the locals were regulars who were familiar with a substantial number of Anglo-American pop songs from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Some of them even sang along when their requests were performed. Santos often impressed her audience by showing them that she was familiar with several different versions of the ‘oldies’ that had been recorded by different artists. This is because “the standards are the first things you learn when you become a professional singer.”

According to Santos, the food and beverage director of the hotel who was in charge of hiring the band informed them that the ‘oldies’ would be popular at the hotel lobby’s lounge because of the age group and nationalities of the clientele. But from her experience of performing in various countries in Asia like Singapore, Japan, Indonesia, Taiwan and Malaysia, Santos had learned that the Anglo-American ‘oldies’ are appreciated everywhere (interview, Santos and Cortez, 21 Jun 2001).

The performing of Anglo-American ‘oldies’ by Filipino bands is not restricted to five-star hotels with a mix of local and European middle-aged customers. The repertoire of Filipino bands performing in hotels that cater predominantly to a local clientele also show a dominance of the Anglo-American ‘oldies.’ The majority of the customers at the Lobby Lounge of The City Bayview Hotel in Georgetown are Malaysians (see Figure 4.1). Unlike resort hotels, many of the customers at the lounge of this business hotel are there to do business entertaining, or to have a drink after work since this hotel is located in the downtown area. The locals at this lounge are mostly middle-age. Younger Penang residents prefer to go to ‘hipper’ clubs nearby like Slippery Senorita and Bristol where they can dance to the latest tunes played by DJs. Most of the songs performed by Filipino bands like GLITTER and STAR FRIENDS at The City Bayview Hotel’s lobby

lounge were songs from the 1970s and 1980s like “Black Magic Woman” by Carlos Santana, “Tonight I Celebrate My Love For You” by Peabo Bryson and Roberta Flack, and Paula Abdul’s “Strait Up.”

The local audiences of Filipino bands in Penang and Kuala Lumpur have similar musical tastes. Malaysia is a small country where these audiences are influenced by the same mass media products. The ‘locals,’ that made up two-thirds of the audience of 2 BY 2 at the Crossroads Lounge in Concorde Hotel comprised the Kuala Lumpur elite – *datuks* and *datins*, politicians, royalty, the young upwardly mobile professionals (yuppies) and the upper middle class. They were over thirty years of age, and consisted of a mix of Malays, Chinese and Indians. 2 BY 2 usually began their performance with fast-paced music to liven up the atmosphere at the lounge in the earlier part of the evening as customers began dribbling in. Most of the customers at that time were foreigners, possibly in-house guests of the hotel. Business usually picked up during the second set as more ‘locals’ joined the crowd. From that point on, 2 BY 2 would play one request after another. Andrew Granado told me that they often received so many requests from their audience that sometimes they were unable to accommodate all of them. The bulk of the songs requested are Anglo-American hits from the 50s to the 90s – those by The Beatles, Bee Gee, Kenny Rogers, Dolly Parton, Nat King Cole, Andy Williams, Mariah Carey, Whitney Houston and Louis Armstrong. Songs like “What A Wonderful World,” “Yesterday,” “When I Fall in Love,” “Can’t Take My Eyes off You,” and “My Way” are evergreens that continue to be requested thirty years or more after their release. The memorable melodies and romantic lyrics continue to appeal to listeners. The ability of Filipino singers to mimic the voice of the original singers further reinforces this walk

down memory lane for the audience of these bands. While many Malaysian bands are able to sing the Anglo-American ‘oldies,’ their inability to mimic or, more precisely, erase their Malaysian accent makes their rendition less authentic to their audiences.

Despite the examples given above, the audiences of Filipino bands in hotels in Malaysia do not exclusively comprise middle-aged customers. The performance of Filipino bands in hotels and clubs has becoming increasingly appealing to younger Malaysians, those in their twenties and early thirties. For them, it is less a trip down memory lane than a chance to hear their favorite songs performed live by musicians capable of singing and dancing like the original artists. Furthermore, they are attracted to the entertaining nature of the whole performance – the active interaction between musicians and audience, the humor displayed by the musicians and the general atmosphere of friendliness that exists within that space.

In order to replicate music videos, Filipino musicians not only mimic the voice of the singers but also reproduce the dances on these videos. Some musicians also use props, costumes and wigs to further enhance their impersonations. Sisters, Yec and Alex Pomposo of VENTURE, imitate the hand gestures of Mariah Carey, the head movement of Alicia Keys, and the body piercing of Christina Aguilera because their guests want “live singers” of the sort they have seen on MTV. The emergence of music videos on MTV have placed on Filipino musicians the added burden of not only sounding exactly like well known artists, but also looking and moving like them. While some pre-MTV musicians like Elvis Presley, Cliff Richard and The Beatles were featured on films that gave their fans in Asia a visual representation of these artists, the MTV explosion has made it possible for every artist on the charts to show their fans how they dress, dance,

move and gesticulate, besides displaying their singing abilities. Artists now have a means to make statements, start fashion trends and show off their dancing, all within a music video that can reach millions of viewers across the globe.

Younger Malaysians are usually well-versed in the latest rock and pop music through their exposure to the radio, internet and MTV. In Malaysia for example, there are three major English stations that broadcast nationally. Hitz FM specializes in broadcasting contemporary rock and pop music, Mix FM features a mix of the 'oldies' and current hits, while Light And Easy plays mostly ballads. Almost all of the songs aired on these stations are from the Anglo-American mainstream, with the same Top 40 hits sometimes being played several times a day, particularly during "drive time" in the mornings and evenings. This is because program producers and radio disc-jockeys refer to British and American music charts in addition to the listeners' requests when lining-up their play list (interview, Veeriah, 14 May 2005). These radio stations also maintain web sites where listeners can log on to vote for their favorite songs, get the lyrics of hit songs from well maintained 'lyric banks,' inquire about songs being aired, or to obtain the play list of the "most frequently played" songs of a particular week. Listeners can also send text messages containing specific codes in order to obtain the same information, participate in competitions aired by these stations or vote on songs. In addition to scouring the web sites of local radio stations, many of these Malaysians also refer to the internet for the latest hits. Sites like Kazza, for example, provide an avenue for downloading music. In addition, the MTV channel on Astro, the satellite provider serving Malaysians, gives visual and aural cues to the latest music in Malaysia and abroad. Astro is also the source for Filipino movies and their accompanying songs for

Malaysians. Despite not understanding the Tagalog language, Malaysians request songs from these movies from Filipino bands after viewing these films.

The performance of the 'oldies' however is not foreign to the younger generation of Malaysians. The revival of such songs through movies and re-releases by younger singers and bands can account for the return in popularity of some songs from the 1950s or 1960s. Take for example, the Bee Gee's hit, "Words," that was re-released by the British boy band, Boyzone, in 1996, or "When I Fall in Love" originally sung by Nat King Cole in the 1950s, but re-recorded by Celine Dion and Clive Griffin for the movie "Sleepless in Seattle" in 1993. Some movies do not re-record these songs using new singers. The movie "My Girl" uses the original recording of the song "My Girl" by The Temptations that was released in 1965, while The Righteous Brothers' version of "Unchained Melody" recorded in 1965 is used for the movie "Ghosts." As a result, these songs now hold new meaning for their younger listeners. Some Filipino bands also give a new twist to these 'oldies.' Dairy Cornelio and Cheri Avila, for instance, performed a rap version of the Neil Sedaka 'oldie,' "Oh Carol."

Although Anglo-American pop songs feature prominently in the repertoire of Filipino bands performing in Asia, Asian songs have an equally important part in their repertoire. Malaysian audiences "enjoy challenging" Filipino bands with local songs that are sung in various languages and dialects (interview, Argao, 4 Dec 2003). In Malaysia, most Malaysians are bilingual, many even tri-lingual. Both *Bahasa Malaysia* [Malay language] and English are the official languages taught in schools in Malaysia. In addition to these two languages, Mandarin and Tamil are taught at the elementary school level in Chinese and Tamil-medium elementary schools. Furthermore, Chinese dialects

such as Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew and Hokkien are spoken among Chinese families, while Malayalam or Hindi are spoken in families of Indian descent. In Penang, the Chinese audience might request a Hokkien song. *Bumiputeras* such as the Ibans of Sarawak or Kadazans of Sabah also have their own languages. Delsarpe Cortez recalled having to sing songs in the Iban language when performing in Sarawak. Malaysian audiences of Filipino bands request Indian songs either from the southern region where Tamil is spoken or from the northern region where Hindi is mostly used. They also request songs in Cantonese popularized by local or Hong Kong singers, and in Mandarin which is the language most singers from Taiwan and China use for singing. Some audience members even request songs in Thai, as one or two songs from Thailand, Malaysia's neighbor, like "*Sabai Sabai*" [Relax or Take It Easy], are also popular in Malaysia. Furthermore, there are also Malaysians who appreciate Tagalog 'oldies' like "*Anak*" [Child] and "*Dahil Saiyo*" [Because of You], as well as more recent hits like "*Bakit Ngayon Ka Lang Dumating*" [Why Only Now Do You Arrive].⁵ The emphasis placed by the government on projecting one's cultural identity, the television, radio and satellite TV programming that cater to the different ethnic groups, and the relatively small population of the country make it possible for Malaysians to combine several worlds – Malaysian, Asian, and global Western worlds.

What makes the Malaysian audiences of Filipino bands unique is the level of diversity in their musical demands. Unlike local audiences in other parts of Asia who predominantly request Anglo-American pop songs and local hits, audiences in Malaysia require Filipino bands to sing in various local languages and dialects, and to know Anglo-American and local pop songs as well as hit songs from India, East Asia and Southeast

Asia. Filipino bands are in demand in Malaysia because they are more capable of meeting these musical demands than most local bands that usually are able to sing songs only in one or two languages. Despite the diversity of culture served up by the Malaysian mass media, Malaysian band musicians have not reached the level where they pose a threat to Filipino bands when it comes to offering a multicultural repertoire of the sort demanded by Malaysian audiences at high class hotels.

Engaging with the Global Through Music in Shanghai and Nanjing

Shanghai, China

I disembarked at the South Huangpi Road metro station in Shanghai one afternoon in October 2004, crossed over busy Huaihai Zhong Lu, and headed south towards Xin Tian Di, which was a five minute walk away. Xin Tian Di is a fashionable shopping, dining and entertainment area in Shanghai. Much of the *shikuman*, residential tenements of the 1900s, have been refurbished and now house chic upscale cafés, restaurants, shops, nightclubs and salons.⁶ Starbucks Coffee is located at the entrance of Xin Tian Di. The images of this beverage outlet are often featured on postcards and websites pertaining to Xin Tian Di (see Figure 4.2). It is ironic that this foreign image of capitalism should be used to represent Xin Tian Di, since this is also the site where the Communist Party of China was first established and where the first Communist Party Hall, now a museum, still stands. In another postcard of Xin Tian Di, the Italian restaurant, Va Bene, is featured prominently in the foreground (see Figure 4.3). A postcard of Hengshan Road, on the other hand, shows the frontage of the American-chain

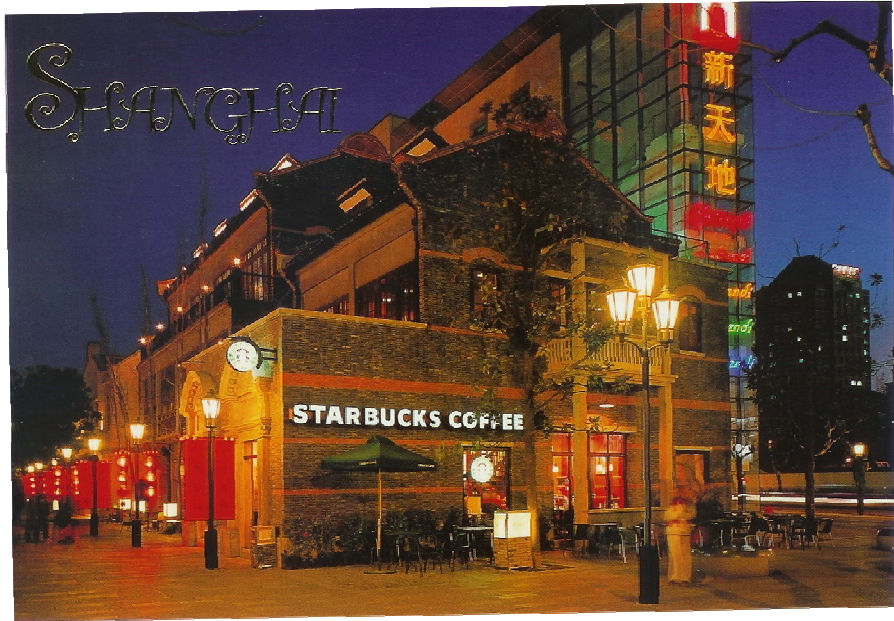


Figure 4.2 – Starbucks at Xin Tian Di (postcard)

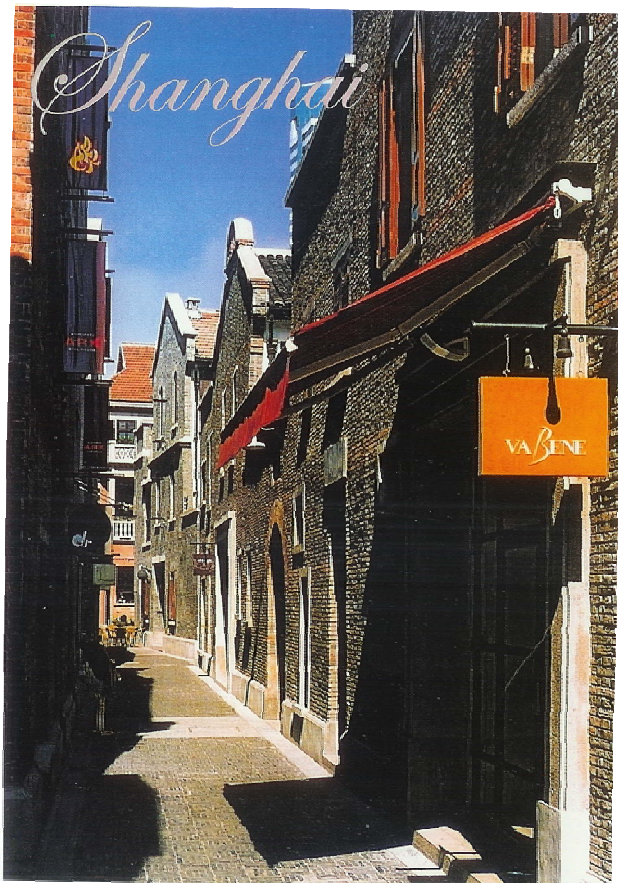


Figure 4.3 – Va Bene at Xin Tian Di (postcard)

restaurant, Thank God It's Friday (TGIF), with its sidewalk umbrellas advertising Budweiser beer (see Figure 4.4).

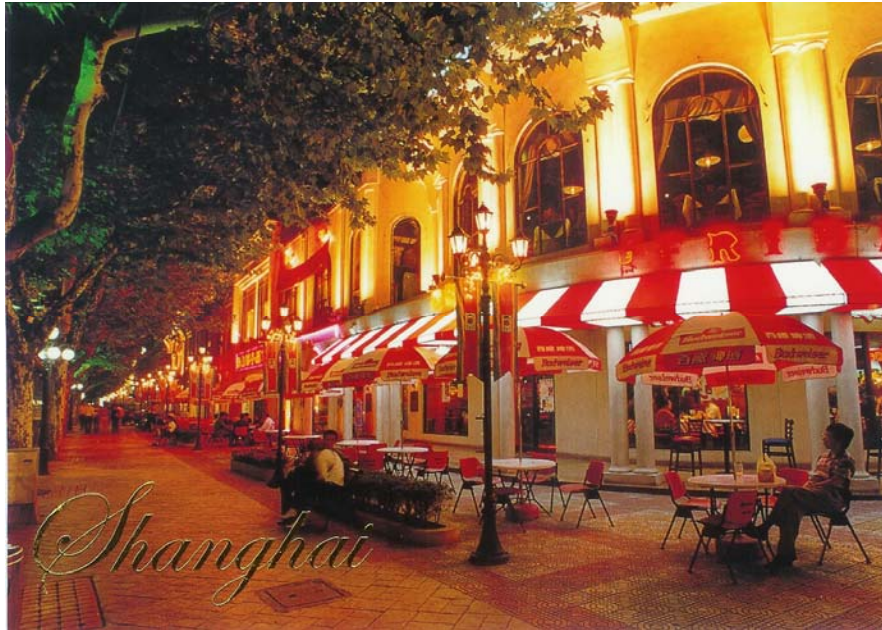


Figure 4.4 – TGIF restaurant at Hengshan Road (postcard)

Shanghai was the most international city in Asia in the early 1900s, with the reputation of being the “Paris of Asia.” China’s loss in the Opium War (1839-1842), which resulted in the Treaty of Nanking, was the first of many treaties that forced China to concede territory to the Europeans, Americans and Russians (Fairbank 1992:198-205). The commercial buildings of The Bund, a strip of land on the west bank of the Hungpu River, bear testimony to this foreign encroachment (see Figure 4.5). This foreign influence also extended beyond food and commerce to include entertainment and music. Andrew Jones (2001) presents a list of the wide variety of musics that might have emanated from the wireless radios in Shanghai circa 1937 that included “the lilt of Hawaiian steel guitars,” “the propulsive swing of big band jazz” and “symphony

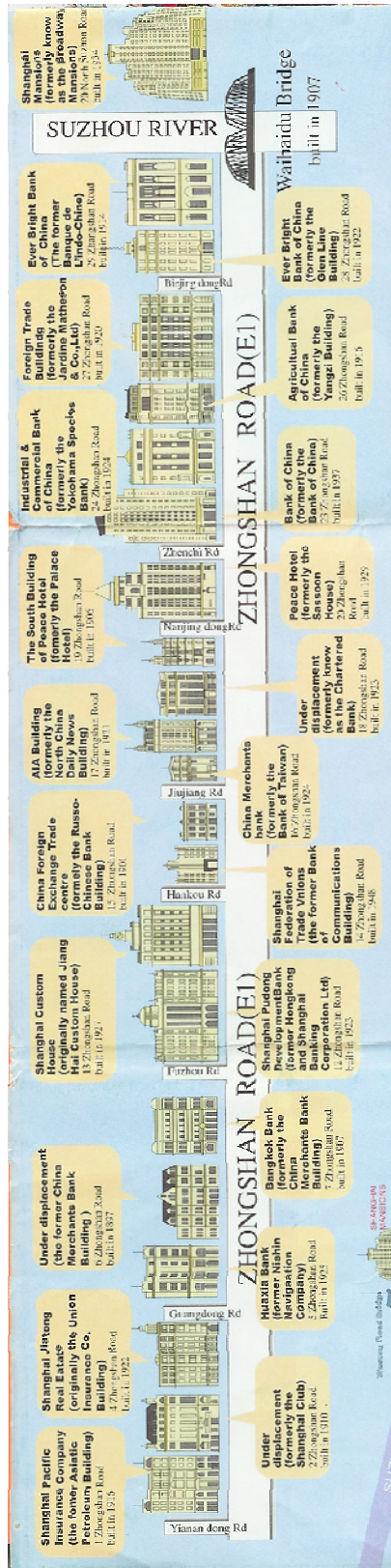


Figure 4.5 – The Bund (tourist map of Shanghai)

orchestras” (Jones 2001:21-22). Today, a pianist sits at the lobby of the South Block of Xin Tian Di playing light classics like Beethoven’s “Für Elise” and Chopin’s “Nocturne in E flat,” the music of French pianist Richard Clayderman, and some famous movie theme songs like “My Heart Will Go On” from the movie “Titanic.” Salsa, jazz, French cabaret and mainstream pop music can be heard coming from the various Italian, French, Cuban, German and American clubs and restaurants that have mushroomed in the former *shikuman*. Outside in the courtyard, craft stalls sell Chinese handicraft from pottery to dolls to silk items. The vendors of these stalls are dressed in traditional Chinese outfits that further emphasize the Chinese-ness of their wares. According to the project’s architect, Benjamin Wood, Xin Tian Di was conceptualized as a place where East and West meet, a tribute to the glory of Shanghai in the 1930s, and where “people can eat, drink and enjoy themselves” (Gluckman 2003). While the engagement of the people of Shanghai with the West is nothing new, what is more jarring about Shanghai is the degree to which the city is willing to efface the old and forego heritage in favor of the new. Throughout the city, old buildings, some of historical significance, are abolished and ultra-modern structures put up in their place.⁷ Postcards of Shanghai that feature the high technology area of Xujiahui (see Figure 4.6) and the skyscrapers in Pudong (see Figures 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9) reveal the Chinese efforts to modernize, and to show the rest of the world, via postcards, documentaries, and visits from foreign dignitaries and investors, that China is indeed up to the task of handling commerce, industry and even sports, such as the 2008 Olympic Games, at the international level. Rather than exhibit differences, these postcards show off the similarity of Shanghai to other major cities in the world.⁸



Figure 4.6 – Xujiahui (postcard)



Figure 4.7 – Jinmao Tower in Pudong (postcard)

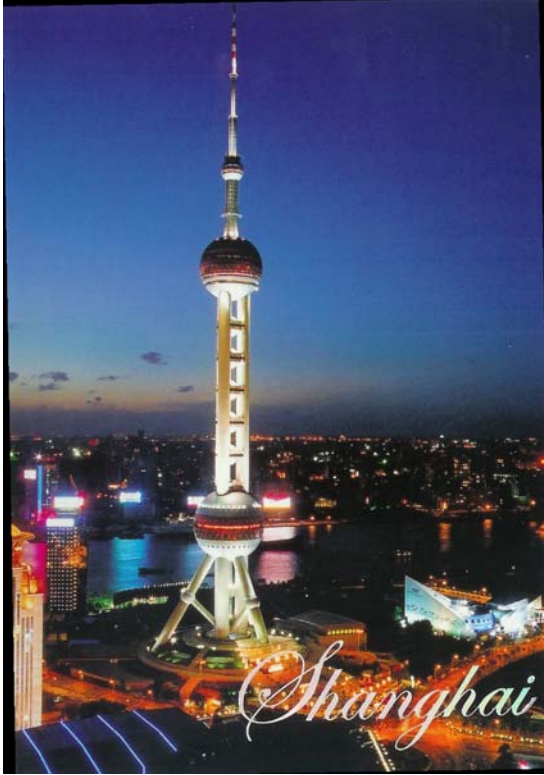


Figure 4.8 – Oriental Pearl Tower in Pudong (postcard)

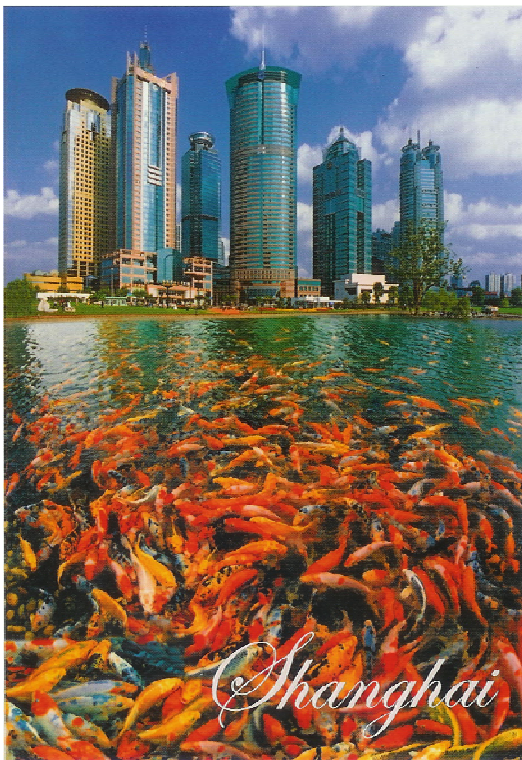


Figure 4.9 – Skyscrapers in Lujiazui, Pudong (postcard)

This contrasts sharply with postcards from most other places including Malaysia that usually highlight the historical, unique or exotic. The enticement directed at urban Chinese to consume modern Western products is observable in the many billboards that feature high technology products in the hands of Caucasian models. It is reflected in the rows of shops on Nanjing Road and along the Bund that sell luxury goods by Prada, Louis Vuitton, Cartier and Armani, for which the local Chinese are the biggest purchasers.⁹ Many fake bags, shoes and clothing bearing the same brands can be found at the Shengyang Market in Shanghai. World renown performers, like The Backstreet Boys, Mariah Carey, Jose Carreras and Andrea Bocelli, give concerts on a fairly regular basis in Shanghai for locals who do not understand English yet still spend about RMB800 (US\$100) to attend. Local entertainment programs on television feature a singer performing in the strained voice of Chinese style music juxtaposed with a cellist playing Western art music, a pop musician singing a song entirely in Mandarin with the exception of one line “Be there or be square,” and a traditional Chinese orchestra playing Dave Brubeck’s “Take Five.” It would appear that some Chinese equate modern-ness with Western-ness and perceive the consumption of these goods to confer status. However, it might also be a matter of assimilating everything that is new, without concern for the origins of these cultural objects, in their quest to be global. While I am in no position to evaluate the consumer culture of urban Chinese, I am able to draw some conclusions regarding their consumption of mainstream popular music, particularly music of Anglo-American origin performed by Filipino bands.

Although there is a large population of foreigners in Shanghai comprising tourists, business travelers and expatriates, the majority who patronize the hip clubs and

restaurants in Xin Tian Di, Hengshan Road, Lujiazui and other areas throughout the city are locals. Many of these clubs and restaurants hire Filipinos and other foreign bands that play predominantly Western popular music. The demand for Filipino bands in China is not only limited to the more cosmopolitan city of Shanghai. John Chacko Holdings Private Limited, for example, also sends its Filipino and other foreign bands to Nanjing, Beijing, Tianjing, Qingdao, Dalian, Shenzhen, Chengdu, Guilin, Guiyang, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Guangzhou, Lanzhou, Huhot, Jiangyin and Shenyang (interview, Chacko, 20 Aug 2004). The rise in popularity of Western and East Asian pop music in China seems phenomenal when taking into consideration the fact that China had closed its doors in 1949 and did not allow any foreign music to penetrate until the mid 1970s. Tim Brace, Joanna Lee and Cynthia Wong (2002) describe how “popular music from the west, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan at first seeped, then poured into China’s urban areas, especially Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.” Many of these were love songs such as those by Teresa Teng that quickly gained popularity among the Chinese.¹⁰ Western rock music was introduced by foreign university students and expatriates living in China (Brace, Lee and Wong 2002: 358-360). Peng LiPing, a professor at the East China Normal University, also recalled that English language teachers from USA and Britain brought Western pop music and introduced it to their Chinese students in the early 1980s (interview, Peng, 10 Oct 2004). By the 1990s, mainstream pop music had achieved a strong hold in major cities in China. Cantopop from Hong Kong, Taiwanese pop and Anglo-American mainstream pop were disseminated through audio and video recordings, radio and through karaoke bars that tended to offer more ‘oldies’ than the latest hits. Lovering notes that China was the biggest market for vinyl records up to the 1990s

(Lovering 1998: 38). He adds that China is among the largest markets for recordings in Asia (Lovering 1998: 42). China is also among the biggest importers of Filipino bands in Asia. Of the John Chacko Holdings Private Limited's one-hundred-and-ten bands, sixty-five of them were performing in China in November 2004. Despite being cut off from foreign music for nearly thirty years during the closed period of Communist rule, the Chinese have quickly caught up with international music trends. Hence, I explore the reasons behind the attraction of the Chinese to mainstream popular music, both from Asia and the West, and to find out if their embrace of this music is, like skyscrapers in Shanghai, yet another way the Chinese display their engagement with modernity.

Filipino bands have been performing in China since the early 1990s. They initially performed in international hotels in Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou. They were hired by the senior executives of these international hotels in China who knew of the entertaining abilities of these Filipinos, having seen these musicians perform on previous occasions in other hotels in Asia. Some of the earliest hotels in Shanghai to have Filipino bands are JC Mandarin, Holiday Inn CP, Hilton, and The Top Ten Club in The Portman Ritz-Carlton. These hotels catered to business travelers and company executives who often spent their non-working hours at the hotel. Therefore, entertainment by English-speaking musicians was essential for this client base (interview, Chacko, 12 Jun 2005). Although Filipino musicians initially performed in international hotels, they have expanded their venues of employment to include clubs, restaurants and Chinese-owned hotels throughout China. Filipino musicians have had a long association with Shanghai that dates back to the 1920s and 1930s. In 1948, there were 3,000 Filipinos living in Shanghai, the majority employed as entertainers (Go Bon Juan 2004).

In China, clubs and restaurants contribute a big percentage of employment for Filipino entertainers. This contrasts with other parts of Asia where hotels form the bulk of employers. Major clubs in Shanghai often are able to pay their musicians a higher salary than the hotels (interview, Dimaano, 2 Oct 2004). Even clubs in rather remote cities like Lanzhou have Filipino bands although they cater to a predominantly local, non English-speaking clientele. Greg Antonio of HEATWAVE recalled the time his band performed at How Nice, a Brazilian barbecue restaurant in the desert city of Lanzhou, which serves as the capital of Gansu province in Central China. The all-local audience was attracted to the restaurant because they found the foreign band, new restaurant and new food exotic (interview, Antonio, 5 Oct 2004). Dante Silva added that Filipino bands usually became the “talk of the town” when they performed in smaller cities in China (interview, Silva, 12 Oct 2004). The TK2 restaurant in Gubei, a suburb of Shanghai, had a five-piece Filipino band called STEPPING STONES that performed during the dinner hours between 6:30pm and 9:15pm. The local and Taiwanese customers at this restaurant appreciate Chinese songs. But since their role was to provide music to accompany dining, the band usually played at a low volume. In fact, lead singer Arlene Caliang, repeatedly informed their audience that the band would be singing “slower and softer music.” Considering their background role, one wonders why the owner of TK2 did not just use piped-in music since interaction between the audience and the musicians was minimal.

Filipino bands are in demand in cities throughout Asia because having a foreign band that plays an international repertoire confers status on the business establishment. “Filipino bands are equated with high-class bands in China” (interview, Aguilar, 6 Oct

2004). Restaurants opt for live band over piped-in music despite the secondary role played by their musicians because all the best restaurants and clubs in China have a live band. Clubs and restaurants throughout China take their entertainment cues from what is being offered in Shanghai, the center of China's economic development. They go to Shanghai to copy the establishments there and since many of the upscale entertainment and food-and-beverage outlets in Shanghai have Filipino bands, these entrepreneurs from other cities follow suit (interview, Chacko, 2 Nov 2004). There is little competition from the local bands because most are unable to sing in English or offer as extensive a repertoire as the Filipinos. Furthermore, the reputation of Filipinos as transnational entertainers in Asia gives them an upper hand. Entrepreneurs in China want to capitalize on their international-ness. Shanghai, in particular, has a very multinational population, and businesses there try to cater to the entertainment needs of these diverse clientele. However, more than 70% of the audience of Filipino bands in China are locals. Many are business people or those working in big Chinese and multinational corporations, who make up the upper middle and higher classes. This differs from the 1920s and 1930s in Shanghai when hotels, expensive clubs and restaurants were the preserve of foreigners and a very small number of Chinese elites who could mingle with these foreigners and dance to the music of the big bands. The lavish buildings on the Bund, as well as the entertainment and lifestyle of the foreigners, was beyond the reach of most Chinese at that time and served to widen the divide between the locals and the foreigners who lived in the concessions (Lee).

The Anglo-American 'oldies' feature prominently in the repertoire of Filipino bands in China. According to Jackson Gan, the music division head of J.S. Contractor

Inc., a Filipino employment agency that deploys Filipino bands throughout Asia, the Chinese are still attracted to “early rock n’ roll music, Petula Clark, Burt Bacharach, evergreens ... “Yesterday,” “Unchained Melody,” “I Can’t Stop Loving You” as well as Sinatra’s “My Way.”” He compares this to the Philippines where such songs are not performed except in clubs that specialize in the ‘oldies’ because the Filipino audience only wants to listen to the Top 40 hits from live bands (Bowe 2005). Some of the other ‘oldies’ from the 1960s and earlier that continue to be requested in China are “Moon River” (Andy Williams),¹¹ “Love Me Tender” (Elvis Presley), “Banana Boat Song” (Harry Belafonte), “Can’t Take My Eyes Off You” (Andy Williams), “Yesterday Once More” (The Carpenters), “Oh Carol” (Neil Sedaka) and “Diana” (Paul Anka). Hits from the 1970s and 1980s are equally, if not more popular, among the audience members of Filipino bands in China. At one particular performance of 2ND DEGREE at Swing Café, a club in Gubei, the singers dedicated an entire opening set to songs from this period such as “Tonight I Celebrate My Love For You” (Peabo Bryson and Roberta Flack), “You Decorated My Life” (Kenny Rogers), “What If God Was One Of Us” (Joan Osbourne), “Isn’t She Lovely” (Stevie Wonder) and “I Love The Nightlife” (Alicia Bridges). “I Will Survive” by Gloria Gaynor, “I Just Called To Say I Love You” by Stevie Wonder and John Denver’s “Take Me Home, Country Roads” are also songs from this period that are frequently requested. It may seem unusual that Anglo-American pop songs from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s should be among the most popular foreign songs in China since these songs were released during China’s closed period. However, one important source of musical exposure of the Chinese middle and upper classes at present is karaoke. These songs of the 1950s to the 1970s are among the most popular karaoke hits, not just in

China, but in other countries as well such as Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. The Chinese experience the 'oldies' in the present, not as new songs per se, but as new sonic experiences that were previously not available to them in China. Furthermore, the inability of the majority of the Chinese audiences to understand English renders the lyrics of these 'oldies' and their nostalgic contexts irrelevant to them. The Filipino musicians I interviewed in Shanghai and Nanjing were all in agreement that the most popular 'oldies' there at that time were "Sha La La," a Shirelles' song from the 1960s,¹² the Eagles' 1976 hit "Hotel California" and Bertie Higgins' romantic hit "Casablanca" released in 1982. Their disregard of the different decades from which these songs hail shows that the Chinese audience have little or no awareness of the history of these songs.

When they compared the musical taste of Chinese audiences in Shanghai and Nanjing with those of local audiences in other countries in Asia where they have performed, many Filipino musicians considered the Chinese to be "behind" in their musical taste (interview, Luna, 2 Oct 2004) and "very late to the music" (interview, Alberto, 4 Oct 2004). Some Filipino musicians like Jun Aguilar and Jun Dimaano believe that Filipino musicians help introduce new music to the Chinese audience. By "educating them [their audience] in the new songs," these musicians hoped to avoid playing the same 'oldies' every night (interview, Calianga, 5 Oct 2004). Other musicians, like the members of VENTURE, felt that learning and introducing new songs in China helped in the "advancement" of their band since it prepared them for engagements outside China (interview, Pomposo, 10 Oct 2004). The members of 2ND DEGREE considered their role to be that of reinforcers of music introduced on the radio in China. For them, Filipino bands are more effective than the mass media in introducing

new songs because they are able to interact with their audience, reinforce through repeat performances, and provide visual as well as aural images of these songs for their audiences (interview, Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004). Furthermore, younger members of the audience who listen to the radio or watch MTV also frequently request Top 40 hits from the Filipino bands. Like the ‘oldies,’ these new songs contribute to their sonic experience of what global music is. Most of the Chinese audience of Filipino bands in Shanghai and Nanjing do not understand the English lyrics of the songs being sung to them. They may know catch phrases from a song such as “My heart goes shala-la-la-la” or some other repetitive or striking lines of a song, usually some portion of the chorus. Yet, these audiences continue to request these “English songs” and attend performances by Filipino bands in order to hear these songs sung. However, to say that the local audience in Shanghai and Nanjing do not know the origin of these songs or their original artists would be to underestimate their musical knowledge and the power of the mass media and internet to disseminate trivial information about pop stars. Furthermore, Filipino musicians, whose intentions it is to “educate” their audiences, also provide their audience with this information. However, what attracts the Chinese audience in Shanghai and Nanjing to Anglo-American pop music is the catchy melodies and dance rhythms (interviews, Dimaano, 2 Oct 2004; Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004; Aguilar, 6 Oct 2004). To quote Butch Dejos, “The Chinese love to dance” (interview, Dejos, 7 Oct 2004). Jun Dimaano, whose band had been playing at the Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di off-and-on for the last three years, added that “without musicians, the place is dead” (interview, Dimaano, 2 Oct 2004). Despite the small dance floor there, the audience still crowded into whatever standing room was available in order to dance. Greg Antonio of HEATWAVE added

that many of their older Chinese audience members like “Ballroom dancing-type music such as swing, cha-cha and waltz” (interview, Antonio, 5 Oct 2004). Of these, cha-cha is the most popular, both among the older and younger local audiences (interview, Pomposo, 10 Oct 2004). This was evident in the second set of 2ND DEGREE’s performance at the Swing Club on 4 October 2004 where a medley of songs utilizing a cha-cha beat such as “Chilly Cha-Cha” and “Banana Boat Song” were performed. The members of 2ND DEGREE also encouraged the audience to dance by playing songs like “Rivers of Babylon,” “Beautiful Maria,” “Venus” and “Hey Baby,” in which the vocalists left the stage to dance with members of the audience. When performing “Cottoneye Joe,” the singers also donned cowboy hats and did the hoedown which was promptly imitated by the already dancing crowd.

Many of the songs performed by 2ND DEGREE and other Filipino bands in Shanghai and Nanjing have become favorites among the local audience. It is possible that the locals know the words of some of these songs as they have sung them to the accompaniment of karaoke machines, even if they do not understand most of what the songs are saying. They have also learnt these songs from the Filipino bands who encourage them to sing portions of the songs, such as the “ooh...ah!” in “Hey Baby,” and to copy the accompanying gestures of the musicians. Anglo-American mainstream music is more familiar to the Chinese audience of Filipino bands in Shanghai and Nanjing than music from most of the other parts of the world because this music is widely accessible on the mass media and on karaoke discs, as well as performed by musicians in clubs, restaurants and hotels. Furthermore, the Anglo-American ‘oldies’ appeal to the Chinese

because of their melodious tunes, and are, for them more memorable than contemporary pop music like rap and hip hop.

Because of their attraction to melodious tunes and dance rhythms rather than the meaning in the lyrics of these songs, they are equally receptive to songs sung in other languages like Hindi or Spanish. Hindi songs like “Made in India” and “*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*” [Something is Happening] are popular in China (interview, Antonio, 5 Oct 2004), as are songs sung in Spanish such as “Lambada” and “Bailamos” (interview, Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004). While these Spanish songs may not be of Anglo-American origin, they are disseminated through the same mainstream channels of the international recording companies and hence, receive their fair share of air time on the radio and MTV. The Chinese audience in Shanghai and Nanjing are therefore familiar with the music of artists who sing in Spanish like Ricky Martin, Jennifer Lopez, Marc Anthony, Christina Aguilera, Shakira, Santana, and The Gypsy Kings (interview, Correa, 13 Oct. 2004). In addition to the music of contemporary Latino artists, these audiences of Filipino bands also appreciate the Latin ‘oldies’ like “Guantanamera,” “Besame Mucho,” “Volare” and “La Bamba.” For these Chinese audience members, the Latin ‘oldies’ are appealing because of their catchy melodies and danceable rhythms (interview, Silva, 12 Oct 2004). “Guantanamera,” “Besame Mucho,” “Volare” and “La Bamba” are also among the songs that regularly appear on karaoke discs.

Although Filipino musicians endeavor to expose their Chinese audiences to “new music,” their audience members still exert power in determining what songs are performed. Jose Reambonanza confessed that he found the “Chinese audience more difficult to please” than audiences in other parts of Asia and the Pacific where THE

BLOCKS had performed such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, India and Saipan. Unlike audiences in Singapore or Malaysia, for example, who politely applaud songs they are unfamiliar with or do not appreciate, the Chinese express their pleasure and displeasure of songs overtly. They cheer or dance to music that appeals to them, such as the Anglo-American ‘oldies,’ dance tunes and Chinese hit songs, and put on expressions of distaste when they do not. “The audience will stare at you if they don’t like what you are playing” revealed Jun Dimaano. Some audience members also leave the premises if the band performs music that does not appeal to them. In order to please the audience at Sky Club, the members of THE BLOCKS were told by the club’s DJ to “stick to performing mainstream music,” Reambonanza added (interview, Reambonanza, 8 Oct. 2004).

Filipino bands play a crucial role in many nightclubs in Shanghai and Nanjing. Beyond providing entertainment, they control the crowd and manipulate the emotion of their audience with their music. In a setting where dancing is important, musicians, in particular the band leaders, select music not only based on who is in the audience, but also on the level of ‘frenzy’ in the audience. Audience participation was integral to performances at Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di. Here, the crowd sang and danced on the instruction of the singer, Nelly Apolinario, the only female member of LOVE JOY, who faced the microphone in their direction during certain key phrases in songs which she knew the audience knew the words to, and asked them to jump continuously for certain songs that had a strong pulsating beat. The audience members also took turns playing the tambourine during the performance. During instances when the crowd was “out of control,” on occasion to the extent of hitting on their tables, Jun Dimaano, the bandleader of LOVE JOY, would tone down the music, shifting from dance music to

ballads like “Yesterday.” On other occasions, he also stopped the keyboard accompaniment in order to attract the attention of the audience and draw them out of their frenzied state. Like the Filipino bands, the Chinese audience have a performative role in the performance and actively contribute to what songs get performed through their expressions of approval and disapproval, and their level of ‘energy’ on the dance floor.

Another reason for the popularity of live bands in many larger cities in China like Shanghai and Nanjing is the “visual” image they provide. Jun Dimaano revealed that the visual aspect of the performance was as important as the singing. Since the other band members played instruments and only sang occasionally, he thought that it was hard for his wife, Nelly Apolinario, to have to sing as well as dance throughout their performance (interview, Dimaano, 2 Oct 2004). Sheryl Ballestar pointed out that “dressing” was also an important aspect of the performance, adding that the owner of Swing Café, where 2ND DEGREE was performing, stipulated how the musicians should dress in order to be visually attractive (interview, Ballestar, 4 Oct 2004). Greg Antonio agreed that his band HEATWAVE provided visual stimulation in addition to entertainment in China. Some audiences in China especially in the smaller cities, for example Lanzhao, come to see the performance in order to catch a glimpse of the foreign musicians (interview, Antonio, 5 Oct 2004). Butch Dejos confessed that “looks comprise 60% of the performance, and talent 40%” because “looks sell in China.” By “looks,” Butch Dejos was not only referring to the dancing or dressing of the musicians, but also the makeup of the band. His band, RETROSPECT, was a “mix-band” in that it comprised musicians of different nationalities – three Filipinos, a Malaysian and two Blacks. Chemu Chepsehoh is from Africa and Sherwin Barera is from Trinidad and Tobago. According to Dejos, the

audience in China found the “black singers [to be] exotic” (interview, Dejos, 7 Oct 2004). John Chacko, the agent of RETROSPECT, admitted that mixed bands were more marketable because the audience and employers perceived such bands to be better, believing that the ‘best musicians’ from different countries had been put together. He also agreed with Dejos that the different nationalities and more obviously, different physical appearances, added an exotic element to the band (interview, Chacko, 30 Nov 2003).

The Chinese audience for Filipino bands differs from the Malaysian and Singaporean audiences because the latter can appreciate the meaning of the texts of the songs. Furthermore, some of them have lived through the different periods of mainstream Anglo-American pop music and have nostalgic attachments for this music. While the Chinese may not understand the words of many of the songs sung, they nevertheless are able to appreciate the melody and beat of the music, and find merit in its danceable quality. They also appreciate the ‘visual’ element provided by live bands, especially foreign ones. Hence, they display enjoyment of this music through their participation at various levels in the performance. More importantly, attending the performance of Filipino bands in high class venues provides the Chinese audience with an arena in which to engage with the global, and to assert their identities as modern and cosmopolitan Chinese.

Friedman explains that “consumption within the bounds of the world system is always a consumption of identity, canalized by a negotiation between self-definition and the array of possibilities offered by the capitalist market.” He describes how *les sapeurs*, a group of lower class Congolese living in Brazzaville, the Peoples Republic of the

Congo, overtly display their use of foreign products such as designer clothing from Paris because they believe these items link them to an external force that indirectly bestows power on them. However, other than owning and wearing similar garments, *les sapeurs* have little in common in terms of lifestyle with the upper classes (Friedman 1990: 312-319). The Bicolanos, from Naga City in the Bicol region of the Philippines, described by Fenella Cannell (1999) also share with *les sapeurs* the desire to acquire power from an external source. By imitating the dressing, gestures and singing style of Western and Tagalog pop stars and international beauty contestants, participants of amateur singing competitions and beauty contests in Bicol become “the temporary bodily ‘lodging places for potency’ which are felt to originate from somewhere ‘outside’ one’s own culture.” They achieve this “through a wrapping of the body in symbols of protective status, and a transformation of the person by proximity to the power it imitates” (Cannell 1999: 203-223). These examples show how people of a lower status consume in order to achieve “selfhood,” to acquire new identities in an effort to elevate their position in relation to those of a higher status. But what about the Chinese audience of Filipino bands who already are the economic elites in their society? Are they equivalent to the new bourgeoisie or petite bourgeoisie described by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), those who possess economic capital but lack cultural capital, and hence seek non-challenging middle-of-the-road entertainment that is the equivalent of “the right shop marked with all the signs of ‘quality’ and guaranteeing no ‘unpleasant surprises’ or ‘lapses of taste’?” (Bourdieu 1984: 260-273). Musicians in the periphery engage with globalization by re-appropriating global forms of music and creating their own versions either with the hope that their music too will find commercial success or with the intention to forward a

personal agenda. Audiences in the periphery also have agendas for engaging with global music. What then is the motive behind the engagement of the Chinese audience of Filipino bands with global music? What external power do they hope to acquire from this engagement?

Jones writes that “Chinese popular music in the 1930s was less an achieved form than a musical, technological, financial, linguistic and racial transaction conducted within the boundaries of the complex colonial hierarchies peculiar to that time and age.” It is within a framework of “colonial modernity” that Jones proposes we study Chinese cultural production since it reflects the transnational activity that was taking place then and takes into account “the irreducible specificity of the local and the immense complexity of the global” (Jones 2001:7-9). The engagement of the urban Chinese economic elites with music today also reflects a complex global dimension. In the case of the majority of Chinese audiences of Filipino bands who have amassed substantial fortunes since China began adopting a free market economy system, attending the performances of Filipino bands in high class hotels and hip clubs represents one aspect in the lifestyle of these new economic elites. They go to places like Paulaner Brauhaus, a very hip German pub in Xin Tian Di that serves predominantly Western food, to see and be seen. It is a “strategy to re-constitute identity” (Featherstone 1990: 10), intended to show that they are of a higher status and more cosmopolitan than other Chinese because they are more well-traveled, use more European designer goods, dine and drink in Western style restaurant and upscale clubs in the company of foreigners who are also financially and professionally of a high status, attend the concerts of foreign artists, and listen to global music. To this subset of Chinese, the music performed by the Filipino

bands represents music that is accepted worldwide, global music that is valued by audiences in other parts of Asia where these bands perform. In an increasingly globalized world system where many nations and ethnic groups are trying to isolate and even invent identities in order to avoid homogenization, the economically powerful urban Chinese instead endeavor to fit in. These Chinese entrepreneurs and professionals have the ability to ‘purchase’ the modern in order to re-constitute their identities as modern Chinese, even cosmopolitans. To them, the modern is not only equated with the West, but also with other more successful Chinese in the diaspora (Ong: 1999:7) and more fashion-savvy pop and movie stars from Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Not unlike *les sapuer* and Bicolanos, these new Chinese elites hope to acquire ‘power’ and prestige from an external force, one larger than Europe and the United States that encompasses the global arena.

NOTES

¹ *Datin* is the Malaysian equivalent of the title ‘Lady’ in Britain. It is used by the spouse of someone who has been conferred a *datuk*-ship, which is similar to the title ‘Sir’ in Britain, by the *Yang Dipertuan Agung* (King) or a sultan from one of the nine Malaysian states that have one.

² One example is the tossing of *Yee Sang* – raw fish and shredded uncooked vegetables – as high as possible during Chinese New Year to symbolize maximum success and prosperity. This is a tradition that Malaysian Chinese acquired from the people of Hong Kong and is not a universal Chinese tradition. It is not even practiced in mainland China.

³ According to Clifford, “the hotel image suggests an older form of gentlemanly Occidental travel” where “the marking of “travel” by gender, class, race and culture” are pronounced (1992:105).

⁴ It was only after Malaysia’s independence in 1957 that the medium of instruction was gradually changed to Malay. Malay completely replaced English in schools in the late 1960s.

⁵ The programming of Astro All Asia Network Plc (Astro) takes into consideration the entertainment needs of its various Asian customers, and at the same time exposes its Asian customers to the films, television programs and music of their other Asian neighbors (ASTRO).

⁶ See Gluckman for details on Xin Tian Di’s make-over (2003).

⁷ Tess Johnston, a local historian, “bemoans the wholesale destruction of so much of Shanghai’s architectural heritage. Around the city’s evocative old French Quarter, the old brick blocks are being razed, replaced by modern high-rises and shopping malls” (Gluckman 2003).

⁸ The use of urban space to reflect political agendas is not new to China. See Esherick (2000).

⁹ China is the biggest market for luxury goods in the world, according to an analyst from JP Morgan, and is ahead of Russia and India in the consumption of European luxury products (Kurtenbach 2005).

¹⁰ Also see Lee in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001: 694-695).

¹¹ “Moon River” was originally sung by Audrey Hepburn for the film, “Breakfast at Tiffany’s,” but did not become a hit until it was performed by Andy Williams (Wikipedia).

¹² There is a possibility that “Sha La La” is a hit in Chinese clubs due to the dance mix version released more recently by Vengaboys in 2000.

CHAPTER 5

'FILIPINO' IN THE CONTEXT OF A GLOBAL PERFORMANCE

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

After singing “Lady Marmalade,” a lively and highly rhythmic song by Christina Aguilera, Lil’ Kim, Mya and Pink,¹ 2 BY 2 shifted to a lower gear with Whitney Houston’s “I Have Nothing” from the movie, “The Bodyguard.” Marites Santos, the lead singer of 2 BY 2 who was wearing a beret, came to the forefront. She waved to the crowd and thanked them for their applause. The timbre of her voice and her Filipino accent bore little resemblance to the voice of Whitney Houston. Miguelito Villa then introduced Marites Santos as “the Whitney Houston of the Philippines.” When she started to sing, Miguelito Villa’s description of her seemed fitting. She had perfected her rendition of this song down to the R&B artist’s voice timbre and breathing techniques. At that moment, the Filipino singer on stage appeared to have been transformed into the famous singer, at least from the expressions of awe on the faces of the audience at the Crossroads Lounge who had a good idea of what Whitney Houston should sound like. While Santos was singing, Miguelito Villa and Tina Argao donned sunglasses and went around the lounge checking the audience to ensure that ‘Whitney’ would not be in any danger, in this way spoofing Kevin Costner’s role in the movie. The audience sportingly gave in to the frisking of these ‘bodyguards.’ Members of 2 BY 2 re-enacted scenes from

the film to help the audience recall the context of the song Marites Santos was singing. The unrealistic props and exaggerated actions of the ‘bodyguards’ on the other hand provided a moment of comic relief in her otherwise serious and emotional rendition. The musicians were able to get the intended response from the audience because they knew that the audience was familiar with the film concerned.

Filipinos are highly marketable as entertainers in Asia because of their ability to give their diverse audience a slice of what they are already familiar with – miniature replicas of performances seen in pop music concerts and on music videos and heard in recordings, on small stages in hotel lounges. In fact, hotels advertise their Filipino bands as cover version ‘specialists’ because they are aware that Filipinos have built a reputation for doing this global brand of commercial and tourist music well and can draw audiences to the hotel lounges. The aptitude of Filipino musicians for Western music, the result of decades of Spanish and American colonization, is put to use in performing in Asia. Although they sing a large proportion of Western pop and rock songs, audiences in Asia are very much aware that they are Filipino.

In addition to meeting the musical demands of their guests, Filipino musicians also shape the tastes of their audiences through the choice of music they perform. Because the music performed is ‘easy listening,’ guests usually find new songs introduced by the bands to be palatable, even enjoyable. Furthermore, Filipino musicians possess good showmanship skills. They not only sing for their audience but are able to persuade their audience to participate in the performance, therefore heightening the entertainment pleasure of these audiences. Filipino musicians are valuable to their employers because they serve a public relations role in the business establishment, as

well as conduct crowd control when the audience becomes rowdy. Their employers also perceive Filipino musicians to be more committed to their occupation than many of the local band musicians in these Asian countries because of the time and effort they are willing to invest in improving their performances.

An article in the *Bangkok Post* summed up the “qualities” of Filipinos performing abroad:

“1) Versatility- able to play selections from rock and roll to soul; dinner music from classical pieces to jazz numbers; and Latin selections from tango to bossa-nova to mambo to cha-cha. 2) Show musicians- able to accompany any big-time artist or group by doing their arrangements or providing them with one. 3) Good individual personalities [...]. 4) Good moral character – no booze while at work, no contract problems and sound private lives” (19 Sept. 1969).

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2004) categorize musicians as “affective labor,” one of two forms of immaterial labor. They define immaterial labor as those who provide services, information and communication as opposed to labor that generates tangible goods. While the products manufactured are intangible, the efforts that pour into producing them are nevertheless very “material” since they involve the physical and mental toil of these immaterial laborers. Musicians “manipulate affect” in order to raise feelings of nostalgia, home-sickness, happiness and a sense of collectiveness among their audience (Hardt and Negri 2004:108-109).

The culture of Filipino entertainers should not be equated with Filipino culture. Filipinos performing in the Asian hotel circuit have over the years developed a reputation for good musicianship, a talent for impersonation, versatility and obliging-ness,

characteristics which are recognized and expected by their hotel employers, audiences and agents. Although these characteristics are not exclusive to musicians from the Philippines, they have come to define those referred to as Filipino entertainers in the diaspora. The maintenance of a Filipino identity by musicians from the Philippines has already been discussed to some degree in previous chapters. In this chapter, I will further explore what 'Filipino' means in the context of a global performance and examine the extent to which this meaning is shared and indeed constructed by the management of the hotels, the audience and the musicians of the bands.

Creating the Filipino, Performing the Filipino

2 BY 2 at the Crossroads Lounge and LOVE JOY at the Paulaner Brauhaus: Performing for 'locals'

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Next, Miguelito Villa announced that Tina Turner would be making an appearance at the Crossroads Lounge to sing "The Best." Tina Argao appeared on stage in a Tina Turner-style wig and completed her impersonation by imitating the singer's walk and gestures. The audience seemed tickled by the striking resemblance between Tina Argao and her famous namesake. In trying to give as close an imitation as possible to the extent of putting on a wig and duplicating the walk, Tina Argao's presentation succeeded in surrogating and skewing the empowering message of the song and the brand image of Tina Turner. The dynamism of the famous singer was eclipsed by the impersonator, therefore highlighting and foregrounding the Filipina on stage. By

appropriating the music and physical characteristics of a famous pop star, the overseas contract entertainer had temporarily acquired the power to ‘mock’ an artist, someone she would normally strive to emulate.

Like Tina Argao, Ricky Rosalino of LOVE JOY puts on various disguises in order to enhance his imitations. When performing “Blue Suede Shoes,” he donned Elvis Presley glasses that had sideburns attached, while to perform “O Sole Mio” like Pavarotti, he put on a beard and sang in a tenor voice. Unfazed by the negative reaction some scholars and writers have expressed about their lack of creativity, Filipino musicians in the circuit have instead come to accept that their abilities at mimicry and doing covers is facilitating their demand, and strive to create the best impressions possible, thereby maintaining the reputation that Filipino bands are the best cover bands in Asia.

Although a carbon-copy rendition of the original singer is not an expectation for most of the audience interviewed, many audiences have come to associate good impersonations with Filipino singers. John Hines, a product manager attached to a US-based multinational corporation who travels a great deal to China and Hong Kong for business, admits that he does not judge a band by their ability to perform like well-known recording artists but is nevertheless very impressed by the good impersonations he has observed of the Filipinos performing in hotels there (interview, Hines, 28 Jul 2003). Filipino singers Chuchie Fontanos, Genalyn Gaspar and Melanie Santos pride themselves in being able to “sing like the original singer” because they believe that this ability is what sets them apart as ‘Filipino’ entertainers. Copying entails a high degree of accuracy achieved through much effort. Singers often spend hours listening to the recordings by

the original singers in order to capture every inflection. The burden of exacting imitations is compounded by the burden of performing this live, creating a double burden of labor. It places a great deal of pressure on Filipino musicians who know that they are not only being judged by how well they sing or play an instrument, but by how well they sing and play like so-and-so. The audience of Filipino bands shows their appreciation of these efforts by way of applause, tips and positive feedback to band members. Connoisseurs among the audience have on many occasions come up to the musicians to praise or criticize their performances. Original songs are less popular with the diverse audience in hotels in Asia because they are unfamiliar with these songs. Adapted versions of well known songs may be well or badly received depending on the audiences' willingness to listen to unfamiliar renditions of familiar songs.

Some Filipino musicians also have the ability to morph into different pop stars. Earlier in the set, Andrew Granado of 2 BY 2 gave a convincing imitation of Louis Armstrong in his rendition of "What a Wonderful World," but towards the end of that set, he 'became' Michael Bolton. Andrew Granado informed the audience of the Crossroads Lounge that the Bee Gees had previously recorded "To Love Somebody" but he would be performing the Michael Bolton version. Filipino singers usually announce the version they will be singing so that the audience is aware of the artists being imitated. Members of 2 BY 2 succeeded in getting their culturally diverse audience to clap and sing portions of the chorus of "To Love Somebody" by facing the microphone in their direction, thereby engaging their audience in staging the familiar in a way that gives rise to the occasion of momentary community. In an environment of constant transit where

encountering strangers is the norm, the Filipino musicians had used a 'global pop song' as a common denominator to 'link' their audiences.

Although Filipino musicians have earned the reputation for mimicking pop stars in particular in the last ten or fifteen years, members of 2 BY 2, on many occasions, found ways to negotiate this identity associated with Filipino bands in the circuit. They achieved this either by exaggerating the imitation, as with the Whitney Houston and Tina Turner examples, or by adapting well-known songs such as "Shanghai Night" discussed in the opening of the previous chapter. In another example, Andrew Granado informed the audience at the Crossroads Lounge that an oldie had been requested but due to the age of The Beatle's recording, the audiences were told to expect problems with the "broken record." "Yesterday" was presented by members of 2 BY 2 complete with skips, slowed down and sped up turntables speeds, and even a temporary shift to another song from the imaginary record. They performed this song while dancing synchronically and in accordance with the fluctuating tempo of the song, and swung their heads from side to side while repeating words from the song such as "yester, yester, yester" and "need a, need a, need a," thus simulating the 'stuck' condition of the record.

Earlier in the evening, Andrew Granado had performed "Unchained Melody," a highly sentimental song containing lyrics such as "Oh, my love, my darling. I've hungered for your touch" and "I need your love, I need your love, Godspeed your love to me." This song was received with laughter by the audience in front of the stage, which is highly unusual considering its romantic content. Once Andrew Granado had come off the stage and started walking around the lounge, the rest of the audience realized he had lost his two front teeth. His comical appearance contrasted with the tone of the song and

downplayed its melodrama. While the Tina Turner example had generated laughter because of the over-emphasis on imitation, the performance of “Yesterday” and “Unchained Melody” had received the same response because of the amusing ways these songs had been presented. Hence, the members of 2 BY 2 had found ways to insert their creativity and sense of humor in the otherwise unoriginal business of being a cover band, and had obtained the approval of their audience despite not performing the expected replicas. “We are not just musicians but more importantly, we are entertainers,” Andrew Granado pointed out (interview, Granado, 4 Dec 2003).

Many Filipino bands in the Asian performing circuit possess their own signature songs, songs that are frequently requested by the audience. The popularity of these songs lie not on their position in the music charts nor are they ‘oldies’ frequently being reissued. Instead, these signature songs are requested because the audience enjoys the band’s rendition of these songs. Signature songs include songs that have been cleverly adapted by the musicians such as “Shanghai Nights” and “Yesterday,” songs whose recording artists are well imitated by the Filipino singers such as “I Have Nothing,” songs that are comically presented such as “The Best” and “*Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*,” or songs that are effectively used to engage the audience such as “Chicken Dance.” These songs have an impact on the audience only when they are performed live by the Filipino bands. While these signature songs may not belong to the Filipino musicians, they have ‘claimed’ these songs as their own through adaptation, parody and extreme mimicry. While the performing of ‘covers’ is an inescapable part of being a circuit band in Asia, these Filipino musicians were able to showcase their musical and entertaining talents through their performing of these signature songs.

Shanghai, China

The lighting at the Paulaner Brauhaus in Shanghai's Xin Tian Di (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2) was dim, possibly to help the dancers shake off whatever inhibitions they might have on the dance floor. The dimness appeared more eerie because of the cigarette smoke that constantly hung in the air and clung to the nostrils. Four sets of spotlights were focused on the small stage. Each set comprised three separate lights of green, red and yellow that pulsed to the beat of the music played by the band. The dance floor was surrounded by small tables where customers stood or sat around drinking beer. The Paulaner Brauhaus is famous for its German brew. On the small dance floor, dancers occasionally jostled to secure a place in front of the stage where they took turns playing the tambourine. Many of the dancers had no reservations about dancing with other dancers of the same sex since their dancing did not involve much physical contact.

At the Paulaner Brauhaus, entertaining involved more than just singing songs the audience would appreciate. Entertaining included constantly catering to the audience's desire to dance, and more importantly, coordinating and controlling the dancing. Many of the customers at this club enjoyed dancing and were not deterred by the crowded conditions on the dance floor. In fact, the larger the crowd, the less self-conscious the dancers became and the less inhibited their dancing got. They enjoyed dancing in large groups where everyone danced according to the instructions given by the singers. Therefore, songs suited to group dancing like "Chicken Dance" were performed in which members of LOVE JOY, Nelly Apolinario and Ricky Rosalino, encouraged the audience



Figure 5.1 – Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di, Shanghai



Figure 5.2 – Poster advertising Paulaner Brauhaus' featured bands

to echo their whooping and copy their dance steps while singing meaningless syllables of “ah, ah, ah, ah” and “eh, eh, eh, eh”. Considering the limited English spoken by the local audience, the lack of lyrics for this song made it suitable for overcoming whatever language barriers the audience and musicians might have. Jun Dimaano, the bandleader and keyboard player, even slowed down the tempo of the song to enable the audience to grasp the words and actions required of them. Towards the end of the song, the audience were asked to jump continuously, sing “la, la, la” to the tune of the song and wave their hands above their heads. The increase in tempo at this point added further excitement to this group activity on the dance floor. The flashing lights, pulsating rhythm of the music and the general party atmosphere of the club seemed to lure these individuals onto the dance floor.

During the performance of “Rock Around the Clock,” the singers led the audience in a combination of jive and twist dance steps. A member of the audience breached the barrier placed in front of the stage and went onstage to dance with Nellie Apolinario. The club’s security personnel immediately moved forward, but Apolinario was able to politely lead the man off the stage while explaining to the audience that the management of the club discouraged audience members from dancing on the stage. The barrier and security personnel at the Paulaner Brauhaus limited the contact the entertainers had with the customers. The spaces onstage and off-stage were clearly demarcated to distinguish patrons of the club from employees. However, the level of ‘protection’ extended by the club’s security personnel to their entertainers onstage from the audience off-stage revealed yet another level of status differentiation, that of the ‘stars’ featured on the

glossy posters at the club versus the numerous members of the audience and ‘fans’ of the band.

The Paulaner Brauhaus at Xin Tian Di has a small dance floor that can accommodate about twenty to thirty people, but on weekends over fifty people can be found dancing there at one time. The audience often gets very ‘excited’ during these performances and sometimes have to be ‘controlled’ by the club’s bouncers and staff who stand at different corners of the club equipped with walkie-talkies to report disturbances in the club. It is not uncommon for fights to break out here among audience members. During the band’s performance of “That’s the Way I Like It,” two men bumped into each other on the dance floor due to the crowded condition there. They began pushing and shoving each other and shouting abusive words, at which point some dancers closest to them moved away to avoid getting involved in the scuffle, while others surged forward to observe the commotion. The security personnel of the club also moved in to calm the men down. Always alert to the situation on the dance floor, Nellie Apolinario immediately indicated to Jun Dimaano that a fight had broken out. Quickly fading off “That’s the Way I Like It,” Jun Dimaano began playing the introduction to “Yesterday,” a favorite of the audience, in an effort to divert their attention away from the fight. Nellie Apolinario apologized for interrupting their dancing and explained to the dancers that the packed conditions on the dance floor had necessitated this. Through the slower and calmer music, combined with the need for the audience to focus on singing portions of the song, the band members were able to redirect the attention of the audience back to the stage. A change in volume, tempo and rhythm by the musicians had eased the tension on the dance floor, and the two men who were embroiled in the fight earlier resumed

their dancing and participation in the band's performance. The members of LOVE JOY followed this song with another slow song, "Sailing." The audience did not appear to be upset by the interruption to their dancing and joined in the singing of this song.

The interest in community-dancing at the Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di was not displayed by the audience at the Paulaner Brauhaus in Pudong, on the other side of the Huangpu River in Shanghai, nor by the customers at the Crossroads Lounge. Some possible reasons could be the larger size of the dance floor, dimmer lighting and audience of mainly locals at the Xin Tian Di venue, the club concept at Xin Tian Di compared to the more dining-oriented setting at the Paulaner in Pudong, and LOVE JOY's performing style that was geared towards party-type entertainment. The employers of 2ND DEGREE at the Swing Café in Gubei, Shanghai, also expected the singers to dance with their guests. Hence, Sheryll Ballestar, Trisha Reyes and Mariano Manabat regularly went off stage to invite guests to partner them in the various cha-cha songs performed by the band.

Community singing was another activity that the audience at Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di enjoyed and actively participated in. During the performance of The Beatles' "Yesterday," Nellie Apolonario of LOVE JOY instructed the audience to join in the singing. They responded by singing "why she had to go I don't know she wouldn't say," and other fragments of the song. The audience were also able to sing parts of the chorus of Boney M's "Rivers of Babylon" while waving their hands over their heads and finally humming the tune of the chorus during the musical interlude. However, community singing at the Paulaner Brauhaus reached its pinnacle when Chinese songs were performed. The audience automatically joined in the singing without needing any encouragement from the band members. In the performance of "*Xiao Wei*" (Little Wei), a

Mandarin song popularized by Taiwanese singer Huang Ping Yuan that was performed by all the Filipino bands I observed in China in October 2004, for example, the audience actually sang more of the song than the musicians themselves. Jun Dimaano even stopped playing at certain points in the song in order to indicate to the audience that they could take over the performance. The strength of the Filipino bands lies not only in their ability to perform songs that appeal to the local audience but also to initiate and encourage their participation in these songs. As the local audience in some of the countries they perform in do not speak much English, it is sometimes necessary for musicians to converse with their audience in the local language. Nellie Apolonario, for instance, occasionally shouted encouragement, gave instructions on dance steps, and teased audience members in Mandarin at the Paulaner Brauhaus.

The mood created by Filipino bands also contributes to their appeal in Asia. Filipino musicians are generally regarded as “friendly” by their audience and employers. They give the impression that they really enjoy what they do, and their ‘party attitude’ translates into a jovial atmosphere in the venue where they perform. Although the task of providing close imitations of pop stars or clever adaptations of well-known pop songs is tedious and involves hours of practice and preparation, the actual performance of these songs is usually an enjoyable experience for the Filipino musicians because of the attention and admiration they receive from their audience. Many of the Filipino entertainers also have fun teasing the members of the audience and each other, doing comical routines, and meeting up with friends or making new friends from among their audience members. The fairly relaxed atmosphere in many of their performing venues adds to the pleasant working environment of these Filipinos. Rather than feel demeaned

by the lack of originality in their repertoire, these musicians instead feel empowered by their ability to give so much pleasure and enjoyment to their audiences as well as themselves.

While some musicians speak to the audience as a whole, others like Andrew Granado, sometimes carry out one-to-one conversations with different individuals in the audience throughout the performance, thereby further personalizing the performance for their audience members. While the Filipino bands are hired to create a friendly atmosphere for their audience, the space of the performance also allows the Filipino musicians to tease and make fun of their higher status customers in the spirit of fun, without any consequences to their job. Andrew Granado openly inquired about the penis of one member of the audience, pointed out the breasts of female customers, asked for and received kisses from female patrons, and even expressed his relief at the end of each set, explaining to his audience that the last five minutes of the set was his favorite time. The male members of 2 BY 2 also joked outwardly about their own sexuality. Miguelito Villa, for example, claimed to be “a woman under construction,” while Andrew Granado told his audience that his penis was reserved for his ‘girlfriend,’ Miguelito Villa. For Andrew Granado, pretending to be gay helped him fend off the advances of female admirers and gave him leeway to tease and flirt with the girlfriends of his audience members. Andrew Granado actually is in his late forties, has been married three times and has fourteen children and several grandchildren.

Public discussions on sexuality and sexual organs are only permissible within the space of the performance, and would otherwise be taboo in Malaysian society. Performers have historically had more latitude than non-performers to discuss these

subjects. Other examples of this would include the court jesters in Medieval Europe, and comic characters such as *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* in *wayang kulit Siam* plays (Siamese shadow puppet theater performed in Kelantan, Malaysia) who critique the upper classes and royalty within their performances. In Malaysia, *wayang kulit* characters were used to educate the public on birth control and racial harmony (Osnes 1992). Andrew Granado played the 'gay' in order to appear less threatening to his audience. Donning this mask allowed Andrew Granado to freely touch both male and female audience members and crack sexually explicit jokes at their expense. Male and female entertainers at clubs, hotels and restaurants daring to trespass these boundaries would be accused of being promiscuous or sexually threatening, but those who are in-between, neither completely male or female, or pretend to be are able to acquire power for their incompleteness. On many occasions, Andrew Granado also donned the mask of the 'fool,' as his toothless rendition of "Unchained Melody" demonstrates. Being branded the fool gave him the leeway needed to admonish his audience for asking for more songs after the bands final set was concluded. Andrew Granado bluntly told the audience that they would have to pay the musicians extra in order to have the band continue their performance. The audience were not offended by Andrew Granado's remarks because they had come from the fool of the band. He was able to avoid letting his band members be taken advantage of by an audience that perceived Filipino musicians to be accommodating and ever willing to please.

The various business establishments that hire Filipino bands set different boundaries with regards to the proximity the musicians should have with their customers. At the Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di, a barrier is placed on stage to prevent audience

members from going on stage to dance or accost the musicians. The musicians are also discouraged from mingling with the audience either during the performance or during the break. Besides avoiding any form of confrontation with the guests, this measure also prevents the audience members from feeling that the musicians are showing favoritism to certain customers by sitting with them. Jun Dimaano and Nellie Apolinario related an incident where a large tip was offered to the musicians in order to get them to go to the table of a particular customer. Because Filipino bands are very popular in Shanghai, this customer wanted to show his friends that he knew the band members and had influence over the manager of the club. He believed that being 'friends' with the band conferred status on him (interview, Dimaano and Apolinario, 2 Oct 2004).

While the space for the performance of LOVE JOY is confined to the stage, the members of 2 BY 2 moved freely throughout the Crossroad Lounge, reenacting scenes from well known movies, serenading and flirting with the guests. They not only came into close proximity with their patrons but even have physical contact through handshaking, kissing on the cheek and hugging. Their audience considered these actions to be gestures of friendliness and even enjoyed the special attention given to them by the musicians. During intermission, the band members sat and chatted with their audience, and on occasion joined them for supper after their performance. They also went out shopping or for meals with these local 'friends' of theirs on their off days. There was less distinction between the space onstage and off-stage at the Crossroads Lounge compared to the Paulaner Brauhaus in Xin Tian Di. In the same way that the musicians moved freely off-stage, audience members were also welcomed onstage at any time during the performance to sing or dance with members of 2 BY 2. There were even occasions when

audience members asked to sing solo on stage. On these occasions, the singers played supporting roles as back-up singers or interjected when the soloist lost his part in the song. The stage at the Crossroads Lounge enabled entertainers and would-be entertainers to perform for a live audience. Rather than delineate the space reserved for employees and customers as was the case at the Paulaner Brauhaus, the stage at the Crossroads Lounge served as a space that separated the entertainers from the non-entertainers.

The second set of 2 BY 2's performance concluded with Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody" which was presented with synchronized dancing by three members of the band while Miguelito Villa accompanied them on the keyboard. This song is regularly requested by the audience of the Crossroads Lounge. Andrew Granado presented the slow portion of the song with much feeling, giving the impression that this portion was a tribute to mothers, which left me wondering if the audience were aware that the lyrics were about a person confessing to his mother that he had murdered someone. At the end of each set, the members of 2 By 2 performed the Concorde Hotel jingle as instructed by their employer. In addition to indicating the completion of a set, the jingle is used to advertise the hotel. During the jingle, the band members also took the opportunity to introduce themselves, to remind customers to stay for another set if it was not their final set, and to inform audience members whose song requests have not been met that they would have their requests filled in the next set. Members of LOVE JOY also perform an 'intermission' song at the end of each set. This short song, performed in Mandarin in a rap style, was comprised of the repetition of the phrase "break for fifteen minutes."

During the break, the members of 2 BY 2 mingled with the audience. At this point, they appeared to get out of their Filipino stage character and spoke to each other in

Tagalog.² They also spoke English with a Filipino accent to their audience. This was very different from the American accent they used when singing on stage. Sarita Carreon, the vocalist of URB, shared with me the fact that the stage presence she adopts is very different from her actual personality. She feels “more in charge on stage” and is conscious that she is putting on a performance. Hence, she speaks differently on and off stage and appears more outgoing and “flirty” when she is performing (interview, Carreon, 3 Dec 2003). Jenelyn Gaspar of TENDER TUNES did her bit for Golden Sands Hotel’s public relations by smiling a lot during her performances. She can sing well in English and sounds remarkably like Celine Dion and Mariah Carey when she sings their songs. However, she speaks very little English, so she leaves all the talking to her sister when they perform together. While she is among many Filipino entertainers who have a reputation throughout Asia for being good singers of western pop songs, she is at the same time silenced by her inability to communicate well in English.

As the members of 2 BY 2 went around the lounge, they asked their audience members what songs they wanted performed. I was surprised that the entertainers were familiar with most of the songs and knew the original singers of the numbers requested, especially since the audience members that made these requests were of different nationalities, gender and age groups. Melanie Santos, during a performance at the Rasa Sayang Resort in Penang, was able to give the complete title of a song from the 1960s when a guest had provided her with a fragment of the title, and could even tell the guest the various artists who had recorded the song. Although many Filipino musicians are familiar with the history of the songs that they perform, they do not necessarily perform or imitate the original singers of those songs. Instead, they sing the version most popular

in Asia. Some musicians are also required by their employers to chat with their customers during intermission as they are considered public relations representatives for the business establishment. However, it is important to point out that many employers of Filipino bands have a policy prohibiting their musicians from having contact with their customers beyond the confines of their establishment and the space and duration of the performance. This is because Filipino musicians are considered employees of the hotel, clubs and restaurants, and while they may work in the front-of-house, they are nonetheless considered to be in a class beneath their customers. Furthermore, employers want to prevent their band members from having sexual relations with their customers, as employers are responsible for the well-being of their foreign musicians in Malaysia. Musicians who become pregnant by customers or father a child with a customer are automatically terminated from employment and sent back to the Philippines.

2 BY 2 began the third set of their performance at the Crossroads Lounge with Barbara Mandrell's "I'm Not Your Superwoman." This was followed by Marites Santos's rendition of "I Will Always Love You," a song first recorded by Dolly Parton but revived in 1992 in the movie *The Bodyguard*. Marites Santos reprised her role as Whitney Houston and gave an emotional performance of this song. Filipino musicians in the Asian hotel circuit give very sentimental renditions of love songs. All the Filipino musicians I interviewed believe that Filipinos are very sentimental and are therefore able to effectively convey the feelings of the songs that they sing. According to Jose Mari Chan, a singer and songwriter from the Philippines, "By nature, the Filipinos are sentimental, we are romantic, occasionally idealistic so that's the power that you see. It's coming from within and it's love, if you want to call it that way" (Chan 1997). Cannell

describes how participants of amateur singing competitions in the region of Bicol in the Philippines put on “careful expressions of emotional excruciation” copied from western and Filipino popular singers (Cannell 1999:211), while Iyer witnesses the ways in which nightclub musicians in Manila “play on the crowd with their eyes, ... twist the microphone wire in their hands, ... simulate every shade of heartbreak” (Iyer 1989:172-173). Filipino musicians in the Asian performing circuit communicate the ‘feelings’ of love ballads through stock facial expressions and actions such as closed or beseeching eyes, fist clenching, hands clasped together around the microphone and pounding of the chest (or heart) to simulate heartbreak. These manufactured emotions extend to the graduating dynamics of the voice from a hushed whisper to a loud proclamation of love or heartache, occasional embellishments in the melody or the repetition of certain words for emphasis.

On weekends, about 80 % of the audience at the Crossroads Lounge were locals. Many of them were regulars who had favorite 2 BY 2 songs that they requested often. These 2 BY 2 songs were the signature songs of the band such as “*Kuch, Kuch Hota Hai*,” “Shanghai Nights,” “Bohemian Rhapsody,” “Yesterday,” “The Best,” “I Have Nothing” and “Unchained Melody” which the band members had found entertaining ways to adapt and present. While in most cases, Filipino bands perform close cover versions of whatever music is requested by their guests, in this particular case, 2 BY 2 had been able to influence the musical demands of their audience at the Crossroads Lounge.

GEMS QUARTET at the Mutiara Beach Resort: Performing for ‘foreigners’

Unlike the members of 2 BY 2 who catered predominantly to a local clientele in Kuala Lumpur’s business district, the musicians of GEMS QUARTET performed largely for tourists at the Mutiara Beach Resort in Teluk Bahang, Penang. Mutiara Beach Resort is the hotel located furthest from the city of Georgetown on a stretch of beach in the northern tip of the island (see Figure 4.1). In fact, it is the only resort hotel in Teluk Bahang, which makes it appealing to those wanting to avoid the busy tourist belt of Batu Feringghi. Relatively fewer Penang residents will travel all the way to this hotel either to dine or to listen to the hotel bands. However, this hotel does cater to local tourists from the other states in Malaysia. The majority of the foreign tourists at this hotel are from the Middle East and Europe. The members of GEMS QUARTET did not usually have a fixed list of what they would sing each evening. The leader of the band sized up the audience and decided what to sing, and in so doing, assigned different identities to their diverse audience. During one performance in 2001, the band began rather quietly with a number sung by Lydia Almendral entitled “You’ve Got A Way,” made famous by Shania Twain. On noticing the arrival of a group of middle-aged Caucasian men at the lounge, the leader of the band, Alejo Sibayan, reverted to Bob Dylan’s “Hurricane.” He followed this with Bobby Darin’s “Mack the Knife” and Johnny Cash’s “Highwayman.” This is an example of Filipino musicians tailoring their repertoire to suit their audience. The members of GEMS QUARTET thought these latest additions to the audience were people who had knowledge of Western pop songs from the 1960s. The middle-aged Caucasian men appeared to be enjoying the music. They were aware that the songs were directed at them because of the frequent glances and smiles the singers sent their way. They clapped

when each song and its original singer were announced to show they were familiar with the song and the particular version the Filipino singers were presenting. The actions of these men showed that they were acknowledging the identity assigned to them by the entertainers.

In an attempt to determine and meet the musical tastes of their audience, Filipino entertainers sometimes compartmentalize their audience into demographic segments based on age, gender and nationality. They usually make a calculated guess of the nationality of their guests based on their “dressing, walk and actions” (interview, Cruz, 15 Jan 2004). This however can result in their singing of songs that reflect a stereotypical and generalized view of their audience’s musical preferences. They rely on the responses of the audience to songs sung to decide if a particular line of identification of their audience members should be pursued or ceased.

The international audience of Filipino bands, the ‘foreigners’ in the place where they perform, generally are accepting and appreciative of the songs the Filipinos sing for them, even if they do not specifically request these songs. Roy Armes, an American who works as a corporate vice-president of a Fortune 200 company, frequently witnesses the performances of Filipino bands. From his business travels in Asia, he has formed the impression that Filipino musicians are good at performing Western pop and rock and are capable of imitating the musicians he grew up listening to, “classic American music” such as Elvis Presley and The Beach Boys. For Roy Armes, it is the Filipino bands’ ability to raise nostalgic feelings that makes these bands appealing to him (interview, Armes, 2 Sept 2003). Malaysian Kao Pei Lin is another business traveler who enjoys listening to Filipino bands. Her job as a human resource executive for a multinational

corporation takes her throughout Asia where she has on several occasions encountered Filipino bands. The near-perfect imitations of these musicians call to mind favorite pop musicians of Pei Lin's youth. While she had no objections to other musicians performing their own versions of the oldies, she nonetheless felt such renditions would not strike a chord with the audience the way the performances of the Filipino bands could (interview, Kao, 8 Jan 2004).

Members of GEMS QUARTET dedicated "Subaru" to their Japanese guests in the hotel's lounge. These Japanese businessmen clapped and cheered at hearing a song from their homeland. They were pleased at having their presence acknowledged by the musicians of the lounge in a hotel in Penang. While many Filipino musicians I observed did not imitate well-known Asian singers as convincingly as they did western pop stars, Asian audiences still respond positively to the efforts of the Filipinos to imitate Asian singers. Tess Domatican of RETRO who was performing at the Miramar Hotel in Singapore pointed out that her band would learn one or two Thai, Malay, Chinese or Japanese songs in order to entertain their foreign guests. For her, it was not the number of songs they could sing or their interpretation of these songs that mattered to their guests. "They are just happy that we know their songs," she explained (interview, Domatican, 14 Jan 2004). Dante Silva of SILVA BROTHERS, a Filipino strolling band, performs Japanese oldies like "Sukiyaki" for their Japanese audience, mostly middle-aged businessmen, because it makes them "feel like they are special" (interview, Silva, 12 Oct 2004). Moises Sumile of BLUE HEAVEN agreed since he believed such songs "make them [foreigners] feel at home in a foreign country" (interview, Sumile, 12 Oct 2004). Filipino entertainers often equate performing hit songs from the country of origin

of their guests with knowing and meeting the entertainment and nostalgic needs of their audience. Their guests, in this case the Japanese businessmen, accepted this song and its explicit assignment of identity and proceeded to perform their Japanese-ness in accordance with the song dedicated to them. At The City Bayview Hotel in Georgetown, Penang, the Filipino singers not only performed a Japanese song for a Japanese expatriate but also invited her to join them in singing the song. Hence, the performing of 'home' feelings is not restricted to Filipino entertainers since their audiences also reciprocate by performing the identities associated with that home. The ability of Filipino entertainers to invoke 'feelings of home' through their performance is contingent upon their audience being away from their homes. In a hotel setting, the entertainers are very likely to encounter guests who are from somewhere else. Filipino entertainers project surrogate emotions of longing and nostalgia with the music they choose to perform for that audience. Their agency lies in their ability to "manipulate (or simulate) affect," despite not possessing the economic means of production, to the extent of enacting sophisticated 'virtual homes' and 'virtual communities' using live bodies, their own and those of their higher status audience.

When requests are made for Filipino songs, Nora Aunor's "*Dahil Saiyo*" [Because of You] or Freddie Aguilar's "*Anak*" [Child] often are picked because both songs made a great impact on the Asian popular music scene in their heyday. "*Anak*" was even translated into several different languages that include Malay, Japanese, Mandarin and Cantonese. In requesting Filipino songs, the audience displayed their awareness that the band playing Western pop music on stage was not from the west despite their talent at imitating Western pop stars. In the same way that Filipino entertainers allot 'homes' and

identities to their audience through their selection of songs to perform, their audience also constructs a home and an identity for these diasporic entertainers by their request of Filipino songs. Asked how they feel about these two songs, most of the entertainers responded that they hardly ever sang these oldies at home in the Philippines and found it interesting that these should be the songs associated with the Philippines abroad.

Beyond performing Western and Asian hit songs and oldies

Beneath the performance of emotions and community lie harsh economic realities that spur Filipino musicians to engage in a performance of a different kind – the maintenance of social relations with their customers and employers in order to ensure continued employment. In addition to their ability to perform music well, hotels, clubs and restaurants hire Filipino bands over local bands or bands of other nationalities because Filipino musicians have built a reputation of being “always pleasant” and “always willing to please” both their employers and their audience in personalized or, more accurately, customer-made ways.

The *Career Manual for Overseas Performing Artists* best summarizes this role:

“Everything in the performance venue is designed to cheer and comfort patrons who are usually rich and influential people who can afford the great expense of celebrating or entertaining with friends, associates, and guests in such establishments. [...] Most often the patrons of commercial entertainment venues are just unwinding from the stresses of their cares and concerns and, therefore, feel as deserving of some reward and gratification, which they won’t mind paying for anyway. These are presumably the classic threesome of wine, song and companion. This third and last gratifying item has been observed as involving more and more the venue’s performing artist/s. An OPA, therefore, should anticipate and be prepared for the likely possibility of being honored with

an invitation, more eagerly so if she were a female, to come over to the table of a patron to join in the merrymaking” (Esguerra 1996:49).

Musicians of hotel, club and restaurant bands have the responsibility of attracting customers. They therefore take the effort to learn the individual names, nationalities and favorite songs of their customers in order to personalize their performances, “make the customers feel special” by addressing them by name and giving them a song dedication. Building rapport with the guests ensures that they will stay in the lounge or restaurant for a longer period of time and return to “support the band” in the future. Shan Selvadurai of the Malaysian Association of Life Entertainment Promoters (MALEP) pointed out that the financial controllers of many hotels in Malaysia vouch for the profitability of having a Filipino band. Furthermore, Malaysian hoteliers perceive Filipino band members to be more disciplined than those of local bands since they refrain from drinking and smoking on the job, and rarely miss a day’s work (interview, Selvadurai, 3 Dec 2003). Freddie Cruz, the bandleader of “Royal Strings,” places a great deal of emphasis on “discipline and professionalism” and expects members of his band to “obey the regulations, be on time for performances, rehearse regularly and get along with guests and employers” (interview, Cruz, 15 Jan 2004).

For many local bands, playing at a hotel, club or restaurant is a part-time job. Malaysian musicians, for instance, do it either to supplement their day job or take it as a stepping stone to a recording career sometime in the future. On the other hand, Filipino musicians perceive playing at hotels, clubs and restaurants as a career. Most do not harbor aspirations of becoming recording artists. For them, getting jobs at increasingly better venues for higher salaries is sufficient. Unlike many local bands that practice

infrequently, Filipino musicians practice regularly. They are housed together in the hotel or an apartment. Their lives revolve around practicing and performing six days of the week. Their day off is often spent away from the hotel, club or restaurant securing costumes for their performances, purchasing musical instruments, or locating recordings and scores of new songs. Hence, there is little distinction between work time and private time for Filipino entertainers performing abroad. They are highly intensive laborers who produce the most pleasant, leisurely, personal and intimate emotions through the most disciplined and totalized labor that is captured in the category of “helots”. Despite better working condition and higher salaries, Filipino entertainers nevertheless share many characteristics with the “new helots” described by Cohen (1987:25–29). Helots were the serfs of ancient Sparta (Encyclopedia Britannica). Filipino entertainers continuously seek employment in different cities overseas that require large supplies of entertainers while enduring extreme costs to their physical, emotional, and familial lives.

Conclusion

Musicians performing in clubs and hotels in Philippine cities face stiff competition due to the large number of musicians there. Those who are able to secure regular performing jobs are often top class and highly experienced musicians who at some point in their careers performed overseas (see Figure 5.3). Several of the musicians performing in hotels in Makati, Manila’s business district for example, have formal musical training, and include professors from the University of the Philippines’s College of Music. Romy Posadas who performs at Merk’s Bar Bistro has a degree in music from



Figure 5.3 – Romy Posadas and Roger Herrera Jr. performing at Merks Bars and Bistro in Makati, Manila

the University of the Philippines, while Jun Cadiz who performs at several hotels such as New World Hotel is a jazz professor at that university. Musicians who have performed overseas are generally regarded by their colleagues in the performing circuit as holding a higher status because these musicians have attained ‘foreign standards’ and withstood foreign competition.³ Filipino musicians are at the same time perceived as better musicians by audiences abroad because they are foreign, hence new, exotic and invariably “better than the local musicians.” While many musicians in the Philippines struggle to earn a living, those who go abroad to perform have not only managed to obtain regular employment and substantially higher salaries as entertainers but have also acquired the recognition afforded to Filipinos in the diaspora.

By appropriating the music and language of their former colonizers and combining it with a good reputation for being hardworking, committed and good at

impersonating well known singers, they have created a brand image for themselves transnationally. This is the ‘occupational culture of the transnational job market’ that Filipino entertainers strive to maintain. Filipino musicians in the Asian live-band circuit take advantage of the good reputation set for them by their predecessors who performed in the diaspora. They continue to preserve this Filipino reputation or performed Filipino-ness through the strong ties they maintain with each other in the performing circuit. Senior musicians instruct their juniors about the expectations of their position as Filipino musicians. They share songs among themselves and pass standard repertoires down to new recruits. Their agents also play a role in maintaining the image of the Filipino musician by briefing their bands on the requirements of their occupation. Hence, Filipino entertainers are created with foreign markets in mind.

NOTES

¹ This song was previously recorded by Patti LaBelle in 1975 (Wilson), but 2 BY 2 performed the 2001 version that was extremely popular between 2001 and 2003 in the hotel circuit due to the inclusion of the song in the Moulin Rouge soundtrack (Huey).

² Tagalog is the language spoken in the Tagalog region of Luzon Island in the Philippines. Filipino, one of two official languages of the Philippines, is based on Tagalog. Tagalog is the language most spoken in Metro Manila, together with English, the other official language.

³ This is especially true for ‘Filipino’ circuit musicians of the 1960s and 1970s who were considered superior to other Asian circuit musicians of that time, and were in great demand in high class hotels and clubs throughout Asia. See Rolnick (1968); Sum (1974); and Wee (1975).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Concorde Hotel, Kuala Lumpur

At 2:00a.m., 2 BY 2 began the final set of their performance. By then, the Crossroads Lounge was packed, with many guests having to stand at the bar. Most of the guests at this time were locals, some of whom had arrived at the lounge as late as 1:00am. After greeting the guests with “Good morning, Kuala Lumpur,” they began with a medley of songs by the 1970s funk band, Earth Wind and Fire, which had been requested by one of their regular guests. This medley comprised of “September,” “Got To Get You Into My Life,” “Fantasy,” “Reasons,” “Let’s Groove,” “Boogie Wonderland” and “After The Love Was Gone.” The members of the band took turns singing solo, and performed synchronized dance steps to these songs. Next, Tina Argao performed Tina Turner’s “Proud Mary.” She again donned her disguise and sang in the husky voice of Tina Turner, urging her audience to join her in the phrase “rolling, rolling on the river.” When Tina Argao concluded her performance, Marites Santos informed the audience that she would be singing Whitney Houston’s “Try It On My Own.” It was evident at this point that Marites Santos was the Whitney Houston ‘specialist’ while Tina Argao’s forte lay in her Tina Turner impressions.

Tina Argao and Miguelito Villa then sang “*Sayang-Menyayang*” [Loving Each Other], a pop song that was popular in Malaysia in 2003 and 2004. Both presented this song with a convincing Malay accent, which is not surprising since Tagalog and Malay belong to the same language family. They told their audience that they were singing the newer version of the song recorded by Siti Sarah Raisuddin and Jamal Abdillah rather than the original version performed by Fauziah Ahmad Daud and Jamal Abdillah under the title “*Sandarkan Pada Kenangan*” [Cherishing The Memories] for the movie, “Azura.” Next, Andrew Granado and Tina Argao presented another love duet, “*Bakit Ngayon Ka Lang Dumating*” [Why Only Now Do You Arrive] popularized by Filipino pop stars, Freestyle and Pops Fernandez, that had been requested by some guests from the Philippines. Andrew Granado went on his knees to serenade the female guest while Tina Argao put her arm around the male guest, much to the amusement of the other guests at the lounge. When they finished singing the song, Tina Argao thanked their guests in Tagalog.

Anglo-American mainstream popular music is frequently performed by bands in hotels and upscale clubs and restaurants in Asia. Because of the Filipino musicians’ ability to perform this music well, they are in demand as entertainers in these venues. During the colonial era, upscale hotels, clubs and restaurants in Asian cities used to be frequented by foreigners and the local elites. Only Western music was played at these places. The local elite engaged with this music in order to emulate the foreigners from America and Europe who were perceived by these Asians to belong to more modern, powerful and affluent countries. Their emulation of their colonizers extended to their dressing, food, lifestyle and education choices. For many local elites who led nationalist

movements, the burden of distinguishing themselves from their colonizers arose during their fight for independence. There emerged the tension between utilizing local culture as a symbol of national identity, and finding a cohesive means to unite the people. In Malaysia and the Philippines, for example, nationalists published novels and other material criticizing colonialism in the language of their colonizers because it was the language most commonly understood by the local literate. Filipino nationalists also utilized the *kundiman*, a romantic serenade that used Western harmony, scales and instrumentation, as a means to promote nationalistic sentiments among the local population.

The work of post-colonial scholars such as Homi Bhabha (1994) and Anthony Appiah (1992) that revolves around the study of the period of nationalism and the years following independence reveals this tension between finding a national identity and the more pragmatic adoption of the language of the colonizer for nationalistic efforts. Bhabha describes the mimic as “almost the same, but not quite.” For him, the colonial subject comes into prominence through his imitation of his colonizer. In no way mistaken for their British colonizers, the imitative behavior of the local elite in India instead highlighted their Indian identity since it emphasized the fact that the colonial subject was not the colonizer (Bhabha 1994:86). But how long should formerly colonized countries and former colonial subjects continue to be judged in what they do by the benchmark set during the colonial era? At what point can they be allowed to ‘forget’ their colonial past and be given credit for making choices freely as independent countries without the memory of their former colonizers lurking in the background?

Today, the leaders of Asian countries still experience some degree of tension between choosing to project their national identity and participating in the global economy, as Friedman's (1999) Lexus and olive tree example illustrates. Friedman has also shown that to participate in the global economy, countries need to subject themselves to the "golden straitjacket." In the case of countries in Asia wanting to attract investors and tourists from abroad, the golden straitjacket would entail providing these foreigners with global entertainment of the kind performed by the Filipinos. However, I argue that there, in fact, exists less tension in this matter than we might believe. For one thing, foreign music is engaged with without much imposition unlike the case in the colonial era. Asian countries like Singapore, Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan and India not only influence the economy of the region but also serve as cultural cores, whose political, economic and cultural influence extends beyond Asia. Hence, they are in no way submissive to the influence of USA or countries in Western Europe, some of which were their former colonizers. Furthermore, in this era of globalization, the leaders of these countries are able to utilize the best of both worlds, the Asian and the international, and can invoke either as the need arises without the pressure to choose one over the other as did the Asian nationalists of the colonial era. The government of China, for example, admits Filipino bands and international pop stars and classical musicians in order to provide its citizens with wider cultural exposure, cater to the entertainment needs of foreigners in the country, and project the image that China is a modern country willing to engage with music and musicians from abroad without fearing a loss of Chinese identity as a result of this engagement. Western music is no longer perceived as a cultural threat that must be reckoned with. While Hannerz (1997) is correct in his assessment that the

state is complicit in determining what foreign culture is admitted, it is important to note that in Asia, the negotiation is taking place between various cores rather than between core and periphery as was the claim of cultural imperialism scholars.

Unlike the Asian elite of the colonial era who consumed Western culture in order to be like their colonizers whom they perceived to be superior, Asians today consume foreign culture and music in an effort to be cosmopolitan. This cosmopolitanism through consumption, which Calhoun (2002) describes as “aesthetic cosmopolitanism,” goes beyond the consumption of cultural products from the West to include Asian, African and Latin American ones. Like the elite cosmopolitans, who hailed mainly from the West during the colonial era, who desired to engage with otherness in the colonies, today’s Asian elite also want to be cosmopolitan through the engagement with otherness, including the Western other, while consciously being aware that this culture is by no means theirs, as Brennan (1997) has pointed out. Hence, rather than perceive their participation in Western culture as an extension of imperialism or as an example of cultural imperialism imposed by a hegemonic Western force, I instead argue that theirs is a conscious act of consumption of otherness for the purpose of satisfying their cosmopolitan aspirations. There is no denying that the American and Western European media and music industries continue to dominate the world market for culture and to a large extent hold sway on the consumption behavior of a considerable proportion of the world’s population. However, the Japanese, Chinese and Indian film and music industries may arguably be the biggest influencers of popular culture in Asia. Asians also consciously consume Asian-ness, as Ching (2001) has shown in his description of Asianism discussed in Chapter 1. While many Asians consume sushi, Chinese herbs and

tandoori chicken, they have no desire to emulate the Japanese, Chinese or Indian. They eat these foods for the purpose of displaying their cosmopolitanism, and very likely because they enjoy this food.

My study of the musical choices of the audience of Filipino bands in Asia reveals another facet of cosmopolitanism through consumption, in this case sonic cosmopolitanism. These Asian audiences may listen predominantly to a repertoire of Anglo-American pop songs, but they no longer possess the same deference for the West as the local elite of the colonial era. After decades of independence, coupled with the efforts of many Asian governments to instill national and ethnic pride in their citizens, most Asians now are proud of their Asian identity. The audience of Filipino bands, for example, acknowledges their identity through their request of Asian songs, their acceptance of Asian songs assigned to them by the Filipino singers, and through their enjoyment of hit songs from the region. Consumption is an important means to situate one's identity. In the global era when consumption choices are extensive and global in scale, the audience of Filipino bands consume popular music from the West, Latin America and Asia for the purpose of situating themselves as Asian cosmopolitans.

Currently, Asian music shares equal status with Western music at upscale hotels, clubs and restaurants in Asia. Asian popular music is no longer perceived to be inferior and thus, unsuitable to these venues frequented by foreigners as was the case during the colonial era. Consequently, Asian popular music is performed side-by-side with Anglo-American mainstream popular music by the Filipino bands in Asian cities. Through their travels throughout Asia, Filipino musicians have acquired a fairly large repertoire of Asian pop songs. In addition to knowing the local favorites of a particular country, they

are also expected to be able to sing songs in other Asian languages in order to satisfy the musical needs of their foreign guests who come from the Asian region. Today, Asians form a large proportion of customers in hotels, and upscale clubs and restaurants in Asian cities. These customers want their cultural identities to be acknowledged by those who entertain them. In order to meet their entertainment demands, hotels, clubs and restaurants hire Filipino bands since Filipino musicians are able to sing songs in the local language of the country as well as Asian favorites. The increase in the movement of people across borders, in particular tourists, business travelers and expatriates, has necessitated an increase in the range of entertainment provided at business establishments that cater to a diverse clientele. Having bands that sing mainstream Anglo-American pop songs or local songs alone are insufficient to meet these demands. While many cover bands from USA, Britain and Australia can sing the Anglo-American hit songs well, they are unable to compete with the Filipinos in terms of providing a repertoire of such global proportions.

Filipino entertainers performing in upscale venues in Asia are not perceived as mere mimics of the West by their audience and employers, even if they imitate Western pop stars very well. They are instead perceived to be musicians capable of providing performances of a high quality worthy of the venues where these bands perform. These musicians are advertised as ‘stars,’ complete with photographs of them posing as a group, by their employers in promotional material and the local newspaper. They are touted as talented, experienced, and versatile and have “music in their blood” (see Figure 6.1) in these advertisements and write-ups in the newspaper. These advertisements and write-ups, produced by the hotels, clubs and restaurants to promote their establishments, focus



Figure 6.1 – Clipping about the New Fusion Band’s members (*The Star* newspaper, Penang, 16 Sep 2005)

on the entertainment they are able to offer their customers because the owners and managers of these venues are aware that Filipino musicians will attract business for them.

Furthermore, Filipino entertainers epitomize cosmopolitanism to many of their Asian audiences, and the locals in their host countries and in the Philippines, through their global repertoire, transnational occupation and international lifestyle. Filipino musicians in the Asian entertainment circuit enact a transnational job culture. They use English in their performances because it is the *lingua franca* in many international hotels, and upscale clubs and restaurants in Asia. They sing Anglo-American mainstream popular music because it is the music most familiar to the widest segment of audiences throughout Asia. They also know Asian hit songs and songs in Spanish, Italian and French. In addition, they are able to speak several languages. While all these aspects represent the requirements for entertaining transnationally, they also reflect the “third cultures” described by Featherstone (1990) that enable communication among

cosmopolitans in a global environment to take place. In addition, Filipino entertainers have the opportunity to travel and experience life in many countries abroad, live in classy hotels and mingle with the upper classes including other cosmopolitans, while constantly engaging with otherness in the form of their local and foreign audiences and the locals of their host countries.

Despite living among the upper classes and having many fans among their audiences, these Filipinos are not pop stars. Filipino musicians are entertainers for hire and employees of the hotel, club or restaurant whose job it is to please the customers and cater to their demands. Although Filipino circuit musicians are well-known worldwide for their musical and entertaining abilities, they are also reputed for their friendliness, willingness to please and accommodate, diligence and adaptability to various working environment. These qualities make them good workers in the eyes of hotel, club and restaurant managers. Filipino entertainers in the Asian performing circuit are fortunate to belong to a long line of talented musicians who have performed overseas for over a century. At the same time, they are saddled with the reputation of being submissive and obliging. Nevertheless, these Filipino entertainers do not typify foreign contracted labor in Asia. Contrary to the view that foreign workers provide cheaper labor, labor locals no longer want to engage in, or labor that is in short supply in a particular country, Filipino entertainers are neither cheaper to employ than local musicians nor fill employment positions locals no longer wish to engage in. In fact, Filipino musicians are viewed as possessing skills that surpass those of many local circuit musicians by their audience and employers. Few local circuit musicians are able to convey status on hotels, clubs and restaurants the way the Filipinos do. Hence, Filipino entertainers experience the tension

between being musicians of a high status performing in classy venues, and foreign entertainers contracted to work abroad. Their position reflects the blurring of boundaries between the back and front-of-house.

2 BY 2 concluded their performance for the evening with Crossroad Lounge's jingle. They took the opportunity at this time to individually introduce themselves to their audience, wish their guests a safe trip home, and remind their guests to return again to the lounge on another night.

Filipino Bands in Asia: *Quo Vadis?*¹

Japan has been a major importer of Filipino musicians since the early 1900s. In early 2005, Japan imposed a ban on Filipino entertainers because of the proliferation of Filipinos entering the country on the pretext of being entertainers who ended up in the sex trade. This caused a major setback to the Overseas Performing Artists industry since Japan was one of the biggest markets for entertainers from the Philippines. Political instability in countries in the Middle East, Myanmar and Indonesia has also affected the importation of Filipino entertainers to these countries. At the same time, some countries like Malaysia have tried to limit the number of Filipino musicians performing there because they deprive local musicians of jobs. For a time, it appeared that fewer Filipino bands would find employment in Malaysia. However, employers in clubs and hotels in Malaysia have found ways to circumvent government regulations, and of late, there appears to be an increase in Filipino musicians in that country. While most Filipino musicians in Malaysia used to be confined to hotels that could afford to hire them, more

and more clubs are also hiring Filipinos in the last few years. However, there is a trend for musicians of a higher quality to go to more upscale hotels, and those of a lower quality, who need to rely on revealing outfits and gyrating dance moves, going to less prestigious hotels, karaoke lounges and clubs.

Despite the cutback of Filipino entertainers in Japan, Myanmar, Indonesia and the Middle East, new markets continue to open up to these musicians. Presently, China is one of the biggest importers of Filipino musicians in Asia, with more and more venues in more cities hiring Filipinos to entertain their customers. Filipino musicians are also expanding their range of performing venues in countries like Malaysia. Therefore, it is highly likely that the Philippines will continue to export its entertainers for some time to come as they have been doing for the last century.

¹ *Quo Vadis* is a Latin phrase meaning “where are you going?” It is most well known as the question St. Peter posed to Jesus when St. Peter was fleeing Rome (Wikipedia).

APPENDIX A: BAND INFORMATION

<u>BAND NAME</u>	<u>PERFORMANCE VENUE</u>	<u>BAND MEMBERS CITED</u>
2 BY 2	Concorde Hotel, Kuala Lumpur	Andrew Granado Tina Argao Marites Santos Miguelito Villa
URB	Shangri-La Hotel, Kuala Lumpur	Sarita Carreon
GEMS QUARTET	Mutira Beach Resort, Penang	Alejo Sibayan Lydia Almendral
TENDER TUNES	Golden Sands Resort, Penang	Genalyn Gaspar Jenelyn Gaspar
STAR GLOW	Mutiara Beach Resort, Penang	Dairy Cornelio
DYNAMIC STRINGS	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore	Aracelli Molina Nympha Gerio
CLIPPERS	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore	Charlie de la Cruz
PEACH APPLE TREE	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore	Edilberto Gonzaga
RETRO	Miramar Hotel, Singapore	Tess Domatican
ROYAL STRINGS	Marina Mandarin, Singapore	Freddie Cruz
LOVE JOY	Paulaner Brauhaus, Xin Tian Di, Shanghai	Jun Dimaano Nelly Apolinario Ricky Rosalino
ECLIPSE	Paulaner Brauhaus, Xin Tian Di, Shanghai	Dilbert Luna
FORTE	Paulaner Brauhaus, Fenyang Road, Shanghai	Jun Aguilar
BLUE HEAVEN	Paulaner Brauhaus, Pudong, Shanghai	Moises Sumile
SILVA BROTHERS	Paulaner Brauhaus, Pudong, Shanghai	Dante Silva
2ND. DEGREE	Swing Café, Shanghai	Sheryll Ballestar Marvin De Chavez Gaddi Alberto Jose Ceballos

APPENDIX A: BAND INFORMATION

<u>BAND NAME</u>	<u>PERFORMANCE VENUE</u>	<u>BAND MEMBERS CITED</u>
HEATWAVE	Muse Curry (Restaurant, Shanghai	Greg Antonio
STEPPING STONES	TK2 Restaurant, Shanghai	Angelito Calianga Arlene Calianga
RETROSPECT	Danny's Irish Pub, Sheraton Hotel, Nanjing	Butch Dejos Chemu Chepsehor Sherwin Barera
THE BLOCKS	Sky Club, Shangri-La Hotel, Nanjing	Jose Reambonanza
VENTURE	Hilton Hotel, Nanjing	Yec Pomposo Kevin Mirasol

APPENDIX B: MUSICIAN INFORMATION

<u>MUSICIAN</u>	<u>BAND NAME</u>	<u>PERFORMANCE VENUE</u>
Aguilar, Jun	FORTE	Paulaner Brauhaus, Fengyang Road, Shanghai
Alberto, Gaddi	2ND DEGREE	Swing Café, Shanghai
Antonio, Greg	HEATWAVE	Muse Curry (Restaurant), Shanghai
Apolinario, Nelly	LOVE JOY	Paulaner Brauhaus, Xin Tian Di, Shanghai
Argao, Tina	2 BY 2	Concorde Hotel, Kuala Lumpur
Ballestar, Sheryll	2ND DEGREE	Swing Café, Shanghai
Calianga, Angelito	STEPPING STONES	TK2 Restaurant, Shanghai
Carreon, Sarita	URB	Shangri-La Hotel, Kuala Lumpur
Ceballos, Jose	2ND DEGREE	Swing Café, Shanghai
Cornelio, Dairy	STAR GLOW	Mutiara Beach Resort, Penang
Correa, Eide	TROPICARIBE	Sofitel Hyland Hotel, Shanghai
Cruz, Freddie	ROYAL STRINGS	Marina Mandarin, Singapore
De Chavez, Marvin	2ND DEGREE	Swing Café, Shanghai
de la Cruz, Charlie	CLIPPERS	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore
Dejos, Butch	RETROSPECT	Danny's Irish Pub, Sheraton Hotel, Nanjing
Dimaano, Jun	LOVE JOY	Paulaner Brauhaus, Xin Tian Di, Shanghai
Domatican, Tess	RETRO	Miramar Hotel, Singapore
Gaspar, Genalyn	TENDER TUNES	Golden Sands Resort, Penang
Gaspar, Jenelyn	TENDER TUNES	Golden Sands Resort, Penang
Gonzaga, Edilberto	PEACH APPLE TREE	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore
Granado, Andrew	2 BY 2	Concorde Hotel, Kuala Lumpur
Luna, Dilbert	ECLIPSE	Paulaner Brauhaus, Xin Tian Di, Shanghai
Molina, Aracelli	DYNAMIC STRINGS	Mandarin Singapore Hotel, Singapore
Moreno, Jose	TROPICARIBE	Sofitel Hyland Hotel, Shanghai
Pomposo, Yec	VENTURE	Hilton Hotel, Nanjing
Reambonanza, Jose	THE BLOCKS	Sky Club, Shangri-La Hotel, Nanjing
Silva, Dante	SILVA BROTHERS	Paulaner Brauhaus, Pudong, Shanghai
Sumile, Moises	BLUE HEAVEN	Paulaner Brauhaus, Pudong, Shanghai

APPENDIX C
BANDS' PLAYLIST

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (1)

1. _1_2_3	52 KB	
2. ==BIRTHDAY TOYOU==		11 KB
3. 10LETSTW	45 KB	
4. 2become1	45 KB	
5. 5678	56 KB	
6. 99_RED ANDREW		39 KB
7. A TOUT LE MONDE		43 KB
8. aagranado	37 KB	
9. Addicted To Love (Robert Palmer)		52 KB
10. AFTER D LOVIN	44 KB	
11. AFTER THE LOVE==		47 KB
12. ALL BY MYSELF	45 KB	
13. ALL THE WAY	16 KB	
14. Allthatshe wants	38 KB	
15. ALONE	24 KB	
16. ALYS ON MY MIND		20 KB
17. AND I LOVE SO	40 KB	
18. AND WHEN I DIE		52 KB
19. ARCADEAN	42 KB	
20. ARE U LONESOME		14 KB
21. AS LONG AS YOU LOVE ME		26 KB
22. ASTIME	20 KB	
23. Astrud	58 KB	
24. AT_17__	38 KB	
25. Awiti_mo	121 KB	
26. BABY COME TO ME		36 KB
27. BABY I MORE TIME		32 KB
28. BABY LOVE	34 KB	
29. Baby Your mine	43 KB	
30. BAD NAME	46 KB	
31. BAKIT NGAYON		35 KB
32. BAKIT PA	24 KB	
33. bakitlabis	40 KB	
34. Barbiegirl	46 KB	
35. BECAUSE I LOVE YOU		31 KB
36. BEFORE I FALL INLOVE		34 KB
37. BELIEVE	51 KB	
38. BESAME MUCHO		48 KB
39. BEST OF TIMES	40 KB	
40. BEST THINGS	23 KB	
41. BETTER MAN +3		35 KB
42. Birthday Song	12 KB	
43. BJ MY LIFE	41 KB	
44. BLACK IS BLACK		30 KB
45. BLUE BAYOU		31 KB
46. BOOM BOOM BOOM		55 KB
47. Borderline	65 KB	
48. BOULEVARD		54 KB
49. BRAZIL	58 KB	
50. BREAKING MY HEART		37 KB
51. BUCHIKIK	62 KB	
52. Bugitup	40 KB	
53. Burn	62 KB	
54. BUTTER CUP		48 KB

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (2)

55. BUTTERFLY KISSES	35 KB	
56. CAN YOU FEEL THE LOVE TONITE		16 KB
57. CAN'T HELP FALLIN INLOVE UB40==		27 KB
58. CANT HELP FALLING INLOVE		17 KB
59. CAN'T SMILE WITHOUT YOU==		36 KB
60. CAROL	65 KB	
61. CASABLANCA	31 KB	
62. CAUGHT UP IN A RAPTURE OF LOVE		50 KB
63. Cha_cha	76 KB	
64. CHEATING HEART	40 KB	
65. CHERISH	23 KB	
66. CHILI CHA CHA	44 KB	
67. CHIQUITITA	48 KB	
68. CHRISTMAS SONG	41 KB	
69. COCO JUMBO	50 KB	
70. COLOUR MY WORLD	23 KB	
71. Come&geturlove	59 KB	
72. CONGRATULATIONS	26 KB	
73. Cool_change	27 KB	
74. couldyoubeloved	52 KB	
75. COUNTRY ROAD	52 KB	
76. COWBOY	41 KB	
77. CRAZY	9 KB	
78. Cruishin for Bruishen	46 KB	
79. CRUSH	39 KB	
80. CUP OF LIFE	70 KB	
81. DADDY'S HOME	15 KB	
82. DAHIL MAHAL KITA	25 KB	
83. DAHIL SAYO	31 KB	
84. DANCING QUEEN==	70 KB	
85. DANIEL	28 KB	
86. DE JAVU	42 KB	
87. del-runaway[1]==	34 KB	
88. DESPERADO	15 KB	
89. DIANA CAROL	57 KB	
90. Diana-PaulAnka	52 KB	
91. Diary (Bread)	16 KB	
92. DINA NATUTO	17 KB	
93. DIRTY DANCING	43 KB	
94. DOCTOR BEAT	91 KB	
95. DONT FORGET TO REMEMBER ME		15 KB
96. DON'T IMPRESS	53 KB	
97. DON'T SPEAK	51 KB	
98. ELECTRIC YOUTH	84 KB	
99. ENDING ROCK	31 KB	
100.Ending_1	9 KB	
101.Englishman	57 KB	
102.EVER GREEN	25 KB	
103.EVER I SEE YOU	22 KB	
104.EVERYTHING I DO	23 KB	
105.EVIL WAYS	117 KB	
106.EYES ON ME	51 KB	
107.F_VALINE	28 KB	
108.FANTASY ===	71 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (3)

109.FEEL LIKE MAKING LOVE	55 KB
110.FEELINGS==	18 KB
111.Feellikemakin	65 KB
112.FERNANDO==	97 KB
113.FINAL COUNT DOWN	49 KB
114.Flack_Roberta_-_Tonight_I_Celebrate_my_Love	27 KB
115.Flashdance	54 KB
116.FLYING W OUT WINGS	18 KB
117.FOOL ON A HILL	31 KB
118.FOR ONCE IN MY LIFE (LYRICS)	76 KB
119.FOR THE GOOD TIMES	24 KB
120.FORSENTIMENTALREASONS	29 KB
121.FROM THE BOTTOM BROKEART	27 KB
122.GAMES PEOPLE PLAY	41 KB
123.GET OVER IT	67 KB
124.GETARANJ	18 KB
125.Getdown	33 KB
126.GONG XI FA CAI	47 KB
127.Goodbye	16 KB
128.HAPPY TOGETHER	40 KB
129.HAPPYSONG==	67 KB
130.HAVE YOURSELF A MERRY	33 KB
131.HAWAII50	47 KB
132.HE AINT HEAVY	43 KB
133.HEAD OVER HILLS	57 KB
134.HELLO dolly	40 KB
135.Holiday	85 KB
136.HOORAY	74 KB
137.Horny	66 KB
138.HOUND DOG	46 KB
139.house of the rising sun	62 KB
140.HOW AM I SUPPOSE	46 KB
141.I BELIEVE IN YOU AND ME	36 KB
142.I DON'T LIKE TO SLEEP ALONE	14 KB
143.I DONT SLEEP	18 KB
144.I don't want too	38 KB
145.I FEEL GOOD	41 KB
146.I GUESS IT DOESN'T MATTER ANYHOW	21 KB
147.I JUST CALL TO SAY 143==	44 KB
148.I KNOW HIM SO WELL	25 KB
149.I LIVE MY LIFE 4 U	52 KB
150.I LOVE THE NITE LIFE1	50 KB
151.I NEVER FALL INLOVE	31 KB
152.I REALLY WANNA C U 2	30 KB
153.I WANNA DANCE WITH SOMEBODY	62 KB
154.I WILL SURVIVE LONG	78 KB
155.I WRITE THE SONGS==	11 KB
156.Ibiza	42 KB
157.Icantstop	50 KB
158.If You Don't Know Me By Now (Simply Red)	39 KB
159.IF YOU LEAVE ME NOW==	35 KB
160.Ifucouldread	36 KB
161.Ifuhadmylove	63 KB
162.Ijustcanget	43 KB

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (4)

163. I'M OUTTA LOVE	60 KB
164. IMAGIEII	40 KB
165. IMGIGOLO	44 KB
166. Indian	53 KB
167. INM_LIFE	18 KB
168. INSATIATBLE	50 KB
169. ipagpatawad_mo	11 KB
170. IRONIC	44 KB
171. ISLAND IN THE STREAM	26 KB
172. IT TAKES TOO LONG	21 KB
173. ITCHY BITSY	20 KB
174. ITS ALL COMING BACK	55 KB
175. It'smylife	102 KB
176. JAMBALAYA	42 KB
177. JENNY ON THE BLOCK	34 KB
178. JOHNNY B GOOD	66 KB
179. Just Help Yourself-Tom Jones	45 KB
180. Justagigolo	78 KB
181. KAILAngan koy iKAW	7 KB
182. KILLING ME SOFTLY	40 KB
183. KIND OF HUSH	23 KB
184. KISS_____	24 KB
185. KISS2	30 KB
186. KNOCK 3 X	22 KB
187. KNOCK ON WOOD	66 KB
188. KNOCKING ON HEAVENS DOOR	43 KB
189. Koybitoyo	25 KB
190. Kumustaka	19 KB
191. LA BOMBA	112 KB
192. LA ISLA BONITA	49 KB
193. LADIESNIGHT	52 KB
194. LADY==	33 KB
195. LAMBADA	72 KB
196. Lasting on my mind	54 KB
197. Lay Down Sally (Eric Clapton)	87 KB
198. LeavingOnAJetPlane2-JohnDenver[1]	18 KB
199. Lemon_3	30 KB
200. LET ME BE THERE	15 KB
201. LETTER2MYSELF-A	56 KB
202. LETTERMEN 1	35 KB
203. LETTERMEN 2	1 KB
204. Life	51 KB
205. Limbo_rock[1]	32 KB
206. LISTEN TO THE MUSIC==	84 KB
207. Longer (Dan Fogelberg)	14 KB
208. Lookwho	95 KB
209. LOST IN SPACE	63 KB
210. LOVE ME TENDER	54 KB
211. LOVE SHOCK 1	53 KB
212. LOVE SHOCK 2	5 KB
213. LOVE STORY	22 KB
214. LOVE WONT LET ME WAIT	55 KB
215. Lovefool	51 KB
216. MAC THE KNIFE	41 KB

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (5)

217.MAKE IT EASY	33 KB	
218.Maria	38 KB	
219.MCARTH-1	55 KB	
220.MEDITATION	32 KB	
221.MIKI	56 KB	
222.MISTY	22 KB	
223.MONA LIZA	15 KB	
224.moonlightserenade	20 KB	
225.MORE THAN I CAN SAY-3	27 KB	
226.MORE THAN WORDS	20 KB	
227.MORNIN[1]al jerreau	49 KB	
228.MRMELODI	48 KB	
229.MY CHERRY AMOR	44 KB	
230.MY LOVE (WL)	66 KB	
231.MY_L_O_V_E	22 KB	
232.Mytamborine	74 KB	
233.Mywayrevival	110 KB	
234.NEARNESS OF YOU	13 KB	
235.NEVERKNEWLOVE	51 KB	
236.nevermylove	23 KB	
237.NEW YORK NEW YORK====	24 KB	
238.NITE FEVER MED	74 KB	
239.NITE TO REMEMBER	55 KB	
240.Nitefever	74 KB	
241.NO ONE IN THE WORLD	52 KB	
242.NOTHINGS GONNA CHANGE MY LOVE	29 KB	
243.Nowicandance	108 KB	
244.OBLA DI OBLA DA	50 KB	
245.OH DARLING-BeatleS	37 KB	
246.OneInAMillion	41 KB	
247.ONENOTES	25 KB	
248.Ooopss	29 KB	
249.OpenArms-Journey[1]====	10 KB	
250.OYE	95 KB	
251.Oye_Como_Va	62 KB	
252.PAINT MY LOVE	44 KB	
253.PAMINSAN	24 KB	
254.PAPER ROSES	24 KB	
255.PART TIME LOVER	46 KB	
256.Pinkcadillac	49 KB	
257.PLATTERS	41 KB	
258.PLEASE RELEASE ME	34 KB	
259.Pleasedontgo	53 KB	
260.PORTRAIT OF MY LOVE	25 KB	
261.Privatedancer	48 KB	
262.PROMISE ME	33 KB	
263.PROMISES	69 KB	
264.PUPPY LOVE	15 KB	
265.Queen_-_bicycle_race	33 KB	
266.QUEEN_-_PLAY_THE_GAME	32 KB	
267.Quitplaying	23 KB	
268.RADIO GA GA	55 KB	
269.REACH	69 KB	
270.REASON	46 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (6)

271.REMEM_ME	46 KB	
272.RHYTHM GONNA GET YOU		43 KB
273.RHYTHM NATION	74 KB	
274.RHYTHM OF THE RAIN		23 KB
275.Rhythm	51 KB	
276.RIGHT HERE WAITING		17 KB
277.Riverdeep	113 KB	
278.Rockitrou	38 KB	
279.ROOFGARD[1]al jerreau		78 KB
280.SACRIFICE	48 KB	
281.SAILING	54 KB	
282.SanaMaulitMuli	25 KB	
283.SANDARKAN	50 KB	
284.Santana_Maria-Maria[1]		36 KB
285.satisfaction[1]	42 KB	
286.Saturdaynight	71 KB	
287.SAVING ALL MY LOVE-1		37 KB
288.SAY A LITTLE PRAYER		82 KB
289.SAYNOING	44 KB	
290.SCRUB	27 KB	
291.SEA OF LOVE	27 KB	
292.SEALED WITH A KISS++		19 KB
293.Selfcontrol	81 KB	
294.SEPTEMBER MORN		26 KB
295.SHALALA	71 KB	
296.SHAME LARUSO		56 KB
297.SHE	14 KB	
298.She's_not_there	33 KB	
299.Sinatra_Frank_- More		33 KB
300.SisterGoldenHair	39 KB	
301.skyline pigeon	41 KB	
302.Sleeping child	43 KB	
303.SMOOTH	75 KB	
304.Soldieroffortune	12 KB	
305.SORRYS~1	18 KB	
306.SPECWAY	41 KB	
307.STAND BY ME		25 KB
308.STAND BY YOUR MAN		47 KB
309.StandByMe-DinseysTimonAndPumba[1]		27 KB
310.Stay	73 KB	
311.Stayinalive	54 KB	
312.STILL CALL AUSTRALIA HOME		23 KB
313.summer holiday	35 KB	
314.SWEET CAROLINE+=		30 KB
315.Sweet Love (Anita Baker)	44 KB	
316.SweetDreams-	39 KB	
317.SWEETEST TABOO	58 KB	
318.TEDY BEAR	18 KB	
319.THE GIFT	29 KB	
320.THE GIFT0-0-	29 KB	
321.THE LAST WALTZ	27 KB	
322.THE ONE YOU LOVE		36 KB
323.THE THING YOU DO		70 KB
324.the way it used to be	22 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (7)

325. THRU THE FIRE		42 KB
326. Tikittak	79 KB	
327. TOALLGIRLSBEFORE==		29 KB
328. TOOYOUNG ok		18 KB
329. TOP OF THE WORLD		41 KB
330. TOTAL ECLIPSE		45 KB
331. Truely	18 KB	
332. Tsugonay	44 KB	
333. turn the beat around	103 KB	
334. unbreak my heart	29 KB	
335. UNCHAINED MELODY REV		34 KB
336. unchained melody	31 KB	
337. Valentine	19 KB	
338. Vengaboys	82 KB	
339. VENUS BLACK IS BLACK		89 KB
340. WALK OF LIFE ==		52 KB
341. Wannabe	24 KB	
342. Wannagetup	26 KB	
343. Waterfalls	82 KB	
344. WE_ WILL GET THERE		50 KB
345. wearetheworld	71 KB	
346. whatididforlove	17 KB	
347. WHATS LOVE	33 KB	
348. WHATS UP	30 KB	
349. WHEN Will i c U	27 KB	
350. WHEN YOU SAY NOTHING		44 KB
351. Whip_it	33 KB	
352. WHITE CHRISTMAS		28 KB
353. WHITER SHADES OF PALE		30 KB
354. WHY	41 KB	
355. woman inlove p sister	37 KB	
356. WOMAN	42 KB	
357. WONDER OF YOU	28 KB	
358. WORDS GET IN THE WAY		36 KB
359. X-Files	39 KB	
360. YCALLREA	70 KB	
361. Yellow Submarine (Beatles)	22 KB	
362. YESTERDAY BEATLES	20 KB	
363. YOU ARE D SUNSHINE	23 KB	
364. YOU ARE NOT ALONE	40 KB	
365. YOU CAN'T HURRY LOVE	68 KB	
366. youneedm	24 KB	
367. You've Lost That Lovin' Feeling (Rightous Brothers)	29 KB	
368. Size Image Properties Description		
369. -----		
370. ABBA MEDLEY	72 KB	
371. AFTER D LOVIN	44 KB	
372. Alltheway	16 KB	
373. ARE U LONESOME	14 KB	
374. ASTIME	20 KB	
375. Bella maria	46 KB	
376. BESAME MUCHO	48 KB	
377. bestthing	23 KB	
378. BLUE SPANISH EYES	25 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (8)

379.Blue_bayou	31 KB	
380.Blvd_dan	54 KB	
381.BRAND NEW	28 KB	
382.Canthelp	17 KB	
383.CANTTAKEMYEYESOFYOU		28 KB
384.cheating heart	40 KB	
385.CLOSE TO YOU revival	46 KB	
386.CLOSE TO YOU	24 KB	
387.Cocker_Joe_-_You_are_so_beautiful	11 KB	
388.copacobana	74 KB	
389.COWBOY	41 KB	
390.Crazy	9 KB	
391.Daddyhome	15 KB	
392.Delilah	35 KB	
393.del-runaway[1]==	34 KB	
394.DON'T CRY FOR ME ARGENTINA		18 KB
395.DON'T IT MAKE MY BROWN EYES		32 KB
396Feelings	20 KB	
397.Foolonahill	36 KB	
398.FOR ONCE IN MY LIFE (LYRICS)		76 KB
399.Fordgoodtime	24 KB	
400.FORSENTIMENTALREASONS		29 KB
401.girl_from_ipanema2[1]	36 KB	
402.green_green_grass_of_home-tom-jones[1]		29 KB
403.HAPPY TOGETHER	40 KB	
404.Heaintheavy	43 KB	
405.HelloDolly	44 KB	
406.hellodolly[1]	38 KB	
407.HOORAY	74 KB	
408.HOUND DOG	46 KB	
409.I HONESTLY LOVE YOU		23 KB
410.I NEVER FALL INLOVE		31 KB
411.Icantstop	50 KB	
412.I'LLNE_1	37 KB	
413.ITCHY BITTSY	23 KB	
414.IT'S NOT UNUSUAL	32 KB	
415.ITS NOW OR NEVER	41 KB	
416.Ittakeslong	23 KB	
417.Iusetolove	25 KB	
418.I'VE GOT YOU UNDER		26 KB
419.Iwontlast	32 KB	
420.Jambalaya	47 KB	
421.JOHNNY B GOOD	66 KB	
422.Just Help Yourself-Tom Jones	45 KB	
423.Kindofhush	23 KB	
424.Knock3x	22 KB	
425.Kokomo	66 KB	
426.LADY[1]	33 KB	
427.Letitbe	26 KB	
428.Letmebethere	15 KB	
429.LETTER2MYSELF		63 KB
430.LETTERMEN 1	35 KB	
431.LETTERMEN 2	1 KB	
432.Long&winding	26 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (9)

433.Looking2disl	19 KB	
434.LOVE WILL KEEP US 2		68 KB
435.Loveboat	52 KB	
436.LOVES ON THE ROCK		30 KB
437.Lovestory	25 KB	
438.Macarthur	52 KB	
439.Mackknife	48 KB	
440.MAKE IT EASY		33 KB
441.Meditation	32 KB	
442.Misty	22 KB	
443.MONA LIZA	15 KB	
444.moonlightserenade	20 KB	
445.My_way	28 KB	
446.mylove[1]	37 KB	
447.Mywayrevival	110 KB	
448.Natalie Cole - Orange Colored Sky		22 KB
449.Nearnessofu	13 KB	
450.Neither1fus	18 KB	
451.NEVER ON SUNDAY RHUMBA		33 KB
452.Never_2x	50 KB	
453.New_york	27 KB	
454.Obladiblada	50 KB	
455.PAPER ROSES	24 KB	
456.people[1]	57 KB	
457.PLEASE RELEASE ME		34 KB
458.Prettywoman	25 KB	
459.PUPPY LOVE	15 KB	
460.PUT YOUR HEAD	39 KB	
461.QUANDO QUANDO	61 KB	
462.RHUMBA A DAY IN A LIFE OF A FOOL##		37 KB
463.RHUMBA SHADOW OF YOUR SMILE		40 KB
464.Riversofbabylon	27 KB	
465.ROCK ARROUND TH CLOCK		39 KB
466.Route66-NatatieCole	49 KB	
467.SAVE THE LAST DANCE		34 KB
468.Savelstd	37 KB	
469.Seaoflove	27 KB	
470.SEPTEMBER MORN		26 KB
471.SHE	14 KB	
472.Sinatra_Frank_- More	33 KB	
473.SMOKE GETS IN YOUR EYES		34 KB
474.SOMETHING STUPID		36 KB
475.sometimes when we touch		23 KB
476.Standbyme	25 KB	
477.Standbyrman	47 KB	
478.SUPERSTAR	31 KB	
479.SWINGcheek[1]	36 KB	
480.SWINGflyme[1]	28 KB	
481.TEDY BEAR	18 KB	
482.THAT WILL BE D DAY		57 KB
483.THE LAST WALTZ	27 KB	
484.THE WAY WE WERE	25 KB	
485.The_Lady_Is_A_Tramp[1]		28 KB
486.		

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (10)

487. Thethingudo	70 KB	
488. TIE YELLOW RIBBON	46 KB	
489. TO SIR WITH LOVE	38 KB	
490. TOOYOUNG ok	18 KB	
491. TOP OF THE WORLD	41 KB	
492. u'll never find	59 KB	
493. unchained melody rev.	34 KB	
494. unchained melody	31 KB	
495. UNFORGETTABLE w LYRICS	18 KB	
496. We'veonlyjust	47 KB	
497. what a wonderful world	16 KB	
498. WHEN I FALL IN LOVE lyrics	30 KB	
499. WHEN Will i c U	27 KB	
500. WHERE THE BOYS ARE	41 KB	
501. Willustill	26 KB	
502. WINNER TAKES IT ALL	49 KB	
503. WOMAN IN LOVE	21 KB	
504. Wonderofyou	28 KB	
505. Wooden heart	67 KB	
506. Words	16 KB	
507. XANADU	46 KB	
508. Yestedaylsmore	30 KB	
509. YOU ARE D SUNSHINE	23 KB	
510. YOU DON'T HAVE TO SAY U LOVE ME	23 KB	
511. you'll never find	59 KB	
512. YOUNG ONCE	42 KB	
513.		
514. HY BREAKY HEART	51 KB	
515. ALL OF ME	46 KB	
516. Amor_ amor-Dalida	35 KB	
517. anniversary waltz	25 KB	
518. Bailamos	86 KB	
519. Bella maria	46 KB	
520. BLACK_magic woman	67 KB	
521. BLUE SPANISH EYES	25 KB	
522. BOOGIE IN THE MOOD	73 KB	
523. BOOGIEboogie-medley[1]	25 KB	
524. BOOGIEchattanooga-choo-choo[1]	123 KB	
525. BOSSA NOVAbossaazul[1]	42 KB	
526. BUGLE BOY	37 KB	
527. Cachito CHA CHA	22 KB	
528. CHA CHA BESAME MUCHO revive	35 KB	
529. CHA CHA BESAME MUCHO	48 KB	
530. CHA CHA ITCHY BITTSY	23 KB	
531. CHA CHA Meditation	32 KB	
532. Cha Cha Medley 2	63 KB	
533. CHA CHA TEA FOR TWO	40 KB	
534. CHA CHA	34 KB	
535. CHA CHAamig==	47 KB	
536. CHA CHAelbodega[1]	49 KB	
537. CHA CHAesperare==	42 KB	
538. CHA CHAlavirgen[==	52 KB	
539. CHA CHAoyeelcha[==	32 KB	
540. Cha_cha	76 KB	

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (11)

541.chili cha cha	50 KB
542.CORAZON ESPINADO	67 KB
543.CRIMINAL TANGO	37 KB
544.cumbchro[1]	59 KB
545.Dianacarol	57 KB
546.Evil_ays	117 KB
547.JUST IN TIME	41 KB
548.JUST THE WAY U R SAMBA	58 KB
549.LA COMPARASITA	29 KB
550.Labamba	56 KB
551.Labidaloca	53 KB
552.LATINO CUMBACHEROS	36 KB
553.LATINOcampo	18 KB
554.LATINOeldiablo[1]	65 KB
555.LATINOelmanicero[1]	57 KB
556.Macarena	91 KB
557.Mambo	94 KB
558.MAMBOmamboesp[1]	48 KB
559.MAMBOmambojam[1]	71 KB
560.NEVER ON SUNDAY RHUMBA	33 KB
561.perfidia RHUMBA	20 KB
562.quesera	40 KB
563.quizas RHUMBA	24 KB
564.RHUMBA IF##	21 KB
565.RHUMBA 1 A VOLTA DO BOEMIO	34 KB
566.RHUMBA A DAY IN A LIFE OF A FOOL##	37 KB
567.RHUMBA DIFF A DAY MAKE ##	22 KB
568.RHUMBA Histoire_d'un_amour-	28 KB
569.RHUMBA SABORAMI	35 KB
570.RHUMBA SHADOW OF YOUR SMILE	40 KB
571.RHUMBA SOLAMENTE UNA VEZ	33 KB
572.RHUMBA	23 KB
573.RHUMBAaccarezzame[1]	31 KB
574.RHUMBAanima[1]	31 KB
575.RHUMBAasrosas	39 KB
576.RHUMBAatequem	30 KB
577.RHUMBAbegin[1]	41 KB
578.RHUMBAbesame[1]	38 KB
579.RHUMBAbrigas[1]	31 KB
580.RHUMBAcafedas[1]	11 KB
581.RHUMBAcastigo[1]	36 KB
582.RHUMBAacorcovado[1]	31 KB
583.RHUMBAcuandovuel[1]	22 KB
584.RHUMBAdansmon[1]	27 KB
585.RHUMBAdelirio[1]	29 KB
586.RHUMBAfeelings[1]	18 KB
587.RHUMBAinnamorata[1]	39 KB
588.RHUMBAlebrancas[1]	29 KB
589.ROCK ARROUND TH CLOCK	39 KB
590.ROCK N ROLL HOUND DOG	46 KB
591.ROCK N ROLL JOHNNY B GOOD	66 KB
592.ROCK N ROLL TEDY BEAR	18 KB
593.SALSA	52 KB
594.SAMBAaocesar[1]	27 KB

PLAYLIST OF 2 BY 2 (12)

595.SAMBAcantode[1]	54 KB
596.SATIN DOLL	44 KB
597.stardust[1]	5 KB
598.SWING NIGHT AND DAY	37 KB
599.SWING AUTUMN LEAVES	23 KB
600.SWING WATLZmoonlight-serenade[1]	76 KB
601.SWINGcheek[1]	36 KB
602.SWINGflyme[1]	28 KB
603.TANGOArgentine[1]	39 KB
604.TANGObailearigor[1]	25 KB
605.TANGOcambala[1]	20 KB
606.TANGOcristal[1]	29 KB
607.TANGOHernandos_Hideaway[1]	43 KB
608.TANGOJalousie[1]	57 KB
609.TANGOlacumpar[1]	22 KB
610.TANGOLaMadunnina[1]	40 KB
611.tangonelia TANGO	11 KB
612.TANGOTangamigo[1]	84 KB
613.TANGOtangarg	8 KB
614.TANGOtangbarb[1]	57 KB
615.TANGOtango[1]	42 KB
616.TANGOtangonelia[1]	11 KB
617.TANGOTangoofRoses[1]	45 KB
618.tennessy waltz	15 KB
619.TEQUILA	65 KB
620.THE LAST WALTZ	22 KB
621.valsas WALTZ	47 KB
622.Volare1	2 KB
623.Volare2	82 KB
624.WALTZ	18 KB

PLAYLIST OF RETROSPECT (1)

RETROSPECT – SONG LIST

1. ABRA KADABRA
2. ADDICTED TO LOVE
3. AFTER THE LOVE IS GONE
4. AGAINST ALL ODDS
5. ALL BEHIND US NOW
6. ALL NIGHT LONG
7. ALL RISE
8. ALWAYS ON MY MIND
9. ANAK
10. ANOTHER DAY IN PARADISE
11. ASEREJE
12. BAILAMOS
13. BAMBOLEO
14. BATTER MAN
15. BESAME MUCHO
16. BLACK
17. BLACK MAGIC WOMAN
18. BREATHLESS
19. BROWN EYES BLUE
20. CALL ME AL
21. CAN'T GET OUT OF MY HEAD
22. CAN'T HELP FALLING IN LOVE
23. CARELESS WHISPER
24. CASABLANCA
25. CELEBRATION
26. CODY IN POD
27. COLOUR OF THE WIND
28. COMPLICATED
29. CONGA
30. CORAZON ESPINADO
31. COULD YOU LOVE
32. DANCING QUEEN
33. DANIEL
34. DESPERADO
35. DILEMNA
36. DO THAT TO ME
37. DON'T MAKE WAIT FOR LOVE
38. DON'T CALL ME
39. DOWN UNDER
40. DRIVE
41. EASY
42. ENDLESS LOVE
43. ENGLISHMAN IN NEW YORK
44. EVERY BREATH YOU TAKE
45. FALLEN
46. FAMILY AFFAIR
47. FEEL
48. FLASH DANCE
49. FLYBOY
50. FOR THE FIRST TIME
51. FRAGILE
52. FREAK OUT
53. FUNKY MUSIC
54. GAME OF LOVE
55. GAMES PEOPLE PLAY
56. GET THIS PARTY STARTED
57. HOTEL CALIFORNIA
58. GIVE IT UP
59. GOLD
60. GREEN GREEN GRASS
61. GUANTANAMERA
62. HAVE I TOLD YOU LATELY?
63. HELLO
64. HELLO GOOD
65. HERO
66. HERO (MARIAH CAREY)
67. HEY BABY
68. HONESTY
69. HOT HOT HOT
70. HOT STUFF
71. HOW CAN YOU MEND
72. HOW DEEP IS YOUR LOVE
73. HOW DO I LEAVE
74. HOW DO YOU KEEP THE
MUSIC PLAYING
75. I DON'T LIKE TO SLEEP ALONE
76. I DON'T WANNA TALK
77. I LOVE ROCK N ROLL
78. I NEED TO KNOW
79. I WANNA BREAK FREE
80. I WILL SURVIVE
81. I'LL BE MISSING YOU
82. I'LL BE THERE FOR YOU
83. I'LL MAKE LOVE TO YOU
84. IF TOMORROW NEVER COMES
85. IF YOU HAD MY LOVE
86. IMAGINE
87. IS THIS LOVE
88. IT MIGHT BE YOU
89. IT WON'T ME
90. IT'S IN YOUR EYES
91. IT'S MY LIFE

PLAYLIST OF RETROSPECT (2)

RETROSPECT – SONG LIST

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 92. JAMBALAYA | 138. SHE |
| 93. JOANNA | 139. SHE BANGS |
| 94. JUST ONCE | 140. SIMPLY THE BEST |
| 95. JUST THE TWO OF US | 141. SKYLINE PIGEON |
| 96. KARMA KAMELEON | 142. SMOOTH |
| 97. KINGSTON TOWN | 143. SMOOTH OPERATOR |
| 98. KISS, KISS | 144. SOMEDAY |
| 99. LA ISLA BONITA | 145. SOMETHING STUPID |
| 100. LA VIDA LOCA | 146. SOMETIMES WHEN WE TOUCH |
| 101. LADY | 147. SORRY SEEMS TO BE THE HARDEST WAY |
| 102. LADY MARMALADE | 148. STAND BY ME |
| 103. LAMBADA | 149. STILL THE ONE |
| 104. LE FREAK | 150. STUCK ON YOU |
| 105. LETS GET LOUD | 151. SUMMER 69 |
| 106. LETS GROOVE | 152. SUPERMAN |
| 107. LOADED | 153. SWEET HOME ALABAMA |
| 108. LONG TRAIN RUNNING | 154. SWEET LOVE |
| 109. MAMBO NO. 5 | 155. TAKE ON ME |
| 110. MARIA , MARIA | 156. TEARS IN HEAVEN |
| 111. MORE THAN I CAN SAY | 157. THAT'S THE WAY |
| 112. MUSIC | 158. THE ONE YOU LOVE |
| 113. MY LOVE | 159. TILL THEY TAKE MY BREATH AWAY |
| 114. MYSTERIOUS GIRL | 160. TITANIC |
| 115. NOTHINGS GONNA CHANGE | 161. TOO CLOSE |
| 116. NO WOMAN, NO CRY | 162. TOP OF THE WORLD |
| 117. OBJECTION | 163. TRAGIC |
| 118. OH BABY, I LOVE YOUR WAY | 164. TRUE |
| 119. ONE HELLO | 165. TRULY |
| 120. ONE LOVE | 166. TURN OFF THE LIGHTS |
| 121. ONE REASON | 167. UNBREAK MY HEART |
| 122. OUT OF REACH | 168. UNCHAINED MEMORY |
| 123. OVERJOYED | 169. UNDERNEATH YOUR CLOTHES |
| 124. POWER OF LOVE | 170. UPTOWN GIRL |
| 125. PRETTY WOMAN | 171. VALENTINE |
| 126. RAINING MEN | 172. WAITING FOR TONIGHT |
| 127. RED RED WINE | 173. WAKE ME UP |
| 128. REGGAE NIGHT | 174. WAKE ME UP BEFORE YOU GO GO |
| 129. RIGHT HERE WAITING | 175. WALK OF LIFE |
| 130. RING MY BELL | 176. WE ARE FAMILY |
| 131. RIVERS OF BABYLON | 177. WHAT'S UP |
| 132. ROSALINDAS | |
| 133. SAY YOU, SAY ME | |
| 134. SELENA MEDLEY | |
| 135. SEPTEMBER | |
| 136. SEX BOMB | |
| 137. SHAKES | |

PLAYLIST OF RETROSPECT (3)

RETROSPECT – SONG LIST

- 178. WHEN YOU SAY NOTHING AT
ALL
- 179. WHENEVER, WHEREVER
- 180. WILD WORLD
- 181. WILL KEEP US ALIVE
- 182. WITH OR WITHOUT YOU
- 183. WONDERFUL TONIGHT
- 184. WORDS
- 185. YESTERDAY
- 186. YMCA
- 187. YOU TO ME
- 188. YOU'RE MY KIND
- 189. ZOMBIE

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (1)

BOOK I RED

1. VIVA ESPANA
2. ¾ MEDLEY
3. LYPHARD MELODY
4. CHIQUITITA
5. AUTUMN CONCERTO
6. DOLORES
7. LA DECADANSE
8. FIFTH OF BEETHOVEN
9. APA YANG KUCARI
10. STRAUSSIANA
11. PETITE MELODIE
12. BOWL OF CHERRIES
13. B. THE BEGUINE
14. BLACK & WHITE
15. WITHOUT YOU (LOVE)
16. MOZART'S THEME
17. HOOKED ONCLASSICS
18. HUMORESKE
19. MUSIC OF THE NITE
20. LONELY SHEPERD
21. IF WE HOLD ON TOGETHER
22. HOW DEEP IS YOUR L ...
23. YOU DON'T HAVE TO SAY
24. LA STRADA
25. 3rd MAN THEME
26. I'M ONLY IN LOVE
27. COLORS OF THE WIND
28. PING-PONG
29. LOOK FOR A STAR
30. CAVATINA
31. JOHNNY GUITAR
32. CARELESS WHISPER
33. SAVING ALL MY LOVE
34. NADIA'S THEME
35. MENUETO
36. SCARBOROUGH FAIR
37. GOLD & SILVER
38. ALLA FIGARO
39. SUMMER KNOWS
40. JOURS DE FRANCE
41. DANUBE WAVES
42. OUT OF AFRICA
43. VERA'S THEME
44. VOICE OF SPRING
45. MUSIC BOX DANCER
46. HOME COMING
47. SOPHISTICATED LADY
48. LA TRAVIATA
49. COPACOBANA
50. ONE MOMENT IN TIME
51. NADJA
52. UNDER D'BOARDWALK
53. TYPEWRITER
54. BEAUTIFUL MARIA
55. VALSE LA PERICHOLE
56. BALLETT PARISIEN
57. I DREAMED A DREAM
58. A MEDIA LUZ
59. LA CINQUANTAINE
60. AUBREY

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (2)

BOOK I RED

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 61. JUST ONCE | 91. VALSE BLUETTE |
| 62. R. DELA ALHAMBRA | 92. FUR ELISE |
| 63. GOODBYE | 93. CANON FOR STRINGS |
| 64. GYPSY CARNIVAL | 94. BEAUTY & D'BEAST |
| 65. NOSTALGIA | 95. 4/4 MEDLEY |
| 66. POP CORN | 96. HOOKED ON ROMANCE |
| 67. DUST IN THE WIND | 97. MC ARTHUR PARK |
| 68. WALTZ IN AB | 98. PHANTOM OF D'OPERA |
| 69. ELIZABETHAN SERENADE | 99. HABANERA |
| 70. NORA TANGO | 100. PIANO SONATA in 'C' |
| 71. ALL AT ONCE | 101. MEMORY |
| 72. BALLADE POUR ADELINE | 102. SIBONEY |
| 73. BUMBLE BOOGIE | 103. LOVERS CONCERTO |
| 74. DAYS OF WINE.. & | 104. EXCURSION TRAIN |
| 75. TOOTSIE | 105. PATHETIC SYMP |
| 76. LOVE IS A MANY S... | |
| 77. DARK EYES | |
| 78. CHARIOTS OF FIRE | |
| 79. LE PETITE WALTZ | |
| 80. STING | |
| 81. LATELY | |
| 82. GOLDEN EARRINGS | |
| 83. PIZZICATO POLKA | |
| 84. LA PLAYA | |
| 85. PATOOTIE | |
| 86. INCREDIBLE HULK | |
| 87. WOMAN IN LOVE | |
| 88. CLAIRE | |
| 89. MORE | |
| 90. RHASODY IN BLUE | |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (3)

BOOK II GREEN

1. PLINK, PLANK, PLUNK
2. ALLA TURCA
3. CONCERT FOR ONE VOICE
4. PARADISE
5. TOCCATA
6. MERRY WIDOW WALTZ
7. YOU & YOU
8. MINUET
9. EINE KLEINE
10. JURAME
11. BLUESETTE
12. SABA
13. L'AMOUR C'EST
14. EL GATO MONTEZ
15. DR. SHIVAGO
16. BLUE MOON
17. STREETS OF LONDON
18. SYNCHOPATED CLOCK
19. AUTUMN VIVALDI
20. ESTUDIANTINA WALTZ
21. NO STRINGS ATTACHED
22. E . T .
23. SUR UN AIR VIVALDI
24. PART TIME LOVER
25. LOVE'S THEME
26. ONLY LOVE
27. BLUE DANUBE
28. NICHOLAS & ALEXANDRA
29. MOONLIGHT SERENADE
30. LA SORELA
31. WHEN YOU WISH UPON
32. MELODIE IN "F"
33. ITALIAN FANTASY
34. CUANDO CUANDO
35. PAGANINI'S THEME
36. GODFATHER
37. WALTZ OF THE FLOWERS
38. SPANISH SERENADE
39. QUIO
40. A COMME AMOUR
41. MUSIC TO WATCH GIRLS
42. HANICHO
43. MALAGUENIA
44. TREES
45. GYPSY ROSE
46. SWEDISH RHAPSODY
47. 5th. Of BEETHOVEN
48. PAPA WAS A JOLLY
49. IPANEMA
50. PENELOPE
51. NOCTURNE
52. HOW THE WEST WAS
53. TONIGHT
54. OVER THE WAVES
55. VIENNA ECHOES
56. ESTUDIANTINA PORT
57. MAYBE
58. BECAUSE I LOVE YOU
59. SENTIMENTAL MOOD
60. TAKE THE "A" TRAIN

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (4)

BOOK II GREEN

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 61. GALOP | 91. I SWEAR |
| 62. FINALE | 92. POWER OF LOVE |
| 63. VALSE ORPHEVS | 93. CAN YOU FEEL THE LOVE |
| 64. FERNANDO | 94. CARIOCA |
| 65. ESPANTIA CANT ⁴ | 95. TICO-TICO |
| 66. WEDDING OF THE WINDS | 96. ON MY OWN |
| 67. MALAGUENIA SALEROSA | 97. ROMATIC DREAMS |
| 68. TALES FROM VIENNA WOODS | 98. WALTZ FROM FAUST |
| 69. SOUND OF SILENCE | 99. SOY UN TRUHAN |
| 70. RADETZKY MARCH | 100. GENTLE RAIN |
| 71. A DAGIO DE ALBINONI | 101. GALLITO |
| 72. SOUTHERN ROSES | 102. FROMA DISTANCE |
| 73. VIRGEN DELA MACARENA | 103. BEAUTIFUL GIRL |
| 74. FILM MASTER PIECES | 104. SIFFLER COLLINE |
| 75. TARA'S THEME | 105. EVERYTHING I DO... |
| 76. RAINDROPS KEEP F... | |
| 77. ACAPULCO DE JUAREZ | |
| 78. DYING YOUNG | |
| 79. FOREVER IN LOVE | |
| 80. SOMETIMES WHEN WE ... | |
| 81. HERE COMES D'RAIN | |
| 82. TORNA SORRENTO | |
| 83. JEALOUSY | |
| 84. ST. ELMOS FIRE | |
| 85. WHAT A WONDERFUL W... | |
| 86. ALWAYS ON MY MIND | |
| 87. HERO | |
| 88. NOW & FOREVER | |
| 89. WITHOUT YOU (MARIAH C) | |
| 90. FIXING A BROKEN HEART | |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (5)

BOOK III GRAY

1. ZORBA THE GREEK
2. MISCHA
3. HUNGARIAN RHAP
4. GYPSY LOVE
5. IN TERMEZZO
6. SYMPHONY NO. 40
7. CORONA (MOZART)
8. LIEBESTRAUM
9. FIESTA
10. MISTY
11. NO OTHER LOVE
12. TO LOVE AGAIN
13. WALTZING MARIN
14. WINDY
15. I'M IN D'MOOD FOR LOVE
16. A WHOLE NEW WORLD
17. THE SWAN
18. WHITER SHADE OF PALE
19. EXODUS
20. PRETTY WOMAN
21. STAND BY ME
22. I TALK TO THE TREES
23. BEATLES MEDLEY
24. TO ALL THE GIRLS I'VE
25. LOVE IS BLUE
26. HEY
27. ANASTASIA
28. CHANGES
29. PIZZICATO (SYLVIA)
30. ENDLESS LOVE
31. TOREADOR (CARMEN)
32. BEFORE D' NEXT TEAR ...
33. ONE DAY IN YOUR LIFE
34. SEND IN THE CLOWNS
35. WINDMILLS OF YOUR
36. HI - LILI . HI - LO
37. HEAL THE WORLD
38. TAKE A BOW
39. OUT OF THE BLUE
40. SLEEPING BEAUTY
41. LOVE ALWAYS COMMANDS
42. TALES FROM VIENNA WOODS
43. TIME FOR YOU TO GO
44. BODY AND SOUL
45. TELEPHONE
46. RIGHT HERE WAITING
47. DARK EYES
48. GREENFIELDS
49. CONCERT IN "A" MINOR
50. PART OF THE WORLD
51. I WANT TO SPEND MY
52. PEANUT VENDOR
53. ESPANA (WALTZ)
54. HOOKED ON CLASSICS II
55. TENDER IS THE NIGHT
56. REST OF YOUR LIFE
57. CASABLANCA
58. SOME GOOD THINGS NEVER
59. HEAVEN KNOWS
60. WONDERFUL TONIGHT

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (6)

BOOK III GRAY

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 61. TANGO PARTY | 91. STRANGER IN PARADISE |
| 62. GREEN SLEEVES | 92. SOME ENCHANTED EVE |
| 63. BRIGHT EYES | 93. THROUGH THE YEARS |
| 64. APRIL LOVE | 94. FLASHDANCE |
| 65. SOUTH PACIFIC (HI-LIGHTS) | 95. HERE, THERE & EVERYW |
| 66. CURRITO DELA CRUZ | 96. AND I LOVE HER |
| 67. ONCE IN A WHILE | 97. MICHELLE |
| 68. STRANGER ON THE SHORE | 98. ELEANOR RIGBY |
| 69. SIN TO TELL A LIE | 99. A SUMMER PLACE |
| 70. LOSS OF LOVE | 100. PINK PHANTER |
| 71. WEVE ONLY JUST BEGUN | 101. WEST SIDE STORY |
| 72. WATCH WHAT HAPPENS | 102. I WISH YOU LOVE |
| 73. RUN TO YOU | 103. UNDER PARIS SKIES |
| 74. JUST THE WAY YOU ARE | 104. EL RELICARIO |
| 75. TULIPS OF AMSTERDAM | 105. THE SHADOW OF YOUR |
| 76. IF YOU LOVE ME | |
| 77. I WILL ALWAYS LOVE 'U' | |
| 78. TWILIGHT TIME | |
| 79. WHEN YOU TELL ME | |
| 80. ONE HAND, ONE HEART | |
| 81. MASQUERADE | |
| 82. MAMA | |
| 83. YOU ARE D' SUNSHINE | |
| 84. THE SONGS REMAIN | |
| 85. PROMISE ME | |
| 86. IF EVER I WOULD LEAVE | |
| 87. TRY TO REMEMBER | |
| 88. EVERGREEN | |
| 89. EL BIMBO | |
| 90. PEOPLE | |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (7)

BOOK IV VIOLET

1. DANCING EYES
2. LAMBADA
3. SANS TOI MAMIE
4. RAK KOON KAW LEW
5. CHA TREE KONGSUWAN
6. SARANGE
7. ARIRANG
8. THE LEAVING SHIP
9. MY DEAR LOVER
10. SPRING RAIN
11. BENGAWAN SOLO
12. WIDURI
13. AYAM DEN LAPEH
14. KAULAH SEGALANYA
15. WHEN WILL YOU BE
16. GREEN HILLS
17. LOVER'S TEARS
18. PU LIAO CHING
19. CHINO
20. MELAN MELAN
21. YI LAI SHIANG
22. SHANGHAI BEACH
23. ROSE,ROSE
24. LITTLE COUNTRY
25. SAY YES
26. SAIGO NO IIWAKE
27. YUKI WA FURU
28. KOOJI NO TSUKI
29. SAYONARA
30. SUBARU
31. WASURETE IINOYO
32. MALAYSIAN MEDLEY
33. SAMPAIKAN SALAM
34. LEGENDA
35. CHAN MALI CHAN
36. KAU KU CINTA KU
37. MENCARI MIMPI
38. WAJAH SIAPA
39. GETARAN JIWA
40. JOGET PAHANG
41. JANGAN TINGGAL
42. DI TANJONG KATONG
43. SINGAPURA
44. TARANTELLA
45. ANEMA Y CORE
46. LA GONDOLA
47. O SOLE MIO
48. AMIGOS PARA SIEMPRE
49. ADORO
50. SIN UN AMOR
51. ABRAZA ME
52. I A ESPANIOLA
53. ZANDUNGA
54. GUADALAJARA
55. MEXICAN HATDANCE
56. NO ME VUELVO
57. HAVAH NAGILA
58. BRAZIL
59. FUTARI DE OSAKED
60. ROMANA

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (8)

BOOK IV VIOLET

61. WALTZING MATILDA
62. THREE YEARS
63. A - LA - NA
64. CIAO CIAO BAMBINO
65. RASA SAYANG
66. ALA-ALA KITA
67. SAAN KA MAN
68. GAANO KO IKAW
69. IKAW ANG MAHAL KO
70. NGAYON AT KAILANMAN
71. IKAW
72. DILIGIN MO NG HAMOG
73. SA 'YO LAMANG
74. MUTYA NG PASIG
75. MARUJA
76. ANG DAIGDIG KO'Y
77. AKO AY PILIPINO

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (9)

BOOK IV VIOLET

1. BLUE BERRY HILL
2. BALALAIKA
3. POEMA
4. MARTHA
5. HINDUSTAN
6. ARE YOU LONESOME
7. VALENCIA
8. HEAR MY SONG VIOLETA
9. ARLEQUIN
10. DEAR JHON
11. MUSIC, MUSIC
12. LITE OF THE SILVERY MOON
13. BILL BAILEY
14. CHERRY PINK
15. CHARMAINE
16. THREE LITTLE WORDS
17. BEER BARREL POLKA
18. TANGO OF THE ROSES
19. RELEASE ME
20. BEAUTIFUL DREAMER
21. MOONLIGHT BAY
22. LA ROSITA
23. TINKER POLKA
24. LISBON ANTIGUA
25. SLEEPY LAGOON
26. BLUE HEAVEN
27. CRUISING DOWN D' RIVER
28. I'LL NEVER SMILE AGAIN
29. BILL BAILEY
30. SCHINDLERS LIST
31. TOSELLI'S SERENADE
32. DAYUNG SAMPAN
33. A KISS TO BUILD @ DREAM
34. ADIOS MARIQUITA LINDA
35. ONE FINE DAY
36. COME PRIMA
37. GRANADA
38. WOODPECKER SONG
39. CHOTO MATE KUDASAI
40. ON A SUNDAY . P:M
41. YES WE HAVE NO BANA
42. SEPT, IN D' RAIN
43. BEAUTIFUL PARIS
44. MA
45. I GET IDEAS
46. I CAN'T BEGIN TO TELL U
47. MAMA'S PAJAMAS
48. WHEN U WERE SWEET "16"
49. SPANISH HARLEM
50. OLE FAITIFUL
51. ORCHIDS IN D' MOONLITE
52. IN A PERSIAN MARKET
53. IMPOSSIBLE DREAM
54. ALDILA
55. CLIMB EVERY MOUNTAIN
56. KISS OF FIRE
57. DO-RE-MI
58. EDELWEISS
59. BUTTERFLY LOVERS
60. HARD TO SAY I'M SORRY

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (10)

BOOK IV VIOLET

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 61. YOURS | 91. TOO MUCH HEAVEN |
| 62. STARDUST | 92. YOU BELONG TO ME |
| 63. MACK D' KNIFE | 93. DON'T FENCE ME IN |
| 64. NEVER ON SUNDY | 94. PORQUE ERES AS 1 |
| 65. LOVE STORY | 95. AUTUMN LEAVES |
| 66. WHEN "U" BELIEVE | 96. THE ROSE |
| 67. LONGER | 97. SONG FOR ANNA |
| 68. BIG, BIG WORLD | 98. CRAZY BOOGIE |
| 69. BORN FREE | 99. MOONLIGHT SONATA |
| 70. ETERNALLY | 100. BLUE TANGO |
| 71. BLESS 'EM ALL | 101. JAZZ PIZZICATO |
| 72. ON A CLEAR DAY | 102. I HAVE A DREAM |
| 73. APRIL IN PORTUGAL | 103. DANCING QUEEN |
| 74. SOUND OF MUSIC | 104. I CAN'T STOP LOVING "U" |
| 75. CHOPIN $\frac{3}{4}$ | 105. MARIA ELENA |
| 76. CIELITO LINDO | 106. IF U WERE D' ONLY |
| 77. MY FAIR LADY | 107. TIME TO SAY GOOD BYE |
| 78. DANCE BAILERINA | 108. MARCH MILITAIRE |
| 79. I WONDER WHO'S | 109. SHE |
| 80. FOR THE FIRST TIME | 110. PEGASSE |
| 81. I KNOW HIM SOWELL | 111. BOLERO (RAVEL) |
| 82. SERENAD OF D' ISLE | 112. IKAW LANG ANG ... |
| 83. LEAVING ON A JET | 113. LA CUMPARSITA |
| 84. MAMBO NO-5 | 114. TELL HIM |
| 85. HIGH NOON | 115. TOY SYMPHONY |
| 86. MY HEART IS LIKE VIOLIN | 116. FRANK SINATRA MEDLEY |
| 87. SWAN LAKE | 117. S CENT OF A WOMAN |
| 88. THIS IS MY SONG | 118. SPRING |
| 89. MASSACHUSETTS | 119. EVERYDAY I LOVE YOU |
| 90. WORDS | 120. GREEN LEAVES OF SUMMER |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (11)

BOOK IV VIOLET

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 121. AUTUMN | 151. BAMBOLEO |
| 122. Y MCA MACHO MAN | 152. SABAI2 |
| 123. TEA FOR TWO | 153. TITANIC THEME |
| 124. MAN IN THE NET | 154. HOTEL CALIFORNIA |
| 125. JAPANESE SONG | 155. ANSWER ME MY LOVE |
| 126. IN THE MOOD | 156. MEIWA |
| 127. ROMAN GUITAR | 157. JESU, JOY OF MAN'S |
| 128. I WAS BORN FOR U | 158. WIND BENEATH MY WINGS |
| 129. SOMETHING MONEY CANT | 159. TSUGUNAI (JAP.SONG) |
| 130. I DON'T LIKE TO SLEEP... | 160. CONCERTO DE ARANJUEZ |
| 131. BLUE DANUBE | 161. LEMON TREE |
| 132. SUZANA | 162. PUPPET ON A STRING |
| 133. HOW DO I LIVE | 163. FASCINATION |
| 134. GO THE DISTANCE | 164. SMOKE GETS IN UR EYES |
| 135. TO LOVE YOU MORE | 165. OVER THE RAINBOW |
| 136. VALENTINE | 166. A TIME FOR US |
| 137. TERESA TENG | 167. SAKURA |
| 138. CHINESE SONG | 168. FEELINGS |
| 139. THE PRAYER | 169. CATONESE SONG |
| 140. ROMEO & JULIET | 170. EL CONDOR PASA |
| 141. FOREST GUMP | 171. CANDLE IN THE WIND |
| 142. MAYBE | 172. LIVIN'LA VIDALOCA |
| 143. SHAPE OF MY HEART | 173. HAMABE NO UTA |
| 144. MY LOVE | 174. LA VIE EN ROSE |
| 145. MEXICAN MEDLEY | 175. SO MEW HERE ^{OUT THERE} |
| 146. WHEN I FALL IN LOVE | 176. THOSE WERE THE DAYS |
| 147. YOU MUST LOVE ME | 177. ANNIE'S SONG |
| 148. BECAUSE U LOVE ME | 178. FORBIDDEN GAME |
| 149. SUN AND MOON | 179. CHARADE |
| 150. KILLING ME SOFTLY | 180. TONITE, WE CELEBRATE |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (12)

BOOK IV VIOLET

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 181. HAWAII, FIVE-O | 211. BARANG YANG LEPAS |
| 182. HABANERA | 212. GAVOTTE |
| 183. CAN'T TAKE MY EYES OFF | 213. MONA LISA |
| 184. TOKINO | 214. CRY ME A RIVER |
| 185. YOU'LL NEVER | 215. LADY IN RED |
| 186. NON DEMENTICAR | 216. THAT'S WHY |
| 187. LATIN SONG | 217. I JUST CALLED TO SAY |
| 188. DAHIL SA IYO | 218. SOME THING STUPID |
| 189. FLY ME TO THE MOON | 219. LA MER |
| 190. DANNY BOY | 220. SANTA LUCIA |
| 191. YOU'RE MY EVERYTHING | 221. SENIMAN |
| 192. KOOJI NO TSUKI (JAP) | 222. MERAK KAYANGAN |
| 193. AMAPOLA | 223. JAP, SONG |
| 194. DON'T FORGET | 224. WISH TO FOLLOW YOU |
| 195. PRETEND | 225. WAIT |
| 196. SMILE | 226. LOVE YOU ALWAYS |
| 197. SOLAMENTE UNA YEZ | 227. SOUVENIR D'FRANCE |
| 198. CRAZY | 228. LADY DI |
| 199. TOO YOUNG | 229. SUMMER LOVE |
| 200. AGUA DE BEBER | 230. THERE'S LOVE WAITING |
| 201. FIDDLER ON THE ROOF | 231. LOVE YOU DAY BY DAY |
| 202. ONLY YOU | 232. LOVE IS LIKE SEAWAVES |
| 203. HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE | 233. A MOVIE DREAM |
| 204. TOKUEI KITAJ | 234. JE' TAIME |
| 205. FRAULEINE | 235. COUP D' COVER |
| 206. SOLITAIRE | 236. SLAVONIC DANCE NO. 2 |
| 207. AIR FOR THE "G" STRING | |
| 208. TERESA TENG SONG | |
| 209. TODAY | |
| 210. CHANGING PARTNERS | |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (13)

“ RL ”

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| SAAN DARATING ANG UMAGA | 10. CHARIOTS OF FIRE |
| 1. SPANISH EYES | WHAT ARE YOU DOING |
| KATIUSHA | BRAZIL |
| YELLOW ROSE OF TEXAS | AN AFFAIR TO REMEMBER, |
| SUE CITY SUE | GERMAN FAREWELL SONG |
| 2. QUIZAS | 11. IT'S ALRIGHT W/ME |
| MEDITATION | MOONLIGHT IN VERMONT |
| UNFORGETABLE | 12. VIENNA LIFE |
| 3. GODFATHER NO. 2 | CUBAN LOVE SONG |
| RIGHT HERE WAITING | 13. LA BAMBA |
| SO IN LOVE | 14. WUNDERBAR |
| GRANADA | ANG DALAGANG PILIPINA |
| SKATERS WALTZ | 15. LAST TANGO IN PARIS , |
| 4. LAST WALTZ | STELLA BY STARLIGHT |
| LUPA | 16. PETIT OI SEN |
| JANJI MANIS MU | CHINESE NO. 2 |
| POLKA BANJO - HOLLAND | 17. MASQUERADE |
| TULIPS OF AMSTERDAM | PLAISIR D' AMOUR |
| 5. MERRY WIDOW | DEEP PURPLE |
| LIVE FOR LIFE | CHINESE NO. 3 |
| 6. CLARINET POLKA | MAY BUKAS PA |
| ONE OF THOSE SONGS | 18. BATO SA BUHANGIN |
| 7. KASTILYONG BUHANGIN, | TANGERINE |
| RAINBOW CONNECTION | GENTLE RAIN |
| 8. CANADIAN SUNSET | SHANGRI - LA |
| SERENADE-STUDENT PRINCE | BLOWING THE WIND |
| WINDMILLS OF YOUR MIND | 19. THE GREATEST GIFT |
| 9. MAHOGANY | CHACONNE - WHEN A CHILD |
| YESTERDAY ON CE MORE | TONIGHT |
| UNDER PARIS SKIES | |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (14)

“ RL ”

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 20. STRANGER IN PARADISE
STRANGER ON THE SHORE | 37. TARANTELLA |
| 21. FROM RUSSIA WITH LOVE
KAPALARAN | 38. A TAZZA 'E CAFÉ |
| 22. CABARET
MALRBORO
AUTUMN IN NEW YORK
LOSS OF LOVE
LIGHT UP MY LIFE | 39. O SURDATO ' NNAMURATO |
| 23. YELLOW RIBBON
MANHA DE CARNAVAL
IF | 40. NAGITA ALI CASTELLI |
| 24. EL BIMBO
GIFT OF LOVE | 41. VECCHIA ROMA |
| 25. 12 TH STREET RAG | 42. STAR WARS |
| 26. MR. SANDMAN ,
ROMANCE FOR VIOLIN | 43. TRISTE COUER |
| 27. PENNSYLVANIA POLKA
COUNTRY ROAD | 44. TRISTE COEUR |
| 28. INTER MEZZO RUSTICANA
SECOND TIME AROUND
ONE DAY IN YOUR LIFE | 45. THAT'S WHAT FRIENDS
ARE FOR |
| 29. SOMEWHERE | 46. GREATEST LOVE OF ALL |
| 30. PALOMA BLANCA | 47. NOTHING'S GONNA
CHANGE... |
| 31. IF I SHOULD LOVE AGAIN | 48. CAN YOU READ MY MIND |
| 32. I'LL FACE TOMORROW | 49. MAN & WOMAN |
| 33. HONESTY | 50. YOU ARE THE LOVE OF MY... |
| 34. THIS TIME I'LL BE SWEETER | 51. YOU & I |
| 35. HELLO | 52. TWILIGHT TIME |
| 36. THE WAVE | 53. MEDLEY |
| | 54. TUXEDO JUNCTION |
| | 55. BEAUTIFUL GIRL |

PLAYLIST OF ROYAL STRING (15)

“ D ”

1. ETERNAL FLAME
2. DREAM A LITTLE DREAM
3. I WANT TO SPEND (ZORRO)
4. LOVE ME
5. ONLY LOVE
6. TAKE FIVE
7. VINCENT
8. REMEMBER ME THIS WAY
9. NOCTURNE IN ED
10. ALL OUT OF LOVE
11. PERHAPS LOVE
12. READY TO TAKE A CHANCE
13. HAVE I TOLD YOU LATELY
14. I FINALLY FOUND SOMEONE
15. HERE I AM
16. CHANGE THE WORLD
17. CHARLIE'S ANGELS
18. THE SEARCH IS OVER
19. UPTOWN GIRL
20. FROM THIS MOMENT
21. THE LOOK OF LOVE
22. VICTORY
23. TOCCATA & FUGUE
24. JUST ONCE
25. BOHEMIAN RHAPSODY
26. METEOR GARDEN
27. CAN'T LOSE YOU
28. BUKAN CINTA BIASA
29. WINTER SONATA
30. IF YOU'RE NOT THE ONE
31. KOREAN SONG 3/4
32. KOREAN SONG 4/4
33. MY MEMORY
34. TEA GARDEN
35. I DON'T WANT
36. MORE THAN WORDS CAN SAY
37. EVERYTHING I OWN
38. I F YOU REMEMBER ME
39. 3 COINS
40. WHERE IS YOUR HEART
41. THE MOMENT
42. GLORY OF LOVE

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