Ang Amo at Maamo: Pangangamuhan among the Ayta Mag-Indi of Pampanga, Philippines

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ABSTRACT

This study tackles the system of *pangangamuhan* among the *Ayta* and Kapampangan families. Under this system, an Ayta child serves—without pay—in the household of a Kapampangan family for a long period of time, but receives free lodging, food, and education. The study charts the origins of this practice, situates it in the context of the literature on the Ayta, and uncovers the impact of the pangangamuhan system: changes in the Ayta's physical appearance and their concept of beauty; shifts in their attitudes to language, religion, folk beliefs, and traditions; and intergenerational conflict with their elders. This paper argues that though pangangamuhan—where the Kapampangan is called an *amo* (master) and the Ayta is an *alaga* (ward)—may appear as slavery, the Ayta also use it as a strategy to overcome discrimination and poverty. The relationship between amo and alaga entails a special bond, anchored on a deep sense of benevolence and gratitude. At the same time, while it is viewed as mutually beneficial by both Ayta and Kapampangan families, it nevertheless perpetuates a feudal and unequal arrangement. Instilling on the young Ayta the need to conform to the lowlanders standards and ways of life, it also fosters a greater acceptance of inequality.

Keywords: Ayta, Pampanga, Pangangamuhan, Indigenous Peoples, Education, Adaptation

Introduction

In 2006, a documentary aired on GMA Network featuring an interview with a ten-year-old Ayta, William. For the past two years, he had been in *pangangamuhan*—an arrangement where an Ayta child serves a Kapampangan family without compensation save for free food, lodging, and education. He tended the farm animals for an *unat* (a term referring to lowlanders because of their straight hair) family. To fit in, he wore a cap expressly to hide his curly hair, and sometimes completely shaved his head, hoping his curls would not grow back (GMA 2006).

Ayta Child:	A lot of people tease me saying that I'm an Ayta. 'You're Ayta, you're Ayta!'
TV Reporter:	Why? Is there anything wrong with being Ayta?
Ayta Child:	Yes.
TV Reporter:	Are you Ayta or not?
Ayta Child:	No, Ma'am.
TV Reporter:	You're not Ayta?
Ayta Child:	I'm Ayta, but that was then.
TV Reporter:	So, now you're no longer Ayta?
Ayta Child:	Not anymore.

This study presents a deep and detailed description of the pangangamuhan system among the Ayta Mag-Indi of Porac and Floridablanca, Pampanga, a province some kilometers north of Manila. Drawing from in-depth interviews with 15 Ayta and two lowland Kapampangan families, the study explores the features of this system of adoption or foster care, charting its origins, the motives of the Ayta and the Kapampangan families, and its impact on Ayta culture and identity. After an overview of the field site and methodology, I discuss and define pangangamuhan in the broader literature on the Ayta and proceed to describe the values embodied by pangangamuhan, and the disapproval of the practice by Ayta elders. The article ends with a brief meditation on the power-relations inherent in the arrangement.

Field Work

From 2007 to 2017, I conducted regular visits to two Ayta communities in Porac and Floridablanca, Pampanga and carried out in-depth interviews with various Ayta who experienced pangangamuhan. The interviews were conducted in a mix of Tagalog and Kapampangan. The quoted interviews in this article were originally in Tagalog or Kapampangan; translations are from the author's.

Because it is a system passed on from generation to generation, the available informants came from Ayta families whose members took part in pangangamuhan for generations. Ten Ayta informants participated in this study. Six started while they were in grade school or in their pre-teenage years (five to twelve years old). Five spent at least ten years with their amo, and one was still in service at the time of the interview. Because no data exists on the number of Ayta with pangangamuhan experience, as well as a list identifying families who entrust their children to the unat, I employed the snowballing approach to find my interviewees. After identifying the *barangays* and *sitios* that have a predominantly Ayta population, I contacted their local leaders and asked for leads on families who have been engaged in pangangamuhan; they then introduced me to other potential case studies.

Free and prior informed consent of the respondents were properly secured. Each one gave a written consent. To protect their identities, all Ayta Mag-Indi interviewees have been anonymized and assigned a pseudonym in compliance with the guidelines set by the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Region 3. As for the amos that I was able to interview—the Rivera and Cuevas families—they all gave their consent to use their real names, and were fully informed beforehand of the kind of questions.[1]

Table 1: Demographics of Ayta Informants

Pseudonym and Age	Place of Residence	Age and Duration of Pangangamuhan	Amo	Educational Attainment
Amelia, 59	Floridablanca, Pampanga	8 years old; 14 years of service	a physician in Pampanga	BS Midwifery
David, 60	Floridablanca, Pampanga	9 years old; 12 years of service	four different Kapampangan families	BS Agriculture
Donna, 30	Floridablanca, Pampanga	11 years old; 11 years of service	land-owning family in Pampanga	BS Education
Amy, 23	Floridablanca, Pampanga	15 years old; 5 years of service	land-owning family in Pampanga	Senior High School
Erwin, 19	Floridablanca, Pampanga	15 years old; 3 years in service and still under pangangamuhan up to time of research	family of doctors in Pampanga	Senior High School
Jennifer, 24	Floridablanca, Pampanga	12 years old; 8 years of service	a Kapampangan businessman	BS Education major in Religion
Liza, 40	Floridablanca, Pampanga	11 years old; 7 years of service	nuns in San Fernando, Pampanga	BA Education (undergraduate)
Josefina, 47	Porac, Pampanga	9 years old; 12 years of service	nuns in Porac, Pampanga	BS Education
Nana, 30	Porac, Pampanga	5 years old; 15 years of service	nuns in Caloocan	BS Elementary Education
Alma, 27	Porac, Pampanga	7 years old; 9 years of service	a businessman in Pampanga	BS Secondary Education major in Religion

I also interviewed some of the parents of the Ayta who are/were engaged in pangangamuhan. Five Ayta elders and community leaders were also interviewed to provide a broader context of the issue. Apart from the Ayta Mag-Indi, I also deemed it necessary to get the views of the amos of the Ayta. I was able to speak with Floriano "Nonong" Rivera and Dr. Ronaldo "Ronnie" Cuevas of the Rivera and Cuevas clans of Floridablanca, Pampanga. Both families have 40 to 80 years of experience of pangangamuhan, and still have Ayta wards.

Research Site

This study focuses on the experiences of the Ayta Mag-Indi in Pampanga, particularly those from the towns of Porac and Floridablanca. Both have the largest concentration of Ayta families in the province. The respondents come from the upland barangays which have the highest

concentration of Ayta residents—Pasbul, Planas, Camias in Porac, and Nabuklod in Floridablanca. Based on available data from the Municipal Government of Porac, Pampanga, the town has over 31,000 hectares of land and is the largest town in the province. Over half of the territory of Porac is mountainous (DILG 2013). Over 5,000 Ayta families are listed in the 2017 Porac Municipal Government census; they form the biggest Ayta contingent in Pampanga. Porac is comprised of 29 barangays, six of which are Ayta communities. Floridablanca is the third-largest town in Pampanga. Located west of the province near Zambales, it is composed of 33 barangays. Based on the 2017 municipal census of Floridablanca, two of these barangays are mostly inhabited by the Ayta. As in Porac, the Ayta consider a significant portion of the mountainous area of Floridablanca as their ancestral domain.

The Ayta: General Overview

The Ayta comprise one of the major groups of indigenous people in the Philippines. When Ferdinand Magellan landed in the country in 1521, the chronicler Antonio Pigafetta mentioned the "Negritos" whom Magellan's expedition saw in the island of Panglao in Bohol (Reed 1904). The Spaniards called them *negrito* (little black person), referring to their dark skin and small physique.

The Ayta live in different parts of the country. They are known as "Agta" and "Atta" in North Luzon, "Dumagat" in East Luzon, "Agta" in the areas that traverse the Sierra Madre mountain range, "Ayta" in Central Luzon, and "Ati" in the Visayas. The term "Negrito" remained in use throughout and after the American colonial period. Today, they commonly refer to themselves as *kulot* (referring to their curly hair), a term that distinguishes them from the lowlanders they call unat.[2] Compared to other Filipinos, the Ayta are generally shorter, and have a smaller physique, and darker skin.

The lands of the Ayta have been subjected to repeated encroachment by outsiders and lowlanders. Whenever new settlers came, they were forced

to flee and move further up the mountains, which largely accounts for their being known today as mountain and forest dwellers (Zuniga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* 1893, 422, as cited in Reed 1904; Fox 1952). Indeed, early studies on the Ayta, particularly by Robert Fox (1952) on the Ayta of Central Luzon (Bataan, Pampanga, Tarlac and Zambales), posit that they were not originally mountain dwellers. Instead, they occupied the areas near the coastlines and rivers.

The Ayta of Central Luzon

According to the studies on the language and orthography conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) International in 2006, Ayta communities in Porac and Floridablanca identify themselves as Ayta Mag-Indi. Approximately 5,000 people belong to this ethnolinguistic group (Stone 2006). Their way of life is close to that of the six other Ayta subgroups in Central Luzon identified under the Sambalic language family (Stone 2006). They are generally viewed as a nomadic, hunting-and-gathering group. In his book, *Leaves on the Water*, Tima (2005), who lived with the Ayta of Zambales from 1975 to 1995, writes that the life of the indigenous Ayta is entwined with the forest, on which their self-image is anchored. Take them away from the mountains, he says, and things will surely change.

The Ayta in Philippine History: A History of Oppression

The Ayta possess superior knowledge about nature that scientists were unable to equal (Barrato 1978). Even so, they are looked down upon by most of their lowland neighbors. Arbues (1960) believes that the negative perception of the Ayta stems primarily from their distinct physical appearance, skin color, short stature, and hair texture. But the discrimination also has historical and political bases. Over the course of 400 years, Spanish and American colonization deeply affected the Philippines. The colonizers forced the Ayta out of their habitats and segregated them in camps to educate and "civilize" them (Reed 1904). In *The Non-Christian*

Peoples of the Philippine Islands, Dean Worcester (1913) described—and looked down on—the Ayta as a people of low intellect.

> They are wonderful woodsmen and display great skill in taking fish and game. But here their proficiency ends. They are good at nothing else and their intelligence is of an exceptionally low order. They are a wild and nomadic people and every effort put forth by the Spaniards or the Americans, to educate them or materially better their condition in any other way has resulted in complete failure. (Worcester 1913, 841)

In the 1930s, logging and mining in the mountains became prevalent, especially in Central Luzon. The unat converted and then controlled many upland areas into to farms, homesteads (Kumar 1982), or to *haciendas*. Because the lowlanders were not familiar with working in higher terrain, they employed the Ayta to take care of their cattle. Also, some Ayta worked in the homesteads of wealthy Kapampangan families. According to the amos I interviewed, the Ayta were content to receive coffee and rice in exchange for their services. Vanoverbergh (1930), in his studies of the Ayta in Zambales, believes that the introduction of rice to their diet is one reason they were eventually forced to serve the lowlanders. At any rate, this loose patronage system was another factor for major changes in the Ayta's way of life (Seitz 1998). As their forest habitat was being depleted, their culture also began to change (Kumar 1982, 147).

When Mt. Pinatubo erupted on 15 June 1991, ash, sand, and lahar blanketed the surrounding rivers, forests, and lands. Countless Ayta families were forced to go down from the mountains. To provide housing to those affected by the disaster, the Pinatubo Development Organization put up Ayta Resettlement Sites. They forced the Ayta to live in concrete structures, and to farm and work with the unat, something they were not accustomed to (Shimizu 1999). The discrimination worsened. In a book by the local government of Porac, Pampanga, the following derogatory observation appears in the chapter about the Ayta:

> The character of the Ayta is untamable, and it is impossible for them to overcome their laziness. Driven by an irresistible instinct to return to the place where they were born, they prefer the wild life to all the comforts of civilization. (Sibug 2004, 202)

Because of loss of habitat and forest resources, coupled with the discrimination from lowlanders, the Ayta resorted to various strategies to improve their children's lives, including pangangamuhan.[3]

Related Literature on Ayta Adaptation or Survival Strategies

Pangangamuhan has long been a part of their history, according to the Ayta Mag-Indi of Floridablanca and Porac in Pampanga, but very little has been written about it. I also did not encounter any references to the term. This, of course, does not discount the possible existence of analogous systems or practices either among the Ayta or other indigenous groups. Even so, pangangamuhan differs from the many arrangements that the Ayta entered into in the 20th century.

References to Pangangamuhan or Similar Practices

The American anthropologist, John M. Garvan, in *Negritos of the Philippines* (1963), refers to a young Ayta living with a wealthy family in the lowlands, but does not mention the term "pangangamuhan." He also notes that the motivation for getting an Ayta child was unclear, although some people he talked to thought that the Ayta child may have been stolen, or voluntarily sold by the parents. He also noted that this could be a form of "mild peonage" (Garvan 1963, 160). Garvan did not delve into this phenomenon, but his description hints at a practice reminiscent of pangangamuhan. The set-up he wrote of also involved Ayta children going to school.

Similarly, Tessa Minter (2010), in her *The Agta of the Northern Sierra Madre: Livelihood Strategies and Resilience Among Philippine Hunter-Gatherers*, tells of an Ayta child who lived with a family in the lowlands. An Ayta woman from Divilacan, Isabela confided in Minter that, in 1968, PANAMIN leader, Manda Elizalde, took the Ayta to Manila to be "civilized." The Ayta's parents, she said, permitted the child to go with Elizalde so that she could be educated and fed. The young Ayta would later return to her community, but because her ways had changed, they no longer accepted her (Minter 2010). As in Garvan's research in 1963, Minter does not indicate the extent of the practice of getting Ayta children to live with Filipino families.

Pangangamuhan is also seen among the Ayta in Eastern Luzon, also known as the Dumagat. In 1975, Thomas Headland used the term *ahibay* to denote the special relations between the Dumagat and what he called Malay settlers, i.e. Filipinos in lowland areas. The former invoked it to adapt to the changing times, i.e., from changing agrarian relations between lowlanders and indigenous peoples.

> This Malay often calls on his Dumagat "serf" for help with manual labor, or to obtain rattan or wild meat from him. In return, the Dumagat can go to his Malay *ahibay* when he is in need of rice, wants to borrow an axe, etc. He may also have his Malay *ahibay* serve as a go-between in securing help from some town official. (Headland 1975, 251)

Wage Labor

In Botolan, Zambales, Ayta women resorted to wage labor, specifically house work after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo (Santos 2001). They used their earnings to send their children to school, seeing education as a ticket to a better life (Santos 2001). Guanzon (2010) likewise studied the adaptation strategies employed by the Sambal Ayta from the same Resettlement Center in Botolan after the Pinatubo disaster. To strengthen their culture and adapt to the changing environment, the Ayta migrated seasonally and

entered into service with the unat (Guanzon 2010). To a certain extent, the experiences of the Sambal Ayta in wage labor—as tackled by Santos (2001) and Guanzon (2010)—share some similarities with the experiences and intentions of the Ayta Mag-Indi who enter into pangangamuhan. Both groups view education as a strong motivation. Like the Sambal Ayta, the Ayta Mag-Indi of Pampanga also see as unavoidable the need to forge relationships with the unat.

The Question of Slavery

In 1913, Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester published *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands*. He supported the move of the Philippine Assembly to promulgate a law banning slavery and peonage in the country. Many Filipino legislators opposed the proposed legislation, insisting that both did not exist in the Philippine Islands (Worcester 1913). To debunk their claims, Worcester gathered cases of slavery and peonage, citing reports by local government officials and the Philippine Constabulary from 1912 to 1913. He documented the practice among Ifugao, Manobo, Mandaya, Tagbanua, and other indigenous peoples. For the Negritos, he was able to document six cases from Pampanga, six from Zambales, twenty-seven from Tarlac, and twelve from Manila. He defined slavery and peonage thus:

> I define slavery as the condition of a human being held as a chattel and compelled to render service for which he is not compensated. Food and clothing are necessarily furnished by the slave owner, and are not considered to constitute compensation. Peonage, I define as the condition of a debtor held by his creditor in a form of qualified servitude to work out a debt. (Worcester 1913, 4)

The cases of "slavery" described by Worcester undoubtedly echo the practice of pangangamuhan. Both involved rendering services without compensation, except food and clothing. Also, majority of the cases entailed the purchase of minors as young as two years old. Some were reportedly sold to wealthy families for 30 to 60 pesos (Worcester 1913, 42). In contrast, in

the cases I documented among the Ayta Mag-Indi in Pampanga, majority of the children entered pangangamuhan at the age of nine or ten. I did not encounter any case involving the transfer, sale, or adoption of infants or toddlers. Neither the Ayta nor their unat patrons considered the former as paid workers. The Kapampangan families I interviewed adamantly said that pangangamuhan was neither slavery nor peonage, but a kind of mutual agreement or a sharing of resources beneficial to both parties. The Ayta Mag-Indi also insist that pangangamuhan could not possibly be synonymous to slavery because the children are not held against their will; they are free to leave anytime they want.[4]

Pangangamuhan

Definition and Differentiation

The word "pangangamuhan" is related to two different words, *amo* and *maamo*. The word *amo* or *amu* has two seemingly contradictory meanings in the Kapampangan language. The Augustinian Fray Diego Bergaño's 1732 *Kapampangan Dictionary* defines *amo* as a person, animal or beast that has been tamed—a meek and lamb-like creature under the care of a master (Bergaño 2007). Another meaning of the word "*amo*" can be found in Fr. Venancio Samson's (2011) more recent Kapampangan dictionary. There, *amo* can be used to describe a person of higher status or a person of power; someone who has a stable of slaves under his custody, as in a master-slave relationship. As a verb, *amo* refers to the act of taming an irrational or wild beast as in *manamo* or *mayamo*, which means to become appeased (Bergaño 2007). In current usage, *amo* refers to the master or the person who has the power to tame a beast, a wild creature. *Maamo* is the ward that has been tamed into submission and has now become meek and lamb-like after a long process of *pagpapaamo* or taming. At the same time, the prevailing relationship in pangangamuhan seems as that between the *amo* and the *alagang pinapaamo* (a ward being fostered). The Ayta themselves refer to the practice as *pagpapaamo* (to earn another's trust or to develop familiarity). The

child is perceived by the host family not as a servant or domestic worker, but more as a *sese*,[5] or someone put in somebody's care.

Pangangamuhan links Ayta families to lowland middle-class families in an extended relationship of reciprocity spanning many years. At nine years or older, an Ayta child is voluntarily "lent" to or entrusted to the care of an unat family, usually a Kapampangan one. The unat family becomes the amo of the Ayta child for five to ten years, or even longer, and he/she will help with household chores—cleaning, cooking, or washing dishes—or with farm work. The Ayta child only return to his or her parents after finishing school. In other instances, priests and nuns also take in Ayta children for pangangamuhan.

The ten Ayta Mag-Indi I interviewed did not expect their service to be compensated with money. They served to give back to their amos, whose help they had received. They also insist that they were better off within the unat household than the typical househelp or house maid. Josefina, now 47, from Porac, Pampanga, entered pangangamuhan when she was only nine years old; she spent 12 years in service, first with a wealthy Kapampangan family, and later with a group of Catholic nuns (Q.I. 7). She took pains to explain to me the difference in the situation of an Ayta in pangangamuhan from that of servants or househelp. She insists that their amos never treated nor referred to them as such.

> *Ipus*[6] is the Kapampangan word for servants. We are not like that. We are called *sese*. When they say you are a just an *ipus*, it means you are not educated. You're just a househelp. Our master calls us *sese*. In Kapampangan, "*Ining sese ku. Papag-aral ke*." Which means, "This is my ward. I send her to school." (Q.I.7)

The Ayta and the Kapampangan families have no formal written agreements. The expectations are tacitly understood: it is the Ayta's duty to serve, while the amo is obliged to look after the child and help him/her finish their studies, up to high school or until college, if possible. Once they

get a diploma, they are free to return to their community. Either party can terminate the relationship for any reason anytime.

Origins

Though pangangamuhan today is motivated by the Ayta's desire to be educated, according to the Ayta and Kapampangan families I interviewed, it was not education that first gave rise to the arrangement. Rather, it was about land, specifically its conversion to farms and homesteads that necessitated the need for Ayta labor (see above) and spurred the Ayta from coming to an arrangement with the unat. The Rivera family of Floridablanca, Pampanga has seven decades of experience with the system. They told me that in the 1930s, their grandfather, Don Pepe Rivera, got an Ayta ward for their hacienda. Floriano "Nonong" Rivera, grandson of Don Pepe, takes pride in their longstanding relationship with the Ayta. Rivera says his grandfather regularly extended food and livelihood assistance to the Ayta they dealt with. He stills maintains two Ayta wards at the time of my field interviews, and says that he has consistently shouldered their educational expenses.

> It was during peacetime. We had just one *baluga*, Apung Minyong. My family had land, a homestead, like a hacienda. They needed an Ayta for help, to look after the farm. There was no payment then, just food, coffee, rice. Money was not commonly used back then. (Q.I. 9)

The Rivera family maintained close ties with the Ayta family of Apung Minyong in Floridablanca, Pampanga. Over the years, several descendants of Apung Minyong became the *sese* or *alaga* of the Rivera clan (Q.I. 9). Below is a diagram of the relationship of the Rivera clan with their Ayta wards, Apung Minyong and his descendants.

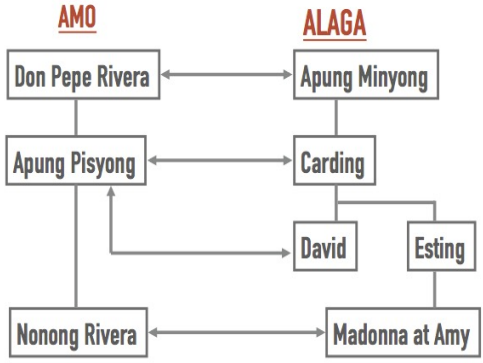

Figure 2: The Relationship between the Rivera Clan and Apung Minyong

When Nonong Rivera's grandfather died, his father inherited the homestead and the Ayta alaga. In turn, the ward also passed on the tradition of pangangamuhan to his son when he was no longer able to take care of the hacienda.

Another Kapampangan family who became amos was the Cuevas clan of Floridablanca, Pampanga. The Cuevas clan also owned some land in the mountains in town. In the 1970s, the first Cuevas patriarch brought home an Ayta child. According to Dr. Ronnie Cuevas, one of the descendants, education was not an integral part of pangangamuhan at the time. The common form of exchange for the services of the Ayta, he said, was free food and a young carabao (Q.I. 11).

> If I have a carabao, for example, the Ayta would shepherd it. When the carabao gives birth, the offspring first goes to the owner. But when the carabao gives birth again, the calf would go to the Ayta. It's like sharing a nest: the first baby is yours, the second is the Ayta's. That's how it began. (Q.I. 11)

The Amo's Motives

Why do the amos participate in pangagamuhan? According to Nonong Rivera, their expenses are considerably less when they keep an Ayta child than when they hire a househelp. He says it is also easier to give instructions to Ayta children because they are more trustworthy than those from the lowlands. Rivera hastened to clarify that they don't consider the Ayta in pangangamuhan as servants or househelp (Q.I. 9).

> They are not really thought of as servants, it's more like they are "companions." They are seen as part of the family. They have a higher status compared to the househelp. They are not paid. Because once you pay them, that makes them equal to the househelp. Once you are able to tame an Ayta, they are better than the unat. (Q.I. 9)

I asked Rivera what he meant by using the word "tame." As an amo, he says he wants to "domesticate" the Ayta by discouraging them from returning to their old ways in the mountains. Rivera believes it is his obligation to teach the Ayta the "proper" way of living in the lowlands.

> The Ayta who rarely come down to the lowlands still practice their way of life in the mountains. When they get bored, they start walking back home, to the mountains. They cannot stay put in one place. Here in the lowlands, you will really learn. The Ayta can share this knowledge with those still living in the mountains. (Q.I. 9)

On the other hand, Dr. Ronnie Cuevas, another amo who comes from a clan with almost fifty years of experience with pangangamuhan, says this is not just in keeping with the custom of his family; more importantly, he sees it as a mission to help people who have been taken for granted or unsupported (Q.I. 12). "Our purpose is to help them. It lifts my spirits. I know it sounds corny but my mission in life is to help people. All I really

want is for him to finish college" (Q.I. 11). This is also how Nonong Rivera explains why he continues the eight-decade tradition of his family: it is the obligation of every human being to help his fellowmen, particularly those who are oppressed.

> They are also human. For humanitarian reasons, to educate them, not to deceive them. You just can't stop some people from laughing at them. And their land was taken by some of the wealthy. They will request titles from the Bureau of Lands, then the *baluga* finds out that the land is already owned by someone else. (Q.I. 11)

Ising Rivera, an amo from Floridablanca, Pampanga says that somehow, having an alaga contributes to their dignity and reputation in the community (Q.I. 10). She says that helping the Ayta makes her feel good and gives her a sense of pride. Her Ayta ward has already finished her course in college.

> It gives you a sense of pride, knowing that their lives have become better because of you. It's the same feeling you get when your children graduate from school. Ever since my ward started school, I'm the one taking pictures at every graduation. Sometimes, I'm even the one pinning her medals. (Q.I. 10)

Among the amos I interviewed, the satisfaction at having molded another human being in their own image is quite common, even though they refer to it as *pakikipagkapwa*, a duty arising from a shared humanity. Nonong Rivera is proud that his family can send their Ayta wards to school, especially since, he says, not a lot of people would care to help them (Q.I. 9). Perhaps the amos unconsciously echo the benevolent civilizing mission of the colonial powers that subjugated the indigenous population in the Philippines.

> It is an honor and it makes us proud that we were able to help an Ayta graduate from school. Because unlike the other unat, no one would really care help an Ayta. So, having Ayta scholar graduates is something to boast about. Actually, you don't need to go around boasting about your achievements because the Ayta themselves will be a living witness of what you have done. (Q.I. 9)

The Ayta's Motives[7]

The Promise of Education

If the old pangangamuhan system in the 1930s was based on resource-exchange between the kulot and his unat master, the system today is based on the education of the Ayta child. Fifty-year old Esting (Q.I 5) is from the family of Apung Minyong, the first Ayta ward of the Rivera clan. During the 1950s, Esting's father, Carding, followed Apung Minyong's footsteps and entered into pangangamuhan as well. When Carding died in the 1970s, he passed on the tradition to his eldest son, David, Esting's brother. Esting himself, however, chose to stay in the mountains and never got a formal education. Still, he takes pride in the fact that he managed to survive despite not having entered school. When he started bringing his products to the market, he realized that because he could neither read nor write, it was easy for him to be cheated. This was 1998; he resolved to put one of his children in pangangamuhan; she was 11 years old then.

> We want our children to become educated, so we could keep up with the times. So that we would no longer be deceived by the unat. Because if you're illiterate, you could be cheated even by your fellow Ayta. (Q.I. 5)

Josefina, 47, from Porac, Pampanga, entered pangangamuhan when she was only nine years old. Now a community teacher, she believes that education is a necessary condition for an Ayta to succeed.

> There were times our budget was not enough for my education, for notebooks and projects. Life is hard, you need to have a diploma. We realized that without education, nothing will happen. (Q.I. 7)

Nana, 30 years old, underwent pangangamuhan for 15 years. After college, she decided to return to her community in Porac to teach basic literacy to other Ayta. She entered pangangamuhan to finish college and to show her fellow Ayta and lowlanders that they too have capabilities.

> The Kapampangan used to look down on the Ayta. This is why I wanted to complete my education so that I can show them that we are also capable. (Q.I. 8)

Discrimination against the Ayta persists, but their desire to be seen as equal is stronger than ever, and it is something to be attained through education. David, a 60-year-old Ayta, is a community leader in Floridablanca, Pampanga. He spent 12 years as a farm hand and laborer under four different amos. He says the work was hard but he does not regret it (Q.I.3). However, David says that though his amos did not maltreat him, his experience in unat schools was not entirely pleasant.

> One advantage of pangangamuhan is my introduction to formal education. I learned. But the disadvantage is the experience of being teased and taunted. That hurt. I would argue with my classmates almost each day, because I didn't like being bullied. (Q.I.3)

David obtained a Bachelor of Science degree in Agriculture (Q.I. 3). He now works closely with the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), acting as a liaison between local government officials and the Ayta community to which he belongs.

> The discrimination between lowland and highland people are still there. But discrimination has significantly decreased now, because they see that many Ayta are educated and engaging in the town. (Q.I. 3)

It may be gleaned from the interviews with the three Ayta informants that they have a full trust in education's role as an equalizer. Except for two informants, all the Ayta interviewed finished college. Six out of ten took up a bachelor's degree in education, and are currently elementary and daycare teachers in their respective villages. They also hold adult literacy classes on the weekends. These Ayta are extremely proud of their educational attainment. They say that they used to be looked down on and called ignorant by lowlanders. But now, they can hold their heads high, and they credit their amos and pangangamuhan.

Material Benefits

The Ayta frequently cite the following as concrete benefits from pangangamuhan: mobile phones, motorcycles, and concrete houses, which are usually inaccessible to the Ayta who live in the mountains. Those in pangangamuhan receive these material possessions as gifts from their amos, or are purchased after the Ayta start working in the lowlands. They also help account for the higher sense of self-worth of some of the respondents.

Changes in Appearance, Self-Image, Religion and Lifestyle

All Ayta Mag-Indi respondents believe that their physical appearance greatly changed because of pangangamuhan. They take pride in the fact that they now wear the appropriate clothing for every place or occasion. In terms of personal hygiene, six out of ten say that, they have become cleaner and more mindful of their bodies than other Ayta who did not experience pangangamuhan. Five—Jennifer, Josefina, Amy, Nana, and Alma—said that even the color of their skin and their hair became different. They began using soap and skin-whitening products. According to Jennifer (Q.I.6), who

was in pangangamuhan for eight years, their amo did not force them to change the color of their skin. But because of their interaction with the unat, their concept of beauty began to shift (Q.I. 8). Three of them have done away with their curls. Some of the women had their hair straightened or rebonded, while the men shaved their heads to hide their curls. Jennifer, 24, believes that having fairer skin is so much better because one won't be discriminated as much.

> It's more advantageous, because you won't be looked down upon, you will not be discriminated. Our skin gets darker when we go back to the mountains, because we are always exposed to the sun. The lowlands really give you fairer skin. Regular bathing also makes your skin lighter. (Q.I. 6)

The Ayta who experienced pangangamuhan do insist that their identity should not be judged by their looks alone. Alma, a 27-year-old from Porac who was in pangangamuhan for nine years, asserts that they remain kulot even though they have physically changed.

> I am still an Ayta. I still have Ayta blood. Maybe all that has changed is that I have a diploma. I can now buy what I want. But being kulot, that never goes away. (Q.I. 1)

With respect to language use, the Ayta are proud that because of pangangamuhan, they have become more confident and proficient in communication. To conform to the ways of the unat and the lowlanders, they embraced the Kapampangan, Tagalog, and English languages. But they admit that they sometimes feel uneasy about forgetting their mother tongue (Q.I. 1).

Dignity

Ayta girls in particular take pride in saying that their dignity as women improved because they participated in pangangamuhan. Amelia, 59,

entered the system at a very young age. Her parents worked at the hacienda of a wealthy Kapampangan doctor. The doctor offered to take in the eight-year-old Amelia as his alaga, vowed to look after her, and provided her with education and basic necessities. She stayed with her amo for 14 years, doing house work (Q.I. 2). She managed to finish midwifery, and is now the health worker of her barangay. She also became a community leader for Sitio Camachile, an upland community of the Ayta in Floridablanca—a responsibility that according to Amelia was once unheard of for a female Ayta.

> Women then were not allowed to study and had to stay at home. Female Ayta were not allowed to lead. Now, women are empowered, because we are educated. Because other people sent us to school and helped us. (Q.I. 2)

Josefina (Q.I. 7) spent 12 years under pangangamuhan, during which time she quickly mastered the language of her amo, who felt confident about bringing her to Manila to serve at a convent, and to be educated under the nuns. The experience made her fluent in Tagalog and English. Josefina is now one of the leaders of her community, serving as a liaison for NGOs, students, tourists and government officials who visit their community in Porac, Pampanga.

> When I am talking to people like you, I am no longer embarrassed. I used to be timid, but I now have self-confidence. Because I finished school, I can now socialize with the unat. (Q.I. 7)

Self-Image

Through pangangamuhan, the Ayta believe their self-image immensely improved. They are confident that they can no longer be belittled because of their education. Jennifer, 24, is now an elementary school teacher in Floridablanca. She entered pangangamuhan when she was 12 years old because her parents could not send her to high school. She is grateful to her

amo for helping her finish college, and is convinced that the Ayta are now treated better than before (Q.I.6).

> The Ayta have leveled up. In the past, when we were in school, we were teased and looked down on. But that is no longer the case. Whenever there are programs in school, the Ayta participate. The unat now have a better opinion of the Ayta. (Q.I. 6)

The Ayta who experienced pangangamuhan say their amo helped them to see themselves in a more positive light. Because they were treated well, they realized that they should not be belittled. Amelia, 59, went to school in Pampanga, where she experienced discrimination from her mostly unat classmates.

> In the past, the Ayta were very sensitive. We were seen as lesser human beings. But my amo never made me feel that way. I never experienced discrimination with my amo. But in school though, there was discrimination. I was always teased. (Q.I. 2)

Alma (Q.I. 1) entered into pangangamuhan when she was only seven years old. She thanks her amo not only for giving her an education but also for teaching her good manners.

> I used to see the unat as people who look down on the kulot. But when I got to know them, I realized it wasn't all of them. Some of them are good and kind-hearted and I saw this in the care given to us by the Kapampangan who call us "sese." (Q.I.1)

Today, in some schools and places in the city, there is still lingering discrimination, but according to them, under the pangangamuhan system, the Ayta felt that they could become equal to the unat.

The Values of Pangangamuhan

Based on my interviews with the Ayta Mag-Indi, the relationship between the unat and kulot is discussed in terms of core Filipino values such as *utang na loob* or the concept of reciprocity and obligation to another person, *hiya* or the feeling of shame, *amor propio* or the need to build one's pride and self-esteem, and *pakikisama* or camaraderie. Both readily admit that their self-esteem and status in society have risen because of pangangamuhan. A deep sense of eternal gratitude and loyalty owed to the amo recurs among the Ayta who went through pangangamuhan. Conversely, from the amo's perspective, the whole relationship is thought of as nothing less than the practice of benevolence and of a moral duty to help those generally regarded as inferior or disadvantaged.

Thirty-year-old Donna (Q.I. 4) of Floridablanca, Pampanga comes from two generations of Ayta Mag-Indi who served as alaga or sese for the Rivera clan of Pampanga. Her grandfather and uncle were both wards of the Rivera family. When she turned 11, she entered pangangamuhan under Floriano "Nonong" Rivera, a third-generation member of the Rivera clan. She did house work for the family and took care of Nonong's ailing mother. Through the help of her amo, Donna finished college, and is now a licensed public school teacher. She says that her debt of gratitude will take a lifetime to repay. Thus, when the Riveras needed another helper, she did not hesitate to persuade her younger sister, Amy, to enter pangangamuhan as well.

> I am indebted to them because they sent me to school. You will not find this anywhere you go today, where someone gives you an education and everything is absolutely free. And, not to forget, they don't treat us like we were not part of the family. I will forever be indebted to them. (Q.I. 4)

Disapproval of Pangangamuhan

Donna's father, Esting (Q.I. 5), does not agree with his daughter. To him, this indebtedness is the reason why pangangamuhan does not improve the situation of the Ayta. Instead of seeing it as the path to social mobility, Esting believes that pangangamuhan only degrades the kulot heritage further because it ingrains in the children the hierarchy that separates the unat as the patron and the Ayta as the ward.

> If I only had the money, I wouldn't let my children live with an amo. Because even if you already have high achievements, it's still the same. They will say: Look at that, he/she is just a *baluga* who got an education! Even if you become vice-president, it's still the same. It's like you will always be at a lowly level. (Q.I. 5)

Donna's father, Esting, who did not experience pangangamuhan, clarifies that he is grateful to the unat for educating his daughters. But he believes that pangangamuhan is a relationship of mutual benefits: the debt of gratitude should not be one-way.

> The idea of utang na loob came from people like you. From people who are wont to say if the Ayta ward opts to leave: You are ungrateful—after all that they've done for us. But in my mind, I know that my children have also worked for their families without asking for any compensation. We are, of course, thankful for their help; but we cannot call that a debt of gratitude. (Q.I. 5)

It is clear that the Ayta who went through pangangamuhan have a different view of utang na loob from those who did not enter the system. Almost all of the Ayta who experienced pangangamuhan believe that those who received education are more intelligent and have a more progressive mindset than those who did not. Donna (Q.I. 4), in pangangamuhan for 11 years, says that the elders who did not have formal schooling tend to be narrow-minded. Donna now lives in the lowlands, but goes to the mountain

communities every weekend to hold literacy classes for Ayta children. She says she wants to encourage them to aim higher than their forefathers.

> They have to change their outlook in life. They have to let go of the old mindset that it is enough that one learns how to read and write. They don't appreciate the importance of striving to finish a degree. For the older generation of Ayta, as long as a day passes and they're still alive, that is enough, they're content with that. (Q.I. 4)

With this way of thinking, the Ayta who experienced pangangamuhan often find themselves clashing with some of the elders of their community. To an elder, this intergenerational conflict shows that the unat have had too much influence on their wards. They view them as having imbibed from the lowlands a lower opinion of their own fellow Ayta. The following is an exchange I personally witnessed between Donna, and her father, Esting.

Esting: A person is considered to have a higher status when that person remains strong, in the mountains, even without the benefit of a formal education.

Donna: On the contrary! You seem to have it the other way around, Tatay! The educated person is better.

Esting: Nowadays, it's all about knowledge and money. That's the way it is these days, but in the old times, those in the mountains were considered better because even without education they were strong, they had many spouses, many children, many animals, and no one starved.

Donna: Those like us are the highest kind of Ayta because there will come a time when we will be able to use what we have learned from our education.

Esting: You can only use what you learned in the lowlands in order to earn money. But here, in the mountains, you would have no need for it since you can get food

from the mountains
Donna: But there is no longer anything to get from the mountains!
(Q.I. 4 and Q.I. 5)

Also, some Ayta elders fear that the young will soon forget their identity and fully embrace the values of the unat. Some even explain how others have become arrogant and boastful after pangangamuhan.

> When they go back to the mountains, they usually boast about the level of education they have attained. The Ayta like us who did not serve the unat would just let it pass. They may have completed their education, but that doesn't mean they are higher than us. They may know many things about unat culture. But when it comes to the mountains, in suffering and comfort, if they don't have the right kind of knowledge, they still have nothing. (Q.I. 14)

This is the source of Amelia's resentment; she returned to the mountains of Sitio Camachile in Floridablanca after 14 years. She expected her fellow Ayta to be proud of her because she had finished college. But she did not feel truly welcomed by the community.

> Some of my fellow Ayta would say, "those who went to school in the lowlands, they are cheaters or scammers." I feel hurt because that's not true. The Lord knows, I have never deceived anybody. (Q.I. 2)

Many of the older Ayta believe it is a shame and a waste that many have forgotten their mother tongue. The council of elders of the Ayta Mag-Indi in Porac explained that knowledge of the languages of the unat must go hand-in-hand with strengthening their mother tongue.

> It's good that she was able to learn a different language. That way, she will not be deceived by other people. But for us, we prefer that we retain the use of our original language. Because that is how you are identified as an indigenous person. (Q.I. 12)

Before Christianity arrived in the country, the Ayta had their own beliefs about the cosmos. In nature, they see ancestral spirits governed by the highest of all beings, Apu Namalyari. Pangangamuhan gave them a different experience. They came to embrace Christianity, the religion of their unat amo. They say that even if they wanted to keep their indigenous faith, they needed to be baptized as Christians if they wanted to study in school. But this cannot be blamed entirely on pangangamuhan. Converting to a different religion is prevalent among the Pampanga Ayta, whether or not they participate in pangangamuhan. They say they have to be baptized in order to acquire legal papers and other documents. According to their council of elders, they now practice a faith that combines indigenous beliefs with those of Christianity.

> We still believe in *Apu Namalyari*. We go to church but we still believe in *Apu Namalyari*. We still call on our ancestral spirits. But at the same time believe in Jesus. After all, there is really only one God. (Q.I 13)

Despite having finished college, the Ayta Mag-Indi who experienced pangangamuhan still recognize the value of indigenous knowledge and the culture of their ancestors. They say that academic knowledge is admittedly valuable, but one should not forget the knowledge passed on by their elders.

Pangangamuhan has had adverse effects on Ayta culture and beliefs. David, 60, who served for for 12 years, says that to adapt to life in the lowlands, he had to let go of a lot of their customary beliefs.

> There are good and bad outcomes. The bad is, traditional culture has been somewhat forgotten. Our culture became three: Western, Filipino, and Ayta, The others have forgotten Ayta culture. One example is language. We can now speak English, but some of us have forgotten the Ayta mother tongue. (Q.I. 3)

One custom they appear to be keen to change or abolish is the tradition of *dote*, which commits a young female Ayta to marriage through the payment of dowry to the family of a male Ayta. This is one Ayta practice that the unat amo themselves wish to change. Thus, they often forbid their wards to return to the mountains. To the amo, dote hinders the desire of the Ayta to be educated. Elder Ayta Mag-Indi and community leaders do not hide their displeasure over this change. They blame pangangamuhan for changing the concept of beauty among Ayta women, disapproving the use of hair-straightening and skin-lightening products. To the Ayta Mag-Indi council of elders in Porac, Pampanga, this is a betrayal of their heritage.

> The kulot who lived with the unat, now sport different hairstyles, they wear earrings, they dye their hair. When you change your hair color, you degrade your own culture. The women who straighten their hair look unnatural. That is not part of the culture of the Ayta. You should be content with what God gave you. For the Ayta, the curlier your hair, the more beautiful you are. (Q.I. 14)

Conclusion

Because the Ayta children do not get compensated for their work, it is easy to assume that the system of pangangamuhan involves a master-slave relationship. While it may be true that the origins of pangangamuhan can be traced from an unequal relationship between Kapampangan landowners and their Ayta laborers, many aspects of this system are not congruent with a master-slave relationship, as in the case of, say, enslavement in the United States. The freedom of the Ayta to decide for themselves and their motivation to get an education differentiate pangangamuhan from slavery. Both Ayta and their Kapampangan masters believe this is not an oppressive relationship, but a mutually beneficial one. The so-called amos do not refer to the Ayta as slaves, but as wards. The Ayta also do not believe that pangangamuhan is a form of slavery, but rather as an adaptation strategy. They assert that the system has helped them adjust to the demands of a

changing world—the rapid destruction of their natural environment, and the persistence of discrimination against them. In time, they turned to wealthy unat patrons who seemed to care for their situation. This reciprocal trust became the foundation for pangangamuhan. Even so, while both Ayta and Kapampangan amos view pangangamuhan as a reciprocal relationship, the arrangement remains a fundamentally unequal, almost feudalistic, relationship, where the amos feel obligated to provide for their wards and teach them the ways of lowlanders—a motivation that seems to reflect the "civilizing mission" of our colonizers. It is also a set-up where the Ayta develop an aspiration to conform to the ways of the unat.

Through education, the Ayta learned not only to read and write but to keep up with the unat way of life. They acquired various skills and the ability to manage material possessions. But for all the benefits that the Ayta generally associate with pangangamuhan, the perception of the practice has not been entirely positive. Ayta elders accuse the products of this system of forgetting and turning their back on their own culture. They see pangangamuhan as having fostered a greater acceptance of inequality by making their own children the bearers of a patronizing unat culture. And while the Ayta also develop a sense of utang na loob, owing to their masters everything they have a achieved in life, Ayta elders believe that this excessive loyalty and sense of indebtedness to their unat masters have caused the younger Ayta to depreciate their roots.

The Ayta assert that education is important, but many of them believe that it would have been better if this were attained by the Ayta without needing to be in servitude or to conform to the standards of the lowlands. Their dream is for every Ayta child to be educated without experiencing discrimination or oppression at school, without pangangamuhan, and without having to give up their own culture. Unfortunately, this kind of feudal arrangement will persist as long as government agencies, educational systems and civic institutions continue to turn a blind eye to the rights and welfare of indigenous peoples.

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Endnotes

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[2] *Unat* is a Tagalog adjective which means stretched, pulled horizontally, straight, and not curly (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino 1993). This term is commonly used to describe a person's hair. For the Ayta, the term usually refers to people who have straight hair as

opposed to the Ayta's naturally kinky or curly hair. Over time, the word *unat* became associated with outsiders, or to any person who is not an Ayta. In other words, from an adjective referring to hair type, the word *unat* has evolved into a term that the Ayta use to refer to anyone from the lowlands, any outsider or anyone different from the Ayta. On the other hand, the Ayta use the collective term "*kulot*" to refer to themselves.

[3] The root word of *pangangamuhan* is *amu*. The word *amu* in the Kapampangan language has two meanings. First, it is synonymous with "master" or any person who keeps a slave or servant. The Kapampangan Dictionary published by the Center for Kapampangan Studies defines *amu* as: "master, lord, in relation to slaves, serfs and vassals" (Samson 2011, 46). The other meaning, which I find very interesting, refers to the meekness and lamb-like traits of a domesticated or tamed animal. When used as a verb, the term denotes the pacification of a hostile or wild creature (Samson 2011, 46).

[4] This is actually the same argument that the Philippine Supreme Court in 1909 used to debunk Worcester's claim that slavery existed in the Philippines, as quoted from Worcester's 1913 report. Worcester (1913) admitted that he had a hard time proving this particular aspect of slavery because most of the Ayta vaguely referred to the practice as a kind of "adoption" rather than slavery per se.

[5] There is no entry for the word *sese* in Bergaño's 1732 Pampango dictionary. But it appears in Samson's 2011 Kapampangan Dictionary. *Sese* is a Kapampangan word which means to foster or something attended to with care. In the research of Fr. Venancio Samson (2011), this word seems to originate from the relationship of a farmer and a landowner. *Sese* pertains to the part of the harvest that goes to the farmer in return for his labor. Later, the word's usage evolved to refer to the act of taking care of a person, animal, or plant.

> *Sese*. v. and its infinitive manese, to care, or look after anything with effort, to conserve it, or increase it. Everything that looks positively towards making something good. Also, "*makisese*," the concubinate, who looks after the senseless woman, or for a friend, out of charity. Sometimes the word has a nuance of pet, adoptee, protege. "sese pusa", "sese anac", "sese abe", "ampun" (Samson 2011).

[6] The strong impression that registered with me was that Ayta Mag-Indi did not like hearing the word *ipus* in reference to them. For them, the word is a derogatory term that refers to someone of very low status, like a servant or a slave. But it is interesting to note that if we go back to the Kapampangan language in the 1700s, the term *ipus* had a different denotation. Fray Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario de Pampango en Romance y Diccionario de Romance en Pampango*, first published in 1732, defines *ipus* as an adjective for "a thing attended to with care" or "one who is kept or taken care of." The term was commonly used when referring to a concubine or a kept woman (Bergaño 2007). The

origin of the use of *ipus* to refer to servants appears to be more recent. In Fr. Venancio Samson's 2011 *Kapampangan Dictionary*, *ipus* has two meanings: the first is for something attended to with care and the other is for a hired servant or househelp. Interestingly, in both Bergaño (1732) and Samson (2011) dictionaries, the word *ipus* is synonymous in usage with the word *sese* when referring to something or someone kept or taken care of.

[7] The motives of the Ayta for entering the system of *pangangamuhan* correspond to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Cultural capital according to Bourdieu is an investment or property that cannot be measured in terms of currency but rather on one's personal qualities, knowledge and behavior. Bourdieu believes that an increase in cultural capital can help a person move up to a higher social class. Bourdieu identifies three kinds of cultural capital: 1. **embodied cultural capital** which a person inherits or is born with, such as physical appearance, language and community practices; 2. **institutionalized cultural capital** which is acquired from different social institutions, such as education, law, and social standards; and 3. **objectified cultural capital**, these are material possessions that likewise contribute to a person's identity or view of self (Bourdieu, 1985).

Quoted Interviews (QI)

QI 1. Semi-structured interview with "Alma," 27, in Porac, Pampanga, 19 November 2016.
QI 2. Semi-structured interview with "Amelia," 59, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 28 January 2017.
QI 3. Semi-structured interview with "David," 60, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 28 January 2017.
QI 4. Semi-structured interview with "Donna," 30, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 25 March 2009.
QI 5. Semi-structured interview with "Esting," 50, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 25 March 2009.
QI 6. Semi-structured interview with "Jennifer," 24, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 15 February 2017.
QI 7. Semi-structured interview with "Josefina," 47, in Porac, Pampanga, 19 November 2016.
QI 8. Semi-structured interview with "Nana," 30, in Porac, Pampanga, 19 November 2016.
QI 9. Semi-structured interview with Floriano "Nonong"

Rivera, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 18 February 2017.

QI 10. Semi-structured interview with Ising Rivera, Floridablanca, in Pampanga, 18 February 2017.

QI 11. Semi-structured interview with Dr. Ronaldo "Ronnie" Cuevas, in Floridablanca, Pampanga, 13 March 2017.

QI 12. Semi-structured interview with Joseph Abuque, 28, an Ayta leader from Porac, Pampanga, 15 February 2017.

QI 13. Semi-structured interview with Fernando Abuque, 84, member of council of elders in Porac, Pampanga, 15 February 2017.

QI 14. Semi-structured interview with Conrado Saplala, 72, member of council of elders in Porac, Pampanga, 15 February 2017.

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