

Language in Filipino America

by

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ABSTRACT

The following dissertation provides perspectives on the social, political, economic, and academic influences on language use, and particularly heritage language use, within the Filipino American community. What is the nature of language in this community? In what ways does language exist or co-exist? The hypothesis that autochthonous Filipino languages in the United States cease to be spoken in favor of English by Filipino Americans was tested through mixed methods of research. Literature and databases were reviewed which provided information concerning statistics, issues, and policies relating to language in Filipino America. Field research and interviews were conducted in which language use was of key interest. Results varied individually and contextually. Language seems to exist within the Filipino American community on a dynamic continuum. Immigrant Filipino Americans appear to be bilingual and multilingual. Second generation Filipino Americans tend to be English dominant with a range of bilingualism. The California Department of Education (CDOE) appears to foster bilingualism / multilingualism through its World Languages Departments (secondary education level), by offering language courses, such as Tagalog-based Filipino. Efforts to maintain non-English, Filipino languages in Arizona are less conspicuous, but they do exist primarily in familial and entrepreneurial ways.

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Chapter One: Dissertation Overview

Preface

As a graduate student in an American university, it was conjectured that there was a sort of implicit institutional linguicism that was present in academic literature. There appeared to be myriad articles and books written in which Spanish-speaking, English-language learners (SPELLS) had been the subjects of research. This was understandable since Hispanics and SPELLS compose the overwhelming majority of immigrants and English-language learners (ELLS) in the United States. In recognition and application of educational research for equality, other ELL populations were sought to examine.

There were several reasons why research on Filipino Americans and language presented itself as being unique and necessary: the Philippines was a United States Commonwealth (1935-1946) and it is a multilingual country with English as an official language; Filipino Americans account for a growing and sizeable population of immigrants in the United States and Tagalog is fourth in a list of the most populated languages in the United States¹ (American Community Survey, 2005); and academic literature focusing on Filipino Americans and language is lacking in comparison to that on other prominent language groups in the United States e.g., Spanish and Chinese speakers.

¹ As the Chinese economy continues to expand and wealth is accumulated, less Chinese may emigrate and Filipinos could become the largest Asian minority in the United States (See data in the chapter on Filipino U.S. Immigration).

At the 1st International Conference of Filipino as a Global Language (University of Hawaii, 2008), I presented data on Filipino Americans in Arizona. While networking and engaging in discussion throughout the week, two Filipino scholars asked/stated inquisitively (at different times) in regards to my own motivation to conduct research on Filipino Americans and Filipino, “But you’re White?” Encapsulated in this question/comment was a reality that this group of language stakeholders was esoteric, but not intentionally, isolated (with few exceptions) in regards to an interest taken by research outsiders i.e., those not of Philippine ancestry. This called into question a profound issue of language democracy and equality, and a need of support in bringing this community into the mainstream academic consciousness.

Dewey (1934) stated that “there cannot be two sets of ethical principals,” referring to those for inside of a school and those for outside of a school (p. 108). If the United States were to veritably be socially equal, its educational system would legitimize by institutionalizing the diversity that is reflected within the nation. This diversity should also be reflected in research and literature.

A Motivation to Add to Academic Literature

Studies investigating language use within Filipino communities outside of the Philippines tend to postulate linguistic implications ranging slightly from heritage-language maintenance but more heavily towards attrition; some first-generation, Filipino Americans are fluent in the home language, but most become

English-dominant. Filipino language data are often imbedded within research on immigration and education.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) conducted an extensive study in San Diego and Miami of teenagers of parents from Cuba, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Trinidad, Cambodia, China, Laos, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The study examined assimilation/acculturation and variables such as language and cultural maintenance and/or attrition, and it examined affects such as self-esteem and school performance. Filipino teenagers were found to have higher than average percentages of parents having knowledge of English, lower than average percentages of parents speaking a language other than English in the home, and higher than average aspirations for advanced academic degrees (pp. 128-129, 217).

Weinberg (1997) provides a comprehensive overview of Asian-American education devoting a chapter to Filipino Americans. He analyzes the group's educational profile from a historical and contemporary perspective. Filipino immigration to the United States is discussed: The emergence of English in the Philippine educational system and its function as a marker and vehicle of assimilation is highlighted. Higher than average Filipino-academic achievement was one conclusion that was drawn (pp. 97-127).

Other studies focus on language diversity within the Philippines and/or language attrition within the United States (Cordova, 2000; Espiritu, 2003; Veltman, 1983). Research on Filipino Americans, particularly involving the maintenance of Filipino languages in the United States, needs to be augmented

and more widely disseminated so that an entire language research community may gain insight into a multitude of subjects and issues. This dissertation examines a number of subjects with an attempt to elucidate language in Filipino America today. The first contextual focus is the Philippines in order to establish a social, political, and economic consanguinity between the Philippines and the United States. The polemic and contentious relationship between Tagalog and English is a key issue. The English language and its ubiquity in global, community, and individual contexts, is a re-occurring element. This dissertation is not one continuous study but a compilation of contiguous chapters as they relate to Filipino Americans and language i.e., it is a tessellation of various themes, foci, and implications. A wide-angle lens was sought in order to elicit a broad range of topical discussion involving culture, immigration, assimilation, and language maintenance and attrition. The fractal nature of the dissertation may present multiple points of commencement for future studies whose aims will undoubtedly more thoroughly dissect and expound upon the manifold facets of the chapters' questions and implications.

Overarching Question

In a globalizing world, with the English language having emerged during the latter half of the 20th century as a prolific medium of communication within nations and between nations, what is the nature of language use among Filipino Americans? It was the goal of this dissertation to answer this question, and others which, in synthesis, construct a portrait of language in Filipino America.

Several peripheral questions support this overarching inquiry. First, what occurs linguistically when monolingual or multilingual Filipinos leave the Philippines and enter English-dominant United States? Is there evidence that Filipino languages continue to be spoken? If a language other than English is maintained, how is this realized?

Second, do Filipinos rapidly shift towards English as do many immigrant groups, especially those that are young when entering the United States (Veltman, 2000, p. 87)? If language attrition occurs within a family or community group, what are the agents and variables which contribute to the attrition?

As language issues in academic literature address a variety of topics related to language, such as maintenance and attrition, policy, and identity, each chapter establishes its own question. It is necessary to understand how language relates to or is affected by not only family and education, but also history, economics, politics, and a number of other factors. Spolsky (1977) suggested that the desire for a community to have other than monolingual instruction was not confined to one that was purely linguistic in nature, stating that there were social, economic, political, psychological, and cultural motivations as well.

For Whom

This dissertation serves to add to several subjects of study within the broader scope of language and linguistics e.g., minority languages, immigrant languages, language acquisition, attrition, and/or maintenance, language ecology, bilingualism and multilingualism, language policy in education, and language

hegemony. The Filipino American community, however, is undoubtedly that group for which this dissertation serves, as a literary resource which may instigate dialogue which focuses on issues of language within their own community. It is for all Filipino and Filipino Americans, and perhaps it is has a specific audience i.e., generations who may have lost contact with or have yet to gain the knowledge of their Philippine ancestry; it is for those who would stand to gain insight into their own global community from the findings of this dissertation; it is for the agents and institutions who promote language diversity.

Historical Review

In order to understand Filipino Americans and their language today, the dissertation first presents a review of the country of origin and investigates the developmental history of the nation. One leading question sought to determine the extent to which cultures and empires outside of that which is autochthonous to the Philippines have had influences on Filipinos Americans and language today. It is possible that in answering this question that a more profound perspective of historical geopolitics and the languages that accompanied will come to light; it is this base which establishes a framework in which to view language and 21st century politics and policy. In order to begin to answer these questions, the work of several Filipino historians was utilized (Agoncillo & Arcilla, 1984; Guerrero, 1977; Tubangui et al., 1982).

The first chapter examines the Philippines from the beginning of the colonial period, beginning with Ferdinand Magellan's "discovery" in 1521 of

what would be later named “Las Islas Filipinas” by Ruy López de Villalobos in 1543, in honor of the then-Spanish prince, Felipe II. Miguel López de Legazpi’s expedition established the first Spanish settlement in Cebu in 1565, which initiated 333 years of Spanish-colonial rule.

The review represents a bifurcated, Western-colonial history, focusing initially on the Spanish and their cultural, political, and economic occupation and culminates with American influences on the Philippines during the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century. The Spanish-colonial history reveals means of acculturation via the *encomienda* system, through education (which utilized native Filipino languages), and through theology i.e., Catholicism. The American-colonial history focuses on means of acculturation via language, primarily English, and capitalism.

This chapter reveals the geopolitical manipulation of the Philippines by one, and then another Western, colonial power. The blatant exploitation at the hands of the Spanish manifested most visibly in the *encomienda* system, which had strong links to Spanish feudalistic history and could be seen as a form of slavery. Although the Spanish friars utilized the native Philippine languages in order to teach the catechisms (Agoncillo, 1977, p. 108), this was done so as a surreptitious form of assimilation i.e., through native Filipino languages, Spanish culture and ways of thinking were disseminated. The United States presented itself in allegiance as a specious Big Brother in assisting the Philippines in gaining independence from Spain in 1898, only to annex the Philippines as a territory and later a commonwealth. This annexation by the United States is

presented as being a crucial turning point in the future academic, linguistic, social, and economic direction of the Philippines.

Languages of the Philippines

The linguistic-review chapter provides a language profile of the Philippines. An apparent duality between Filipino and English is examined during the latter half of the 20th century and into the first decade of the 21st century. This chapter culminates in highlighting the inherent connection between economics and language policy.

Two questions were proposed in order to develop this chapter: First, are there explicit policies in the Philippines whose objectives are to control languages spoken and learned in the Philippines and if so, what is the reasoning behind the policies? Second, how and where do these language policies manifest? A review of multiple pieces of literature was necessary in order to develop this chapter. An informant within the Philippine House of Representatives provided insightful data that was not widely disseminated. Ultimately, the economic impact of the English language emerges as being the most salient linguistic characteristic in the Philippines, whereas the Filipinos' embracing of Filipino as a marker of national identity appears adumbrated by their global identity as an English-speaking workforce located in a third-world country.

An early exemplar of the struggle against linguistic restrictiveness in Philippine economics is reflected in a case from 1921. While the Philippines was still a U.S. territory and before it became a commonwealth (1935-1946), the

Philippine Legislature established a law prohibiting merchants' bookkeeping to be in any other language than the official English and the then-official Spanish. In *Yu Cong Eng v. Trinidad* (1926), the Philippine Supreme Court considered the constitutionality of this Philippine law and found it denied the merchants due process and equal protection under the Constitution (Feder, 2007, p. 11; U.S. Supreme Court Center, 2007).

Filipino Immigration to the United States

Chapter four provides a review of Filipino immigration in the United States during late 20th century through to the first decade of the 21st century. The answer to one key, all-encompassing question was sought i.e., what is a terse yet comprehensive view of Filipino American immigration? The work of historians was sought and other historical documents in order to construct this chapter.

Filipinos have been immigrating to the United States for the past 300 hundred years. Between 1763 and 1903, Filipino *Manilamen* (seaman and stowaways) searched for refuge and a new life away from the exploitive, Spanish *encomienda* system (Bautista, 1998, p. 100). They later left the turmoil elicited by the exchange of power between Spain and the United States. Filipinos began to arrive geographically in the West via Acapulco, Mexico, and eventually crossed the Gulf of Mexico into Louisiana, U.S.A. Three primary waves of Filipino immigrants are discussed: the pre-commonwealth era (1898-1935), the United States Commonwealth era (1935-1946), and then the post-U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 a.k.a. the Hart-Cellar Act era.

Statistics are provided comparing immigrant populations from different Asian nations as well as immigrants from the Americas. Immigrant languages in the United States are also compared, highlighting Filipinos and Tagalog. The social phenomenon of chain migration is discussed in order to attempt to explain why many Filipinos came to be living in California. Chain migration can be described as occurring when one immigrant becomes domestically and possibly economically established in a new or host country and then sponsors or brings several or many of his/her own family, friends, or associates to that immigrant country.

Today, Filipinos have emerged in the United States as a reverse-colonial group i.e., a group of people who were once colonized who have immigrated to the host-colonial country e.g., East Indians in England and South Americans in Spain.² They have emerged on the world labor scene as a prominent, visible group which speaks English in addition to other autochthonous Philippine languages.

Transnationalism

This chapter is a theoretical perspective which focuses on transnationalism and the interconnected nature of diverse political, social, and economic entities throughout the world. Transnationalism is defined and conceptualized as the apparent breaking down of nation-state borders because of the ease with which some individuals and groups cross from one side into another and back and forth.

² Ostler (2005) makes reference to this modern-day phenomenon in discussing the historical imposition of colonial languages on those colonized, but today “immigrant communities from colonized countries gather in the homelands of once colonial power, bringing their own languages with them” (pp. 339-340n).

The physical passing through borders is not as significant as it is a reflection of the passing *from* and *into* different social, cultural, economic, political, and temporal environments somewhere on a spectrum between being extremely similar and extremely dissimilar. Transnational behavior may be literal or virtual in nature i.e., individuals and/or groups may move themselves, objects, such as goods, or simply may refer to an exchange of information across national borders. Transnationalism has social, economic, and political implications and it is examined through the experiences and lives of Filipino Americans.

Filipino Americans harness and embody transnationalism in several ways. Filipinos living abroad maintain contact with the Philippines by physically returning. Okamura (1998) calls this the “Balikbayan pilgrimage” (pp. 122-123). Another way in which Filipino Americans and other global Filipinos maintain contact with people in the Philippines is to send a balikbayan box, which are remittances of goods (much like that which is brought with the balikbayan pilgrims) to families and/or friends in the Philippines. Public Filipino establishments, such as shops and restaurants, act as agents for UMAC Express Cargo. Virtual-transnational Filipino Americans maintain contact with the Philippines and/or global Filipinos through cell phones, email, and the sending of remittances. They watch satellite television broadcast from the Philippines to the United States and spend time in Filipino ethnic enclaves in the United States, such as an entire neighborhood or simply one Filipino restaurant or grocery store. In these ethnic enclaves, Filipino languages are spoken and products that are

produced and sold primarily in the Philippines are consumed. The latter reflects a re-creation of a Philippine-like community outside of the Philippines.

Within the Filipino American community exists what is considered a migratory group of people whose labor is necessitated seasonally. Filipinos work seasonally in any of the number of hotels or resorts and restaurants that the Phoenix Valley and Tucson have to offer and many return to the Philippines after the high season. It is plausible that the population that returns to the Philippines annually and then re-enters the United States provides cultural and linguistic replenishment to the more stationary, geographically static Filipino American population. The migratory population, in turn, takes American cultural nuances back to the Philippines. This exchange between the two populations may also allow for the practice and use of current language e.g., vocabulary, accents, idioms, etc. in English and a variety of Philippine languages.

This chapter focuses on global and international connections, and its aim was to highlight how Filipinos remain in contact with people and events in the Philippines, and with each other around the world in order to maintain their “Filipino-ness.” Use of a Filipino language emerges as a form of membership, a license to practice and to be Filipino.

One of the main reasons why transnationalism was utilized as a theoretical perspective was to accentuate the grandeur of what has emerged as a global society and how it manifests locally and individually. It aims to elucidate the nature of emigration and immigration and the traditional ethnic enclave (re-creation of a nation within a nation). In demonstrating how the world has become

physically and virtually borderless, traditional notions of “foreign” and perspectives such as Said’s (1978) “Other” are tested.

Methods

Each chapter contains its own methods section as each had a specific question and theme. Multiple methods were utilized, such as field observations, face-to-face and telephone interviews, email correspondences, and questionnaires; also, historical and statistical data in literature and on the Internet were utilized. Data were gathered from several primary sources, such as The Philippine Department of Education, United States Census Bureau, Modern Language Association, and the California Department of Education. Multiple methods and approaches were taken in order to accumulate a broad range of data relating to Filipino Americans. Several IRB applications for research were submitted and accepted for the various chapters.

Filipino Americans and Language

The Filipino Americans and Language chapter focuses on Filipino Americans living in California and juxtaposes two generations of Filipino immigrants; approximately one half of the participants were born in the Philippines; the other half’s parents had emigrated from the Philippines and were born in the United States. Participants completed a questionnaire which mainly focused on language, but it also focused on familial, educational, and other

cultural variables relating to and affecting language. Monolingualism and multilingualism, and their agents of promotion and/or attrition, are discussed.

This chapter reflects an early attempt in the dissertation process to develop individual linguistic profiles of Filipino Americans. One of the key questions which created research initiative was: What language or languages are individual Filipino Americans speaking, as opposed to collectively (i.e., lumped in data sets)? In addition, questions asked about linguistic influences and the institutions which promoted and demoted language, such as family, school, and society in general. Narratives were gathered.

Filipinos Americans, English, and Academic Achievement

In this chapter, Filipino American secondary students are analyzed for their English-language abilities. Filipino Americans are the seemingly silent or hidden immigrant minority group in the United States of America (U.S.A.), overshadowed by more prominent and populous immigration groups such as Hispanics primarily from Mexico, and Asian immigrants, primarily from China. In addition, data on California high school exit exams, dropout rates, and graduates with University of California and California State University required courses (for admissions) are provided for Filipino American students, as well as other immigrant ethnic groups in California.

Two questions which directed this chapter were: How do Filipino American students compare in English-language abilities, in comparison to other non-English-speaking immigrant students? In addition, how do Filipino students

compare academically in general in comparison to other prominent immigrant groups? The California Department of Education's online *Data and Statistics* was the primary source of data for this chapter.

Filipino/Tagalog in California

This chapter focuses on the Filipino/Tagalog language in California, U.S.A. and its institutionalization in secondary public education World Languages Departments. The chapter incorporates historical and statistical data on Filipino/Tagalog, highlights a grassroots, heritage-language maintenance initiative in California, with Assembly Bill 420, and utilizes several informants, or agents, in describing the process of institutionalizing Filipino/Tagalog at the high school (secondary) level. Several counties in California were examined for classes offered in World Languages Departments; of primary interest was the existence of Filipino/Tagalog-language courses in these World Languages Departments. Two key questions directed this chapter: Is Tagalog being maintained and supported in California, the state with the largest population of Filipino Americans? If so, what people and/or institutions play major roles? Interviews with Filipino teachers and the California Department of Education's online *Data and Statistics* were primary sources of data for this chapter

Filipinos and Language in Arizona

This chapter takes an ethnolinguistic look at Filipino Americans living in the Phoenix Valley, Arizona. In order to understand the nature of language within

this population, data were drawn from several different qualitative sources: interviews, field observations, surveys, and curriculum and language databases. Although Arizona is a neighbor-state to California, which has half of the Filipino American population in the entire United States, Arizona does not have a top-ten ranking of Filipinos by population, nor is Filipino institutionalized academically at the secondary or collegiate level. Inquiries into whether Filipino Americans utilized native Filipino languages in Arizona, and the institutions which attrite or nurture them, created foundation and focus for this chapter. Variables which may impede the inter-generational dissemination of Tagalog are revealed: a small population of Filipinos and no official academic institutionalization of Tagalog; however, Filipino Americans in Arizona were found to re-create Filipino cultural contexts in public within Filipino-owned restaurants.

Conclusion

According to the American Community Survey of 2008, Filipino Americans are the second largest Asian ethnic group in the United States and their population has been steadily growing throughout the last several decades of the 20th century and into the first decade of the 21st century. The amount of academic research on this population, which reflects a globally represented population of people who could be characterized as being multilingual and multicultural, is minimal; many research communities in a variety of different disciplines could benefit from their own specific research foci in the description of and findings within this dissertation.

Chapter Two: A Historical Review of the Philippines, Colonization, and Cultural Assimilation

Chapter Frame

In order to orient Filipino Americans in the United States, it is necessary to establish a historical perspective of Filipinos in the Philippines. One leading question sought to determine the extent to which cultures and empires outside of that which is autochthonous to the Philippines have had influences on Filipino Americans and language today. A particular focus is placed onto the social, political, and economic consanguinity between the Philippines and the United States. Historical texts were the primary sources of data.

The Philippines and Colonization

Spain placed itself in globally advantageous positions during the 15th and 16th centuries. The Spanish Crown outsourced to the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus, and the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan to expand its territorial domain. Like England and France during the following centuries, expansionism was most likely motivated by the acquisition of commodities, such as spices and precious metals, and the annexation of land,³ but there were possibly theocratic motives as well as the Catholic church and the expansion of

³ The idea of aggressive land acquisition could be described by the 20th century's 3rd Reich's political idea of expanding the Lebensraum ("living space", i.e. land and raw materials).

Christianity faced competition by Islam and the Ottoman Empire⁴ (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, pp. 74-76; Arcilla, 1984, p. 9; Tubangui et al., 1982, pp. 24-26). Blaut (1993) states that several theories assign one or another casual role to the church, as a social institution, in the modernization of Europe and the rise of capitalism (p. 123).

Ferdinand Magellan landed on Cebu and claimed the land for Charles I of Spain in 1521 and was fatally wounded with a poison arrow and died on an island southeast of Cebu called Mactan. He had embroiled himself in the rivalries so characteristic of Filipino tribal relations of the time. Lapu-Lapu, the chief of Mactan, was hostile towards the Spaniards and to this day is considered the first Filipino to have successfully repelled Spanish aggression (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, p. 24-25).

In 1543, Ruy López de Villalobos led an expedition to the islands with the purpose of the colonization of the Western Islands. The Spanish chose to ignore the possibility that they might be intruding on Portuguese territory as established in the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529). The expedition reached the eastern coast of Mindanao, but the general hostility of the natives prevented the Spanish from establishing a foothold there. It was Villalobos who first referred to the southern Philippines as “Filipina” in honor of the then-Spanish prince, Felipe, who was to become King Felipe (Philip) II of Spain (Tubangui et al., 1982, p. 27-28).

⁴ In 1453, Sultan Mehmet II conquered the Eastern Roman Empire of Constantinople, changing the name to Istanbul, ending Byzantine control. The year 1492 is significant to the West because of Columbus’s invasion of the New World, but it is also the year that Abu Abdullah a.k.a. Boabdil, the last Moorish King in Spain, surrendered the city of Granada officially ending 800 years of Islamic social, political, and theocratic control of the Iberian Peninsula.

When Miguel López de Legazpi and 500 armed soldiers came to Cebu and established the first Spanish settlement on the islands in 1565, there were numerous Muslim communities on Mindoro Island, in the Manila Bay area, in the Cotabato River area, in villages around Lake Lanao, and in the coastal settlements around Illana Bay. Legazpi heard from traders about a rich Muslim kingdom in Luzon called Maynila, which was ruled by Rajah Soliman. Legazpi sent an expedition there, which ultimately led to the Spanish defeat of the sultan rulers (Bautista, 1998, p. 30).

The Encomienda System and Assimilation

Starting in the late 16th in the Philippines, the Spanish government divided the Philippines into jurisdictions called *encomiendas* (from Spanish *encomendar* i.e., “to entrust”). The system was based on an assumed right vested by the king upon a Spaniard who had helped in the “pacification” and settlement of a “heathen” country (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, p. 85). This concept provided the Spanish the justification for stealing land and controlling Filipino people and their economy.

The system had strong links to Spanish feudalistic history, and could be seen as a form of slavery. The encomienda was land granted within a geographic region, which was given to a Spaniard who received the grant, who was an encomendero. Native Filipinos were required to pay the encomendero a tribute, in the form of crops, gold, work, etc, in return for protection and religious instruction.

Encomenderos were to “teach the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins and the Articles of the Faith, that is, to those he thinks have the capacity and ability to learn them” (Bakewell, 1998). By order of the King of Spain, encomenderos were obliged to feed their appointed “flock” of people. Arcilla (1984) stated that the Spanish succeeded in assimilating native Filipinos through hunger (p. 19). Agoncillo & Guerrero (1977) stated that Filipinos converted easily to Christianity and that striking similarities between the pre-Spanish religion and Christianity may have made Catholicism more acceptable, which did not completely replace any pre-colonial religion. The friars did not uproot any pagan practices, but utilized them as a means of holding the native people to the practices of the new religion i.e., Christianity (p. 106).

Spain’s success in firm colonization of the Philippines drew on several cultural and social agents of European diffusionism. The friars targeted the spirits and the minds of the native Filipino populations and did so through education. The Crown succeeded in creating an internal labor market. Arcilla (1984) would classify three categories of agents: one is the friar, two is the government official who hoped for a higher post in Spain or America after a term or two in office in the islands, and three is the trader who wanted to stay just long enough to amass a certain level of wealth and then leave (p. 38).

Early Colonial Education

Colonial education began with Franciscan monks following Spanish soldiers and bringing their lessons of God to the people left in the bloody wake of

the conquistadors (Willinsky, 1998, p. 93). For Spain, religious education was seen as a crucial component of the conquest of the Philippines, but the Spanish did not favor linguistic homogenation at first.

There were many methods that were used by the Spanish missionaries to teach Christianity. Missions preached in the native dialects, catechetical lessons and books were given, and schools were set up. Giving sermons and preaching in a native language required friars to make lists of native words and phrases by asking the names of objects. Grammars and dictionaries were written in this way, and Spanish missionaries became the first linguists of the Filipino dialects. Oral teaching soon became inadequate and catechetical books had to be written. The first books printed in 1593 in the Philippines were two catechisms. *Doctrina Cristiana* was a Tagalog-Spanish bilingual edition, and the same book was published using Chinese characters (Arcilla, 1984, p. 35).

Cultural development of the Philippines under Spain represented the inefficacy of Spanish political policy, such as the non-compliance with the Laws of Burgos and the New Laws. The Spaniards did not make Spanish the lingua franca of the country, and instead of teaching it, the friars learned and wrote in the native languages, in violation of several royal decrees that required them to teach Spanish to the people (Agoncillo, 1977, p. 108). Foucault (1970), identified a major shift in European thought that took place at the close of the 16th century, in which knowledge was no longer sought in looking for the semblance among things, the aim of scholarship was to determine difference (p. 54 in Willinsky, 1998, p. 27). It is possible that the friars were pioneering a new approach to

education i.e., the incorporation of the students' culture and language. Ostler (2005) states that the aim was to teach the indigenous population, not learn from them: It was a way of encoding the Spaniards' thoughts (p. 346 in Ostler, 2004).

The Spaniards established a school system that was controlled by the friars. Most of the schools and colleges were founded by different religious orders, but the most well known are undoubtedly the Jesuits. The narrowness of the policies and the favoring of religion in the curriculum worked against the entire educational system's overall development. Only Spanish children were taught in these early schools, and it was not until the 19th century that the friars were opening these schools to native children.

Spanish Acculturation

In 1863, a national system of education was implemented which meant that Filipinos would be linguistically assimilated on a greater institutional level. The clergy fought this because they believed that it would allow Filipinos to adopt an intellectual level that the Spanish-European possessed and would create friction and resistance between the Spanish and the Filipinos. The installation of the school system was a move on the part of the Spanish government to nationalize the school system and sway it from a theological-academic system; this reflected the liberal political climate in Spain during the 19th century. With the decree, elementary education became compulsory and every town was to have at least one school. Assimilation of Spanish culture was perhaps the most salient objective of the school system. The Spanish language became the medium of

instruction; the history of Spain (and not the Philippines) along with geography, music, and other courses composed the curriculum (Weinberg, 1997, p. 100). Higher education, as well, served as an assimilatory vehicle for Spanish culture. Notably, the priesthood was the top academic career of the period. The Chinese Empire, as well as Islam, had culturally unifying qualities, and that the Catholic Church did not provide Europeans with any special cultural quality which allowed European domination of the world (Weinberg, 1997, p. 123). It is difficult, however, to ignore the symbiotic nature of the Catholic Church and the imperial power.

Impetus of Independence

During the late 19th century, the Philippine nation was a powder keg waiting to explode in revolution, like many other now former-Spanish colonies. Spain's geopolitical dominance around the world had been greatly diminished throughout the 19th century, beginning with losses of its colonies in the South America Wars of Independence (1804-1824), and continuing on into Cuba and the Philippines with frequent uprisings against the Spanish empire. Having endured the feudal-like *encomiendas* and its aftermath, an oppressive system that economically and socially favored the Spanish, the clandestine Filipino revolutionary group, the *Katipunan*, organized most notably by Andrés Bonafacio and several others, had begun to wage war in the form of social opposition and small military battles against the Spanish in the 1890s. The most historically

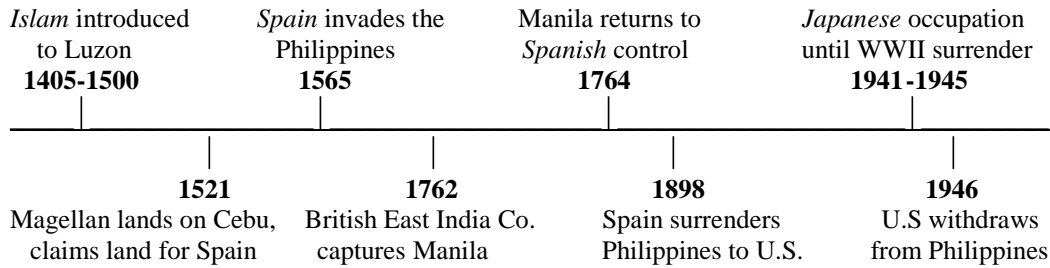
significant battles arguably took place during the Revolt of 1896 (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, pp. 169-227).

In the Caribbean, the United States sided with Cuban rebels because of economic interests on the island, and on February 15th, 1898 the United States warship, the Maine, was blown up in Havana harbor resulting in the death of 246. This sparked war between Spain and the United States. In the fall of the previous year (1897) Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. conceived of sending Commodore George Dewey to make Hong Kong his base of operations and to take offensive action against the Spanish flotilla in Manila in case of an outbreak of war. After the sinking of the Maine, Dewey's command of seven heavily armed ships sailed from Mirs Bay near Hong Kong to Manila Bay. In the early morning hours of May 1st, 1898, the Spanish flotilla, under the command of Admiral Montojo, was defeated and surrendered to Dewey's outnumbered warships (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, pp. 216-217). Spain's political, but not cultural legacy in the Philippines would end with the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Following the defeat of the Spanish in the Spanish-American War by a joint effort of the United States military and rebel Filipino forces, the United States occupied the Philippines, using it as a strategic outpost in the Western Pacific. This led to the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), which ended with the defeat of an armed Filipino resistance. The U.S. occupation continued until World War II, when the Japanese took the islands by force. Defeat of the Japanese by American forces and Philippine guerrillas returned power to the U.S., until the

Philippines finally, through non-hostile means, gained independence from any explicit outside hegemonic forces in 1946, as stipulated by the 12-year U.S. commonwealth law established by the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934.

Geopolitical Timeline of The Philippines



Conclusion

Throughout history, Filipinos have had to succumb to a number of external cultural, political, and economic influences, assimilating those influences into their own collective culture. This history may be advantageous to contemporary Filipinos collectively in the form of diverse cultural and conceptual “familiarity.” Agoncillo (1972) stated that it was “tragic that Filipino historians still view their history from the colonizers viewpoint” and that this was the result of a “colonial hangover” (in Hila, 2001, p. 25).

Chapter Three: A Linguistic Review of the Philippines: Education, Policy, and Economics

Questions and Methods

The Philippines, a multilingual nation, has two official languages: Filipino (Tagalog) and English. What has been and what is currently the national direction on language policy? Are public schools investing equal curricular importance to both languages? Are there legislation and mandates which favor one language and not the other, if so, why?

Much of the data was collected from historical as well as contemporary texts. Specific information, however, was not readily available in established hardcopy or virtual literature e.g., books, journals, magazines, newspapers, or online sources. For one particular piece of information concerning Philippine House Bill 4701, which was an English-only measure proposed for the Philippine educational system, there was no information on the House's website, nor was there literature available on the specific piece of information. An email to the website's contact address established a correspondence with an administrative assistant in the House of Representatives. This correspondence established access to privileged, insider information that was not readily available to, or rather, was not sought by many forms of media because it appeared not to be sensational or highly inflammatory. The administrative assistant stated that HB4701, which had passed the Philippine House and was passed on to the Senate, had gone nowhere

and further that most bills that went to the Senate do not pass. The bill was to make English the sole medium of instruction in the public schools.

Foreign Influences: Language and National Identity

The pre-colonial history of the Philippine archipelago, composed of 7,107 islands, is considered multi-tribal. Austronesian-speaking immigrants, coming from Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, amongst other countries like China and India, are ancestral influences of modern-day ethnic Filipinos (Tubangui et al., 1982, pp. 150-152). Along with the indigenous diversity, the occupation by foreign armies and governments, combined with immigrant populations from China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, and Malaysia, have made the Philippines and Filipinos culturally and linguistically heterogeneous.

For the past 500 years the Philippines has been ruled and/or influenced by foreign or non-native entities in some way. Each of these influences brought tangible goods, ideologies in which to govern both politically and socially, and distinctly different world views. Spain and the United States, most notably, introduced respective forms of literature primarily for social control and educational purposes. These two linguistic influences provided Filipinos with access to innovative scientific and cultural knowledge which had been written in Spanish and English.

Weinberg (1997, p. 97) states that when the Spanish invaded the Philippine in 1565, they discovered that Filipinos were literate and maintained their “laws, stories, and proverbs written on tree bark, bamboo, or palm leaves on which they

incised characters that looked more or less like Greek or Arabic, by using a stylus” (in Bernabe, 1987, p. 9). Ostler (2005) identifies Tagalog as being one of a related alphabet to have derived from India from Brahmi characters, many through the Pallava script in southern India (p. 203).

English and Spanish were official languages during the rule under the United States, and the teaching of English in schools was criticized as being exclusive to the teaching of native languages. Jorge Bocobo, Secretary of Public Instruction (1940-1941) under President Manuel Quezon (1935–1941) once stated, “No foreign language, be it Spanish or English, or any other, can be the genuine vehicle for our innermost thoughts, our intimate feelings. No foreign language can be the expression of our national soul” (Tubangui et al., 1982, p. 150).

In order to create a more cohesive, generalized Filipino identity, one that was embedded in a common language, which would appear to be inclusive of all Filipinos, the First National Assembly created the National Language Institute in 1937. The Institute selected Tagalog for the basis of a new national language because the majority of Filipinos in Manila, the capital of the Philippines which is located on the largest and the most populous island, Luzon, had at least a working knowledge of Tagalog. In June of 1940, President Quezon mandated that Tagalog be taught in all schools in the Philippines. The National Assembly then enacted Act 570 establishing Tagalog as the national language effective Independence Day, July 4th of 1946 (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, pp. 405-406; Tubangui et al., 1982, p. 150). In 1959, this national language became known as “Pilipino,” which was later renamed to “Filipino” by the 1987 Constitution, which today is the co-

official language of the Philippines.⁵ Filipino is based heavily on Tagalog, with the incorporation of many Spanish as well as English terms.

“Tagalog” or “Filipino”?

Once inside the sociolinguistic world of the Philippines and its people, and this includes groups of Filipinos who recreate this sociolinguistic world outside of the Philippines, the language is often referred to more specifically as “Tagalog.” Some of the more well-known writers on Philippine languages would sometimes re-affirm the (somewhat) interchangeable nature of the two terms “Filipino” and “Tagalog”. For instance, in this passage from Gonzalez (1998), he states, “Moreover, when one counts the number of second-language speakers of Filipino all over the islands ... the number of Tagalog speakers is overwhelming” (p. 499). The reason is that Filipino, in essence, is Tagalog.

In addition to the disambiguation of “Filipino” and “Tagalog” based on insider-outsider labeling, the continuance of the use of the specific label “Tagalog” by informants within this dissertation may be a response to the politicization of Philippine languages. This began most pronounced in 1959 when the co-national language was changed from “Tagalog” to “Pilipino” by the Secretary of Education, Jose Romero, in order to denote a national language rather than one with ethnic and geographic connotations. In the Philippines and throughout the global Filipino diaspora, Filipinos who do not speak Filipino as their mother-tongue (or their father-tongue) may carry a sentiment closely related

⁵ *Filipino* is a member of the Austronesian languages and is a standardized dialect of Tagalog.

to resentment for having only one specific regional language elevated to the status of a co-official national language. In this sense, languages other than English or Tagalog-based Filipino in the Philippines are thus implicitly lumped into a category of an intragroup “other.” This animosity may be most visibly manifested in the National Language Wars of the 1960s (see Gonzalez, 1980).

However, the use of the label “Tagalog” may ultimately relate to a desire to approximate the regional language that is spoken, which is Tagalog-based Filipino. Linguistic data in the United States, such as those provided by the United States Census, Modern Language Association (which utilizes U.S. Census data), and the California Department of Education employ the label “Tagalog,” or “Filipino/Tagalog,” as opposed to simply “Filipino,” perhaps in order to distinguish Filipino from Cebuano, Ilocano or other Filipino languages. According to one professor in Southern California who was instrumental in institutionalizing Filipino language in California schools (discussed in an upcoming chapter), the Modern Language Association will not change the label of the language in their database from “Tagalog” to “Filipino” unless explicit directive is sent from the Philippine government (Statements were made in a language policy focus group at the University of Hawaii, Manoa at the 1st Conference of Filipino as a Global Language, March, 2008). Referring to this language as “Filipino” may provide greater recognition of the language’s origins to outsiders (linguists and non-linguists) not familiar with the Philippines and its languages, thereby providing “name-branding” for the country in an ever market-oriented world. Until a mandate is sent from the Philippine government to a

variety of databases within the United States, the label “Tagalog” will both stand alone from “Filipino” in one or more databases while simultaneously grouped together as “Filipino/Tagalog” and even “Pilipino/Tagalog” or simply “Pilipino” in others.

Overview of Philippine Languages

McFarland (1981) listed 120 languages spoken in the Philippines. Gordon (2009) listed 171 living languages in the Philippines with Filipino and English as official languages, and further approximates the number of native English speakers in the Philippines between twenty and thirty thousand. Crystal (2003) estimates that there are over 40,000,000 second-language speakers of English, which is almost one-half of the population of 88,000,000.

There are ten native regional languages, each with over one million speakers within the Philippines: Tagalog has 21,500,000 speakers, Cebuano has 15,800,000 speakers, Ilocano has 6,920,000, and Hiligaynon has 5,770,000. Waray-Waray, Bikol, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Maranao, and Maguindanao all have somewhere between one and two and a half million speakers.⁶ There are also minority language populations that include Basque, French, Hindi, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Sindhi, Spanish, Standard German, Vietnamese, and Arabic. The list creates a question of whether Arabic, Hindi, and Sindhi, and more

⁶ There are lexical differences in the languages (e.g., “brother” is *kapatid* in Tagalog, *utod* in Hiligaynon, and *tugang* in Bikol). Since many of the major languages are related, there are similarities as well (e.g., “eye” is *mata* in Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Bikol and several other languages) (McFarland, 2004, p. 60).

realistically, Spanish and to some extent English, could be considered native, but not autochthonous languages, since some of these languages have been spoken in the Philippines for perhaps 500 years or more. English is the Philippines' 11th language with over one million speakers, with 3.4 million speakers (Gordon, 2009).

English in the Philippines

The English language is spoken all over the world, from Anguilla to Zimbabwe, with some estimates reaching 2.3 billion people speaking some variety of English at various levels of proficiency. Its use as a medium of instruction may one day surpass its status as a foreign language taught as its own subject matter (Crystal, 2003, p. 67). The language, in its varied forms, allows for person-to-person, nation-to-nation, and perhaps most globally relevant, business-to-business communication.

English has been taught in the Philippine educational system since the beginning of the American colonial period (1899), when American schools opened in Manila and Filipinos were compelled to learn democratic values associated with President William McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, p. 422). Sibayan (1994) noted that during the restructuring of the Filipino educational system, which after independence from Spain moved away from Spanish and towards English, that the English language was a social equalizer. Access to the language was not limited to the wealthy, like Spanish had been, and English was widely dispersed

from urban to rural schools as well (p. 223). Perhaps one reason why English was embraced was because it simply was not Spanish (Gonzalez, 1987, p. 141). Since the American neo-colonial period and Philippine independence (1946), English has been rooted in Filipino society. Its role in the Philippines is discussed in greater detail in further sections of this chapter.

A Note on Taglish

Since English has spread throughout the world, it has merged with languages with which it has come into contact e.g., Spanglish (Spanish and English), Hinglish (Hindi and English, and Chinglish (Chinese and English). Some Filipinos who are able to speak Filipino/Tagalog and English (fluently or not) may speak a hybrid language called *Taglish*. Ignacio (2005) observed the use of Taglish on the Internet between Filipinos in the Philippines and in the United States. The type of code switching that is used in Ignacio's research appears to be intrasentential in nature, with calqued words e.g., "Di ba nung na-naturalized ka eh you pledged your allegiance to the United States of Merika." The translation of this sentence is, "Isn't it true that when you were naturalized, you pledged your allegiance to the United States of America?"⁷

⁷ The context of the statement is more profound. Norma, a woman who immigrated with her parents to the United States when she was eight years old, and Jhun, a Filipino male in the Philippines, argued whether or not Filipino Americans are "real" Filipinos. Norma's remark was that although she was a naturalized citizen of the United States, her family still has ties with the Philippines. His view was that Filipinos who left betrayed the homeland and had a "colonial mentality" (p. 62). Norma's argument reveals a transnational connection between the United States and the Philippines.

Intersentential and intrasentential Tagalish may be employed when a speaker who speaks L1 well but not L2 is engaged in a conversation with someone who speaks that specific L2 well. It may also be utilized as a marker of identity i.e., in order to demonstrate affiliation with a sociolinguistic group. There are undoubtedly other reasons as well, such as the use of language as a creative vehicle (e.g., the sounds of the words together) and reasons of language efficiency i.e., a word in one language may contain less syllables than in the other language. The hybridization of languages would arguably be an organic linguistic manifestation of the merging of not only two (or more) languages, but two cultures. In reference to the evolution of language families, one could postulate that this linguistic hybridization is historically rooted and is a naturally occurring phenomenon. It also calls into question language purists' labeling of bilingualism i.e., that one must be fluent in order to be labeled as such.

Lingua Franca(s)

It could be said that Filipinos have two lingua francas to choose from in communicating with other Filipinos in the Philippines and within their global diaspora. Filipino may be a local lingua franca, one which allows Filipinos within the Philippines who speak different autochthonous languages e.g., Cebuano and Ilocano, to communicate with each other. As well, the ability to speak Filipino with others within the global diaspora outside of the Philippines may also bridge a communicative gap, but may also reflect a distinct identity marker, one which creates a social bond between other Filipinos. As well, the English language may

be used by Filipinos within the Philippines to bridge a communicative gap between speakers of various native, regional languages. Within the global diaspora, English allows Filipinos to communicate with foreign populations whose first language is English, or with foreign populations that choose to learn and speak English as a second or other language for social, political, and above all, economic reasons (see Braj Kachru's three concentric circles of English-speaking regions throughout the world, 1988.)

The Philippine Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) of 1974

Article XV, Section 3 (1) of the 1973 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines states that, "This Constitution shall be officially promulgated in English and in Pilipino, and translated into each dialect spoken by over fifty thousand people, and into Spanish and Arabic. In case of conflict, the English text shall prevail" (Philippine Constitutional Law, 1973). Since the 1973 Constitution was vague as to linguistic educational policy, and further since the dominance of English had continued to replace Philippine languages as opposed to adding to them within the educational system, the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports implemented Department Order # 25 in 1974 entitled, "Implementing Guidelines for the Policy on Bilingual Education." The policy defines the separate use of "Pilipino" and English as mediums-of-instruction in specific subject areas. As mandated by Department Order #25, Pilipino was to be used as a medium of instruction in social studies, music, arts, physical education, home

economics, practical arts, and character education. English would be utilized as a medium of instruction in science, mathematics, and technology.

The goals of the policy were to: (1) enhance learning through two languages; (2) propagate Filipino as a language of literacy; (3) develop Filipino as a linguistic symbol of national unity and identity; (4) cultivate and elaborate Filipino as a language of scholarly discourse; (5) maintain English as an international language for the Philippines and as a non-exclusive language of science and technology. In order to achieve these goals, the policy placed the responsibility of “continuing improvement in the teaching of both languages, their use as mediums-of-instruction and the specification of their functions in Philippine schooling” on the entire educational system. The Department of Education, Culture, and Sports, however, possessed the responsibility of funding the policy, in areas such as materials production, in-service training, compensatory and enrichment programs for non-Tagalogs, development of a suitable and standardized Filipino for classroom use and the development of appropriate evaluative instruments (Philippine Department of Education, 2006).

One possible reason that the 1970s saw a resurgence of Filipino in the Philippine educational system is that English came under assault, during what could be considered the activists’ years of Filipino language, when all things American, including language, were considered “the Other,” colonial, and subjugating. Gutierrez (2006) stated that emergence of a bilingual policy in which Filipino language instruction manifested was promoted by the fact that Dictator Ferdinand Marcos was an excellent orator in English, and further that “English

got a bad rap because it became associated with politicians who used it as a mask for probity and intelligence.”

However, when juxtaposing the language-policy timelines of the United States with the Philippines during the last half of the twentieth century, an uncanny correlation between the two countries emerges, with the United States appearing to take the lead, or influence rather, Philippine language policy. There is a six-year separation between bilingual policy implementation in the U.S. during the late 1960s followed by that in the Philippines during the early 1970s. Then, English-strengthening policies were implemented in the U.S. at the end of the 1990s and early 2000s that were again followed by those in the Philippines in the early 2000s.

U.S. Era of Bilingual Education Policy-----Era of English Only Policy

Bilingual Ed. Act 1968	Lau v. Nichols / EEOA ⁸ 1974	Prop.227 Calif. 1998	Prop.203 AZ 2000	NCLB 2001		
	1974 DECS Order # 25	1987 Philippine Constitution		2003 Exec. Order 210	2006 H.B. 4701	

Philippine Era of Bilingual ----- Policy Era of English Strengthening Education Policy

Legend: EEOA = Equal Educational Opportunities Act
 DECS = Department of Education, Culture and Sports
 H.B. 4701 = (Philippine) House Bill 4701 known as the “Strengthening and Enhancing the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction Act.”

⁸ EEOA requires school districts to take action to overcome students' language barriers that impede equal participation in educational programs (Source: U.S. Department of Justice, 2007).

Language and the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines

As opposed to the 1973 Constitution, article XIV of the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines addresses language much more explicitly. Section VI affirms Filipino as the national language, and further states that the Government “shall take steps to initiate and sustain the use of Filipino as a medium of official communication and as language of instruction in the educational system.” Section VII then re-affirms Filipino as the official language of communication and instruction, as well as English. The Constitution designates regional languages as auxiliary, official languages of which shall serve as auxiliary, medium-of-instruction languages, and that Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis. Section IX states that the Congress “shall establish a national language commission composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate, and promote researches for the development, propagation, and preservation of Filipino and other languages” (Philippine Constitutional Law, 1987).

Strengthening English in Philippine Public Education

In the United States, an era of balanced bilingual education lamentably began to come to an end during the late 20th century. Philippine language policy began to mirror that of the United States at the beginning of the 21st century. In 2003, Philippine Department of Education (DepED) Memo #189 was sent by the Office of the Secretary of Education to all: department undersecretaries and assistant secretaries; bureau directors, directors of services, centers, and heads of

units; to all superintendents and district supervisors; and to all heads of public and private elementary and secondary school. The memo outlined Executive Order #210 entitled, “Establishing the Policy to Strengthen the Use of the English Language as a Medium of Instruction in the Educational System” and was declared by then-President of the Republic of the Philippines Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Executive Order #210 (which became DepEd # 210) established three primary policies. First, English became the primary second language learned starting in the first grade. Second, English became the medium of instruction for English, math, and science, from at least the third grade. Third, the English language became the medium of instruction for all public and private schools at the secondary level, and the time allotted for learning areas conducted in English shall not be less than 70% of the time allotted for all learning areas. In addition, institutions of higher education were encouraged to adopt English as the primary medium of instruction.

The Basic Education Curriculum for Elementary schools (DepEd Order #43, 2002) of the Philippines deems English as a subject concerned with developing competence in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The time allotment in minutes per day for English and Filipino in grades one through three is lopsided towards English. By grade four, even though additional classes in Filipino are added, such as Civics, Geography, and History, the curriculum continues to be English dominant with the addition of Science and Health.

Table: 3.1
Elementary Curriculum: Time Each Week In Minutes Per Language

Subject	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
English Medium						
English	100	100	100	80	80	80
Math	80	80	80	60	60	60
Science & Health			40	60	60	60
Subtotal	180	180	220	200	200	200
Filipino Medium						
Filipino	80	80	80	60	60	60
Makabayan ⁹				100	120	120
Sibika at Kultura ¹⁰	60	60	60			
HKS ¹¹				(40)	(40)	(40)
EPP ¹²				(40)	(40)	(40)
MSEP ¹³				(20)	(40)	(40)
Subtotal	140	140	140	160	180	180
Daily Total	320	320	360	360	380	380

(Source: Philippine Department of Education, 2006).

There are no science and math classes in grades one and two, but simple concepts in both of these subjects are conveyed in English. Teaching of formal science and health subject matter starts in grade three, using English as the medium of instruction.

There is no increase in time allotment for grades four through six in English language instruction because basic literacy skills are expected to have been developed in grades one through three. The time allotted for Filipino

⁹ Social Studies, Home Economics and Work Education

¹⁰ Sibika at Kultura - Civics and Culture

¹¹ Heograpiya, Kasaysayan, at Sibika – Geography, History, and Civics

¹² Edukasyong Pantahanan at Pangkabuhayan- Education of Domestic Affairs

¹³ Musika, Sining, at Edukasyong Pangkalusugan – Music, Art, and Physical Education

language instruction is consistently twenty minutes less than English in grades one through six.

Following DepEd Order #210, Philippine Department of Education Secretary Jesli Lapus issued DepEd Order #36 in August of 2006, entitled “Implementing Rules and Regulations on Executive Order 210,” schools were mandated that all public and private high schools use English as the primary medium of instruction and also changed the medium of instruction of Technology, Music, Arts, and PE from Filipino to English. Order #36 further stated that the percentage of time allotment for learning areas conducted in the English language shall not be less than 70% of the total time for all learning areas in all year levels.

The chart of the secondary curriculum contains a list of courses and the minutes of each that students are in attendance during the week.

Table: 3.2
Secondary Curriculum: Time Each Week In Minutes Per Language

Subject	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
English Medium				
English	300	300	300	300
Math	300	300	300	300
Science	360	360	360	360
Technology	240	240	240	240
Music, Art, PE	240	240	240	240
Citizenship				50
Subtotal	1140	1140	1140	1190
Filipino Medium				
Filipino	240	240	240	240
History/Social Studies	240	240	240	240
Manner/Conduct	120	120	180	180
Subtotal	600	600	660	660
Total Minutes Weekly	2040	2040	2100	2150

The medium of instruction for each course is as follows:

- English for English, Science, Mathematics, Technology and Home Economics (TLE) and Music, Arts, PE and Health (MAPEH)
- Filipino for Filipino, Araling Panlipunan (social studies) and Edukasyon sa Pagpapahalaga (values in education).

In looking at the primary and secondary curriculums for the Philippines public school system, English is the dominant language and has been elevated and strengthened by policy. It is the medium of instruction for the majority of the core courses taken from the first grade until the twelfth grade. The entire curriculum looks like a dual-language, immersion model, with a likely objective of bilingualism and biliteracy, lopsided towards English. The entire K-12 system may appear longitudinally to be a transitional bilingual program, in which a child is consistently transitioned to English. Many, however, see the transitional model as problematic, possibly because of the linguistically subtractive outcome that the implementation and administration of some programs have proven to be (Collier & Ovando, 1998; Hernández-Chávez, 1977; Spener, 1988).

Teacher Training

In addition to the curricular changes mandated by DepEd Order #210 and DepEd Order #36, teachers were to be evaluated on their English proficiency and training programs were to be conducted nation wide in order to develop English language proficiency. As well, implementing authorities were to fund, support, and evaluate the progress of these mandates. In line with the pronouncement of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo on intensifying the use of English language

as a medium for communication and written correspondences, the Staff Development Division, Human Resource Development Service (SDD, HRDS) of the Department of Education were to conduct Basic English Training for all DepEd non-teaching personnel. The training targeted English grammar: office language, proper greetings, writing technical communications such as endorsements, letters, reports and memoranda, and providing tips on how to handle clients (Philippine Department of Education, 2006).

On January 29th, 2008, Secretary of the Department of Education Jesli Lapus issued DepED Order #7 entitled “Turning Around Low Performance in English: A Priority Program for 2008.” The order stated that on the National Achievement Test (NAT) of 2006-2007, “1,898 schools in the elementary level and 264 high schools got a Mean Percentage Score (MPS) of 34% and below in English,” which is considered low performing. One of the first strategies that the order listed in improving these low performing schools was an English proficiency test for all teachers of English, Science, Math, and other subjects taught in English at the elementary and secondary levels. In addition, an intervention package was provided for teachers focusing on oral and written communication, assessment, and other areas of teaching. Also, intervention packages were provided to students as well as schools in the form of a greater textbook-to-student ratio, supplemental reading materials, provisions of speech laboratories which will utilize Information and Communication Technology, etc. (Philippine Department of Education, 2008).

Philippine House of Representatives Bill 4701

Proposed Philippine language policy in the House of Representatives has attempted to mass produce a greater population of English-speakers for global consumption, motivated by the need to possess a competitive workforce. On Tuesday, September 19th of 2006, the Philippine House of Representatives approved on a third and final reading a proposed measure that would increase to an even greater extent the exposure to and proficiency of the English language in the national educational system of the Philippines (Ager, 2006). House Bill # 4701, which passed by a vote of 132-7, is known as the “Strengthening and Enhancing the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction Act.” The abstract of the bill states:

The bill mandates the use of English as the medium of instruction in all subjects taught in the elementary and secondary levels except in preschool and until Grade I where, aside from English, the regional or native tongue may be used. It also provides for the use of English as the medium of instruction in all subjects in the tertiary level and technical or vocational courses except in Pilipino taught as a subject. (Bill Summary and Status, 2007)

HB4701 is a substitute bill which is a consolidation of several previous house bills (i.e., HB00676, HB02846, HB02894, HB03203) aimed to strengthen the use of English in the Philippine school system (Bill Summary and Status, 2007). If and when the bill is enacted, the bill would supersede DepED Order #25, series of 1974, which proclaimed a bilingual teaching policy.

The principal author of the bill, Rep. Alipio “Tikbong” V. Badelles (1st District, Lanao del Norte; 13th Congress) stated that, “Anywhere in the world the Filipino worker is preferred over other nationalities because [he/she] can speak

and understand English.” Badelles continued to state that the Philippines has been losing its linguistic edge over other Asian countries and that “the learning of the English language suffered a setback due largely to the Bilingual Policy of the Department of Education.” Co-author of the bill Rep. Raul V. Del Mar (1st District, Cebu City) stated, “The key to better jobs here or overseas is English, not because it is the language of foreigners but because it is the language of research, science and technology, areas which global business and employment are into” (Sapnu, 2006). In a press statement after the House bill had passed, Representative Eduardo R Gullas stated:

The ball is now in the court of the Senate. We are confident the Senate will not drop the ball... We are definitely counting on our senators to do their share in making our school system wholly responsive to the fiercely competitive job markets here and abroad... Superior command of English, Math, and Science would enable our future labor force participants to obtain the most gainful employment and achieve a higher standard of living.
(Press Statement from House Deputy Majority Leader Eduardo R. Gullas, 2006)

Another co-author of HB4701 Rep. Luis R. Villafuerte (2nd District, Camarines Sur) stated that the bill would create a competitive advantage within Asia (ibid). Villafuerte also stated that linguists blame language interference for basic education’s general decline over the last 30 years. He said that the bilingual policy of 1974 mandated that some children actually learn two “foreign” languages i.e., English and Tagalog-based Filipino, if either language were not the home language (Hicap, 2006).

Gonzalez and Sibayan (1988) addressed several widespread criticisms of the Bilingual Education Program (BEP). They found many faculty members,

principals, as well as parents in general, did not have a positive attitude towards BEP as did the Pilipino teachers. Instead, many held a bias towards English. In addition, the authors pointed to structural deficiencies of “the poor educational system as a whole, due to the lack of competent teachers, lack of materials and a lack of financial support” (p. 30 in Weinberg, 1997, p. 112).

House Bill #4701 was met with opposition, as Antonio Tinio, chairman of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT),¹⁴ questioned the constitutionality of the bill, and stated that it violated Article 14 of the Constitution on the use of Filipino as official language of communication and instruction. Tinio further warned that the bill could “wipe out the gains of generations of nationalists who have fought to develop the national language” (Hicap, 2006b).

In addition, Senate Minority Leader Aquilino “Nene” Q. Pimentel, Jr. (PDP-Laban) urged education authorities to look into reports that certain private schools have stopped the teaching of Filipino to their students in violation of an existing law on the mandatory teaching of the national language. He stated, “The schools not only violate the law, they also deprive children of vital communication skills for national identity” (“Education Execs,” 2006).

¹⁴ The Alliance of Concerned Teachers-Philippines is a progressive, militant and nationalist organization of teachers, academic non-teaching personnel and non-academic non-teaching personnel established in June 26, 1982. It is the largest non-traditional teachers’ organization in the country which works for the economic and political well-being of teachers and all other education workers as well as for genuine social transformation (source: The Alliance of Concerned Teachers, 2007).

What Has Happened With #4701?

Inquiring about the progress of the bill, an email was sent to the Committee on Basic Education and Culture Secretary Maria Josefina Roque-Ricafort in the Philippine House of Representatives, who stated in an email correspondence that the bill went through three readings in the House before being passed (personal communication, April 24, 2007). The Committee on Basic Education and Culture held a meeting after the first reading, which was attended by experts supporting the use of Filipino in the educational system, and a second meeting was held attended by advocates of the English language.

A majority of the members of the Committee (numbering to 92), cast their votes for the use of English, one abstained, two or three supported bilingualism and one or two for Filipino. A committee report was prepared based on the results of the referendum and was sent back to the House for a second reading. The bill was then sent to the Legal Department of the Philippine House of Representatives for review of possible infringements on constitutional law, before it was brought back and went through a third reading. Secretary Roque-Ricafort stated that the judicial committee provided no written position for submission, only stating the possible unconstitutionality of the proposed bill was “under study”. Additional amendments were introduced to further refine the substitute bill of which was finally approved on 3rd reading by a vote of 132-7.

The bill was transmitted to the Senate and was received on September 26th, 2006, exactly one year to the date that it was originally read by Representative Badelles (Bill Summary and Status, 2007). The bill was pending

in the Senate as of April 27th, 2007. Committee Secretary Roque-Ricafort concluded in a follow up email correspondence that of the more 300 House bills that had been referred to the Senate, only six were acted upon by the House's Senate counterpart committee and that House Bill #4701 was not one of them.

What Do Filipinos Say About English in the Philippines?

In a lengthy demographic questionnaire completed by eleven people of Philippine ancestry living in California and Hawaii, question #53 asked what the participant knew the role of English to be in the Philippines. Four of the participants were born and educated in the Philippines and were between the ages of 50 and 70. Two individuals stated explicitly that the English language, when they were living in the Philippines, was spoken by those that were educated, wealthy, and English was the primary language of business and legal matters. One stated:

Fluency in English is the badge that carries weight in the academic, business and government circles. Filipinos can overlook your lapses in Tagalog or your dialect, but not your grammatical errors in English, particularly your spelling. Anybody who speaks English fluently could get people's attention in the Philippines. (63-year-old respondent from Negros Occidental, Western Visayas)

Another Philippine-born and educated respondent, a 61-year-old college professor and language lecturer who speaks Filipino, Cebuano, Bicolano, Spanish, English, and Bahasa Melayu fluently, stated that he was aware of the attempt to strengthen English in the Philippines, but that measures taken to do so "should not be done at the expense of Filipino." His response reflects the idea and concept

that language teaching and learning could be completed within an additive framework, and his proficiency in six languages is obviously a testament to that possibility. A 65-year-old respondent, also born and educated in the Philippines noted that nationalists in the Philippines, who advocate the sole use of Filipino in schools, represent a cause that is “a backward attempt in a global economy”. A 23-year-old, second-generation Filipino, who was born and educated in the United States, stated:

From my parents, I know that schools used to teach in English, but from current ELL students recently arrived from the Philippines, I have learned that schools no longer teach in English, which accounts for their status as English Language Learners.

This response was not quite accurate as to the absence of English in the national educational curriculum of the Philippines, but one may question why California, which has the largest concentration of Filipinos in the United States, would have any Filipino English-language learners at the junior high or high school level, if students are to have taken English classes, as well as science and math with English as the medium-of-instruction, from the first grade onward (California Department of Education, 2008). Are the students misplaced in ELL classes, or are Filipinos losing proficiency in English?

Is English Deteriorating in the Philippines?

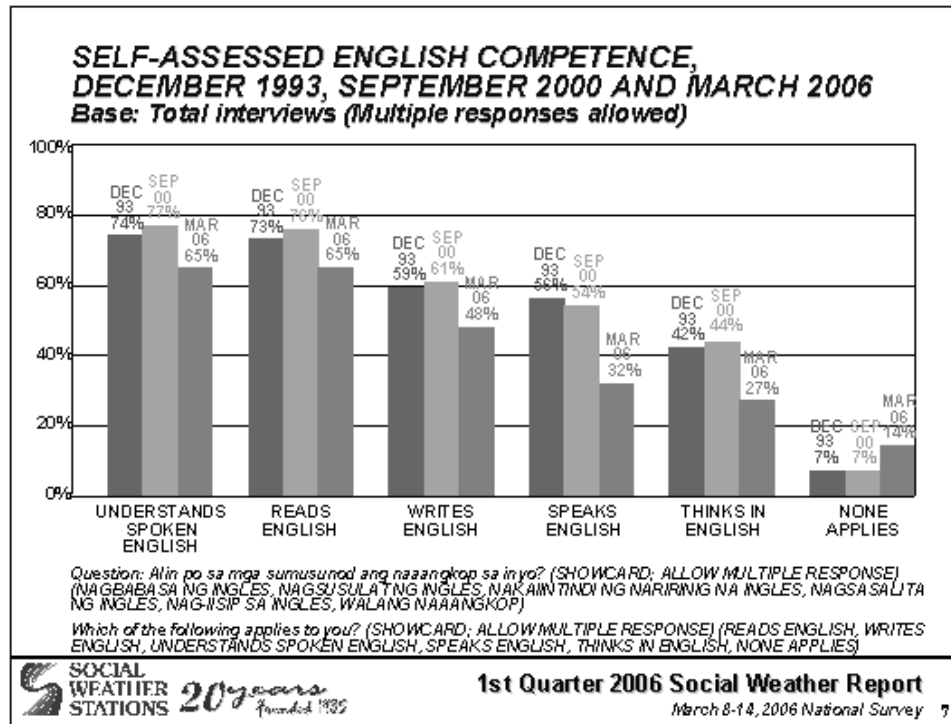
According to the Social Weather Stations (SWS), which is a public opinion polling body in the Philippines, Filipinos’ self-assessed English language

proficiency is deteriorating.¹⁵ The findings of a March 2006 survey were compared to earlier SWS surveys in December 1993 and September 2000. The SWS conducted “face-to-face interviews of 1,200 adults divided into random samples of 300 each in Metro Manila, the Balance of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao (sampling error margins of $\pm 3\%$ for national percentages and $\pm 6\%$ for area percentages).” Survey results showed a decline in all aspects of English proficiency, most notably in the ability to speak English (Social Weather Stations, 2006).

Approximately two-thirds of Filipino adults say they understand spoken English and read English. Almost one-half of those surveyed say they write English, and then even fewer (32%) said that they spoke English. Slightly more than one-fourth surveyed (27%) said that they thought in English. 14% say they are not competent in any way when it comes to the English language.

In both the September 2000 and December of 1993 surveys, three-fourths of Filipino adults said they understand spoken English and read English. Three-fifths of the respondents stated that they wrote English; more than half stated that they spoke English, and two-fifths said they thought in English. Only 7% of the respondents said they were not competent in any way when it came to the English language in the 1993 and the 2000 surveys, while the percentage doubled to 14% in the 2006 survey (Social Weather Stations, 2006).

¹⁵ SWS was established in August 1985 as a private non-stock, nonprofit social research institution. Its members, called Fellows, are social scientists in economics, political science, sociology, statistics, market research, and other fields. It is recognized by the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) (Mangahas, 2006).



The April 2008 SWS Survey revealed that three-fourths of Filipino adults said that they understood spoken English; three-fourths said that they read English; three-fifths said that they wrote English; close to half (46%) said that they spoke English; about two-fifths said that they thought in English; while 8% said that they were not competent in any way when it comes to the English language (Social Weather Stations, 2008).

Lucio Tan, owner of Philippines Airlines (among other companies) has this to say about English's deterioration in the Philippines:¹⁶

It's sad that there are many college graduates now who can't even speak a straight sentence in English, much less write one. If we do nothing, our neighbors will surpass us in English -- a language we have been speaking since the Americans colonized the Philippines more than a century ago. (Cabacungan, 2006)

¹⁶ Lucio Tan is listed by Forbes as being ranked as the 451st richest person in the world (Fass & Kroll, 2006).

According to a study by the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, 75% of the more than 400,000 Filipino students that graduate from college each year have "sub-standard English skills." The same survey indicated that most call-center companies hired only 5-10% of the job applicants that they interviewed, mainly because of inadequate English proficiency (Conde, 2006).

English and Economics

A majority of the participants in the March 2006 SWS survey agreed that developing English is an important economic factor so that the Philippines may be globally competitive. In response to the survey prompt, "Developing good English communication skills opens better job opportunities for me," a full 68% of respondents agreed with the statement that developing good English communication skills open better job opportunities for them, versus only 6% who disagree (5% somewhat disagree + 1% strongly disagree), for a high net agreement of +61 at the national level.

OPINION ON THE STATEMENT: "Developing good English communication skills open better job opportunities for me.", BY AREA, LOCALE AND CLASS, MARCH 2006

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>BAI</u> <u>LUZ</u>	<u>VIS</u>	<u>MIN</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Agree	68%	81%	70%	67%	54%	71%	60%	83%	70%	56%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	42	54	41	44	33	44	38	56	42	38
<i>Somewhat agree</i>	26	27	29	23	21	28	22	27	29	18
Undecided	12	10	8	15	16	12	10	9	11	15
Disagree	6	4	4	10	8	6	7	4	6	6
<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	5	4	3	9	5	5	5	3	5	5
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	1	0	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1
Not applicable	14	4	17	7	21	10	22	4	12	23
Net agreement*	+61	+77	+67	+57	+46	+66	+52	+79	+64	+50

*Net agreement (% Agree minus % Disagree) correctly rounded.

Acronym Legend: RP = Republic of Philippines; NCR= National Capital Region; LUZ= Luzon; VIS= Visayas; MIN = Mindanao

The items described in the SWS release were commissioned by the Promoting English Proficiency (PEP) Project, an initiative led by the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines and the Makati Business Club, with funding from Philip Morris Philippines Manufacturing, Inc. (PMPMI) (Promoting English Project, 2007). Additional support came from the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines and EON The Stakeholder Relations Firm's English is Cool campaign (English is Cool Campaign, 2007) co-sponsored by members of the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce, namely, AmCham, Australian-New Zealand Chamber of Commerce (ANZCHAM), Canadian Chamber of Commerce (CanCham), ECCP, Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCIP), and the Philippine Association of Multinational Companies and Regional Headquarters, Inc. (Social Weather Stations, 2006).

The fact that groups that are promoting the English language in the Philippines commissioned the survey on English language proficiency and attitudes about English bring into question potential bias in the framing and development of questions, in administration, and interpretation of the survey.

Outsourcing to the Philippines

The Philippine government explicitly recognizes the importance of English in attracting foreign investment. The Marcos government listed the English-language competence of the Philippine labor force, along with low labor costs, as special reasons for foreign companies to invest in the Philippines (Tollefson, 1991, p. 139). Some of the multinational corporations that outsource

to the Philippines include America Online, Accenture, Barnes & Noble, Bechtel, Citibank, Procter & Gamble, Alitalia, International Red Cross, Mitsubishi, Omron, Sumitomo Corporation and over 30 other Japanese companies. These companies outsource their software applications development and business processes (technical support, billing, accounting, inventory management, online ordering, engineering design, human resources, management, and others) to the Philippines. Foreign companies that are now outsourcing programming and business processes to the Philippines estimate 30 to 40% business cost savings; call center services, 15 to 30%; and application systems and software development, 35 to 50% (European IT Service Center, 2002).¹⁷ In order to service this global industry (cheaper labor equates to less-expensive products and services), the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (ECCP), along with the EON Stakeholder Relation Firm, began an English-advocacy campaign entitled “English is Cool.” The goals of the campaign are to reverse the decline in Filipinos’ English proficiency, initiate change in peoples’ mindset, and re-popularize English among the youth (English is Cool Campaign, 2007).

Big Money with Big Influence: What’s the Bottom Line?

In 2006, a global communications company by the name of Bigfoot Asia Pacific Foundation, Inc., gave approximately 20,000 free accounts of its

¹⁷ The European IT Service Center Foundation (EITSC) is an initiative of the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (ECCP), German Development Cooperation (GTZ) and the Asia-Europe Foundation of the Philippines to bridge the eSourcing needs of Europe with the IT/BPO capabilities in the Philippines.

CleverCourse¹⁸ product to the Department of Education. CleverCourse is an online library of English courses developed by Cleverlearn, Ltd., which is an affiliate of Bigfoot Global Solutions.¹⁹ The products, from general English courses to business English courses, range from a beginner's level through to a high advanced level, and have approximately seven levels in all. Cleverlearn uses a variety of technologies from web to mobiles, from PDAs to movie DVDs - to deliver and reinforce English instruction. In order to benefit elementary and high school students in Cebu City and province, Bigfoot provided schools with free accounts. Bigfoot CEO Joe Mercado stated, "In the near future, we might be expanding the scope of this project by making CleverCourse available to all students in the country, especially in the public education system" ("Bigfoot Donates," 2007).

Why would a gargantuan global corporation like Bigfoot give away free accounts? It is because English is a commodity. The bottom line is English has a monetary value. Revenues from outsourcing are projected to grow from \$9 billion in 2011 to \$25 billion by 2016 in the Philippines, with competition coming from Malaysia and Vietnam (Montecillo, 2011). The Bigfoot website states explicitly that the corporation's location in the Philippines enables it to "tap an excellent resource of university graduates with impressive English-speaking ability, which we enhance with accent training and cultural awareness seminars in order to strengthen affinity with US culture and customers" (Bigfoot Global Solutions,

¹⁸ Cleverlearn was founded in 1999 in Santa Monica, California, USA. (Cleverlearn, 2007).

¹⁹ Bigfoot is currently serving a growing subscriber base of close to 3 million, spread over 176 countries (Bigfoot Global Solutions, 2007).

2007). Las Piñas National High School, located in the National Capital Region, became a beneficiary of a computerized English-language learning program. On December 15, 2006, Senate President Manuel Villar, his wife, Rep. Cynthia Villar of Las Piñas, joined Michael Alexander Ang, managing director of The Manila Times Language Institute, in inaugurating the English Computerized Learning Program laboratory. The speech lab has twenty computer terminals each equipped with a headset. The computers were purchased through the priority development assistance fund of the Villars. The Manila Times Language Institute provided the speech and grammar software program and will train the teachers on how to use it. Ang said the software used came from the United States and is exclusive to the language institute (Hicap, 2006a).

Teacher Shortages and Lack of Proficiency Remedied by Technology

Education Secretary Jesli Lapus pursued what is known as cyber education. After attending a symposium in New York City dubbed as the “School of the Future,” attended by 44 delegates and top educators from around the world, Secretary Jesli Lapus became inspired. “Hopefully, we can have online teaching within two years,” Lapus said during a press conference at the Department of Education (DepED). He assigned DepED Assistant Secretary for Programs and Projects Vilma Labrador to study on the possibility of electronics teaching or cyber education in the Philippines. Students would listen or download lectures and reading materials for particular subjects as well as take examinations as part of the curriculum (Hicap, 2006a).

Conclusion

It is difficult to determine whether or not English language proficiency has declined overall in the Philippines in the past several decades. It is even more difficult to determine whether or not any deterioration in Filipinos' ability to communicate in English is directly correlated with and caused by the implementation of the Philippine Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) of 1974. What is apparent is that global businesses need a substantial pool of English-speaking workers in the Philippines (and other developing countries) in order to cut costs and improve their own bottom lines.

With proponents of the English language in the Philippine House of Representatives (i.e., H.B. #4701, 2006), along with the late- President of the Republic of the Philippines Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's own declaration to strengthen English in the Philippine educational system (Executive Order #210, 2003), the connection between political action and economic sustenance and progress seems obvious. Article VI and VII of the 1987 Constitution do not state explicitly which language shall be utilized as the "primary medium-of-instruction," only that English and Filipino shall be used as official languages and languages of instruction. Unfortunately, the open-to-interpretation nature of constitutional law will undoubtedly leave policy makers room to establish English as the primary medium-of-instruction in the Philippine educational (K-12) system.

In a battle between an intrinsic motive to maintain cultural and national identity through a native Filipino language, and an extrinsic motive to give Filipinos an anglo-linguistic edge in Asia and to allow workers to tap further into

a global economy with an English-language workforce, it seems that the latter will dominate the former based on which language or languages translate into greater economic livelihood. The status that the English language holds in the educational system and its reinforcement in politics, is based on language strength and utility in a market, whether local or global, based on an economic value of language. Global companies find their communication needs met with English-speaking workforces found in third- and semi-third-world countries where the dollar, Euro, or pound are much stronger than the value of that country's currency, such as those of the Philippines and India. Globally-rooted companies, with their employment of large numbers of wage-earning Philippine citizens, require proficiency in English and thus, institutionally speaking, the educational system reinforces and assimilates to the market needs by putting out their own commodity i.e., an English-speaking workforce, for global consumption and national economic interest. The speaking of English and the policies that reinforce the use of English in the Philippines may have a subtle and slow "deforestation" effect on other languages of the Philippines.

External influences guide language policy today as a result of a close connection between language, a global market, and national economic vitality. Philippine language policy appears to be following the same subtractive linguistic path as the United States, characterized by a one-dimensional concept of language, and/or a center-periphery model of language: English is at the center and the primary focus. Globally, this appears to be occurring at the cost of other languages.

Chapter Four: Filipino Immigration to the United States

Questions and Methods

Filipino Americans are emerging as a prominent United States immigrant minority group. What particular times in history have Filipinos immigrated to the United States? Why have they immigrated? How do Filipino-immigration statistics compare to those of other immigrant groups?

Several data sources were crucial in the development of a historical and contemporary analysis of Filipino immigration to the United States. The United States Census Bureau with Census 2000 and yearly American Community Surveys, along with the United States Department of Homeland Security's *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, were all integral in building a macro-level view of Filipino immigration. Other literature which focuses on Filipino history and United States immigration was utilized to incorporate a more defined perspective of specific populations during specific eras with differing motives for immigration.

During an investigation for statistics on immigrant countries-of-origin and the numbers of people receiving legal permanent status throughout the last century and more, one specific piece of information could not be found. There were no data given for Filipina women that were granted U.S. citizenship as a result of the War Brides Act (1945). After several attempts to find the information, and having given up on the search on several occasions, an email

was sent to the Department of Homeland Security: Immigration Statistics. A correspondent there photocopied several pages of statistics and emailed that information back.

Filipinos in the United States

Filipinos are one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in the United States today. The U.S. Census Bureau in 2000 listed 1,850,314 Filipinos in the United States, 2,328,097 in 2006, and 2,425,697 in 2008. Of the total U.S. population of Filipinos, Census 2000 listed 1,369,070 as being born in the Philippines (Summary File 3 – Place of birth for foreign-born population).

Table 4.1
Population by Ethnicity in the United States

Year	2000	2006	2008	% of Growth
Total population	281,421,906	299,398,485	304,059,728	8.044%
White	211,460,626	221,331,507	228,182,410	7.907%
Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	44,252,278	46,891,456 ²⁰	32.815%
Black or African American	34,658,190	37,051,483	40,211,186	16.022%
Asian	10,242,998	13,100,095	13,413,976	30.957%
Chinese	2,432,585	3,090,453	3,077,783	26.523%
Asian Indian	1,678,765	2,482,141	2,495,998	48.68%
Filipino	1,850,314	2,328,097	2,425,697	31.096%
Vietnamese	1,122,528	1,475,798	1,431,980	27.567%
Korean	1,076,872	1,335,075	1,344,267	24.83%
Native American	2,475,956	2,369,431	2,443,422	-1.313%

(Source: American Community Survey, 2006, 2008; U.S. Bureau, 2000-Summary File 1).

During the years 2000- 2008, the Chinese have been the largest Asian group in the United States with a population of 3,077,783. Filipinos have been the third

²⁰ Of this population estimate, 30,738,559 are of Mexican origin.

largest nation-of-origin Asian group during the first decade of the 21st century behind Asian Indians, but their respective populations are numerically close (American Community Survey, 2006, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000- Summary File 1).

Asian Indians were numerically more visible with increased populations entering the United States from 2001 to 2005 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006). This ranking may place Filipinos more readily in the category of the “invisible minority” as opposed to the “model minority” (although a review of Filipinos’ academic performance in California may confirm the latter). A profound neo-colonial history that the Philippines and the United States have shared, in addition to Filipinos’ increasing numbers in the United States in the late 20th and early 21st century, would suggest the emergence of a very visible 21st century minority, the Filipino American community.

History of Filipino Immigration to the United States

Filipinos began immigrating to the United States in the late 18th century. Two particular settlements were established near New Orleans, Louisiana by Filipino deserters from Spanish ships. One was Manila Village in Jefferson Parish and the other settlement was St. Malo near the mouth of Lake Borgne in St. Bernard Parish, both in Louisiana. The latter was a fishing village inhabited by an estimated one hundred Filipinos, and is believed to be the first Filipino colony in the United States. These Filipinos reportedly spoke Spanish, Cebuano, and Tagalog (Espina, 1988 in Cordova, 2000, p. 334). During the late 17th and

throughout the 18th century, Filipinos who jumped ship during the galleon trade era fleeing the brutality of the Spaniards, who searched for refuge and a new life in New Orleans, Louisiana, and Acapulco, Mexico, were called *Manilamen*. Between 1763 and 1903, the Manilamen and other seaman and stowaways represented the majority of the first Filipinos to arrive in the United States (Bautista, 1998, p. 100).

The first official U.S. Census was conducted in 1790 and recorded 3.9 million people (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006). Immigration data recorded since 1820 list between 75-80 countries whose emigrants obtained legal permanent resident (LPR) status in the United States. No Filipinos were officially recorded between 1820 and 1909 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, p. 12).

The first wave of Filipinos came to the U.S. between 1903 and 1934. Immigration to the United States initially started from the time that the anti-American, Filipino revolution (1902) was suppressed and the Philippines became a U.S territory. Between 1903 and 1912, the Philippine Commission, through Act #854, sponsored approximately two hundred Filipino students who came as *pensionados*, or government scholars, and these students represented educated and middle-class Filipinos (Bernabe, 1987 in Cordova, 2000, p. 334; Tubangui et al., 1982, p. 124). Their objective was to obtain a degree or training so that they could become leaders back in the Philippines (Bautista, 1998, p. 109). Pensionados acted as colonial agents, unbeknownst as it were. They carried back to the Philippines Western ideas.

In addition to the pensionados, laborers sought employment on sugar plantations in Hawaii and sought other agricultural employment in California. The greatest number of immigrant Filipinos arriving in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s came from the Ilocos region of the Philippines where farm workers were amongst the lowest paid. Hawaiian labor agents were meticulous in rejecting anyone who was literate, as illiteracy was correlated with docility (Weinberg, 1997, p. 114). The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), which was an unincorporated, voluntary organization of sugar plantation owners in the Hawaiian Islands founded in 1895, actively recruited in the Philippines to bring workers to Hawaii. Between 1907 and 1919, approximately 28,000 Filipino males, primarily from the Ilocos region, came to Hawaii. From 1920 to 1924, over 29,000 Filipinos left, and during the next five years, over 44,000 came to work in Hawaii (San Pablo-Baviera & Yu-Jose, 1998, p. 392).

The Johnson-Reed U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 deemed Filipinos as neither aliens nor U.S. citizens since they were a colonized people, although technically they were classified as U.S. nationals. American labor organizations, particularly the American Federation of Labor, sought the restriction of Filipino immigration based on Americans' frustration of imported cheap labor and thus increased competition within the domestic workforce. When these labor groups failed at excluding Filipinos from working in the United States, they demanded Philippine independence (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, p. 388).

In 1934, the U.S. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which made the Philippines a commonwealth and limited immigration to fifty Filipinos

per year. In 1935, the U.S. Congress passed the Repatriation Act in order to encourage Filipino immigrants to return to the Philippines (San Pablo-Baviera & Yu-Jose, 1998, p. 396). Approximately 1,900 had returned to the Philippines between the summer of 1935 and October of 1938, and an estimated 120,000 low-paid Filipino farm workers, houseboys, janitors, and cooks remained, primarily living in California of which 97% were reported to be bachelors in their 30s (“Filipino flop,” 1938). Between 1930 and 1939, a total of 391 Filipinos were granted LPR status in the United States (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, p. 14).

The second wave of Filipino immigration started during the end of WWII, and although some arriving in the United States were the sons and daughters of the affluent, the U.S. military was responsible for many arriving as well. The military had a growing number of Filipinos enlisted starting at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1903 there were nine Filipinos in the U.S. Navy. By WWI, there were 6,000, and by 1930, there were 25,000 Filipinos in the U.S. Navy (Bautista, 1998, p. 110). In 1945 the U.S. government passed the War Brides Act which allowed U.S. servicemen serving abroad in WWII to return with their wives and children, who were citizens of foreign countries. In 1947, 525 Filipina women and 58 children were granted citizenship via marriage to U.S. servicemen (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 1952). Beginning in the 1950s, Filipinos were contracted on military bases in Guam, which was often viewed as a stepping-stone of migration to the United States; Filipinos now account for 25% of the total population of approximately 145,000 people in Guam (Goss &

Lindquist, 2000, p. 397). From 1940 to 1959, a total of 21,344 Filipinos were granted LPR status, and like the first wave, many still sought employment in agriculture.

The third wave of Filipino immigrants was characterized by those with higher levels of education and was initiated by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965, the Hart-Cellar Act. Between 1966 and 1976 there was a substantial brain drain of trained and talented individuals who left the Philippines and arrived in the United States. Most never returned to live in the Philippines. During the 1960s and 1970s combined, the number of Filipinos being granted LPR status was 408,306. During the 1980s and 1990s, a little more than half a million Filipinos per decade were granted this status (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, p. 14). A representative sample survey of 2,077 adult Filipinos who were issued U.S. immigration visas in 1986 revealed the following reasons most frequently given for immigrating: family affiliation (41.8%) followed by “work, livelihood, and income” (28.7%) and “other affiliation” (20.2%) reasons (Carino et al., 1990, p. 57 in Okamura, 1998, pp. 110).

A critical difference in educational achievement between the third and earlier waves is evident when comparing the levels of education completed (Table 4.2) by immigrants over the age of 20 who arrived before 1959 and who were still in the United States in 1980 with those who arrived between 1965 and 1969 and who were still in the United States in 1980 (Mangiafico, 1988, pp. 56-57 in Weinberg, 1997, p. 115).

Table 4.2
Level of Education of Filipino Immigrants

Level of Education	Pre-1959	1965-1969
Not completed 5 th grade	18.4%	3.1%
High school graduates	42.5%	84.3%
Completed college	14.6%	49.3%

Between 1950 and 1970, Filipino Americans who had completed college degrees increased from 10.8% to 43.2%, and in 1986, U.C. Berkley removed Filipinos from affirmative-action admissions (Weinberg, 1997, p. 120). This increase in post-secondary educational attainment corresponds to the higher level of education of Filipino immigrants arriving in the United States after the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 and most likely reflects the affect of the brain drain during the Marcos dictatorship.

Filipinos within the U.S. Immigration Context

During the year 2008, emigrants from primarily Mexico (188,015), then Central America and South America, and the Caribbean provided the largest number of people immigrating to and obtaining legal permanent resident status (LPR) in the United States with 468,678 collectively. Asia was second with 369,339 people obtaining this status, primarily from China, India, and the Philippines (see Table 4.3). Germany, from which hundreds of thousands of emigrants a decade left to start new lives in the United States, specifically during the last half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, averaged 12,640 immigrants a year who obtained LPR status from 2000-2008. The United

Kingdom²¹ averaged 17,173 immigrants who obtained this status within the same time period. Other European countries like Ireland and Italy, whose emigrants also numbered in the hundreds of thousands a decade during the 19th century averaged 1,548 and 2,798 immigrants a year (respectively) who obtained LPR status from 2000-2008 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2008, pp. 15-16). Italians, like the Germans, were still averaging a couple hundred thousand immigrants who obtained LPR status each decade until the 1950s. Irish immigration, judging by LPR status, started to diminish between the 1920s and 1930s.

Table 4.3
Legal Permanent Resident (LPR) by Country of Last Residence and Year

Country	Number of People In 2000	Number of People in 2006	Number of People in 2008
Mexico	171,445	170,046	188,015
China	41,804	83,628	75,410
India	38,938	58,072	59,728
Philippines	40,465	71,134	52,391
Cuba	17,897	44,248	48,057
Russia ²²	43,156	59,760	45,092
Dominican Rep.	17,373	37,997	31,801
Vietnam	25,159	29,701	29,807
Colombia	14,125	42,024	29,349

(Source: Yearbook on Immigration Statistics, 2008, pp. 15-16)

Table 4.3 numerically illustrates the top seven largest populations of immigrants who obtained LPR status in the United States for the years 2000 and

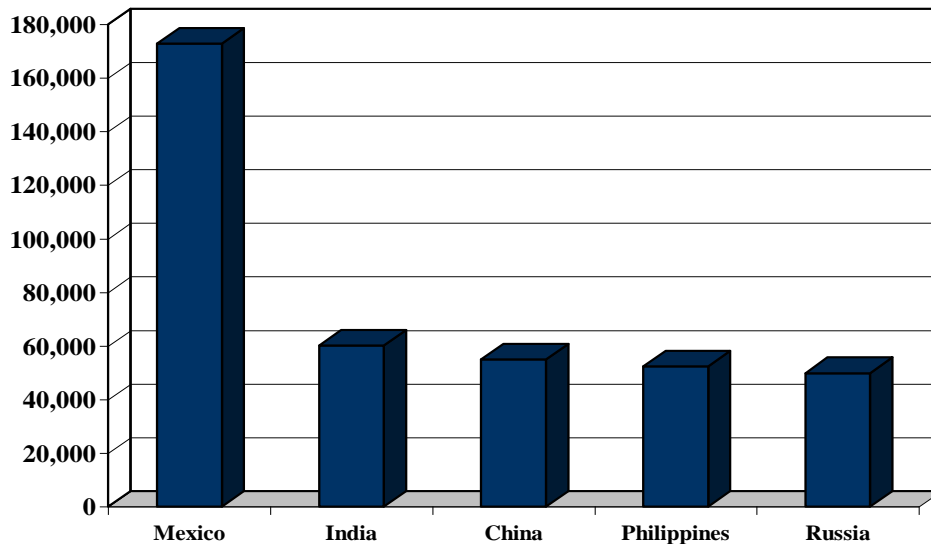
²¹ Since 1925, data for United Kingdom refer to England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

²² Russia includes the Russian federation i.e., Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

2006 and the countries of last residence from which they have emigrated. Mexico has been the home country of more people entering the United States than any other country since the 1960s. *The Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, with multiple years of publications, contains data charts of both LPRs by country of last residence as well as country or region of birth. Comparisons of recorded populations from both charts vary only slightly, yet reflect immigrants' transnational characteristics i.e., immigrants may not come directly from their birth countries, but from other countries in which they have lived and worked.

As opposed to the “snapshot” statistics that Table 4.3 illustrates of immigrants and their home countries who obtain LPR status in the years 2000, 2006, and 2008 the chart below provides the average number of immigrants from each country who obtain LPR status in the United States from the year 2000 through to the year 2008.

4.4
2000-2008 Yearly Averages of Immigrants Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status in the United States



The reason for showing the averages is that the number of immigrants from each country fluctuates each year, sometimes by ten or twenty thousand within a year for countries that rank in the top seven or eight,²³ For instance, India had 79,140 immigrants who obtained LPR status in 2005 and then 59,760 in 2006. Korea had 12,076 LPRs in 2003 and then 26,002 in 2005. Mexican LPRs have the largest fluctuations. In 2002, there were 216,924 LPRs and in 2003 there were 114,758, a difference of 102,166. Other than a slight decrease in 2003, Filipino LPRs have increased from 2000 to 2006, and have peaked particularly in 2006.

Unauthorized Immigrants

Unauthorized residents are defined as foreign-born individuals who entered the United States without inspection or who were admitted temporarily and stayed past the date that they were required to leave. The estimates of unauthorized residents are derived by subtracting the legal resident population on January 1st, 2006 from the total-foreign born population living in the United States on the same date (Hoefler, Rytina & Cambell, 2006, p. 1). The following statistics prove problematic because the Department of Homeland Security is the only source of this data. These numbers represent individuals who attempt to live in the United States surreptitiously. Table 4.5 lists the countries whose emigrants compose the top ten largest populations of unauthorized immigrants living in the United States.

²³ Other immigrant populations fluctuate by hundreds or thousands between years.

Table 4.5
Country of Birth of Unauthorized Immigrant Population

Country	Number of People in 2006
Total in U.S.	11,550,000
Mexico	6,570,000
El Salvador	510,000
Guatemala	430,000
Philippines	280,000
Honduras	280,000
India	270,000
Korea	250,000
Brazil	210,000
China	190,000
Vietnam	160,000
Other Countries	2,410,000

(Hoefler, Rytina & Cambell, 2006, p. 4)

The number of unauthorized people from each country is swayed heavily towards those from Mexico (and others filtering through Mexico from Central America), primarily because of the close proximity of Mexico to the U.S. and undoubtedly because of struggling local and national economies throughout Central American and Mexico. Although dangerous to traverse because of such variables such as intense desert heat and the risks associated with obtaining a *coyote* i.e., a human smuggler, the border is essentially a demarcated line (and in some cases a river or a mountain) between two nations, but not an ocean like that which separates the United States and the Philippines and other immigrant countries-of-origin. However, as can be seen from the chart on the previous page, substantial unauthorized populations from countries outside of North and Central America still remain within the United States.

California has the largest population of unauthorized immigrants with 2,830,000 people in 2006, followed by Texas (1,640,000), Florida (980,000), Illinois (550,000), New York (540,000) and then Arizona (500,000) (Hoefler, Rytina & Cambell, 2006, p. 4).

Immigrants, Language, and Language Rankings in the United States

During the second half of the 19th century and the first several decades of the 20th century, hundreds of thousands of emigrants were leaving countries like Germany, Ireland, and Italy each decade and coming to the United States, as mentioned previously. Over one million emigrants left each of the three aforementioned countries during at least one decade during the 19th century (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006). New York was the port of entry for most of these traditional, U.S. immigrants.

Overall, the population of French, German, and Italian speakers in the United States declined substantially towards the end of the 20th century, in comparison to other language populations. All three languages lost at least two hundred thousand speakers each between the years 2000 and 2005. Since the population of French speakers decreased, the population of Chinese speakers ascended to the third rank behind Spanish speakers. If not for the decrease in French and German-speaking populations, Tagalog (one of the primary languages of the Philippines) would still be ranked 6th in population of speakers in a list of languages spoken in the United States. However, Tagalog increased by over one hundred thousand speakers, whereas Chinese (all dialects spoken by Chinese

immigrants) saw an increase of approximately fifty thousand speakers. The population of Spanish speakers increased by approximately four million people between the years 2000 and 2006.

Table 4.6
Year 2000: U.S. Ranking of Language

Language	Total Population	% of all languages
1. English	215,423,555	82.10%
2. Spanish	28,100,725	10.71%
3. French	1,606,790	0.61%
4. Chinese	1,499,635	0.57%
5. German	1,382,610	0.52%
6. <i>Tagalog</i>	<i>1,224,245</i>	<i>0.46%</i>
7. Vietnamese	1,009,625	0.38%
8. Italian	1,008,370	0.38%
9. Korean	894,065	0.34%
10. Russian	706,240	0.26%
11. Polish	667,415	0.25%

(Source: US Census Bureau, 2000)

Table 4.7
Year 2005: U.S. Ranking of Language

Language	Total Population	% of all languages
1. English	216,078,959 (+)	81.70% (-)
2. Spanish	32,252,890 (+)	12.19% (+)
3. Chinese	1,550,574 (+)	0.58% (+)
4. <i>Tagalog</i>	<i>1,374,515 (+)</i>	<i>0.51% (+)</i>
5. French	1,325,236 (-)	0.50% (-)
6. Vietnamese	1,147,681 (+)	0.43% (+)
7. German	1,114,200 (-)	0.42% (-)
8. Korean	1,006,803 (+)	0.38% (-)
9. Russian	831,752 (+)	0.31% (+)
10. Italian	800,117 (-)	0.30% (-)
11. Arabic	678,054 (+)	0.25% (+)

(2005 American Community Survey)

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 reflect the population of the top eleven languages in the United States for the years 2000 and 2005, and also list the percentage of the language speakers within the entire population for both years.

The chart below for 2005 includes plus (+) and minus (-) signs designating whether or not the specific language increased or decreased in population and increased or decreased in percentage of all the languages.

It is likely that mainstream Americans' general knowledge of language populations would accurately place Spanish and perhaps Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, and other Chinese dialects), as well as German and French (because of traditional foreign language department institutionalization) as the top U.S. languages other than English, but would likely fail to mention Tagalog as one of the most populated languages in the United States.

Filipinos in the U.S.A. and Chain Migration

Filipinos are present as either the second largest Asian population in most states, behind alternatively populations of people from China and from India. In several states, Filipinos form the third largest population of Asians behind the aforementioned two countries; they are, however, the largest group of Asians in Alaska, Montana, Nevada, and North Dakota (American Community Survey, 2006). Table 4.8 lists the top thirteen most populous states where Filipinos reside and ends with Arizona, my state of residence while writing this chapter.

According to the American Community Survey (2006) there are 2,328,097 people

of Filipino descent or ancestry living in the United States. Approximately one-half of that population lives in the state of California (1,100,767).

Table 4.8
Filipinos by Population by State

Entity	Filipino Ethnicity 2000	Filipino Ethnicity 2006
U.S. Total	1,850,314	2,328,097
California	918,678	1,100,767
Hawaii	170,635	182,767
Illinois	86,298	114,266
New Jersey	85,245	105,806
New York	81,681	107,418
Washington	65,373	80,896
Texas	58,340	95,436
Florida	54,310	74,826
Nevada	40,529	73,261
Virginia	47,609	64,677
Maryland	26,608	33,812
Michigan	17,377	23,718
Arizona	16,176	23,653

(Sources: American Community Survey, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 - Summary File 1)

Chain migration is one likely reason why Filipinos are primarily concentrated in the state of California. Chain migration could be described simply, although a very complex phenomenon, as occurring when one immigrant becomes domestically and possibly economically established in a new or host country and then sponsors or brings several or many of his/her own family, friends, or associates to that new or host country. More individuals within this social circle (and expanded or secondary social circles) arrive in the United States. For instance, an engineering student could come to the United States to study, find a job after graduation, obtain labor certification, and become a legal resident alien. This new status would then entitle him or her to bring over a

spouse, and six years later, after being naturalized, brothers and sisters. They in turn could begin the process all over again by sponsoring their wives, husbands, children, and siblings. Within a dozen years, one immigrant entering as a skilled worker could generate dozens of visas for distant relatives (Edwards, 2006, p. 4). Rumbaut (1997) describes chain migration as intricate webs of family ties (p. 6). He makes reference to Camp (1993) who stated that by the end of the 1980s, half of adult Mexicans in Mexico were related to someone in the United States, and that one-third of all Mexicans had been to the United States at one point in their life (p. 6).

Filipinos, like many other immigrant groups, may move from one country to another in a piecemeal manner, and may allow the link to grow into an exponentially large chain. In this aspect, chain migration is a social phenomenon. The geographic aspect of chain migration can be described as a possible route or routes that immigrants take in order to arrive at a destination country. California, like the Philippines, is geographically located in the Pacific Rim. As the Pacific covers an expansive geographic range, the likely stepping stone from the Philippines to the intercontinental, West Coast United States was, and still may be for some, Hawaii, which has the second largest population of Filipinos in the United States with 182,767 Filipinos. Another immigration stepping stone, discussed in an earlier section of this dissertation, was and/or still is Guam. Once inside of the United States, Filipinos undoubtedly become as migratory as any other immigrant group i.e., they may enter one state and then move to another once or several times in a lifetime. Some undoubtedly state in the state of entry.

Chain migration may provide an explanation of how and why so many Filipinos came to be living in California. However, there may be two distinct reasons why Filipinos are attracted to California in particular. California is one of the most culturally and socially diverse states in the country. It has a population of 36,457,549 and an ethnic minority population that is 40.2% of the overall population (14% higher than the national average). Filipinos may find that they blend into the California socially, especially with large populations of other Asian groups residing within the state and the fact that Filipinos often have Spanish surnames. Immigrants from hundreds of distinct cultural groups and from easily a majority of the countries that are members of the United Nations (192 in total) are represented in California. Cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego are port-of-entry cities where many immigrant groups congregate.

In addition, because of its large population, California has a diverse economy, capable of accommodating a variety of professions and skill levels into the productivity of the state economy. During the second, third, and fourth decades of the 21st century, it is likely that the population of Filipinos in the United States will continue to increase. They will increase in their number of voters, children in schools, and workers in the workforce. The collective Filipino American community will likely become more and more individualistic, identified separately from a conglomerated, pan-Asiatic U.S. minority, and their presence in society will become commonplace and recognized in communities outside of populous states and stepping-stones and centers of immigration.

Implications

Filipino Americans possess a unique relationship with the United States, even before arrival, that is unparalleled with any other immigrant group: they are former U.S. Commonwealth subjects with English language abilities; they also have close historical and cultural ties to the largest minority group in the United States i.e., Hispanics. They also represent one of the great emigrant brain drains from which the United States has continued to benefit socially, professionally, and economically. Filipino Americans compose large communities in states like California, Hawaii, and have considerable populations in Illinois, New York, and New Jersey. Their growing numbers should be of significant interest to political representatives and to school districts in which Filipino American communities have been established.

Chapter Five: Filipino Americans and Transnationalism

Satellite Acquisitions

An expediency of movement of people, things, and information beyond traditional or pre-modern spaces has facilitated a multiplicity of separate worlds colliding into one interconnected human civilization. During the colonial period, European objectives were to explore and colonize the world's less powerful, less-territorially-sound empires, annex territory, and either destroy, assimilate, or co-exist to some extents, often exploiting human and other natural resources.

Throughout history, those with expansionist policies are most recognizably the Romans, the Ottomans, the British, French, and Spanish, and eventually in modern times, Russia and Germany, and the United States. Spain and the United States share a historic, colonially-shared entity i.e., the Philippines.

During the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, the kingdoms of Western Europe initiated the quest for territory and acquired extra-continental, satellite territories which would feed the empire back in Europe. The aim was most likely to augment the property size of the crown or imperial state, incorporating assets which would increase revenue from the products and services produced abroad in one of the satellite territories. Another motivation for the acquisition of satellite territories was likely for military purposes, posing as strategic outposts composing a semi-contiguous barrier or wall around the nation-state, much like Alaska and Hawaii were geographically strategic acquisitions for the United States.

Historically, the Spanish and the English are exemplars of European entities which increased the size of their territories exponentially through colonization during the 16th through the 19th centuries.

A terse breakdown of European territorial acquisition starts with the Portuguese in Africa, India, South America, and the southern coast of China; the Spanish focused on the southern portion of where the intercontinental United States lies today, Central and South America, and the Greater Antilles and the Philippines; the British focused on the Americas, India, Australia, and New Zealand; France focused on North America, the Lesser Antilles and Africa. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, these colonies in the Americas and in Africa rebelled and/or the previous European colonizers and invaders either were defeated and left, they eventually abandoned posts by neglecting to support agents working for the empire in colonial territories.²⁴ The colonizers' occupation, although over for most previously acquired satellite territories held as assets, much like as Guam and American Samoa, which are under the jurisdiction of the United States Department of the Interior and Puerto Rico is under jurisdiction of the Office of the President of the United States, remain as strategic territorial outposts (CIA World Factbook, 2008). These have become satellite, geographic entities for previous colonial powers in terms of cultural, political, and economic similarity. They also provide a structural framework for many nations and cultures to participate in a world composed of connective nodes.

²⁴ The withdrawal of Soviet economic support of Cuba towards the end of the Cold War is a contemporary example of the withdrawal of imperial support of a satellitic semi-state.

Transnationalism Defined

Transnationalism refers to the active and frequent passing from one national, sovereign, and/or territorial entity into another. The physical passing through borders is not as significant as it is a reflection of the passing *from* and *into* different social, cultural, economic, political, and temporal environments somewhere on a spectrum between being extremely similar and extremely dissimilar. The passing through borders creates social, economic, and political connections. Transnationalism can be described by processes, agents, and motivations, and it can be characterized by two or more people, cultures, corporations, nations, etc. which come together within similar or shared contexts, such as work, education, travel and leisure, whose participants immediately or recently represent two or more established nations recognized globally as being distinct sociocultural entities.

Portes, et al. (1999) focus on the intensified interconnectivity between people of two nations or those all over the world, and how this creates an apparent fading of borders between nations. Basch et al. (1994) refer to these fading borders as representing deterritorialized nation-states. This fading or disappearing of borders occurs in the life of the transnational in physical, linguistic, social, economic, temporal, and psychological terms. Glick-Schiller et al. (1995) postulated that a large number of Filipino households are transnational with individuals, resources, goods, and services moving back and forth between the U.S., the Philippines, and other countries.

Portes et al. (1999) discuss the challenges in validating and establishing the topic as a new field of research. Transnational migration studies form a highly fragmented, emergent field, which still lacks both a well-defined theoretical framework and analytical rigor (p. 218). The authors state that transnational people can be characterized as: (1) crossing borders as if crossing from one side of town to another; (2) speaking two or more languages; (3) having homes in two countries; and (4) building and sustaining border-crossing connections and networks.

The authors also vehemently assert that one of the most significant features of living in the state of transnationalism is the high intensity of exchanges of those individuals and communities that are in contact with their nation of origin and the non-native country of residence. The term “high intensity” relates to several things: (1) high frequency of interaction; (2) dependency in some form on both sides (of the border); and (3) complex modes of interaction. An example may be a person living on a demarcated, nation-state border, as such exist throughout the world. A person may work in one country while living in another. The money that is earned is spent on both sides of the border. The person may speak two or more languages, where context determines language use. The person may live life as if *the* border did not exist.

Another example may not require the physical movement across a demarcated line. A person may live permanently in one country, such as in the United States, but communicate frequently with friends, relatives, or colleagues in a country like the Philippines or the Dominican Republic. They may send money

and goods home. They may have dual citizenship, so they vote in two countries. They read online newspapers that provide information on their home or ancestral country and watch satellite television stations broadcast from that country. They may send money to relative. They may vote for candidates in one country from another. In a way, this person as well is living as a transnational.

As the world becomes more complex and human beings and civilizations evolve, traditional concepts such as *nation* and *citizenship* become more complex. According to the Center for Immigrant Studies, approximately 93 countries or territories around the world allow dual citizenship in some form (Renshon, 2001, p. 45). The Philippines, for instance, adheres to *jus sanguinis* i.e., children born outside of the Philippines of Philippine parents are citizens of the Philippines, whereas the United States adheres to the law of *jus soli*, which is the legal principle that a person's nationality at birth is determined by the place of birth; as well, a child born outside of U.S. of parents who are U.S. citizens are citizens and thus the United States also has a policy of *jus sanguinis* (Republic Act #9225, 2003; United States Department of State, 2009). According to U.S. State Department Manual on Consular Affairs (2009) the principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* are followed by the United States, although neither of the two doctrines is adhered to in its fullest extent. The confusion growing out of the existence of these distinct doctrines of nationality has been the cause of numerous difficulties which have arisen, from time to time, between the United States and foreign countries (p. 2).

The world has become progressively more interconnected through new technologies that greatly facilitate communications, travel, and commerce and through political changes that are increasingly receptive to cross-border trade and investment. More and more people, at all levels of the economic and social ladder, now live, for a time at least, outside of their countries of origin. Cross-national marriages have proliferated, and the offspring in such cases usually obtain both parents' nationalities *jure sanguinis* (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2002, p. 23).²⁵

In a post-modern context, transnationalism is a manifestation of globalization which reflects the intensified interconnectivity between people of two nations or those all over the world. In a most basic sense, transnationalism relates to movements from one nation to the other, as if there were no borders, as gauged by the frequency and expediency of behavior characterized as transnational. The theory looks at the apparent fading of borders between nations (for those that cross them freely and frequently). The disposition of transnationalism has social, political and economic impacts that affect people all over the world.

Motives for Movement: Economic, Politics, and Culture

There are several motives that characterize transnational activities. Although these motives may be mutually exclusive, in some ways they tend to overlap or intertwine and become synthesized. Economics appears to be a

²⁵ The current citizenship and immigration laws of the United States state that dual citizenship is acquired by either a U.S. citizen marrying a foreign national or a child born of U.S. citizens outside of the United States.

prominent motivator for engaging in transnational activities. A push from the country of origin (because of economic instability or stagnation) and/or a pull from another (because of job opportunities and better wages that can be obtained in another country) create a powerful motive to emigrate from a country of origin for work.

Economics

One could argue that the primary motivation for the development and maintenance of, as well as the behaviors engaging in transnationalism is economics. Developed countries have been, historically and contemporarily speaking, the primary players in the building and maintenance of the current global economic superstructure. European countries such as Spain, France, England, and Asian countries such as China and Japan have historical and contemporary contributions to this superstructure. Developing countries have played a role in the building and maintenance of this global economic system, historically as the exploited and subjugated, but in modern times, they are also the beneficiaries of this economic system. Gordon and Turner (2000) state:

Developing countries became competitive in world markets because of their relatively low wage structure, once they had imported sufficient capital and technology to protect and grow their industrial sector....The rapid growth in exports of manufactured goods from developing countries has meant that an increasing proportion of the world's labor force is engaged in activities related to international trade and capital flows. (p. 9)

The Information Age

The technological boom characteristic of the Information Age has changed the way that business is conducted around the world. In fact, one simple business transaction like the purchase of a plane ticket or computer support services may occur in two or more countries throughout the world simultaneously e.g., a call is placed from the United States, reaches customer service in either India or the Philippines, and then the call is transferred to another department within the company located in Canada. Customer service and information technology jobs are common occupational exporters.²⁶ Warschauer (2000) analyzes the emergence of a new stage of global capitalism called *informationalism*, in which people's lives are increasingly affected by global networks, transnational corporations, and the rapid dissemination of information, which conceptually alter traditional ruling bodies and human engagement in an economy and in life in general.

Remittances: The Global Flow of Capital

Globally, at least US\$300 billion was sent from one country to another by approximately 200 million migrants to their families in 2006, and Asia was the largest recipient of those dollars with US\$114 billion (Inter-American Development Bank, 2007). These considerable financial flows are *remittances*, the money that labor migrants send home to their families and communities in

²⁶ An underlying historical element of transnationalism is apparent in the birth origins of several of the well-known Western explorers and their countries who sponsored them, revealing an "outsourcing" of labor. The Spanish Crown had outsourced an Italian (Christopher Columbus) and later a Portuguese (Ferdinand Magellan). John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) was an Italian who sailed for England and then later Englishman Henry Hudson was hired by the Dutch to sail to Asia.

their countries of origin. Remittances generate large global capital flows that present significant opportunities for business and financial enterprises (Orozco, 2006, p. 1).

Latin America is the largest recipient of U.S. dollars earned primarily in the United States. Almost 75% of Latin American and Caribbean-born (LAC) remittances are sent from the U.S., totaling more than US\$66.5 billion in 2007 (Inter-American Development Bank, 2007). Approximately 65% send money home on a regular basis, typically \$100, \$200, and \$300 a month, resulting in about 175 million separate financial transactions a year. According to the University of Iowa Center for International Finance and Development, remittances account for 54% of the GDP of Haiti; in El Salvador, they make up 15% of the GDP, and in Jamaica 17% (2007). Mahler (1998) reported that that government of El Salvador has provided free legal assistance to political refugees in the United States so that they may obtain asylum and remain there, remitting some \$1 billion annually (in Vertovec, 1999, p. 455).

Haiti includes its abroad citizens in the creation of a Tenth Department (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995, p. 58). President Aristide fondly referred to Haitians living abroad, acknowledging them as a Tenth Department in addition to the nine geographic departments within Haiti. The Tenth Department contributes largely to the economy of Haiti through remittances to their families (approximately \$800 million annually). This money supports business ventures and charity programs. It is invested in business and the shipping of materials in efforts to advance democracy in Haiti (Embassy of the Republic of Haiti).

In 2006, it is estimated that the Philippines received US\$14.6 billion in remittances from its Overseas Filipino Workers, or OFWs (Inter-American Development Bank, 2007).

Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs)

During the martial law regime (1972-1986), former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos established “Operation Homecoming” in 1973 to encourage Filipinos living abroad to come back and see the conditions of the country. These people were provided with certain travel privileges such as discounted airfares, extended visas, and priority immigration and customs service upon arrival.

In order to benefit economically from OFWs, the Philippine government built a “superstructure of laws, regulations, agencies, and institutions to encourage and profit both financially from this new wave of emigration.” As part of the Marcos dictatorship, presidential decrees required overseas workers to remit most of their wages to their families via Philippine banks (Weinberg, 1997, p. 116). Overseas contract workers (land-based) are required by Philippine law to remit 50% of their earnings through the government banking system, although they do not necessarily comply with this rule (Okamura, 1998, p. 126). Also, during the martial law period (1972-1986), the Philippine government began to develop a more diverse relationship with countries other than the United States, such as neighboring Asian countries, countries in Europe, countries in the Middle East, and communist states. Europe was the second most important destination of contract workers after Asia, however the number of workers in the Middle East

grew dramatically during the years from 1975-1980; during the 1990s, the Middle East continued to be the primary destination for OFWs (San Pablo-Baviera & Yu-Jose, 1998, pp. 426 + 512; *Philippine Statistical Yearbook*, 1996). In 2005, OFWs were working in 157 countries, mainly in Africa, Europe, and the Americas, although numerically most leave for the Middle East, with an average of 190,000 Filipinos leaving to work in Saudi Arabia a year since 1998 (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2008).

Countries such as the Philippines recognize that the vitality of their economy often depends on their overseas workers. According to the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, between 1989 and 1993 Filipinos working in more than 30 countries remitted \$8.1 billion, most of this amount (\$5 billion) came from Filipino Americans (Filipinos Abroad Send Home \$8.09 Billion, 1994, A17 in Okamura, 1998, p. 126). Currently, the Philippines has an estimated 747,696 OFWs which have remitted approximately US\$5.7 billion as of June 2000 (*Overseas Filipino Workers Online*, 2008). In 2006, it is estimated that the Philippines received US\$14.6 billion in remittances from its OFWs and came primarily from the United States, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Hong Kong (Inter-American Development Bank, Oct. 17, 2007; Philippines National Statistics Office, 2008). In 2007, that total was US\$14.5 billion.

In May of 2008, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA)²⁷ dropped the validation of documents of OFWs leaving through its labor

²⁷ The POEA maintains statistics on Filipinos working abroad.

assistance counters at international airports in the Philippines in order to further streamline processes in the deployment of overseas Filipino workers. OFWs are occupying a variety of occupational positions throughout the world, such as those in household service, hospitality and culinary, nursing, childcare, and skilled labor positions such as plumbers, pipe fitters, electrical wireman, and welders (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2008). Teachers are a growing profession of interest to be in-sourced into the United States. In Alabama, for instance, although in light of the recent economic recession and layoffs in most, if not all of professions, including education, teachers of math and science had been widely sought before the recession began in school districts in Birmingham. According to *Education Week* magazine, an average of 73 Filipino teachers per year arrived in the United States 1992-1999, and the number more than doubled to 221 teachers a year 2000-04. Eva Arcena, a 47 year-old high school math teacher from the Philippines who teaches in Alabama said she earned \$10,000 dollars a year in the Philippines with a doctorate and 26 years of experience. She said, “That kind of salary doesn't afford you a car or a place of your own. The people there who have a car or a nice home have someone in their family overseas sending money back” (Leech, 2009).

Politics

Politics is a motivator for emigrant countries to want to remain in contact with their citizens working in foreign countries, and vice-versa. Sizeable numbers of a country's population may reside in foreign countries, thus candidates may see

a need to campaign for local or national elections in those foreign countries, such as Filipino and Mexican workers in the United States, and Haitians, as mentioned before. With President Arroyo's signing of the Dual Citizenship bill, Citizenship Retention and Re-acquisition Act of 2003 (Republic Act # 9225), Filipinos all over the world can re-acquire their Philippine citizenship and vote in Philippine elections abroad, although having attained citizenship in foreign countries. The Act declares that former natural-born Filipino citizens who acquired foreign citizenship through naturalization are deemed *not* to have lost their Philippine citizenship under conditions provided in the Act (Republic Act #9225, 2003).

Not only are a country's emigrant voters important to that country-of-origin, but they are also significant within the country in which they have immigrated. Within the United States, Asian voters are significant to U.S. politics because of their growing populations from a variety of countries such as the Philippines, China, and Vietnam. They also have the third highest percentage of its over-18 population that votes out of the four most widely prominent ethnic groups, ahead of Hispanic, although Asians have one-third of the voters as Hispanics.

Table 5.1
Voters by Ethnic Group during 2004 U.S. Presidential Election

Ethnic Group	Total Population over 18 years of Age	Number of Registered voters	Number that actually voted	Percent who voted
White	176,618,000	119,929,000	106,588,000	60.3%
Hispanic	27,129,000	9,308,000	7,587,000	28.0%
Black	24,910,000	16,035,000	14,016,000	56.3%
Asian	9,291,000	3,247,000	2,768,000	29.8%

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Voting and Registration in the Election of November, 2004)

Legislation

Specific governmental policies have facilitated the movement across borders: Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, the U.S. Immigration Act of 1990, NAFTA (1994), CAFTA (2005), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade a.k.a. GATT (1947), which functioned as the precursor to the World Trade Organization (1995). However, events felt socially and economically throughout the globe, such as the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11th, 2001, have impeded frequent border crossing, especially over the U.S. - Mexico border. Global terrorism has heightened security throughout the world, which has decreased the facility of passing through national borders. A contemporary exemplar is Arizona's HB1070, which was elicited by the 9/11 attacks as well as the residual global recession marked by increased unemployment. It is undoubtedly a xenophobia crackdown on an undocumented labor force

Modes of Interconnectivity

In order to facilitate transnational behavior, Portes et al. (1999) highlight the need for modes of interconnectivity, or rather the varied means of sustaining contact and being actively engaged in two nations simultaneously. For instance, networks must be developed and maintained. Those individuals and communities that are established in the non-native country or nation (C2) create networks for those in the country of origin (C1). Networks may develop at the grassroots level by immigrants who have gone before others (chain migration), and may be based

on the three motivating factors previously discussed. A teacher, fluent in English, Spanish, and a Filipino language such as Tagalog, Cebuano, or Ilocano, may come to the United States to study, find a job after graduation, obtain labor certification, and become a legal resident alien. His/Her new status would then entitle him/her to bring over a spouse, and six years later, after being naturalized, his brothers and sisters. They in turn could begin the process all over again by sponsoring their wives, husbands, children, and siblings. Within a dozen years one immigrant entering as a skilled worker could generate dozens of visas for distant relatives (Edwards, 2006, p. 4). Rumbaut (1997) describes chain migration as “intricate webs of family ties” (p. 7).

Technology, in its many historical and contemporary forms, e.g., ship building, horse domestication, and wheel development (6,000 to 3,000 B.C.E), to the modern era where the computer, the smart phone, and jet airplanes are harnessed in order to facilitate and expedite the means, media by which to communicate with and travel physically and vicariously across borders, facilitate transnationalism. Around the globe and traversing cultures, a multitude of human activities are facilitated through technology. Everything from more expedient means of travel, sending packages or money through FedEx or Western Union, instant communication and information with the Internet, cell phones, and satellite television, link the people of one nation to another. Nic Craith (2006) discusses several nomadic groups of Europe, such as the Travellers of Ireland, the Sami of Russia, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and the Roma of various European regions. The Traveller’s definition of the term “country” is radically different

from that of the sedentary society (Burke, 2002 in Nic Craith, p. 139). She further discusses how modern technology, such as cell phones, has developed a sense of a transnational community among the Sami and among the Traveller's.

Cell phones allow people all over the world to communicate in real time, and through different time zones and thus, days. For instance, a person could be on Christmas Island, Republic of Kiribati, on Saturday, March 20th at 4:00 p.m. and wish happy birthday to a friend whose birthday is on Friday March 19th, and it would not be a belated call. In Honolulu, it would be Friday the 19th at 4:00 p.m. and thus, would not technically be late, although on a calendar, it would appear to be one entire day late, on Christmas Island, that is. The geographical distance between the Russian island Big Diomedes and the United States, Alaskan island Little Diomedes, is less than three miles, yet the temporal difference is 24 hours. Anyone who has traveled through multiple time zones can actually feel this notion of time travel.²⁸

This of course does not entail the passing back and forth through time as science fiction has often depicted, where events in the past or the future can be witnessed and changed. It does, however, mark an era in history when technology has been made more available to the general public i.e., non-military, non-economically wealthy, in which an individual can communicate in real time with

²⁸ During the 20th century, air travel challenged previous conceptualizations of time and space. Depending on the longitudinal place of departure and arrival, one could board a plane and either live through a calendar day in a matter of hours, or experience a calendar day lasting much longer than the traditional 24 hours. When traveling by air to foreign countries, people are said to "lose a day" or "gain day", but it is nothing in comparison to the months, and in accumulation years, that it would take ships to cross the Atlantic or the Pacific during the Age of Exploration and return home again.

humans that are thousands of miles, multiple times zones, and an entire calendar day away. On a daily basis, one who exhibits transnational behavior may, for business or personal use, utilize cell phones in order to conduct real time communication with people in countries and locations all over the world, utilizing wireless services that send signals to satellites. With global phone technologies, people can easily and relatively inexpensively communicate with each other with greater frequency than ever before.

With more expedient means of communication, global businesses thrive. For instance, a company in Los Angeles, U.S.A. may conduct a conference call with a branch office in Mumbai, India. With a 12 ½ hour difference (DST), the company tries to plan the call for a time that is as convenient as possible for both branches. One group may have to be at the office earlier than usual, or remain at the office late, such as calling from Los Angeles at 7:00 a.m. to speak with Mumbai at 7:30 p.m. In order to overlap work hours on both sides, management may decide to place Los Angeles on an early-morning to early-afternoon schedule, while Mumbai works a second- or third-shift schedule. Companies that outsource, such as IBM, Microsoft, AT& T, and GE, have undoubtedly had to adapt to this global clock. In this way, the traditional calendar day blends together into a work force that works simultaneously at vary times throughout the 0-24 hour spectrum that constitutes one earth day.

Technology and Time

Chairman and CEO of Google, Inc., Eric Schmidt, gave a speech at the Economic Club of Washington entitled, “Future of the Internet: Engine for Economic Growth” (2008). At one point, he explains how technology allows for the seeing of multiple time periods. Light travels at 186,000 miles a second and since some galaxies are hundreds of billions of light years away, astronomers see some galaxies as they were billions of years ago. Schmidt’s projected computer screen opened Google Earth and focused in on several universities from a national aerial view and then down to a street level for one campus. He then focused in on the Potomac River and projected a hypothetical result of global warming in the form of the flooding of Washington, D.C. where the speech was being given, and showed how the hotel from which he was speaking would be flooded except for the roof. He elaborated that technology allowed one to see light from 13.5 billion years ago as well as 500 years in the future (Broadcast on C-Span, 2008). This form of time travel was purely theoretical and required a computer simulation in order to depict a visual reproduction of the geologic and hydrologic effects of time. Differing conceptualizations of time, other than that created by the twenty-four time zones through which the equator passes, can be found manifest in theology. For instance, on October 1st 2008, it was the year 5769 in the Jewish calendar, while for Christians it was 2008 and for Muslims it was the year 1429.

Email and the Internet

With the development of the Internet, that which is known traditionally as *mail* became the *snail mail* i.e., slow in comparison to electronic mail or *email*. A hundred years ago, the time that it took to send a letter and have it arrive at its destination may have taken days, weeks, and possibly months. Communicating via the Internet with email and instant messaging has transformed the way that written messages are sent and received between people. Text messaging through cell phones has changed the way students pass notes during class. The instantaneousness of the sending and receiving of messages facilitates global communications, but while written messages may have taken days, weeks, or months, written communication can range from an immediate reception to one that is indefinite (never opened email or deleted). With video-conferencing programs like Skype, which utilize the Internet, two or more people can see and hear each other virtually, regardless of whether they are across the room, across town, or across a greater geographic expanse such as on the other side of the planet Earth and beyond.

The Internet allows for a more expedient dissemination of information, which allows humans the psychological and sociological comfort of *being with* others, vicariously. If one were to walk through the computer lab of any college or university campus and look over the shoulder of every student at their computer screen, the access of global information can be observed: Most of this information is disseminated through English; however, a variety of languages, including a *heterographigraphy* of scripts e.g., Arabic, Cyrillic, and Kanji, can be observed as

well. Computers are windows of global phenomena. They allow diasporas, such as Filipinos, to communicate with others *in real-time* across time zones.

Cable and Satellite Television

With most basic cable packages available in the United States, Spanish-language television stations are by far dominant in the category of channels-in-languages-other-than-English. Univision Communications Inc., or "Univision", for instance, is the leading Spanish-language media company in the United States and the fifth largest American network. Univision's operations include the Univision Network, TeleFutura Network, Galavisión and Univision and TeleFutura Television Groups (Univision: Company Overview, 2008). Programming is in Spanish and covers news, sports, entertainment, and issues and information

GlobeCast (2008), which is a subsidiary of France Telecom, has a global network that supports full-time and ad-hoc content delivery via satellite and fiber for TV and radio channel distribution, news and sports events, corporate television, desktop media, and data file transfers, etc. It operates proprietary leases on more than 30 satellites around the world on 10 leading satellite systems. GlobeCast's WorldTV is a Direct-to-Home (DTH) satellite service that delivers the largest variety of television and radio programming from around the world to viewers in North America. Television stations from all over the globe can be accessed in the United States, and viewers can watch television and movies in

languages like Armenian, Arabic, Bosnian, Farsi, Filipino, Korean, Malayalam, Punjabi, and many more.

Borders within Borders

The type of transnationalism that has been described denotes a physical or virtual movement across established borders. Demarcated borders sustained by the nation-state, because of these modes of interconnectivity, have become porous and theoretically non-existent for some individuals. The border or borders simply do not exist for the people that are accustomed to crossing them.

The other type of border crossing that exists, which will eventually help to construct the concept of *transculturalism* is that of the nation within the nation. The Navajo nation is an exemplar of a sovereign nation within a sovereign nation. The Navajo people i.e., the *Diné*, have the right of self-governance, and they, as well as many other Native Americans, have their own language. Yet, an example of a nation within a nation, within a nation would be the Hopi Nation which is within the Navajo Nation in northeastern Arizona. In Africa, a geographic nation within a nation is the country of Lesotho, which is imbedded within, or surrounded by, the country of South Africa.

A more prominent notion of the nation within the nation is the *permanent mission*, better known as an *embassy*. There are over 22,000 embassies (including high commissions, consulates, etc.) in the world, according to an online database

of contact information for these types of permanent missions around the world.²⁹ Under international law, a permanent mission adheres to extraterritorial status, and although a situated within a host country's territory, a mission is exempt from local law and in almost all respects treated as being part of the territory of the home country (International Law Commission, United Nations, 2007). If a foreign embassy were to be visited anywhere in the world, from any of the 192 United Nations member state nations, one could expect to speak the official or working language(s) of that nation, expect to speak with someone from, and with knowledge of that nation, and expect that many of the cultural traditions are represented within the walls and the people that represent that nation.

An ethnic enclave is non-official and perhaps a more prevalent form of a permanent embassy, although the people living in one are obligated to adhere to the laws of the country in which they reside. An ethnic enclave is like a little nation within a nation, usually described as a district, a neighborhood, or an area e.g., Little Italy or Chinatown, in a large cosmopolitan city such as Los Angeles or New York City. Traditionally, immigrant or minority groups have lived in neighborhoods set apart, isolated, from other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese in San Francisco, the Polish in Chicago, the Hassidic Jews in New York, the Cubans in Miami, and Filipinos in San Diego. All are diasporatic groups that function as exemplars to illustrate an enclave or neighborhood taking up territory. In this way,

²⁹ Embassypages.com provides addresses, telephone numbers, email addresses, website addresses and more about the following types of diplomatic and consular missions.

it is as if the enclave or neighborhood becomes a little nation within a nation, a fragmented entity of a larger totality.³⁰

Transnationalism, the Future, and the EU Model

It is likely that during the next century, nations will still exist as well as their borders. At the beginning of the 21st century, there were 192 members of the United Nations; Montenegro was the last country to be admitted in 2006 (United Nations, 2008). It is unlikely that any of the UN countries would allow entrants without showing a country-of-nationality issued passport.

The definition, development, and implementation of European Union (EU) policies have created a nation-state political and economic entity out of nation states. Citizens can move between Member States on similar terms as nationals of a Member State moving around or changing their place of residence inside their own country. European citizens have the right to enter, reside, and remain in the territory of any other Member State for a period of up to three months simply by presenting a valid passport or national identity card: no visa is needed for EU citizens moving throughout the EU. If a citizen intended to remain for a period exceeding three months, a residence permit must be obtained. The conditions for granting a residence permit depend on the status of the citizen (employed or self-employed person, student, retired or inactive person). Any EU citizen can take up an economic activity in another Member State either as an employed or self-

³⁰ From a culinary perspective, some of the best Vietnamese food that one can get outside of Saigon is in either Orange County, California or Houston, Texas. Outside of India, some of the best Indian food can be eaten in London, and some of the best Turkish food can be eaten in Germany.

employed person. In this case, he/she will be issued a residence permit by simply presenting an identity document (passport or ID) and proof of employment or self-employment (European Commission, 2008b).

On June 14th, 1985, France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands agreed to sign an agreement on the gradual abolition of checks at common borders. This became known as the Schengen Agreement, after the name of the town in Luxembourg where it was signed. The Schengen Convention was signed in 1990 and was placed into effect in 1995. It incorporated 13 European Union Member States as well as Norway and Iceland, all who abolished their own internal border checks and created a single external frontier. Checks for all the Schengen signatories were to be carried out in accordance with a common set of rules. In 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty incorporated the measures of the Schengen into the Union's legal and institutional framework (European Commission, 2008b).³¹

There are 27 countries who participate in the United States Department of State Visa Waiver Program which allows nationals of certain countries to travel to

³¹ (1) Removal of checks on persons at common EU internal borders; (2) common set of rules applying to people crossing EU external frontiers, regardless of the EU country in which that external frontier is situated; (3) separation at air terminals and, where possible, at seaports of people traveling within the Schengen area from those arriving from countries outside the Schengen area; (4) harmonization of the rules regarding conditions of entry and visas for short stays; (5) coordination between administrations on surveillance of borders (liaison officers, harmonization of instructions and staff training); (6) definition of the role of carriers in the fight against illegal immigration; (7) enhanced police cooperation (including the rights of cross-border surveillance and hot pursuit); (8) strengthening of judicial cooperation through a faster extradition system and transfer of the enforcement of criminal judgments; (9) creation of the Schengen information system (SIS).

the United States for tourism or business for stays of 90 days or less without obtaining a visa. Those countries have to meet specific criteria, such as having reciprocal visa-free travel for U.S. citizens and the country must have very low non-immigrant refusal rates. Those countries are: Andorra, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Iceland, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (Source: U.S. Department of State, 2008).

Perhaps there will be a day in the future when the world will operate like a *supernation*, composed of many, subsequently smaller nation states, many of which are nested within others. There are many signs to this solidifying as a concrete reality already. This is a unique time in human history when the concept of a *border* is salient and enforced (and in many cases reinforced), and it is as well becoming negligible and transparent, perhaps because the former is elicited by the latter.

Theoretical Paradox

There is somewhat of a paradox or a possible contradiction which exists in this theoretical framework, from the perspective of the citizen(s) or groups of nation. Although a nation may be officially recognized, such as the recognition as a member-state of the United Nations, individuals and/or groups who cross national borders, either physically or virtual may subconsciously not recognize

the nation as a distinct, separate entity, but one which is incorporated into a holistic concept of the world, united, undivided, and borderless.

Multiple Worlds

The theory behind this research can be visualized in several ways. The global perspective can be taken, in which the interconnectivity between people and nations is to be seen as occurring in multiple ways for multiple reasons. A national perspective could be the focus in which a nation is seen as being an incorporation of smaller nations, enclaves, or ethnic neighborhoods within its national borders. A final focus relates to the embodiment of the nation or the culture within the individual. Although a person may leave their home country, and physically leave their enclave, permanent mission, or ethnic neighborhood, this person is still a living breathing representation of that nation or culture that they have left. This is true of the individual who maintains that culture's characteristic behaviors, thoughts, and customs when outside of physical borders that exist.

Filipino Transnationalism

Within the Filipino American community exists what would be considered a migratory group of people whose labor is necessitated seasonally. Through interviews of Filipinos in the Phoenix Valley, Arizona, U.S.A., informants discussed the knowledge of and relationships with Filipinos who work seasonally in any of the number of hotels and resorts and restaurants that the Phoenix Valley

and Tucson have to offer. It is plausible that the population that returns to the Philippines annually and then re-enters the United States provides *cultural* and *linguistic replenishment* to the more stationary, geographically static Filipino American population. What this means is that the migratory Filipino population brings current ideas, news, and other Filipino cultural nuances from the Philippines to the Filipino American population. The migratory population, in turn, takes American cultural nuances back to the Philippines. This exchange between the two populations may also allow for the practice and use of current language e.g., vocabulary, accents, idioms, etc. in English and a variety of Philippine languages.

Filipino Americans who do not physically return to the Philippines could be considered a *virtual transnational* i.e., one who may not physically move back and forth between two countries or own homes and work in two different countries, but it is one who maintains contact with the Philippines or global Filipinos living and working in countries other than the Philippines and the United States. This type of Filipino transnational may watch satellite television broadcast from the Philippines to the United States. They may email and call family and friends in the Philippines, and they may send money to friends and relatives in the Philippines. They may spend time in Filipino ethnic enclaves in the United States, such as an entire neighborhood or simply one Filipino restaurant or grocery store. In these ethnic enclaves, Filipino languages may be spoken and products that are produced and sold primarily in the Philippines may be consumed.

Locating Filipinos as either here or there can be easily done physically, but virtually is much more challenging, in accordance with the theory of transnationalism. Okamura (1998) states, in regard to the Filipino diaspora, boundaries must be understood as relatively open and shifting rather than being well defined and rigid because of the transnational relations of the Filipino American community and its internal cultural and social diversity in terms of ethnolinguistic, generational, class, acculturation and other differences (pp. 102-103).

Balikbayan (returnee) - Maintaining Contact with the Philippines

In his book, *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora* (1998), Jonathan Okamura discusses Filipinos and their pan-national identity and their participation in society in and out of the Philippines. He says:

Living in diaspora, perhaps for many years without returning home, overseas Filipinos may not be fully aware of their global dispersal; however, the pilgrimage home enables them to feel a connection with one another as they learn that there are many others from tiny and remote barrios like their own who are similarly working in distant lands. (p. 124)

This symbolic means of maintaining contact with the Philippines and to other Filipinos is what Okamura calls the “Balikbayan pilgrimage”. Today, many Filipinos return to the Philippines, especially during the Christmas holiday season, with gifts for family and friends consisting of Western-made products e.g., designer clothes, new technological devices, and other mundane items such as instant coffee, canned goods and hygienic products (Okamura, 1998, pp. 122-123). Not only do Filipinos within the global diaspora return during the Christmas

holiday season, but they likely return throughout the year. For instance, between January and March of 2008, 166,128 people residing in the United States, presumably Filipino Americans, visited the Philippines (Philippine Department of Tourism, 2008).

One way in which Filipino Americans and other global Filipinos maintain contact with people in the Philippines is to send a *balikbayan box*. Filipino Americans, as well as global Filipinos, send a remittance of goods (much like that which is brought with the balikbayan pilgrims) and to families and/or friends in the Philippines. Public Filipino establishments, such as shops and restaurants, act as agents for UMAC Express Cargo.³²



(Picture taken outside of a Filipino establishment in Phoenix, Arizona)

³² The company was named after the chairman of the man who founded the cargo portion of a company that his older brother started several years before. UMAC is an abbreviation of, not an acronym for, “Uncle Mac,” which was the name that his employees and associates used to address him (UMAC Express Cargo, 2008).

UMAC is a shipping company that originated in the Philippines. It has worldwide connections and affiliates in Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Korea, Bangkok, Guam, Saipan, New Zealand, Canada, Europe and the Middle East, with the largest market of balikbayan boxes being sent from California. The company's website states that it is "firmly committed in making Filipinos overseas become closer to their families back in the only place we call home ... the Philippines" (UMAC Express Cargo, 2008).

Other ways that Filipinos living outside of the Philippines are able to maintain contact with the home country is through telecommunications, the Internet, and satellite television. Family and friends, with greater ease than ever before in diaspora history, can maintain contact with others via cell phones, email, instant messaging, and video conferencing. Satellite packages, like those which are offered by DirecTV, offer channels in languages from Arabic to Vietnamese, including Filipino. As well, online newspapers like *Philippinenews.com* allow Filipinos to remain current on news from the Philippines and to maintain virtual connections between those living and working within the global Filipino diaspora.

In an era marked by intense connections between countries and cultures, it is a challenge not to notice how former, colonial, Western powers e.g., England, Spain, and the United States, are becoming populated by people who they formerly colonized. This seems to be a case of *reverse colonization*.

**Chapter Six:
Filipino Americans and Language: Linguistic Profiles of Two Generations of
Filipino Americans**

Filipino Americans and Language

Towards the end of the 20th century and throughout the first decade of the 21st century, Filipino Americans have appeared in research studies involving immigration, identity, and acculturation (Bergano, & Bergano-Kinney, 1997; Portes, & Rumbaut, 2001; Tuason, et al., 2007). The proliferation of studies of Filipino Americans will likely increase as their population in the United States continues to grow and one of their primary languages, Tagalog, continues to be a salient language spoken within the United States. In the first table, statistics on Asian populations are provided in order to highlight Filipinos' population in comparison to other Asian immigrant groups. The second table provides statistics on the top ten most populated languages in the United States and as can be seen, Tagalog is fourth with an increased population since the 2000 U.S. Census.³³

**Table 6.1
Population by Ethnicity in the United States**

Year	2000	2008	% of Growth
Asian	10,242,998	13,413,976	30.957%
Chinese	2,432,585	3,077,783	26.523%
Asian Indian	1,678,765	2,495,998	48.68%
Filipino	1,850,314	2,425,697	31.096%
Vietnamese	1,122,528	1,431,980	27.567%
Korean	1,076,872	1,344,267	24.83%

(Sources: American Community Survey, 2006, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000-Summary File 1).

³³ The language table for 2005 includes plus (+) and minus (-) signs designating whether or not the specific language increased or decreased in population and increased or decreased in percentage of all the languages.

Table 6.2
Year 2005: U.S. Ranking of Language

Language	Total Population	% of all languages
1. English	216,078,959 (+)	81.70% (-)
2. Spanish	32,252,890 (+)	12.19% (+)
3. Chinese	1,550,574 (+)	0.58% (+)
4. <i>Tagalog</i>	<i>1,374,515 (+)</i>	<i>0.51% (+)</i>
5. French	1,325,236 (-)	0.50% (-)
6. Vietnamese	1,147,681 (+)	0.43% (+)
7. German	1,114,200 (-)	0.42% (-)
8. Korean	1,006,803 (+)	0.38% (-)
9. Russian	831,752 (+)	0.31% (+)
10. Italian	800,117 (-)	0.30% (-)

(American Community Survey, 2005)

Within studies on language maintenance in the United States, Filipinos are often one of several Asian, Pacific Islander, and/or Southeast Asian subjects within a larger study. In regards to language, studies of Filipino Americans may reflect a bell-curve-like representation of the English-Filipino language(s) dynamic. In the middle, first-generation children appear to be Filipino- English bilingual, with English monolinguals reflecting a much greater outlier than the Filipino monolingual. For instance, Veltman (1981) concluded that the children of Filipino immigrants to the United States, although having been born in the Philippines, were characterized as being extensively English-Filipino bilingual. In homes where the minority language was labeled as active, 30.6% of the Philippine-born children aged four to 17 were characterized as being English monolingual, 59% were characterized as being English-Filipino bilingual, and 10% were characterized as “usually non-English” speakers (p. 69).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) concluded that although there is a strong preference for English, the majority of children in most modern immigrant groups communicate with their parents in their native tongues; exceptions to this were second-generation West Indians, Filipinos, Canadians, and other nationalities among whom large portions of parents speak English at home: only 37% of Filipino parents spoke a language other than English in the home with their children (pp. 125 + 129). Out of 32 emigrant countries listed in the aforementioned study, Filipinos had the fifth lowest percentage of parents speaking a language other than English at home.³⁴

Method

A questionnaire was utilized in order to elicit data for this chapter. The overall encompassing research objective of the questionnaire centered on developing individual linguistic portraits. Language was the integral theme to approximately 47 questions out of 80 on the questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of 80 questions in English which fell under the following categories: (1) general background; (2) schooling and language; (3) language proficiency; (4) familial language use; (5) questions that inquired about the Philippines; (6) technology; (7) and attitudes, language, and community. The entire list of questions can be found in the appendix of this dissertation. The

³⁴ Middle Eastern and African parents only spoke a language other than English in the home 12% of the time. Parents that spoke Yue (Chinese) and Hmong (Laos) spoke to their children 100% of the time in each respective language in the home (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, pp. 128-129).

questions aimed at finding out as much as possible about Filipino Americans' behaviors, experiences, and attitudes in regards to language.

The first set of language questions aimed to identify what language(s) the school instruction was in from kindergarten through college and the language(s) spoken in the home; then, an entire subsection which asked about the language or languages spoken by the participant, his or her parents, his or her siblings, and his or her children and to rank any language spoken from 1 (minimal) to 5 (fluent);³⁵ follow-up questions asked about language choice when reading or watching television. Other questions sought information about Filipino Americans' connectivity to the 21st century, marked by interaction with what could be considered new products, concepts, or knowledge of the global age. Some questions asked about knowledge or thoughts on foreign or colonial influences in the Philippines and Filipino history.

Questions were also framed categorically in terms of *behavior*, *knowledge*, *sensory*, *opinions*, and *values*. These specific categories helped to further break down how the questions were framed and created. The categories could then be further subcategorized, such as breaking down *behavior* into questions about past behavior or current behavior e.g., “What language was spoken in your home when you were growing up?” and “What language do you speak in the home now?” With regards to question structure, open-ended questions had the power to elicit richer detail than a closed-ended or fixed-response question.

³⁵ This rating scale is not based on the analysis of a linguistic measurement tool but relies on the approximate ability of the participant. There is the possibility that one or more participants overestimated their language ability and underestimated their inability, or vice versa. An exact numerical value was not sought.

Several weeks were spent searching the Internet for Filipino organizations located in California (the state with the largest population of Filipino Americans). Targeted were Filipino business associations, Filipino sports associations, Filipino religious groups, Filipino American chambers of commerce, connect-with-Filipino groups, and Filipino student associations on college campuses. The goal was to tap into the social networks of online Filipino Americans living in California.

Two factors were motivating in conducting an online questionnaire. First, the questionnaire tested a theoretical framework based on *transnationalism*. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) focus on the intensified interconnectivity between people of two nations or those all over the world, and how this creates an apparent fading of borders between nations.³⁶ Transnationalism entails physically moving across borders relatively or completely unimpeded by harnessing certain elements e.g., dual citizenship, jets, *smartphones*, the Internet, etc., and with these, the world becomes virtually borderless. This perspective propelled an attempt to enter this virtual world where it was conjectured that Filipino Americans could be located, communicating with each other.

Second, the questionnaire was considerably lengthy and emailing the document had the intent, or it was meant to be more logistically convenient for participants to complete and return it. To those who agreed to participate in the study, it was suggested that instead of completing it all at once, participants

³⁶ For instance, the Schengen Agreement (1985) allows for passport-free traveling through the borders of European countries, such as Sweden, Finland, Denmark, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Citizens of these participating countries / nation-states pass freely through the Schengen Area (Gerbet, 2010).

complete sections throughout several days or even weeks. The idea was that if participants were to allocate time throughout several days to answer the questions, there was the possibility that delayed thoughts, memories, and other information would surface consciously; there was also the anticipation that participants would discuss the questions with family and/or friends. This information could have then been written or typed on the questionnaire before being sent back.

Questionnaires were sent via email to as many participants who had online access and were willing to participate. The bias that this may have created has been noted, as an after-thought, in that the data that was collected had been from computer-using, English-speaking participants, and not a random sample.

However, initial investigations into Filipino language use in the Philippines and in the United States created the presumption that many adult Filipino Americans were to have had English-language abilities and were to be high school as well as college educated. The initial stage of the research also coincided with the development of the theoretical framework, which revolved around transnationalism. Use of the Internet and emailing were means by which immigrants, businesses, and global citizens maintain contact with each other across geographic and temporal spaces.

Most questions had a range of answers, from categorically anticipated (name, place of birth, language or languages spoken in the home, etc.) to those that required a hermeneutical tool or tools to pry the information open, as if encapsulated in commonality (quotidian), or abstraction (rare, unseen). In some form, the questions aimed to reveal that which is commonplace and can be

generalized about a population, but the more exciting datum to reveal was the outlier, the uncommon, the rare, and the atypical.

While analyzing the questionnaires, which were all sent back electronically, the convenience of having written responses already in electronic form became evident. The online submissions allowed for the organization of responses into compartmentalized data sets, based on groupings of questions and their answers. New documents were created in which all participants' responses to a particular question or set of questions could be juxtaposed; patterns and/or commonalities, as well as outliers, could be observed, and ultimately codes emerged. All responses were read and analyzed individually. Some answers were triangulated or triangulated with other answers in order to verify their validity and attempt to synthesize each participant's language repertoire from the amalgamation of their answers. For example, some of the questions to which answers were compared concerning language ability and use were: Questions #24-#27: "What languages do you speak, read, write, and understand?"; Question #50: "What language(s) do you speak on a daily basis?"; and Question #51: "Do you read or have you read newspapers, books, or magazines produced in a language other than English? Do you have a preference when reading newspapers, books, or magazines?" Two questions whose answers were compared concerning attitudes about English were: Question #53: "What do you know to be the role of and attitude towards the English language in the Philippines?" and Question #73: "What do you think about English only policy in the United States and the Philippines?"

Face-to-face interviews would have been conducive to the elicitation of a much richer description of data and would have allowed for extemporaneous questioning based off of participants' responses. Interviews would have also required the transcription of auditory data which is very time-consuming. Initially, logistical and networking challenges impeded the employment of interviewing.

Challenges

One of the initial challenges of the study was the acquisition of participants. Although one of the postulates of the overall study was that Filipinos are and will continue to surface as a widely-recognized and powerful social and political group in the United States, access to informants was initially challenging.

First, it is likely that the email that was sent proposing the study was received in several different ways. Some of the questionnaires may have been sent immediately into the *Junk Mail* folder of a potential participant, and the subject was never seen. It is also likely that the email's subject line, "Filipino Language Questionnaire," was read as a sales pitch and was deleted along with other un-immediately-recognized email.

Second, it is likely that for those who opened the email, read the proposal, and then further opened the questionnaire, many perused the questionnaire before beginning to type or write answers and then decided to decline participation because of the length and depth of the questioning (see Appendix A). It is also possible that a participant commenced the questionnaire and answered some of the questions, but then the lengthy time investment may have been realized and

either the questionnaire was completed or it was abandoned. According to several participants, the questionnaire took between one and two or more hours to complete. An initial test of the questionnaire produced a time of approximately one hour. One potential participant sent this email: “I forwarded your questionnaire to several people including my staff. Sorry, nobody would like to participate. It is too personal, too long and time consuming.”

Approximately ten people had communicated via email committing to the questionnaire, but they never completed it, even after two reminder emails that were sent out between several weeks and over a month after initial email correspondence.

One response-with-no-interest email came from an author of Filipino culture and identity, and another came from a famous Filipina singer. Both emailed and asked explicitly how their email addresses had been chosen, and after searching through the *Sent Mail* and determining that they were not members of any of the organizations to which the email was initially sent, it was determined that the email was most likely forwarded.

Participants’ Profiles

Eleven Filipino Americans participated in the study. Each completed questionnaire created an autobiographical profile; participants answered questions about family and personal history, language(s) spoken, written, and read, education and language, attitudes about languages, and about connections to the Philippines. The study yielded information that may be useful to the field and

study of language and its maintenance and attrition, and how the English language affects Filipinos in the Philippines and in the United States and their native languages. The target population was in California. As can be seen within the following table, California has approximately half of all Tagalog speakers in the United States.

Table 6.3
Population of Tagalog Speakers by State

Entity	Year 2005
U.S. Total	1,374,515
1. <i>CALIFORNIA</i>	668,073
2. New Jersey	80,996
3. Illinois	77,512
4. New York	72,174
5. Texas	56,752
6. Hawaii	55,657
7. Florida	49,475
8. Washington	49,348
9. Nevada	45,459
10. Virginia	32,819

(Sources: American Community Survey, 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

Of the eleven participants, five were between the ages of 49 and 70 at the time that the questionnaire was completed, and so the birth range for this group was 1936 – 1957. The other six questionnaire participants were in their 20s, and so the birth range for this group was 1979-1985. There were six people born in the Philippines and five people born in the United States, mixed throughout the age groups but heavily represented in the 49 to 70 age group. Two of the participants had PhDs. Six participants had bachelor’s degrees (one was working on a

master's degree and one was working on a teaching certificate), and three were working on their bachelor's degrees.

Four generations were represented in the study: two generations were the primary focus, one is labeled as a middle generation and is discussed briefly, and the linguistic repertoires of the parents of the participants who were 49 to 70 years of age were displayed along with other language data.

Questions asked about the languages spoken, written, and understood for each participant. Questions also asked about the linguistic abilities of their parents, spouses, and for their children (if applicable). Two generations provided information firsthand about their own language abilities, and they also provided secondhand information about their parents' and their children's language abilities.

Generation One

The overall accumulated impression of the five participants in the 49 to 70 years-of-age group is that of erudition, dedication to work, family, and community, and a shared immigrant experience.

Of the five, three had Bachelor's of Arts degrees: Computer Science, Psychology, and Sociology; and two had a Doctorate of Philosophy: Education and Public Policy. Degrees were obtained in California, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Their occupations included a financial systems analyst, language lecturer, minister and farmer, retired City of Los Angeles employee, and a retired teacher. All were male.

Four participants immigrated to the United States as adults and became citizens. One participant and his siblings were granted citizenship by *jus solis*. One married a naturalized Filipina and was granted citizenship; one joined the United States Air Force and was granted citizenship; one participant became naturalized, and one stated that he had dual citizenship.

Language Profiles

Multiple languages were represented by this group. As can be seen in the following table, most participants reported high levels of proficiency in two or more languages. In addition, participants rated their own parents' abilities in multiple languages as being high. There seems to be an equilibrium which exists between several languages. For instance, most participants had the English language as a medium of instruction in school; parents of four out of five participants spoke a native language or languages in the home; foreign languages learned in school completed an isosceles-like triangulation of languages for most participants i.e., the home language(s) and the medium-of-instruction language(s) were somewhat equivalent in their institutional significance based on utility, frequency of use, and the relationships with whom the languages were spoken (parents and teachers): foreign languages supplemented participants' language repertoires.

Table 6.4
Language Profile of Participants
AGE GROUP: 49 – 70 Years of Age

Participants	Languages Spoken (5 =fluent, 1= minimal ability)	Parent Languages	Home Language While Growing Up	Languages Learned in School MI = medium of instruction FL = Foreign language NL = Native language PI = Philippines
#1 (49 yr old) Born - PI School - PI	English: 5 Filipino: 3 Spanish: 2	English: 3 Filipino: 3 Spanish: 1	Filipino	English -MI Spanish -3 rd -9 th grade FL Filipino - NL
#2 (61 yr old) Born - PI School - PI	Spanish – 5 English – 5 BahasaMelayu - 4 Filipino – 5 Cebuano – 4 Bicolano - 4	Filipino – 5; English – 5; Spanish – 5; Cebuano – 4; Bicolano – 4; Ilocano - 5	Cebuano English Tagalog	English - MI Spanish - FL Latin – FL Bahasa Melayu =FL Tagalog - NL
#3 (62 yr old) Born - PI School - PI	English -5 Ilonggo -5 Cebuano -4 Tagalog -4	Ilonggo – 5 Cebuano -3 Tagalog – 3 English -3 Spanish - 2	Ilonggo	English–MI (1 st -3 rd grade) Ilonggo -MI(1 st -3 rd grade) English – MI (4 th – 12 th) Tagalog – NL Spanish - FL
#4 (64 yrs old) Born - PI School - PI	English -5 Tagalog- 4 Waray -3	Waray - 5, Tagalog -5 English - 4	Waray-Waray Tagalog	English - MI Spanish – FL
#5 (70 yr old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English - 5	English – 5 Ilocano -5 Visayan - 4 Tagalog -2 Spanish - 2	English Only	English

English Dominance

Every one of the participants in this age group had English as a medium of instruction in school, although only one of the participants attended school in the United States. The parents of every participant were reported to have high levels of proficiency in English, although only two homes were reported to include English as a language of familial communication. Participant #2 reported the only multilingual home to include English in addition to two native parental languages,

Cebuano and Tagalog. English was reported to be spoken as the sole language of one participant's home while growing up, although his parents spoke several Filipino languages combined. This participant reported to be monolingual English and was educated solely in English. He was also the only participant in this age group that was born in the United States.

In response to a question asking about the participant's opinion of English only policies in the United States, the monolingual-English participant commented that the term *only* was problematic and policies should allow for individual and community choice. Two participants stated that multiple languages should be taught and learned. One stated that a bilingual or multilingual communicator could accommodate monolingual speakers, and one commented that native or parental languages should be learned because they are cultural and familial heirlooms and birthrights. A fourth emphasized that English was not the only language in the Philippines, although he commented that the Philippines should continue to use English as the primary language in business and in legal transactions "since the world is now a small community." A fifth participant took an antithetical stance to the others. He commented:

English should be the primary language in the US. Return English to schools in the Philippines. Many nationalists advocate the use only of Tagalog which to me is a backward attempt in a global economy.

Daily Language

When asked what language or languages participants spoke on a daily basis and in what situations, only one stated, "English only." Three participants

used English and Tagalog, primarily with a spouse, but also with co-workers.

Participant #3 stated:

Even in America we speak Ilongo at home. I also use Tagalog with clients and co-workers in the office and in Filipino stores. To everyone else, we communicate in English.

In regards to reading in languages other than English, one participant stated that he read literature (e.g., books, newspapers, novels, magazines, etc.) in English, Spanish, and Tagalog. He also added that he would read newspapers, newsletters, and comics in Bahasa Melayu; he would also listen to news reports in Cebuano and Bicolano. One participant stated that that he read newspapers from the Philippines, but that “most of the newspapers are written in English.” Others stated that English was the primary language of the literature that they read, in any form.

The self-estimates of writing ability were comparable to those estimates of reading comprehension. Four participants, primarily in Generation Two stated that they comprehended Tagalog, specifically, better than they spoke or wrote it. All other languages that were listed were reported by each participant to have an equal proficiency level in reading, writing, and comprehension.

Two institutions in particular fostered multilingualism in this age group: school and family. Growing up in the Philippines, being educated in several languages, and having multilingual parents increased this age group’s likelihood of being able to communicate in languages other than English. Exposure to multiple languages and being educated in multiple languages, combined with opportunities to use them and have them reinforced in authentic situations inside

and outside of the home and the classroom, are believed to be contextually favorable variables for the maintenance of parental, community, national, and academic languages.

Mid-Generation

A brief description of the approximate middle generation between the 49 to 70-year-old group and the 21 to 28-year-old group is provided. Five of the ten children of participants #2, #3, and #4 were between the ages of 21 to 28 years, and the other five had a 16-year range between the youngest and the oldest: 22 and 38 years of age.

The table that follows provides data on the languages that are spoken by each participant in the 49 to 70 age group, the languages spoken by their respective spouse (if applicable), and their children's languages. In general, the three participants that had children passed on *most* of the languages of the participant and the participant's spouse to all of their children, especially when parents spoke the same native Filipino language(s). In two cases, the eldest child had one extra parental language that they were able speak that their siblings could not. This was possibly attributed to having graduated from secondary school in the Philippines where autochthonous languages may have been taken as a supplementary language, whereas younger siblings were more likely to have graduated in the United States where foreign language departments are represented primarily by imperial European languages. In addition to age appearing as a salient variable, gender may have also had an influence in the

learning of a parent language when parents brought similar as well as different languages into the home. Participant #4's daughter, but not his son, comprehends his wife's (her mother's) language i.e., Fukienese with a low level of proficiency; participant #2's son comprehends Bahasa Melayu but not his daughters.

Table 6.5
Language Profile of Participants, Spouses, and Children
AGE GROUP: 49 – 70 Years of Age

Participants PI= Philippines U.S = United States	Languages Spoken (5 =fluent, 1= minimal) ability)	Spousal Language	Children's Language
#1 (49 yr old) Born – PI School – PI	English: 5 Filipino: 3 Spanish: 2	N.A.	N.A.
#2 (61 yr old) Born – PI School – PI	Spanish – 5 English – 5 BahasaMelayu – 4 Filipino – 5 Cebuano – 4 Bicolano – 4	Filipino – 5 English – 5 Spanish – 1	Filipino – 5; English – 5; Spanish – 2; Bahasa Melayu – 4
#3 (62 yr old) Born – PI School – PI	English -5 Ilonggo -5 Cebuano -4 Tagalog -4	English -4 Ilonggo – 5 Tagalog – 3	English -5 Ilonggo -5 Tagalog -3 Cebuano -4
#4 (64 yrs old) Born – PI School – PI	English -5 Tagalog- 4 Waray -3	English – 5 Mandarin – 5 Fukienese – 5 Tagalog – 3	English – 5 Fukienese – 2
#5 (70 yr old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English – 5	N.A.	N.A.

Generation Two

Characteristics of the 21 to 28 years-of-age group are that they are scholars, future and current leaders, social servants, and community activists. Two participants

were undergraduates majoring in Psychology and Asian Studies, respectively. Three possessed a bachelor's degree: Dramatic Arts, Political Science, and Psychology. One had a Master's Degree in Asian Studies. Of the six, one was working on a secondary education teaching certificate in English and one was a graduate student in Clinical Psychology. Alma maters were primarily universities in California, but one was in Indiana. Occupations listed were student, test proctor and essay grader, library administrator, and political aid. Four were female and two were male. Two participants in this group were born in the Philippines; both moved to the United States with their families and attended elementary through secondary school in California. English was the dominant language within Generation Two.

Language Profiles

Spanish and Tagalog seemed almost equal in regards to how many participants spoke each and on what level of proficiency; however, every one of the participants stated that they had taken Spanish as a foreign language, and only two had stated that they had taken Tagalog as a foreign language.

Participant #10's home was probably the most balanced bilingual Tagalog – English linguistic environment. His grandmother lived with his family from the time he was born and spoke only Tagalog. His parents used Tagalog primarily as a disciplinary language, and they spoke mainly English to him and his siblings. His parents would speak in Tagalog about parental and adult issues when they did not want the children to know the content of the discussion.

Similarly, native Filipino languages were reported to be contextually or individually specific in other homes. Participant #6 stated that her parents only used Tagalog to reprimand her and her siblings as well to talk to relatives. Participant #9 stated that Tagalog was spoken by the parents, but the children answered in English. Participant #7 stated that Ilocano and Tagalog were spoken by her parents primarily with relatives and friends, but she rated no level of proficiency in either. She expounded:

But they taught us the Ilocano and Tagalog names for people, like kuya/manong, ate/manang, tito/tita, lolo/lola etc. and some basic phrases that I have no idea how to spell, but I can recognize when I hear them such as “time to eat,” “time to go,” “go to the bathroom,” numbers, days of the week, etc.

She added that her mother would sing in Ilocano to her and her siblings when they were younger. While she was in elementary school, she and her siblings would be cared for in the afternoons by her “Lola,” who did not speak very much English. This participant’s communicative ability in Tagalog or Ilocano could be labeled as emergent and/or dormant.

In response to question #45 “What language or languages were spoken in your home from the time that you were a child until you became a young adult,” participant #8 stated that no Tagalog was spoken in the home because he stated that his parents did not want him and his brothers and sisters to have an accent. It is possible that the question was interpreted as, “What language did your parents speak to you while growing up?” as opposed to “What languages were auditorally and visually present in the home while growing up?” This may be a plausible conjecture because although reporting no schooling in Tagalog and no explicit

parental reinforcement e.g., speaking Tagalog in the home and to the children, participant #8 reported a level two proficiency in Tagalog, as well as reported mid-proficiency levels for his siblings. He stated that he reads, writes, speaks, and comprehends Tagalog, and that he speaks Tagalog in formal situations.

The following table provides the linguistic profiles of the six participants in Generation Two.

Table 6.6
AGE GROUP: 21 – 28 Years of Age

Participants PI= Philippines U.S = United States	Languages Spoken (5 =fluent, 1= minimal) ability)	Parent Languages	Home Languages While Growing Up	Languages Learned in School MI = medium of instruction FL = Foreign language
#6 (21 yrs old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English -5 Spanish – 2 Tagalog -1	English – 5, Tagalog- 3	English Tagalog	English - MI Spanish - FL Tagalog – FL American Sign Lang.
#7 (22 yrs old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English – 5 Spanish – 3	English – 4 Tagalog-5 Ilocano -5 Pangasinan – 3	English Ilocano	English - MI Spanish – FL
#8 (24 yrs old) Born – PI School – U.S	English – 5 Tagalog -2	English -5 Tagalog -5 Kampangpangan -4	English Only	English - MI Spanish - FL
#9 (28 years old) Born – PI School – U.S.	English – 5 Spanish – 3 Tagalog – 2 German – 1	English – 5 Tagalog – 4 Spanish – 2	English Tagalog	English - MI Spanish - FL
#10 (28 yrs old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English – 5 Tagalog – 3 Spanish – 2	English – 4 Tagalog- 5	English Tagalog	English -MI Spanish –FL
#11 (22 yrs old) Born – U.S. School – U.S.	English – 5 Tagalog - 3	English – 5 (dad and mom) Tagalog – 5 (mom)	English Tagalog	English - MI Spanish - FL French - FL Tagalog – FL

Daily Language

When asked what language or languages participants spoke on a daily basis and further to describe the context(s) in which those languages were used, three participants stated that they spoke only English on a daily basis. The two participants that were born in the Philippines both stated that they used Spanish when Spanish-speaking, Spanish-monolingual people come into their place of work. Both also stated that they attempt to communicate in Tagalog: One stated that she was eager to speak Tagalog and she spoke both Spanish and Tagalog with anyone who would communicate with her; a second participant stated they he would communicate in Tagalog with “older Filipino constituents;” a third participant stated that she and her friends were in the process of learning Tagalog and they would speak with each other often in Tagalog.

In regards to reading literature in languages other than English, only participant #11 stated that she tried to read as much as she could in Spanish and Tagalog. Four participants stated that they read in English only, and the sixth participant stated that she read in Spanish and Tagalog when she was taking classes in these languages, but everything that she had been reading at the time of the study was in English.

Differences and Commonalities

One key difference between the two generations is that of home languages. Generation One had languages other than English spoken while Generation Two had primarily English spoken in the home. Another key

difference between the two generations in the study was the environmental languages which were labeled as community and/or national languages. For Generation One, Filipino/Tagalog and other Filipino languages were present within their communities, their nation of birth, and in their household and rearing. For Generation Two, English was the dominant community and national language, and Spanish was mentioned as the most common and prevalent other language within their community and within the United States.

One key commonality between the generations would be the prevalence of having taken Spanish as a foreign language. All six participants in Generation Two and three participants of Generation One had taken Spanish. Six stated that they could communicate or comprehend the language at some level of proficiency. Within Generation Two, it is evident that the academic institutionalization of Spanish, its prevalence as a community, state, and national language, had made the learning of and ability to communicate in Spanish important for this age group. Participant #10 stated, “Spanish is the most useful foreign language in Southern California, if not the US.”

Gatekeepers

From the data that was provided, there is evidence that two institutions are responsible for the learning of a language: home and school. Family was found to be one primary gatekeeper of language i.e., parents and relatives impeded as well as facilitated language development, appearing to promote or demote linguistically diverse or linguistically limited children. Schools were found to also

be gatekeepers of language development, especially if a language was a medium of instruction, such as English. If a home language was aligned with a language at school, language proficiency was high.

A participant's parental language had a stronger influence on a child when a language was spoken in the home and especially when the parent spoke that language to the child. When these two responses are juxtaposed, a negative and a positive correlation appear i.e., the more a language is spoken in the home, the more likely that the child will speak it, and the less a language is spoken in the home, the less likely that the child will speak it, unless the language is English:

My oldest sister understands Tagalog because my mom and family spoke to her in Tagalog as she was growing up. (21-year-old female)

My grandmother came to live with us when I was born and took care of me when my parents were working and siblings were in school. She did not speak very much English. This is why I am more proficient in Tagalog than my older siblings. (28-year-old male)

When comparing participant #6's and participant #10's reported languages, participant #10 rated a higher proficiency level of Tagalog, although he was not formally educated in Tagalog. He stated that there was at least one target person living in the home with whom he was expected to communicate in Tagalog i.e., his grandmother. This familial influence was further supplemented by hearing his parents speak the language and him occasionally being reprimanded directly in Tagalog.

Participant #6 took Tagalog as a foreign language, but stated that her parents did not speak to her in Tagalog while growing up and reports a

proficiency level of one. Participant #11 stated that her mother and father spoke only English to each other. Her mother mainly spoke with her “Lola” in Tagalog. She had taken Tagalog as a foreign language and reported the same mid-level of proficiency as participant #10.

The overall most consistent way that a language was disseminated was through a combination of a language spoken in the home with the language learned in school. This is most evident in both generations with English. When parental languages were spoken in the home, the languages were also disseminated. For instance, in Generation Two, it appears that the more frequently Tagalog was spoken in the home and the more contextually diverse it was, the more likely that participants were to rate a mid-level proficiency in Tagalog.

Impediments to Language Learning

Although not speaking the language in the home and not learning the language in school was the greatest obstacle to learning a Filipino language, there were four dissuasive factors that were noted for impeding Filipino languages from being learned by several of the eleven participants:

Status elevation - Parents utilized English as the most frequent and primary language within the home, accompanied by explicit messages from parents to their children about the importance of learning and using English.

Agents of assimilation - Teachers advised parents not to speak a Filipino language at home because it may be “confusing to the children” when learning

English; also, non-Filipino co-workers and classmates chastised and ridiculed the use of Filipino.

Encrypted communication – A Filipino language was primarily an inter-parental language and not a parent-child language so as to keep messages between parents and from the children.

Accented English - Parents did not want their children discriminated against for speaking an accented American English.

The following sections discuss the aforementioned impediments to language learning and highlight data that exemplify the variables that are faced when learning and not learning a language.

Identity and Language

One specific question asked whether the participants had been discriminated against based on their culture or ethnicity. Both age groups had two participants who stated that they had never been discriminated against. The majority, however, provided answers which revealed blatant racism in the form of egregious, ignorant evaluations of and behaviors towards Filipinos based on their Asian-Pacific phenotype: Participants from Generation Two provided exemplar responses. One participant said that her family had a racist neighbor who once called her a “gook” while she was playing ball with his White grandson. The participant’s mother would occasionally send her to this neighbor with food to “kill him with kindness.” A second participant stated that he was mowing his lawn and a White couple in their car stopped and asked if he spoke English. When

he said, “Yes,” they asked him if they could hire him to mow their lawn. A third participant stated that since she was of mixed race i.e., her mother is Filipina and father is White, she “gets discriminated by everyone.”

Within Generation One, two answers were of the abrasive nature. One answer reflected inter-ethnic discrimination in that, while growing up in Tacloban City, Philippines, one participant was thought to be Chinese and was taunted and called “Chinese pig” by children from squatter areas of the city.

A second participant’s answer reflected a sociolinguistic stereotype i.e., English speakers are phenotypically similar, which is erroneous, especially in consideration that according to Kachru (1988) and Crystal (2003), the majority of English speakers in the world are outside of primarily monolingual, English-speaking countries e.g., Australia, Canada, Great Britain, the United States, and New Zealand. This participant said that while interviewing for jobs in 1982 in California, several interviewees told him, “For somebody like you, you speak English very well.”

Language appeared to be one variable of identity which aided in, as opposed to impeded, the assimilation of one participant and his family. It was one variable that could be controlled.

In our family nucleus, English was the language used for family communication. It was emphasized because we grew up at a time when the "coconut" identity was prevalent: We were brown outside and white inside. In other words, we were encouraged to become "Americanized" to gain a foothold on opportunities that could be pursued only through college admission with degrees obtained. (70-year-old male)

This answer reflects the individual psychological manifestations of assimilating into a primarily European White society of people. It also reflects a social survival strategy of adopting a new identity via language, sometimes at the cost of, in contrast to *in addition to* the primary or initial identity and language.

Another participant stated that she regretted that her parents were not more vigilant in helping her keep her native language. She said, “But growing up, I was always ashamed when they spoke Tagalog to me in front of my White friends because I tried so hard to fit in, and not be an outsider.” The comment by reflected the ethnic affiliation associated with speaking specific languages, and illustrates one of the reasons why the English language usurps other Filipino languages in the home and possesses an elevated status in the home.

Two other participants stated that English was spoken in the home and that the learning of Filipino was discouraged because the parents wanted the children (the participant and his/her siblings) to speak English well and not to have an accent. All participants responded to a question asking about the learning of English and its role in the Philippines (within the government, business, and the educational system) and within the home in the United States, by stating that the learning of English opened up greater economic opportunities and led to a superior social status compared to Filipinos who did not speak English or who did not speak English well.

One participant from each group provided insightful answers that reflected the impetus to assimilation. Within Generation Two, participant #10 stated that he had been the focus of discrimination, but he did not provide explicit detail. He

said that he experienced discrimination as if it were normal and accepted and stated that it was nothing more than “ignorant [W]hite people who did not know what a Filipino was.” A second insightful answer was provided by a participant from Generation One. He stated in response to the question:

Of course! There is always a pecking order in societal dynamics. As the last of the wave of immigrants that preceded us, we were on the lower rungs of the ladder, at the bottom of the totem pole. Here, again, becoming "coconuts" was the key to acceptance. If we could be on the honor roll...if we could be elected as a class officer...if we could become student leaders, on the pep squad, or the athletic hero...we had a chance to gain respect, honor, and recognition.

Teachers' Advice

One type of response given by two participants revealed teachers' advice to parents not to speak Filipino/Tagalog in the home. The advice reflects general ignorance that the brain can only manage learning one language at a time, and while one language is being learned e.g., English, another language must become temporarily or permanently marginal e.g., Filipino. This subtractive approach to language acquisition fails to embrace and develop the language resources that are present in public schools and in communities. Two participants stated that a teacher had told parents to speak English at home. One participant related the following:

My oldest sister understands Tagalog because my mom and family spoke to her in Tagalog as she was growing up. But when she started to go to school, teachers told them not to because it would get in the way of learning English. That is why my middle sister and I do not understand nor speak it. (21-year-old female)

The teachers' English-only advice given to the Filipino American parents was probably not given with the malicious intent on keeping the mother-tongue and/or father-tongue from the children, rather, the teacher was most likely attempting to provide an educational methodology i.e., speak English and not a Filipino language in the home in order to attempt to increase the proficiency level in English. However, whatever the intention or motive of the teacher, the teacher was acting as an agent for the state. "In many countries teachers have been viewed as instruments of the state, whose role is to implement national and state policies, rather than critique or question such policies (Wiley, 2007, p. 4).

Secret Language

Parents often find that they need to discuss issues of an adult nature with each other when their children are within an audible area. In a monolingual home, a secret language often comes in the form of spelling out words, which is effective until children begin to spell. Then, private conversations must be done literally in private. Multilingual parents have a repertoire of languages from which to choose, some of which have not been taught and learned by the children (possibly in order to keep conversations in private), regardless of whether the children are in an audible area. When asked whether or not his mother and father, who were from the Ukraine and Moldova, respectively, spoke a Russian dialect in the home, Joshua Fishman replied that only Yiddish was spoken in the home and added, "They spoke Russian on the rare occasion that they wanted to say

something to each other that I shouldn't understand" (Hornberger & Putz, 2006, p. 5).

In response to question #48 on the questionnaire, "Did your parents ever communicate with each other in a language that you could not understand, mainly to keep the conversation private?" Four of the ten respondents wrote "Yes", and several elaborated on the answer. One respondent wrote this:

Our parents chose to speak in Ilocano (primarily) to discuss topics that they wished to talk about which were none of our business. (61-year-old male)

Unacknowledged and Undervalued

Statements made by participants alluded to a perceived reality that Filipino languages in the United States are not appreciated because people are generally unaware of them (and vice versa), and/or perhaps they consider them negligible in the face of English. One participant stated that Filipino languages and culture were "not known by the masses." It was stated that people were unaware of the three major dialects of the Philippines: Tagalog, Ilocano, and Visayan, much less the several sub-dialects that have derived due to the vast array of regional variations."

Within a hierarchy of United States languages, Tagalog-based Filipino competes linguistically with English, Spanish, and Mandarin and/or Cantonese in terms of number of speakers and institutionalization in schools and businesses, etc. Tagalog, however, ranked fourth in population of speakers in the United States (American Community Survey, 2005) and it is a relatively

unacknowledged and unappreciated United States language. An even greater struggle for acknowledgement comes from the native Filipino languages other than Tagalog. For instance, one participant stated, “It seems like Filipinos consider Tagalog [to be the] standard dialect and some Filipinos are ‘snobby’ to Filipinos who speak other dialects such as Visayan or Ilocano.” This answer reflects the explicit frustration that speakers of Ilocano, Cebuano, Pangasinan, and other Filipino languages harbor towards the status of Tagalog-based Filipino. The teaching of Tagalog-based Filipino within communities in California may exacerbate this animosity.

These language not only compete with a multitude of U.S. languages whose populations are much greater in number than them, but they are overshadowed by Tagalog in terms of acknowledgement and institutionalization, creating a Russian-nesting-doll-like hierarchy of status.

Global Connections

Regardless of the level or presence of acknowledgement of the lesser-populated languages, languages of all populations connect people. Two participants explicitly stated that Filipino languages in the United States connect users with one another, or that the language or languages are a unifying factor for those who speak the same language and dialect. A third participant stated that in ethnically and linguistically diverse California, translators are needed, and thus, the speaking of a Philippine language in combination with English would allow one to act as a liaison between speakers unable to communicate.

Filipinos are living and working all over the world, primarily in Pacific Rim countries, which includes the United States, but also Europe and the Middle East. One question asked if the participant had family members living and working in countries other than the United States or the Philippines. It also asked participants to list the country and city or region, provide details as to the relationship to the person or people living and working outside of the Philippines and the United States, and their reason for living and working in this country or countries. Out of the eleven participants, four did not answer the question for reasons unknown, and one response simply stated “No,” meaning the participant did not have, nor did not know of any relatives, living and working outside of the United States. Three participants had a relative working in Canada, and two of these responses elaborated that there was very little contact with this person; a third response did not expound on the frequency of communication. Two participants had a relative or relatives living and working in England, one with frequent contact and the other with very little. Two also stated that they have relatives that either were still working or had worked in Singapore, one with contact and the other with very little contact. Other countries that were listed were Australia, Austria, Kuwait, Libya, Northern Mariana Islands, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. One participant stated that he and his relatives living and working in Europe communicate via email during holidays or on birthdays. Work was the primary reason that relatives were living outside of the Philippines.

Several participants stated that the reason for their relatives to “move” to these countries was specifically for work, but one stated that the move was made to a country other than the Philippines and the United States “a better life” and one stated that “better pay” was the reason.

One set of questions elicited answers which provided a greater understanding of how connections are maintained between people living in different nations. Following Bourdieu’s (1986) “The Forms of Capital,” the majority of participants possessed some sort of capital, whether it were economic, familial, linguistic, or technological in nature, which provided a framework for the interconnectivity, regardless of physical or temporal distance from other.

Of the eleven participants, three wrote “N.A.” (non-applicable) or did not answer the question asking about whether or not the participant had relatives in the Philippines. The other eight stated that they still had relatives in the Philippines and out of those eight, responses referring to frequency of communication ranged from “not very often” to communicating every few months, to communicating daily with relatives in the Philippines.³⁷ The most common forms of communication were through email and telephone calls.

Out of the eleven participants in the questionnaire, seven stated that they had been to the Philippines at least once, but most have been there twice or more. One participant within the 49 to 70 age group who was born in the United States made no mention of ever having visited the Philippines; two participants within

³⁷ Questions could have been skimmed and perused, where participants approached the lengthy questionnaire with a method of randomly choosing questions or categories of questions.

the 21 to 28 age group stated the same. However, although one of the participants in the 21 to 28 age group was born in the United States and has never visited the Philippines, she stated, "I have never been *home* to the Philippines."

For the seven that stated that they have returned for visits to the Philippines, most stated specifically that they did so to visit family. Some elaborated by stating that there were reasons attached to the family-visit motive, which was to attend a wedding, repair or re-assume responsibility of a home, or to attend a study abroad program. Three participants used Philippine Airlines, two used Cathay Pacific, and other airlines included Norwest Airlines and Eva Airways. Of those that returned, four stated that they used Filipino/Tagalog and English when they returned; two stated "Tagalog," one wrote "Filipino" and one wrote "Tagalog/Filipino." Two stated that they used more Tagalog than English. Two participants mentioned that only Tagalog was spoken, primarily with family, friends, and one with associates on a business trip. One stated that Tagalog was spoken when in the airport but when in the primary destination of Bacolod, Ilongo was spoken. One participant stated that Tagalog was used whenever possible: "I was treated better."

Benefit and Loss

According to the participants in the study, the speaking of English in addition to one or other Filipino languages, including Spanish, was valuable. The inability to communicate in one but not another language was considered to be somewhat of a vacuous feature of one's culture or cultures. The English language

seemed to be the most dominant language academically for all participants, and for Generation Two, the language which parents used to communicate with the participants in that group. Economic and social acclimation within the U.S., whose ideologies centered upon capitalism and globalization, were repeatedly quoted motives for the learning of English, and the absence of English within a linguistic repertoire for a Filipino was seen as an impediment to myriad social, professional, and economic opportunities. Filipino-language use in the United States, however, seemed to be most fundamentally grounded in family and identity. Having knowledge of one or more Filipino languages and the ability to use and comprehend them promotes familial and ancestral connectivity, socially and psychologically for Filipinos living in the United States.

Conclusion

The overall goal of the study was to elucidate a human perspective to linguistic and other demographic data provided by entities such as the U.S. Census or the Modern Language Association; the study also sought to augment the limited literature which focuses primarily on Filipino Americans and heritage language.

Several salient Filipino language-related characteristics emerged from the study: First, Filipino Americans have a heritage and a culture of multiple languages, either speaking several languages individually, or having multiple languages as a part of their familial history or current linguistic repertoire. Second, the English language is an extremely important language to Filipino

Americans, so much so that it is learned and spoken, sometimes at the cost of autochthonous Filipino languages. The need and desire to assimilate into the collective American culture is a main motivator. American teachers manifest within the data revealing United States educational agency of assimilation through the overt influence on the learning of English at the cost of a heritage language. Parents were found to covertly and sometimes explicitly usher their children towards English by speaking a Filipino language to each other as a means of keeping a conversation secret and not speaking a Filipino language regularly to their children. Third, children of Filipino immigrants seem to have the desire to learn a Filipino language and/or regret not having learned one. Motivations for doing so seem to be symbolic, as well to be a fulfillment of an underdeveloped facet of identity. Also, the learning of a Filipino language was sometimes crucial in being able to communicate with relatives or others in the Filipino-speaking community.

The Spanish language was a target language for some of the 21 to 28-year-old Filipino American participants, and in some linguistic repertoires it complemented English and a Filipino language, but there were allusions to Spanish being more of a critical language for Generation Two, primarily because of its significance in California and throughout the United States. The fact that nine of the 11 participants had taken Spanish as a foreign language is not surprising when taking into consideration the history that the Spanish language and the Philippines share, as well as the numerical and cultural significance of the Spanish language in California. In this sense, any heritage language in California

competes with hierarchically two more socially and economically powerful languages i.e., English and Spanish. In consideration of the learning capacity of the cerebral cortex combined with the theoretical framework of a borderless world, it is not the attempt to learn languages that is futile, but the lack of attempt itself.

Although the scope of the study and the number of participants may be considered limited, the study drew data from five generations at one point, thereby allowing for a rudimentary and somewhat of an adumbration of what happens to language(s) within more recent generations of Filipino Americans after former generations of Filipinos immigrated to the United States. The 11 who participated represented only a small fraction of the target population and thus, any thoughts or behaviors may or may not be numerically significant when making generalizations about the entire population of Filipino Americans.

Still, one of the greatest outcomes of the study was the networking that was stimulated and created through the 11 participants.

Chapter Seven: Filipino Americans: English Language Ability and Academic Achievement in California

Questions and Methods

How do Filipino American students compare in English-language abilities, in comparison to other non-English-speaking immigrant students? In addition, how do Filipino students compare academically in general in comparison to other prominent immigrant groups?

The California Department of Education (CDOE) has an expansive cache of data on its website that yielded information on educational attainment, language populations, graduation rates, English language proficiency, etc. The CDOE's online website was utilized in order to develop a generalized academic profile of public school-aged Filipino and Filipino American students. The CDOE updates its site more than annually. On one specific occasion, it was necessary to update data that had been collected on students' proficiency levels in English within a section heading labeled as "California English Language Development Test Results." The heading of the data results was "Students Meeting State Board of Education Criterion for English Proficiency." During one particular re-search, this specific heading could not be found. A phone call to the DataQuest Management Team revealed that the heading had been recently changed to a briefer "Students Meeting CELDT Criterion." Once this information had been clarified and a contact person had been established, several other phone calls were made in order to clarify data.

Data Collection

The primary data source for the study was the California Department of Education's (CDOE) website. *Data & Statistics* provides information based on a variety of levels, such as state, county, district, and school; and it provides data on a variety of subjects, such as school performance, test scores, student demographics, and school staffing. Other sources included the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey, the Philippine Department of Education, and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration. The following section focuses on English language abilities of several immigrant language groups.

Comparisons of English Language Abilities

The United States of America is a cosmopolitan nation that is culturally diverse, multifaceted, and multilingual. Although the U.S. is an English-speaking nation, substantial populations of non-English-speaking people or people who speak one or more languages in addition to English exist. English-language acquisition may pose more of a challenge for some immigrant groups than others.

Filipinos represent an immigrant group who are unique for several reasons. First, Filipinos come from a multilingual nation with two official languages, one of them being English. Second, Filipinos bring with them the ideological and theological beliefs associated with Westernization and Catholicism, influenced by over three hundred years of Spanish colonization, and immigrate primarily to a state with a large population of Hispanics i.e., California. Third, Filipinos come to the United States as subjects of a previous U.S.

commonwealth (1935-1946). How, if at all, do these cultural and historical congruencies affect their integration into U.S. society?

Although within the collective immigrant population of Filipino Americans, there are those whose proficiency in English is low or even lacking, the Filipino American community is one particular group of immigrants who possess a large percentage of speakers of English. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) state:

The highest levels of fluent bilingualism among both post-1980 and pre-1980 immigrants are seen from the Germans, Indians, and Filipinos, the latter two coming from countries where English is either the official language or the language of educated discourse. Between two-thirds and three-fourths of these immigrants are able to speak English “very well.” (p. 211)

What are Filipino-American, secondary-education students’ English-language abilities? Is there an academic affect of coming from a semi-third-world country where the English language is a valuable commodity to a country from which the English language emanates power and from which it proliferates? How does this English language ability affect Filipino immigrants in the United States? What are the manifestations of arriving in the United States with the possession of English in a group’s linguistic repertoire? One way to begin to answer these questions is to focus on one specific sub-section of the Filipino immigrant population i.e., Filipino secondary public school students in California. How do Filipino American students compare linguistically and academically to other immigrant groups who speak other world and community languages e.g., Spanish, Hindi, Mandarin, etc.?

English Language Ability

Tables 7.1 through 7.7 provide the number of speakers per language for each age group in California (American Community Survey, 2005). The population for Tagalog speakers is compared to populations of speakers of Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Spanish, Vietnamese, and Korean (Tables 7.1-7.5). Percentages have been added to the data collected in order to illustrate the percentage of each language’s populations that speak English “very well” and those that speak English “not at all.” The populations are further broken down into three distinct age groups. Although speakers of Chinese had the lowest percentage of the 5 to 17 year-olds speaking no English at all, with (0.129%), Tagalog speakers had the lowest percentage of the 18 -64 years of age, as well as the 65 years and older speaking English “not at all” (0.15% and 2.18% respectively). Percentages representing the greatest English language ability for each age group amongst the five languages are in bold type.

Table 7.1: Filipino/Tagalog Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	58,144	511,016	98,913	668,073
Speak English “very well”	42,628 (73.3%)	346,105 (67.7%)	44,373 (44.9%)	433,106 (64.8%)
Speak English “not at all”	219 (0.38%)	784 (0.15%)	2,154 (2.18%)	3,157 (0.47%)

(2005 American Community Survey; Modern Language Association)

Table 7.2: Chinese Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	73,977	360,822	85,141	519,940
Speak English “very well”	53,366 (72.14%)	160,586 (44.5%)	15,920 (18.7%)	229,872 (44.2%)
Speak English “not at all”	96 (0.129%)	18, 073 (5.01%)	23, 638 (27.8%)	41,807 (8.0%)

Table 7.3: Spanish Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	2,415,548	6,258,015	538,829	9,212,392
Speak English “very well”	1,752,774 (72.5%)	2,689,710 (43.0%)	204, 169 (37.9%)	4,646,653 (50.4%)
Speak English “not at all”	43, 079 (20.1%)	959,971 (15.3%)	119, 002 (22.1%)	1,122,052 (12.2%)

Table 7.4: Vietnamese Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	81,096	339,162	39,329	459,587
Speak English “very well”	56,216 (69.3%)	123,507 (36.4%)	1,762 (4.5%)	181,485 (39.5%)
Speak English “not at all”	109 (.134%)	20,488 (6.04%)	15,600 (39.7%)	36,197 (7.9%)

Table 7.5: Korean Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	57,900	250,220	36,904	345,024
Speak English “very well”	39,797 (68.7%)	84,783 (33.9%)	2,507 (6.8%)	127,087 (36.9%)
Speak English “not at all”	74 (0.13%)	11,254 (4.5%)	11,709 (31.8%)	23,037 (6.7%)

Tagalog speakers had the highest percentage (67.7%) of its population speaking English “very well” in all age groups amongst the top five most populous languages in California.³⁸ The 65-years-of-age and older group of Vietnamese had the highest percentage out of the top five language groups speaking English “not at all” (39.7%).

When comparing Punjabi and Hindi speakers (ranked 15th and 16th in California, excluding English – Tables 7.6 and 7.7) in the age group of 5-17 years

³⁸ The categories “Speak English ‘well’” and “Speak English ‘not well,’” which are also available in Modern Language Association’s database, have been omitted from the following charts in order to accentuate the extremes.

of age, Tagalog speakers rank second. Tagalog also ranks second to Hindi in the 18-64 year old age group, which has the highest percentage of speakers speaking English “very well” and the lowest percentage of speakers speaking English “not at all.” East Indians’ English- language ability can be attributed to the status that English holds in India as an official language and its societal and academic institutionalization (Crystal, 2003; Kachru, 1983; Talib, 2002).

Table 7.6: Punjabi Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	24,081	74,666	5,500	104,247
Speak English “very well”	18,364 (76.3%)	34,962 (46.8%)	1,187 (21.6%)	54,513 (52.3%)
Speak English “not at all”	Not recorded	5,644 (7.6%)	2,070 (37.7%)	7,714 (7.4%)

Table 7.7: Hindi Speakers and English Language Abilities

	Ages 5-17	18 -64	65+	Total
California	13,667	83,338	6,280	103,285
Speak English “very well”	12,084 (88.4%)	69,730 (83.7%)	2,057 (32.8%)	83,871 (81.2%)
Speak English “not at all”	57 (0.4%)	168 (0.2%)	1,046 (16.7%)	1,271 (1.23%)

Filipino Students in the California Public School System

Table 7.8 represents enrollment by Filipino ethnicity and English language learners (ELLs) by counties in the California public school system (K-12) for 2007-2008 (Source: California Department of Education).

Table 7.8
Population of Filipino Ethnicity and English Language Learners

COUNTY	# of Filipino Ethnicity	% Total Enrolled	# of ELLs	% of Total ELLs
Los Angeles	38,386	2.3%	4,949	1.0
San Diego	23,460	4.7%	3,336	2.7
Santa Clara	12,740	4.9%	2,201	3.3
Alameda	10,962	5.1%	1,999	4.2
San Mateo	8,883	10.0%	1,476	7.0
Orange	8,778	1.7%	1,289	0.9
Riverside	8,626	2.0%	816	0.8
San Joaquin	7,400	5.4%	748	2.4
Contra Costa	6,787	4.1%	852	3.0
Solano	6,766	9.9%	827	8.7
Sacramento	6,523	2.7%	739	1.6
San Bernardino	6,096	1.4%	658	0.7
San Francisco	3,249	5.8%	551	3.3
STATE TOTAL	167,440	2.7%	22,389	1.4%

The largest concentrations of Filipinos in the state are primarily in the costal counties of Southern California in Los Angeles and San Diego, as well as Orange County. The second region where large concentrations of Filipinos can be found, although separated proportionally into many counties, is in and around the San Francisco Bay Area, which is in the middle-western portion of the state.

California English Language Development Test (CELDT)

Focusing on the English language development of immigrant students, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 mandated states to respond to additional Title III (Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students) accountability requirements for English learners.

The California Department of Education utilizes a standardized test, the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) in order to assess the construct of the English language proficiency (ELP) of English language learners in grades K-12 in accordance with California Education Code and Title 5 California Code of Regulations. Three purposes for the CELDT are specified in state law which includes: (1) identifying pupils as limited English proficient; (2) determining the level of English language proficiency (ELP) of those who are limited English proficient; (3) and assessing the progress of limited English proficient students in acquiring the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in English (CELDT: Frequently Asked Questions, California Department of Education).

Initially, 2005-2006 data was included within the charts measuring the percentages of students meeting CELDT criterion, as there were substantially higher percentages in that school year with most of the language groups. However, the California Department of Education provides an endnote which states that the 2007-08 school year's summary results were reported using the common scale that was first used in 2006-07. Results from the 2007-2008 test could be compared with the results for 2006-2007; however, summary results from either of these two years should not be compared with any CELDT results posted in previous years including those available on the California Department of Education website.

The following section looks at the linguistic profile of Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Clara Counties and focuses on the results of the CELDT by

various English language learning populations, as well as students labeled as fluent English proficient (FEP).

Los Angeles County

Los Angeles County has the largest number of ethnic-Filipino students and the largest number of Filipino/Tagalog-speaking English language learners of all counties in California. Table J1 shows the ranking of the top eight languages (other than English) by population of English language learners for the school years 2000-2001 and 2007-2008 in Los Angeles County (Source: California Department of Education: Educational Demographics).

Table 7.9: Los Angeles County- Languages of English Learning Students

<u>Languages for Year: 2000-01</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment	<u>Languages for Year: 2007-08</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment
Spanish	508,309	88.7%	Spanish	421,118	89.0
Armenian	11,049	1.9%	Korean	7,224	1.5%
Korean	8,783	1.5%	Cantonese	7,083	1.5%
Cantonese	8,337	1.5%	Armenian ³⁹	6,815	1.4
Vietnamese	5,288	0.9%	Mandarin	5,418	1.1%
Mandarin	5,260	0.9%	Filipino	4,949	1.0
Khmer (Cambodian)	4,742	0.8%	Vietnamese	4,155	0.9%
Filipino	4,396	0.8%	Khmer	2,203	0.5%

As can be seen when looking at the raw numbers of students for each language group and comparing the school years 2000-2001 and 2007-2008, every population of the most populous eight language groups decreased except for Filipino and Mandarin in Los Angeles County and have done so steadily since at

³⁹ The Armenian American community is the largest in the world outside of Armenia (Kouymjian, 1992).

least the mid-1990s. Filipino English-language learners steadily and consistently decreased in numbers from the 1995-1996 school year until the 2001-2002 school year. Their numbers peaked in the 2002-2003 year with 5,696 English language learners and then decreased again to just below 5,000 students in the 2006-2007 school year.

The number of Spanish-speaking, English-language learners is the lowest number that the population has been in at least the past eleven years (since the 1995-1996 school year), which is as far back as the California Department of Education's online DataQuest will offer student demographic information. Although the number of fluent-English proficient (FEP), Spanish-speaking students have increased slightly, the increase of Spanish-speakers transitioning out of ELL classes is not significant enough to account for the loss of Spanish-speaking ELLs. One possible explanation for the decrease in most languages' populations is that many immigrants have utilized Los Angeles as a point of arrival, but then have dispersed to other counties and other states. Another more probable factor for the decrease in language populations is a more strict and vigilant U.S. immigration policy e.g., Arizona's HB1070 in 2010, as well as the onset of a national and global recession.

Most groups, however, do not appear to show increases, in numbers and percentages, of those in the FEP category (Table 7.10), except for Spanish-speaking students. The California Department of Education defines fluent English proficient students as those whose primary language is other than English and who have met the district criteria for determining proficiency in English i.e., those

students who were identified as FEP on initial identification and students re-designated from Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) or English learner (EL) to FEP. Spanish-speaking students represent the only group to appear to have increased slightly in the percent of FEPs, and all other groups appear to remain fairly static, at least during the 2005-2008 period.

Table 7.10
Number and Percent of Fluent English Proficient Students by Language

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	320,882	75.4	333,466	76.4	345,636	77.1
Korean	15,269	3.6	14,705	3.4	14,915	3.3
Mandarin	13,291	3.1	13,019	3.0	12,675	2.8
Cantonese	13,079	3.1	12,790	2.9	13,052	2.9
Armenian	11,709	2.7	11,977	2.7	11,712	2.6
Filipino	11,303	2.7	11,550	2.6	11,585	2.6
Vietnamese	6,702	1.6	6,840	1.6	6,562	1.0

Table 7.11 shows the number and the percentage of students for each language group that were tested and that met the state board of education criterion for English proficiency measured by the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) during the 2006-2007 as well as the 2007-2008 school years. Korean English language learners had the largest percentage of students meeting proficiency criterion for the most populous ELL groups listed below during the two school years. Filipinos had the 4th largest percentage of students meeting CELDT criterion in the 2006-2007 school year and then were tied for second with Mandarin speakers in the 2007-2008 school year. Spanish-speaking ELLs had the lowest percentages in both years meeting CELDT criteria.

All of the highest percentages are in bold type. All of the second highest percentages are underlined.

**Table 7.11: Los Angeles County 2006-2008
Students Meeting CELDT Criteria**

School Years	2006-2007	2007-2008
Spanish		
# Students	107,755	114,445
% Students	28%	31%
Number tested	379,496	364,563
Cantonese		
# Students	2,771	3,085
% Students	44%	48%
Number tested	6,296	6,434
Korean		
# Students	2,727	3,122
% Students	49%	52%
Number tested	5,584	5,951
Armenian		
# Students	2,518	2,436
% Students	40%	41%
Number tested	6,308	5,903
Mandarin		
# Students	1,898	2,245
% Students	<u>46%</u>	<u>49%</u>
Number tested	4,139	4,558
Filipino		
# Students	1,625	1,977
% Students	43%	<u>49%</u>
Number tested	3,788	4,009
Vietnamese		
# Students	1,358	1,575
% Students	38%	43%
Number tested	3,602	3,678

(Source: California Department of Education: English Language Development Test)

San Diego County

Unlike in Los Angeles County where Filipino-speaking, English-language learners ranked 6th in overall population (Table 7.9), Filipino-speaking, ELLs ranked 2nd in overall population in San Diego County (7.12). The number of FEP

Filipino students, as well as Vietnamese and Korean FEPs, decreased slightly from the years 2005-2008, while Spanish-speaking FEPs showed an increase (Table 7.13).

Filipino ELLs ranked third in highest percentage of its ELLS meeting CELDT criterion behind ELL speakers of Mandarin and Korean for both school years (Table 7.14). Amongst the most populous ELL immigrant groups, Spanish-speaking ELLs had the lowest percentage of FEPs meeting CELDT criteria.

Of interesting note is the presence of speakers of Somali in the list of San Diego's top five languages whereas Somali was not even on the list of 55 languages represented in San Diego County schools until the 2004-2005 school year, when it was listed as the 5th most populous language group of English language learners (Source: California Department of Education: Educational Demographics Unit).⁴⁰

Table 7.12 - San Diego County - Languages of English Learning Student

<u>Languages for Year: 2000-01</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment	<u>Languages for Year: 2007-08</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment
Spanish	94,587	86.6%	Spanish	105,136	85.7%
Filipino	2,546	2.3%	Filipino	3,336	2.7%
Vietnamese	2,387	2.2%	Vietnamese	2,731	2.2%
All other non-English	2,236	2.0%	All other non-English	1,807	1.5%
Arabic	811	0.7%	Somali	1,028	0.8%
Lao	791	0.7%	Arabic	922	0.8%
Khmer	737	0.7%	Korean	950	0.6%

⁴⁰ The influx of Somalis in San Diego most likely reflects those who fled famine and clan/militia fighting in Somalia which has occurred during the past ten to fifteen years (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). Somalis have organizations within San Diego that offer support e.g., International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Red Cross, and the Horn of Africa.

Table 7.13
Number of Fluent-English-Proficient Students by Language

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	57,411	66.2	59,402	70.3	59,372	71.1
Filipino	6,581	7.6	6,449	7.6	6,137	7.3
Vietnamese	3,672	4.2	3,770	4.5	3,432	4.1
Mandarin	1,738	2.0	1,742	2.1	1,772	2.1
Korean	1,194	1.4	1,161	1.4	1,164	1.4

Table 7.14 - San Diego County - Students Meeting CELDT Criteria

School Years	2006-2007	2007-2008
Spanish		
# Students	22,633	27,534
% Students	26%	31%
Number tested	87,662	89,419
Filipino		
# Students	947	1,194
% Students	42%	47%
Number tested	2,268	2,537
Vietnamese		
# Students	796	1,062
% Students	39%	47%
Number tested	2,063	2,252
Korean		
# Students	255	370
% Students	<u>48%</u>	<u>56%</u>
Number tested	533	664
Mandarin		
# Students	203	294
% Students	57%	69%
Number tested	357	425

(No available data for Somali or Arabic)

Santa Clara County

In Santa Clara, Filipino ELLs ranked fourth in population (Table 7.15), and they decreased in numbers of those designated as FEPs (Table 7.16).

Table 7.15 - Santa Clara County - Languages of English Learning Student

<u>Languages for Year: 2000-01</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment	<u>Languages for Year: 2007-08</u>	Number of Students	Percent of Enrollment
Spanish	35,725	61.6%	Spanish	44,811	66.6 %
Vietnamese	8,044	13.9%	Vietnamese	8,009	11.9%
Filipino	1,949	3.4%	Mandarin	2,246	3.3%
Other Non-English	1,933	3.3%	Filipino	2,201	3.3%
Cantonese	1,374	2.4%	All other non-English	1,685	2.5%
Mandarin	1,334	2.3%	Cantonese	1,170	1.7%
Punjabi	1,172	2.0%	Korean	1,045	1.6%

**Table 7.16
Santa Clara
Number of Fluent-English-Proficient Students by Language**

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	18,206	30.7	18,729	30.7	21,168	32.5
Vietnamese	10,148	17.1	10,403	17.0	10,843	16.7
Mandarin	8,071	13.6	8,469	13.9	8,808	13.5
Cantonese	3,011	5.1	3,028	5.0	3,017	4.6
Filipino	2,944	5.0	2,920	4.8	2,966	4.6

Filipino students were tied for fourth with Vietnamese ELLs in percentages of students meeting CELDT criteria in the 2006-2007 school year, and then the Filipino ELL percentage was alone in fourth place in the 2007-2008 school year (Table 7.17). Like in Los Angeles and San Diego Counties, Filipino ELLs in Santa Clara fell in the range of 41-43% of its students meeting CELDT criteria during the 2006-2007 school year and then represented a range between 46% and 49% during the following school year. Mandarin-speaking ELLs had the highest percentage of its population meeting CELDT criterion for both school years with 50% and 56% respectively. In the 2006-2007 school year, Filipino-

speaking students were tied for third place, with Vietnamese speakers, amongst the most populous immigrants groups, and then Filipino-speakers were in 5th place in the 2007-2008 school year. As well as in San Diego County, Spanish-speaking ELLs had the lowest percentage of its population meeting CELDT criterion for both years with 26% and 31% respectively.

**Table 7.17- Santa Clara County –Year 2006-2008
Students Meeting CELDT Criteria**

School Years	2006-2007	2007-2008
Spanish		
# Students	9,202	11,411
% Students	26%	31%
Number tested	35,054	37,172
Vietnamese		
# Students	2,531	3,135
% Students	41%	48%
Number tested	6,220	6,573
Filipino		
# Students	706	824
% Students	41%	46%
Number tested	1,712	1,808
Mandarin		
# Students	648	873
% Students	50%	59%
Number tested	1,298	1,469
Cantonese		
# Students	400	494
% Students	<u>45%</u>	<u>52%</u>
Number tested	898	950
Korean		
# Students	299	393
% Students	44%	55%
Number tested	680	709

Additional Comparisons: San Mateo and Solano Counties

San Mateo County and Solano County both had significant numbers of Filipino-speaking ELLs. Although Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Clara

Counties had larger numbers of Filipino students as well as Filipino-speaking ELLs, San Mateo County and Solano County had higher percentages of its Filipino students designated as ELLs out of the top thirteen counties ranked by numbers of ethnic Filipinos and Filipino-speaking ELLs (Tables 7.18 and 7.18).

Table 7.18
San Mateo
Number of Fluent English Proficient Students by Language

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	8,521	48.5	8,656	48.3	8,732	49.6
Filipino	2,140	12.2	2,267	12.7	2,196	12.5
Cantonese	1,746	9.9	1,733	9.7	1,735	9.9
Mandarin	803	4.6	932	5.2	884	5.0

Table 7.19
Solano
Number of Fluent English Proficient Students by Language

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	4,399	63.0	4,014	61.2	4,656	65.1
Filipino	1,287	18.4	1,362	20.8	1,346	18.8
Punjabi	168	2.4	171	2.6	170	2.4
Vietnamese	166	2.4	156	2.4	149	2.1

There appeared to be no significant changes to the numbers and percentages of Filipino students with a FEP label. Filipino students' CELDT percentages in San Mateo were slightly lower than those in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Clara for the 2006-2007 and the 2007-2008 school years, while Filipino CELDT percentages were even lower in Solano County with 33% (208 Filipino students). San Bernadino County had the highest percentage (55%) of its 276 students meet CELDT criterion in the 2007-2008 school year.

Table 7.20
% of Filipino Students Meeting CELDT Criterion: 2005-2008

School Years	2006-2007	2007-2008
San Mateo	38%	42%
Solano	33%	33%

State of California Comparisons

When comparing language groups throughout the state of California, Filipino-speaking ELLs ranked 4th in percentages of students meeting CELDT criterion within the rankings of most populous ELL groups below for both school years (Table 7.22). When comparing Filipino percentages to the other most populous English language-learning groups' percentages in California, Filipino students perform slightly above average.

Table 7.21
STATE
Number of Fluent-English-Proficient Students by Language

School Year	2005-2006	% of total	2006-2007	% of total	2007-2008	% of total
Spanish	774,983	69.0	801,981	69.8	828,986	70.5
Vietnamese	44,885	4.0	45,374	3.9	45,553	3.9
Filipino	38,945	3.5	39,150	3.4	39,181	3.3
Cantonese	38,729	3.4	37,035	3.2	36,447	3.1
Mandarin	34,252	3.0	34,400	3.0	34,668	2.9
Korean	31,681	2.8	31,119	2.7	31,346	2.7

Table 7.22
State Results of CELDT by Language Group -2006-2008

School Years	2006-2007	2007-2008
Spanish		
# Students	305,496	352,667
% Students	27%	31%
Number tested	1,114,570	1,140,195
Vietnamese		
# Students	11,779	13,956
% Students	41%	47%
Number tested	28,446	29,738
Filipino		
# Students	6,695	8,393
% Students	42%	47%
Number tested	15,909	17,866
Cantonese		
# Students	7,755	8,773
% Students	43%	48%
Number tested	17,920	18,418
Hmong		
# Students	4,942	5,518
% Students	27%	30%
Number tested	18,594	18,119
Korean		
# Students	5,815	7,236
% Students	48%	53%
Number tested	12,075	13,538
Mandarin		
# Students	4,460	5,493
% Students	50%	55%
Number tested	8,907	9,928

National Origins and Percentages of ELLs and FEPs

The California Department of Education lists student demographic enrollment by gender, grade, type of program (such as gifted and talented) and by ethnicity, but not by the country of origin. Country-of-origin can only be deduced from ELL enrollment by language (e.g., Japanese and Turkish), although being labeled as a Turkish-speaking ELL student would not automatically signify that

the student is from Turkey, but the student could be from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Germany, or other countries where Turkish-speaking populations also reside.

It was challenge to make comparisons between language groups from specific nations in order to examine the number and the percentages of each nation's ELLs and FEPs. If a student is not labeled as an ELL or as FEP, he/she is lost within very broad ethnic designations. Knowing an ethnic group does very little in determining the country- of-origin's percentages of ELLs and FEPs. According to the California Department of Education, an Armenian and an Egyptian student would be placed in the White ethnic category and a Korean and a Pakistani student would be labeled under the Asian category (Administrative Manual, California Department of Education, 2007, p. 29).

Unless a national origin is specified, a specific country-of-origin's percentages of ELL and FEP students cannot be extracted from an ethnic designation or from specific languages, like Spanish and Arabic (which have official status in multiple countries and on more than one continent). Data on specific languages may be useful without knowing national origins if, as a linguist for instance, one is studying the effects that the syntax and the alphabetic writing system of a language-of-origin have on English-language acquisition. However, calculating the percentages of ELLs and FEPs within each ethnic group is very ambiguous with the data that is available. "Filipino" is perhaps the only ethnic origin which simultaneously denotes national orientation and language, although Ilocano and Cebuano are listed as languages of ELLs in California by the Department of Education, but with much smaller populations (1,206 and 452

ELLs statewide respectively, 2007-2008). The African-American ethnic label obviously refers to a continental origin i.e., first Africa and then (North/South) America; the Asian, Pacific Islander, and Hispanic/Latino ethnic groups are aggregations of multiple nationalities and in the case of the former two, multiple languages; the White ethnic origin refers ambiguously to English-speaking, traditional European-descendent immigrant groups (i.e., a current U.S. majority), but also refer to new immigrants from non-English-speaking countries in Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East (Administrative Manual, California Department of Education, 2007, p. 29).

Tables 7.23 and 7.24 provide Filipino and Hispanic percentages of its ethnic populations which are labeled as ELLs and FEPs. The Asian, Pacific Islander, and White categories have been omitted because of the wide variety of countries and languages which would need to be included. Whereas in Tables 7.9, 7.12, and 7.15 (ELLs) and Tables 7.10, 7.13, and L2 (FEPs), percentages represent values within all of the language groups in each county e.g., Filipinos represented 1.0% of all ELLs in Los Angeles County in 2007-2008 (Table 7.9), Table 7.23 provides the percentages of Filipino ELLs and Filipino FEPs out of all students of Filipino ethnicity.

Table 7.23
Population of Filipino Ethnicity, ELLs, and FEPs

COUNTY	Filipino Ethnicity	% Filipino ELLs	% Filipino FEPs
Los Angeles	38,386	12.89%	30.18%
San Diego	23,460	14.22%	26.16%
Santa Clara	12,740	17.28%	23.28%

Table 7.24
Population of Hispanic Ethnicity, Spanish-speaking ELLs, and FEPs

COUNTY	Hispanic Ethnicity	% Spanish-speaking ELLs	% Spanish-speaking FEPs
Los Angeles	1,028,531	40.94%	33.60%
San Diego	217,928	48.24%	27.23%
Santa Clara	95,693	46.83%	22.12%

Geographical Distance, Population, and Language

The percentages of Spanish-speaking students that met the State’s criteria for English proficiency lagged so far behind those of other foreign-language dominant students for perhaps several reasons. First, the number of Spanish-speaking students in the 2007-2008 school year in Los Angeles outnumbered the second largest ELL population of students (Korean) by 413,894 students and in San Diego outnumbered the second largest ELL population (Filipino) by 101,800 (California Department of Education, 2008). This could suggest a greater likelihood to be exposed to the Spanish language by sheer volume of users of the language. Second, the border of Mexico is approximately 120 miles from Los Angeles and a mere 20 miles away from Downtown San Diego, while other world immigrant countries are much farther away, and the distances impede frequent physical contact with the home country. For instance, Manila is 7,407 miles away from San Diego and Shanghai is 6,605 miles from San Diego (Infoplease, 2008). A direct flight from either Manila or Shanghai to Los Angeles, San Francisco, or San Diego will cost at least \$1000 (U.S.) dollars and likely more; travel time in the air is at least eleven hours. Traveling from Downtown San Diego to Tijuana

on the Blue Line and then walking over the bridge may take approximately an hour and \$2 or \$3 dollars. Distance may limit volumes of human migration. However, the distance between San Diego, California and Tijuana, Mexico might as well be thousands of miles away, as frequent border crossings coming into and leaving the United States have been curtailed by heightened security as a response to the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11th 2001, and supported by more aggressive policies toward illegal immigration. Last, Spanish language media e.g., television, radio, print, and advertising appear more prominently in California than other foreign language media, allowing for greater access to Spanish and thereby may act as an important variable in language maintenance.

These three variables may linguistically insulate Spanish-speaking ELLs in California in the sense that the exposure to English and the opportunities to speak, listen to, write, and read English are minimized by the overwhelming presence of the Spanish language. Filipino-speaking ELLs, as well as other non-English-speaking immigrant groups, may conversely benefit (when learning English) from smaller, more moderate populations of their mother-tongue speakers.

Philippine Influence on Filipino American L2 Learners

It could be said that one of the main reasons that Filipino students do well when tested on their English language abilities is because of the strong presence of English in the K-12 Philippine public school system. The fact that Filipino students are enrolled in ELL classes in California may not be an effect of the

bilingual education movement in the Philippines during the 1970s that altered an English-only curriculum to reflect more of a dual-language model, and/or may reflect the lack of a quality, well-rounded English-language curriculum with experienced, English-proficient teachers in the public sector of the Philippines.

Many Filipino students attend private schools in the Philippines, where the medium of instruction may be primarily in English, which would circumvent constitutional policy promoting a balanced dual-language curriculum. In the 2006-2007 school year in the Philippines, there were 12,083,661 students enrolled at the elementary level in public schools, while 1,037,987 students were enrolled in private schools. At the secondary level during the same year, 5,026,823 students were enrolled in public schools, while 1,290,403 students were enrolled in private schools. As can be seen from Table 7.25 which contains elementary enrollment in public and private schools, from the 2003-2004 school year to the 2006-2007 school year, the percentage of public school enrollment decreased slightly while the percentage of private school enrollment increased slightly. One possible explanation for this slight increase in private school enrollment is parental attitudes about the increasing importance of their children's ability to speak English. Another reason that may attribute to the increase in private school enrollment is the Philippine economy, which had increasing employment rates from 2001 to 2008, reflecting third-world economic stabilization (88.6% to 92.6%) (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2008).

Table 7.25
Elementary-Level Enrollment Percentages for Public and Private Schools

	2003-2004	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007
Public	92.8%	92.7%	92.4%	92.15%	92.1%
Private	7.2%	7.3%	7.6%	7.85%	7.9%

The percentage of private school enrollment at the secondary level, however, has decreased slightly, but remains steady at around 20% of the overall secondary population of students.

Table 7.26
Secondary-Level Enrollment Percentages for Public and Private Schools

	2003-2004	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007
Public	79.1%	79.95%	79.5%	79.6%	79.6%
Private	20.9%	20.05%	20.5%	20.4%	20.4%

(Source: Philippine Department of Education Fact Sheet, 2007)

Contrary to statistics revealing a slight increase in private school attendance from 2003 to 2007, the *Philippines News Agency* (2008) reported that Philippine Department of Education Secretary Jesli Lapus expects that public school enrollment will increase due to tuition increases at private schools. The predicted increase in the number of students in the public sector can be traced to economic woes brought on by the rise in the prices of basic commodities. There are around 1,000 private elementary and secondary schools in Metro Manila. It is unknown exactly how many private schools utilize English as a primary medium of instruction, however, according to several informants who attended private

schools in metro Manila, the medium of instruction for them was primarily or entirely in English.⁴¹

Accommodations for Limited English

The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) has information for parents, specifically under the tab “Resources: Parent Resources,” in English, Spanish, Korean, Armenian, Chinese, Russian, Polish and Vietnamese, but not Filipino/Tagalog. The District has also developed an Emergency Immigration Education Program (E.I.E.P.) which provides supplemental educational services during summer and intersession for students who are currently enrolled in Kindergarten through grade 12, who were born outside the United States and its territories, and who have attended school in the United States for less than three full academic years. Students who attend the four-hour E.I.E.P. classes receive intensive, English-language instruction, acquire English vocabulary and fluency, develop writing skills that will help them pass District proficiency tests, receive high school credits, and learn about American culture. The E.I.E.P. provides an online parent letter and a student registration form in English, Spanish, Armenian, Chinese, Korean, Russian, and Vietnamese, but not Filipino/Tagalog (as of June 2nd, 2008). There may be no Filipino translations because of the large number of Filipino parents who speak English.

⁴¹ The private school may operate much like a U.S. charter school without the federal or state funding, in the sense that the state has little or no control over the school and the curriculum, allowing for schools to exclude language instruction that is not in English.

San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD) offers information about the district, the budget, the curriculum, and programs for parents in English, Spanish, Somali, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Lao. Under “Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander Community Liaison,” Tagalog is not included as one of the languages into which information is translated, however, under the tab entitled “Facts for Parents,” and further under the heading “Facts for Parents,” information is available in Tagalog, as well as the languages mentioned above (Source: SDUSD Parent, Community, and Student Engagement Office, 2008).

Santa Clara, San Benito, San Mateo, Alameda, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz counties offer programs and services to benefit students and their families including a Migrant Education Program. The Migrant Education Program helps local operating agencies address the special educational needs of migrant children to better enable migrant children to succeed academically. The Santa Clara County Office of Education has information about the CELDT for parents in Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese, Punjabi, Korean, Japanese, Khmer (Cambodian), and Filipino (Tagalog) located under the tab entitled “SCCOE Departments” (Santa Clara County Office of Education), further under the heading, “School Improvement Services (SIS): English Language Learners (ELL)” and finally under “Parent Resources.”

Academic Success

Thus far, this chapter has focused on language. It digresses in order to observe data on high school graduation, drop outs, and students taking UC and

CSU required courses by each ethnic group. Filipino students are in close academic competition with students in the Asian and White (not of Hispanic origin) categories in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Clara counties. As can be seen from the California High School Exit Exam (CAHSEE) results for mathematics and English language arts (Table 7.27), Filipino students come in a very close second in highest ethnic-group percentages passing the math and English language arts portions of the CAHSEE in Los Angeles and San Diego counties. In Santa Clara county Filipinos rank third in the percentages of students passing math and English language arts behind students in the Asian and White categories. Students in the Asian ethnic category have the highest percentages passing the math portion of the CAHSEE, while students in the White category have the highest percentages passing the English language arts portion of the CAHSEE.

In Table 7.27, the highest percentages are in bold-faced print and the specific ethnic group's percentage that ranked the second highest percentage of its population pass the math and English language arts components of the California High School Exit Exam is underlined. Overall in the state of California, Filipinos have the second highest percentages of students passing math on the exit exam and are tied for first with Whites on the English language arts portion (Source: California Department of Education, 2007). The fact that Filipinos are disaggregated from their traditional ethnic group, Asians, is undoubtedly due to the increase of Filipinos and Filipino students in California during the last twenty years.

Table 7.27 - California High School Exit Exam (CAHSEE) Results for Math and English Language Arts (ELA) by Gender and Ethnic Designation (Combined 2007) for (Grade 10) 2006-2007

C O U N T Y		S U B J E C T	African American or Black (not of Hispanic origin)	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Filipino	Hispanic or Latino	Pacific Islander	White (not of Hispanic origin)
L.A.	# Tested	M A T H	13,207	363	11,476	3,256	74,328	599	22,617
	Pass		7,179 (54%)	255 (70%)	10,895 (95%)	2,889 (89%)	47,018 (63%)	437 (73%)	20,030 (89%)
	# Tested	E L A	13,093	367	11,535	3,250	74,012	593	22,707
	Pass		8,482 (65%)	284 (77%)	10,266 (89%)	2,894 (89%)	49,242 (67%)	447 (75%)	20,534 (90%)
San Diego	# Tested	M A T H	2,479	359	1,930	1,992	15,547	328	13,918
	Pass		1,652 (67%)	256 (71%)	1,812 (94%)	1,803 (91%)	10,891 (70%)	257 (78%)	12,694 (91%)
	# Tested	E L A	2,552	357	1,937	2,003	15,726	322	14,151
	Pass		1,845 (72%)	279 (78%)	1,731 (89%)	1,810 (90%)	10,620 (68%)	257 (80%)	12,979 (92%)
Santa Clara	# Tested	M A T H	677	98	4,701	1,109	6,158	145	5,617
	Pass		495 (73%)	71 (72%)	4,531 (96%)	991 (89%)	4,090 (66%)	108 (74%)	5,234 (93%)
	# Tested	E L A	703	105	4,727	1,120	6,337	145	5,711
	Pass		520 (74%)	79 (75%)	4,346 (92%)	983 (88%)	4,036 (64%)	113 (78%)	5,317 (93%)
State- wide:	# Tested	M A T H	37,845	4,167	43,340	14,234	214,829	3,239	157,034
	Pass		22,102 (58%)	3,020 (72%)	40,163 (93%)	12,673 (89%)	141,134 (66%)	2,431 (75%)	138,457 (88%)
	# Tested	E L A	38,051	4,204	43,558	14,249	215,171	3,254	158,050
	Pass		25,012 (66%)	3,197 (76%)	37,678 (87%)	12,665 (89%)	142,500 (66%)	2,460 (76%)	141,322 (89%)

Drop Outs in California Public Schools

Filipino students had the second lowest dropout rate in Los Angeles (Table 7.28), the lowest dropout rates in San Diego County (Table 7.29), the fourth lowest dropout rate in Santa Clara (Table 7.30), and the second lowest dropout rate in the state of California collectively (Table 7.31).

TABLE 7.28
Los Angeles County
Dropouts by Ethnicity for Year 2005-2006

Ethnic Group	Total Dropped (9-12)	Total Enrolled (9-12)	4 Yr Derived Rate (9-12)	1 Yr Rate (9-12)
American Indian	66	1,525	19.2	4.3
Asian	575	47,226	4.8	1.2
Pacific Islander	140	2,561	22.1	5.5
Filipino	265	13,046	8.3	2.0
Hispanic	14,709	303,919	21.4	4.8
African American	3,658	59,293	25.2	6.2
White	2,008	96,367	8.4	2.1
Mult./No Response	208	4,197	19.5	5.0
County Total	21,629	528,134	17.3	4.1
State Totals	67,796	1,974,645	14.0	3.4

TABLE 7.29 - San Diego County
Dropouts by Ethnicity for Year 2005-2006

Ethnic Group	Total Drop (9-12)	Total Enroll (9-12)	4 Yr Derived Rate (9-12)	1 Yr Rate (9-12)
American Indian	92	1,570	22.7	5.9
Asian	209	7,848	10.6	2.7
Pacific Islander	68	1,406	19.6	4.8
Filipino	149	7,858	7.6	1.9
Hispanic	2,718	62,466	18.1	4.4
African American	830	11,727	28.2	7.1
White	1,179	61,271	7.7	1.9
Mult./No Response	154	2,784	26.8	5.5
County Total	5,399	156,930	13.9	3.4

**Table 7.30 - Santa Clara County
Dropouts by Ethnicity for Year 2005-2006**

Ethnic Group	Total Drop (9-12)	Total Enroll (9-12)	4 Yr Derived Rate (9-12)	1 Yr Rate (9-12)
American Indian	17	538	12.5	3.2
Asian	230	18,682	4.9	1.2
Pacific Islander	30	605	20.0	5.0
Filipino	85	4,324	8.0	2.0
Hispanic	1,821	24,731	27.4	7.4
African American	126	2,717	18.0	4.6
White	383	23,944	6.4	1.6
Mult./No Response	25	1,851	5.4	1.4
County Total	2,717	77,392	13.7	3.5

**Table 7.31 - State Totals
Dropouts by Ethnicity for Year 2005-2006**

Ethnic Group	Total Drop (9-12)	Total Enroll (9-12)	4 Yr Derived Rate (9-12)	1 Yr Rate (9-12)
American Indian	714	17,340	16.5	4.1
Asian	2,427	172,368	5.6	1.4
Pacific Islander	522	12,993	16.2	4.0
Filipino	981	55,240	7.2	1.8
Hispanic	38,195	849,004	18.9	4.5
African American	10,092	165,683	24.3	6.1
White	13,673	668,641	8.2	2.0
Mult./No Response	1,192	33,376	14.6	3.6
State Totals	67,796	1,974,645	14.0	3.4

Graduates with UC and CSU Required Courses by Ethnicity

Students graduating with University of California and California State University required courses for admission consideration may be a strong indicator of those students' intentions of pursuing a post-secondary education. The charts on the following pages show the numbers and percentages of graduates in each ethnic group with UC/CSU required courses. The school year 1994-1995 is provided along with school years spanning 2003-2006 (most recently available as of May 2008) in order to provide an approximate ten-year comparison. Of interesting note is that the percentage of American Indian and Alaskan Native

students graduating with UC/CSU required courses nearly doubled in the last ten years.

The Asian ethnic group has the highest percentage of graduates with UC/CSU required courses in all three counties. Filipinos have the second highest percentage of students graduating with UC/CSU required courses in the four academic years listed in Tables 7.32-7.35. In Los Angeles and San Diego Counties, Filipino students have the second highest percentage behind Asians and Whites, and in Santa Clara, they had the fourth highest percentage. Statewide data (Table 7.3) shows that Filipinos are second to Asians in percentages of students who graduate with UC/CSU required courses. Overall, the Filipino group is averaging slightly less than 50% of its students graduating with UC/CSU required courses, which is approximately ten percentage points above the state average.

**Table 7.32 - Los Angeles County
Percent of Graduates in Each Ethnic Group with UC/CSU Required Courses**

Ethnicity	2005-06	2004-05	2003-04	1994-95
American Indian	N= 66 32.4 %	N=73 31.3%	N=76 31.9 %	N=52 26.1 %
Asian	N= 6,923 65.0 %	N=6659 64.9%	N=5,869 6 60.1 %	N=5,583 65.0 %
Pacific Islander	N= 174 37.7 %	N=160 37.0%	N=148 33.6 %)	N=146 44.8 %
Filipino	N= 1,506 <u>54.3</u> <u>%</u>	N=1530 <u>56.2%</u>	N=1,265 <u>48.1 %</u>	N=977 <u>45.6 %</u>
Hispanic	N= 12,825 30.7 %	N=13936 31.9%	N=10,923 26.3 %	N=8,396 28.3 %
African American	N= 2,626 30.5 %	N=3154 33.6%	N=2,808 30.7 %	N= 3,079 41.0 %
White	N= 8,624 43.5 %	N=9067 45.0%	N=8,721 42.6 %	N=8,406 45.2 %
Multiple/No Response	N= 284 37.9 %	N=209 31.0%	N=135 27.7 %	NA
Total	N= 33,028 38.9 %	N=34,788 39.7%	N=29,945 35.4 %	N=26,639 39.7 %

**TABLE 7.33 - San Diego County
Percent of Graduates in Each Ethnic Group with UC/CSU Required Courses**

Ethnicity	2005-06	2004-05	2003-04	1994-95
American Indian	N= 65 24.5 %	N=52 22.9%	N=53 20.9 %	N=57 32.4 %
Asian	N= 1,059 59.7 %	N=947 58.8%	N=967 53.6 %	N=698 52.8 %
Pacific Islander	N=77 27.9 %	N=70 27.8%	N=78 28.0 %	N=45 27.3 %
Filipino	N= 869 <u>50.6 %</u>	N=898 <u>50.7%</u>	N=917 <u>51.3 %</u>	N=568 39.5 %
Hispanic	N= 2,499 26.1 %	N=2143 22.0%	N=2,054 22.9 %	N=960 17.8 %
African American	N= 515 25.6 %	N=479 23.5%	N=493 25.6 %	N=265 19.0 %
White	N= 6,018 46.2 %	N=6135 46.7%	N=5,979 45.7 %	N=4,732 <u>44.7%</u>
Multiple/No Response	N= 121 30.9 %	N=84 27.0%	N=77 27.5 %	No data
Total	N= 11,223 38.6 %	N=10808 37.2%	N=10,618 37.4 %	N=4,878 38.9 %

**TABLE 7.34 - Santa Clara County,
Percent of Graduates in Each Ethnic Group with UC/CSU Required Courses**

Ethnicity	2005-06	2004-05	2003-04	1994-95
American Indian	N= 44 55.7 %	N=34 41.0%	N=39 45.9 %	N=32 28.6 %
Asian	N= 2,994 69.6 %	N=2592 65.3%	N=2,338 63.5 %	N=1,511 55.1 %
Pacific Islander	N= 23 24.2 %	N=28 26.7%	N=18 22.2 %	N=12 26.7 %
Filipino	N= 382 40.7 %	N=378 39.9%	N=363 37.9 %	N=267 38.8 %
Hispanic	N= 857 22.8 %	N=835 21.0%	N=768 20.4 %	N=493 17.0 %
African American	N= 857 22.8 %	N=135 25.0%	N=114 23.3 %	N=119 20.1 %
White	N= 2,813 <u>53.7 %</u>	N=2759 <u>52.6%</u>	N=2,882 <u>53.2 %</u>	N=2,444 <u>44.7 %</u>
Multiple/No Response	N= 172 42.9 %	N=130 44.8%	N=108 36.2 %	No data
Total	N= 7,405 48.4 %	N=6891 45.5%	N=6,630 44.9 %	N=4,878 38.9 %

TABLE 7.35 - State Data
Percent of Graduates in Each Ethnic Group with UC/CSU Required Courses

Ethnicity	2005-06	2004-05	2003-04	1994-95
American Indian	N= 667 23.5 %	N=680 23.1%	N=677 22.3 %	N=607 26.8 %
Asian	N= 23,012 60.0 %	N=21,356 58.7%	N=19,788 56.2 %	N=15,021 55.3 %
Pacific Islander	N= 666 28.8 %	N=650 27.7%	N=623 27.2 %	N=439 32.2 %
Filipino	N= 5,273 <u>45.3 %</u>	N=5,357 <u>46.6%</u>	N=5,040 <u>44.8 %</u>	N=3,528 <u>41.5 %</u>
Hispanic	N= 31,787 25.5 %	N=31,157 24.0%	N=26,327 21.7 %	N=17,261 22.5 %
African American	N= 6,466 25.5 %	N=6,751 25.2%	N=6,344 25.1 %	N=5,461 28.9 %
White	N= 55,671 40.1 %	N=57,556 40.9%	N=55,963 39.5 %	N=46,628 38.7 %
Multiple/No Response	N= 1,766 32.5 %	N=1,477 31.0%	N=918 26.9 %	No data
Total	N= 125,308 35.9 %	N=124,984 35.2%	N=115,680 33.7 %	N=88,945 34.9 %

Filipino students are consistently and increasingly seen in English language learner classrooms. This steady increase from the 2000-2001 school year to the 2007-2008 school year may be due to an increase in immigration directly from the Philippines; the increase in English-learning Filipino students may also be due to Filipino families moving into the three most populous Filipino-ethnic-enclave counties mentioned on the previous pages from other counties or even other states. As it is shown in Tables 7.10, 7.13, and 7.16, students with a Filipino language background had some of the highest percentages of its tested students meeting CELDT criteria in three counties, most likely attributed to the role that English plays in the Philippines, but also because of parental expectations and practices which encourage academic achievement. Other language groups, such as Mandarin and Korean English language learners

have high percentages meeting CELDT criteria in one or more of the three counties, but the percentages and numerical differences are arguably negligible.

Why Do Filipino Students Do Well?

This question has been addressed at many levels with all ethnic groups. One reason why Filipino students do well is perhaps because of the messages, both explicit and implicit, that come from their parents. These are known as *cultural models*. Knowing that cultures have different theories, “story lines,” or schema models allows for an understanding of how cultures conceptualize the world. These models guide actions, and shape judgments and ways of thinking (D'Andrade & Strauss 1992; Gee, J. P. 1996; Hall, 1977; Holland & Quinn 1987; Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 169). In the case of Filipino American students, it is very likely that these “story lines” manifest in the attitudes, behaviors, and messages from parents whose aims or objectives are to encourage and to propel their children to do well in school and to eventually enroll in an institution of higher education. These cultural models of success appear to reflect those of the status quo of the United States e.g., proficiency in the dominant language and educational attainment as a means of upward mobility.

Another reason why Filipinos students do well in the United States is because they represent a culturally and linguistically unique group, often coming into the United States with high levels of cultural capital i.e., social networks, economic resources, and knowledge of various cultures and languages (Bourdieu, 1986). The chart on the following page describes in greater detail the distinct

forms of capital as they relate to Filipinos (or other cultural groups) in the United States.

Type of Capital	Forms of Capital as Relates to Filipinos (or other cultural groups) in the United States
Economic	(1) The middle and upper class may possess an increased level of mobility e.g., travel to and from the United States, and ability to access good jobs and good schools. (2) The lower-class may be accustomed to living in ethnically diverse neighborhoods and so may interact well with diverse populations (as can be found in U.S. urban locations) and may possess lower-economic savvy (budgeting, relying on a community, and taking advantage of available resources). (3) Work as a way of life – possession of a solid work ethic
Social	(1) Primary Network – Family and friends live in the United States and thus connections are made facilitating initial arrival and/or community connections once in the U.S.A. (2) Secondary Network- Interaction with diverse individuals or groups at work, school, and the community may provide greater ease in assimilating to the diverse U.S. demographic profile.
Cultural	(1) Many arrive in the United States with a functional or fluent proficiency in English and are able to speak multiple Filipino languages or have knowledge of world languages such as Chinese or Spanish. ⁴² (2) Many possess knowledge of various cultural practices and concepts because of Western and Eastern influences in the Philippines and may have ethnically and linguistically diverse family members.

As a result of their level of education, proficiency in English, history of working in a multicultural society, most Filipino Americans are now in the middle class, and the community enjoys substantial economic well-being. They are working as healthcare practitioners, in management and related occupations, computer, and other professional careers. In 1989, the median household income of Filipino Americans ranked third in the United States with \$43,780 out of sixty ancestry groups (Posadas, 1999, p. 82). Filipinos earn more money in comparison to most ethnic groups when comparing median income in the United States, and

⁴² This linguistic range provides an ability to communicate with and understand diverse populations of people, not only within the Philippines, but within diverse population in the United States (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 114).

earn substantially more than the national average (Table 7.36). Of interesting note is that the top two earners, as gauged by median income, are two ethnic groups whose countries have a substantial number of English as a second language learners and speakers. The Philippines has approximately 40 million English-language speakers, which is almost half of the population, and it is estimated that 200 million people in India are speakers of English as a second language (Crystal, 2003, pp. 63-64). Both countries-of-origin, as well, have English as a co-official language.

Table 7.36
U. S. Median household income 1999

Ethnic Group	Median income	Population
United States	\$41,994	281,421,906
Asian Indian	\$63,669	1,678,765
Filipino	\$60,570	1,850,314
Japanese	\$52,060	796,700
Chinese	\$51,444	2,432,585
Vietnamese	\$45,085	1,122,528
White	\$44,687	211,460,626
NHPI ⁴³	\$42,717	398,835
Korean	\$40,037	1,076,872
Paraguayan	\$38,551	8,769
Mexican	\$33,621	20,640,711
American Indian	\$30,599	2,475,956
African American	\$29,423	34,658,190

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000- Summary File 4)

Filipino Americans appear to do well economically, by U.S. standards of measure, in comparison to other predominant ethnic groups and countries of origin in California (Table 7.37). They fared slightly better than most of their

⁴³ Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander

Asian and Pacific Island counterparts. Only Asian Indians and Paraguayans had higher median incomes. For the collective Hispanic group, the range between Paraguayans and Hondurans was quite substantial.

Table 7.37
California Median household income 1999

Ethnic Group	Median income	Population
Asian Indian	\$72,130	307,105
Filipino	\$62,143	920,052
Chinese	\$57,431	977,613
Japanese	\$55,577	289,155
White	\$51,279	20,122,959
NHPI	\$48,650	113,858
Vietnamese	\$48,443	446,475
Korean	\$40,758	343,742
American Indian	\$37,186	220,836
Mexican	\$36,528	8,600,581
African American	\$34,956	2,219,190

Many Filipinos have come to the United States as professionals as well as laborers. It appears, through analysis of data provided by the California Department of Education, Filipinos are doing well in school, which may contribute to economic stability in future generations. Following Ogbu (1991), Filipinos could be considered *voluntary minorities* i.e., they come on their own will (and were not ousted or forced to leave), and they do not generally oppose the U.S. culture, but they assimilate to it. Although voluntary immigrants may at first experience problems in school because of discriminatory educational policies and practices, and because of language and cultural differences, voluntary immigrant minorities do not experience long-lasting cultural and language problems (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 164). Some Filipino immigrants may consider themselves

involuntary minorities, perhaps because they consider themselves economic refugees. Also, prejudice and discrimination may have made assimilation into mainstream America challenging.⁴⁴

Cultural Ownership

Ownership in a tangible object is not only a modern or materialistic concept, but one that is deeply rooted in human history. Ownership in culture may not be a colloquial term or concept (the opposite, perhaps). Ownership in cultural capital that is similar to a country to which one has immigrated may allow for some articulation between home and host country, and may in turn facilitate psychological, social, as well as economic benefits (see Bourdieu, 1986).

For instance, Hispanics in general, and Spanish-speakers with Mexican ancestry in particular, may possess a feeling of ownership of or belonging to some aspects of the collective American culture. As a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the Mexican American War (1846-1848), what was once a large portion of Mexico is now U.S. domain i.e., California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming (Library of Congress, 2008). A year before the start of the war, former Mexican territory, Texas, became the 28th state of the United States. Mexicans may feel a sense of ownership and belonging rooted in the land, but all Spanish-speakers of Hispanic ancestry may perhaps feel ownership of and belonging to the United States with names of cities and states

⁴⁴ During the Spanish and American colonial periods, Filipinos living in the Philippines may have felt like a subjugated majority to voluntary minority occupiers.

that depict the reverence to two important aspects of their culture, the language (Spanish) and the religion (Catholicism). For example, names of locations conveyed through the Spanish language like Los Angeles (The Angels), Las Vegas (The Flat Fertile Plains), Reno (Reindeer), and San Francisco (Saint Frances) may strike a sentimental chord for those who linguistically (and perhaps subconsciously) interpret their meaning. Hispanics may also feel a greater sense of belonging in the United States because they may be surrounded by substantial populations of Spanish-speakers all over the country, and they can access a wide variety of media which targets these linguistic and cultural populations.

One sociolinguistic barrier that many Mexicans face, however, besides the ever-increasing security at the U.S.-Mexico border, is the acquisition of the English language, as can be seen from Spanish-speaking English language learners' low percentages of students meeting CEDLT criterion in the three counties in California, as well as in the state of California overall.

It could be said that Filipinos have ownership in American cultural capital prior to arrival to the United States. For example, Filipinos practice a common religion with many citizens in the United States, i.e., Roman Catholicism, as over 80% of Filipinos are Catholic in the Philippines. In addition, Filipinos share languages with the United States, in particular Spanish and English. In Manila, there are newspapers, television, and education in English. Also, the Filipino language has a strong lexical influence from the Spanish-language. Filipinos may have a more comfortable "fit" in the United States, and the social alienation that may be felt may not be as severe as other immigrant groups experience. Filipinos

have been in contact with Spanish speakers and Spanish culture for over 300 years and English speakers for at least the past 109 years in the Philippines. When Filipinos arrive in California, the alienation felt may not be as severe, because of previous cultural and linguistic exposure to the Spanish and English languages and to the American culture in the Philippines, as that which is felt by other immigrant groups. Last, many Filipinos often have Christian names, as well as Spanish names and surnames, which in an academic context, may not be difficult for non-Filipino teachers in American schools to pronounce and thus, Filipino students may not be subjected to the Anglicization of names that some immigrant students endure as a process of assimilation.

Conclusion

Filipino American secondary (high school) students do well academically, not only in comparison to other immigrant groups, but also when compared with mainstream students. In regards to linguistic competence, East Indian immigrant students pose a challenge to Filipino students. Two possible variables could contribute to this: First, English was introduced in India before it was introduced in the Philippines, reflecting a longer saturation of the English language, culturally and socially speaking, in India; second, the overall percentage of East Indians in the United States in relation to their national population in India is much smaller than the overall population of Filipinos in the United States in relation to their national population. In other words, India is likely to contribute

more of a concentrated brain-drain than the Philippines (second most populated country in the world versus the 12th most populated country in the world).

The United States has historically posed as the key colonial influential linguistic body in the Philippines, whereas the British were influential over India. This may pose an advantage to Filipinos, in regards to the social and economic assimilation into United States. Decades after the United States' Philippine Commonwealth Era (1935-1946), language is a valuable variable in regards to cultural and assimilation in the United States. Filipino students enrolled throughout the state of California seem to transition out of ELL classes with greater intra-group percentages than other ELL immigrant groups, such as Spanish speakers, but with not as great of a percentage as other groups, such as Koreans.

Filipinos who have come to the United States have worked hard and have exemplified, apparently in many cases, those who have captured the all-allusive, largely mythical American dream measured by above-average incomes and academic success for their children. In many ways, Filipino Americans are culturally reproducing values which made the United States a competitive global nation from an economic and a social perspective. Instead of immigrant groups, like Filipinos, assimilating to the mainstream American culture, perhaps the mainstream American culture should assimilate the behaviors and values of successful immigrant groups, like Filipinos, in order recapture that which the United States seems to have lost during the first decade of the 21st century, measured by increasing economic woes and questionable foreign policy and relations.

Chapter Eight: Filipino/Tagalog in California, U.S.A.

Question and Method

Several methods were employed in order to elicit and observe data. The chapter describes Tagalog on a national and state level, and tapers to focus on the community, institutional, and personal level. Data were statistical in nature in order to compare and/or contrast one variable with another e.g., country of origin, language, educational achievement, historical and contemporary connections between one nation and another. Other data were collected empirically and socially through interviews and field observation.

The U.S. Census Bureau's Census (2000) was utilized for a variety of demographic data. Modern Language Association's (MLA) database of language, which is based off of Census 2000's data, provided a thorough statistical and geographical depiction of the languages spoken in the United States. The California Department of Education (CDOE) provides data on language institutionalization at the secondary level.

In addition, Filipino American teachers and other language agents working for the benefit and the promotion of Filipino/Tagalog, in California were interviewed by phone, by email, and through face-to-face interactions. Field observations were made and interviews were conducted at a meeting of middle and high school teachers of Filipino language arts and members of the Filipino American Language Movement (FILM), Filamedia, and the Council for the

Teaching of Filipino Language and Culture (CTFLC) held in San Diego, CA (2007), as well as at the 1st International Conference of Filipino as a Global Language (2008). Question focused on describing the institutionalization of Tagalog in California Public Schools.

Language Inquisition

Crossing the border into the United States has become more challenging for potential immigrants and visitors since the turn of the 21st century. Within the U.S., wartime fear of *the other* seems to have exacerbated any pre-established disdain that other nations and people have had for the United States. In addition, federal policies such as the USA Patriot Act (U.S. HR3126, 2001, 2006) and state policies, such as Arizona's Immigration Law (SB1070, 2010), have put civil liberties and constitutional rights of citizens in jeopardy. A revival of nation-state building has ensued.

The English-only movement and policies characteristic of the immediate-pre-9/11 era e.g., California with 227 and Arizona with 203, may have garnered more support in a new, post-9/11, xenophobic era. Has language, and more specifically, institutional language diversity, continued to reflect English-only policies and practices? Have the policies favoring language diversity of the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s been erased and reversed in the psyche and the practice within educational institutions, especially those which are public? Are immigrant groups, such as Filipinos, doing anything to retain language or languages other

than English, despite the newly cautious social environment established within the United States during the first decade of the 21st century?

The United States may ultimately have to deal with a 200- year history of theoretical and practical incongruity. It has been a nation of immigrants and pre-existing populations e.g., Native Americans and Hispanics who pre-date European Anglophones, as well a multitude of nations documented in the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (2009).

English and Tagalog in the Philippines

The English language, as introduced to the Philippines by the United States, and the Tagalog language have co-existed in several contexts e.g., geographic, social, and educational, since the beginning of the 19th century and has carried on through to the 21st century. Lamentably, both languages have struggled against each other politically and institutionally, with English being mandated from the top down and Tagalog struggling from the bottom up.

The English language in the Philippines began to usurp the previously held former prestigious colonial language i.e., Spanish,⁴⁵ after the Spanish American War (1898), and began to overshadow arguably the most powerful language on the island of Luzon i.e., Tagalog, in terms of population of speakers and saliency in government, business, and education during the first half of the 20th century. This was first evident through U.S. educational policy in the

⁴⁵ Spanish became the medium-of-instruction language in the Philippines' schools in 1863 and was replaced by English in 1935. English was first spoken by the Congress of the Philippines in 1922 (Kloss, 1977, pp. 242-243).

Philippines during the post-colonial period (1898-1946) which focused primarily on the English language as the medium of instruction and the exclusion of Tagalog and other regional languages.

Some groups, however, such as the Sakdal Party⁴⁶ demanded instruction in the vernacular languages and in some schools instruction was given in Tagalog during the Commonwealth period (1935-1946) (Hayden, 1942, p. 916 in Kloss, 1977, p. 243).

Language Labeling

Tagalog is the most prevalent of the Philippine languages spoken in the United States, and it is spoken in every state, including Washington D.C. and Puerto Rico. The MLA lists *Tagalog*, *Cebuano*, *Ilocano*, and other Filipino languages. The DOE lists the language as “Filipino (Pilipino or Tagalog)” when describing the specific language of English language learners from the Philippines. Under the data search category of “California English Language Development Test Results,” the primary language is labeled simply as *Pilipino* (Tagalog), whereas courses listed in the Foreign and World Languages Department in California Public Schools are labeled simply *Filipino*.

At the 1st International Conference on Filipino as a Global Language, held at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, in 2007, a professor from one university in California stated that a letter was sent to the MLA requesting that the language be

⁴⁶ The Sakdal movement was founded by Benigno R. Ramos opposed the unequal distribution of wealth, excessive taxes, and the concentration of land ownership, especially in reference to the Catholic Church (Agoncillo & Guerrero, 1977, p. 418).

labeled as “Filipino,” but the change would need to be requested by the government of the Republic of the Philippines. This professor also added that it is important to have a consistent label “for purposes of statistics and funding.”

To an English-speaking, non-Filipino outside of the Philippines, a Filipino may state his or her language as being “Filipino,” even though a specific language of the Philippines other than Tagalog-based Filipino may be spoken by the individual, in order to generalize the geographic locality of their language. This was a common initial response from informants at the commencement of planned as well as extemporaneous interviews with Filipino Americans throughout the study.

This appears to be a common type of response i.e., an informant *localizes* a language to an inquirer e.g., when someone from multilingual India is asked what language he or she speaks, an answer may be “...an Indian language” or perhaps a more recognizable, “Hindi”; however, Punjabi, Gujarati, Malayalam or Tamil may be the home or actual language(s) spoken most frequently. Another example would be someone from Ethiopia responding by stating that they speak “Ethiopian” as opposed to Amharic or Oromo (West, East, or Borana-Arsi-Guji).

On the following page is a linguistic map of the mainland United States with shaded areas representing concentrations of Tagalog speakers. Regions that are dark blue and purple represent between 50,000 and 500,000 speakers, light blue represents between 1,000 and 49,999 speakers, and yellow regions represent between 100 and 500 speakers (Modern Language Association, 2008). In addition, Table 8.1 lists the top twelve most populous states of Tagalog speakers

for the years 2000 and 2005. Hawaii and Virginia have lost populations of Tagalog, and this is marked by negative signs on Table 8.1.

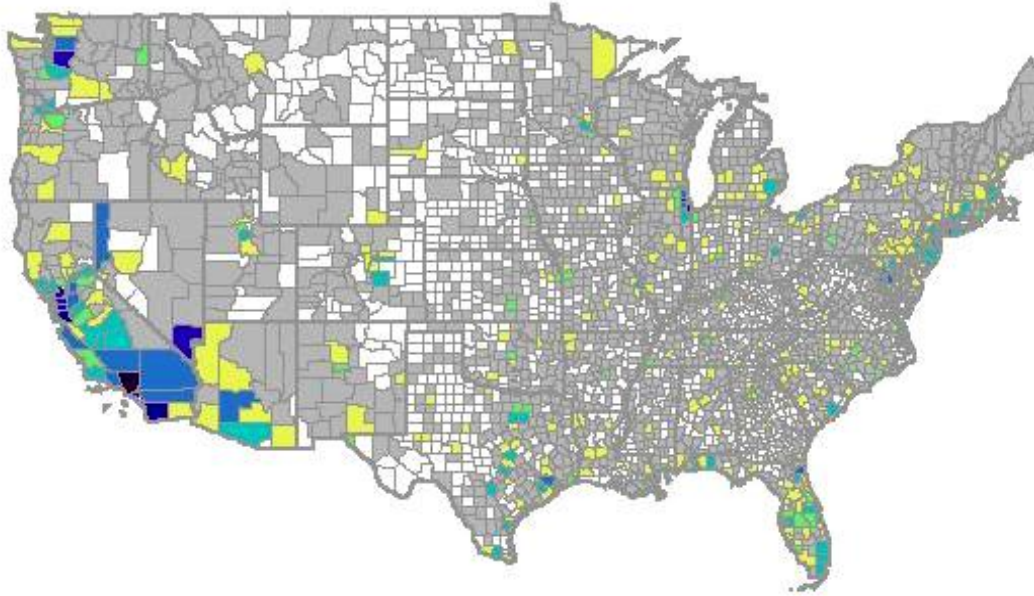


Table 8.1
Population of Tagalog Speakers by State

Entity	Year 2000	Entity	Year 2005
U.S. Total	1,224,245	U.S. Total	1,374,515
1. California	626,395	1. California	668,073
2. New Jersey	66,855	2. New Jersey	80,996
3. New York	65,500	3. Illinois	77,512
4. Illinois	62,370	4. New York	72,174
5. Hawaii	60,965	5. Texas	56,752
6. Washington	41,675	6. Hawaii	55,657 (-)
7. Texas	39,980	7. Florida	49,475
8. Florida	38,445	8. Washington	49,348
9. Virginia	33,600	9. Nevada	45,459
10. Nevada	29,475	10. Virginia	32,819 (-)
11. Maryland	18,495	11. Maryland	21, 802
12. Arizona	10,055	12. Arizona	12,254

(Sources: American Community Survey, 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

California has the most speakers of what is listed as *Tagalog* in the United States. Even though Hawaii has a larger number of Filipinos compared to New

Jersey, New York, and Illinois, the three immediately aforementioned intercontinental states have at least several thousand more speakers of Tagalog than Hawaii has speakers of Tagalog, due to the emigration of Ilocano-speaking agricultural workers from the Ilocos region in the Philippines to Hawaii during the 1920s and 1930s.

In 2005, Tagalog was ranked third in California in the number of speakers with 668,073, higher than Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese) which had 519,940 speakers and behind English with 18,808,208 speakers and Spanish with 9,212,392 speakers (American Community Survey, 2005). According to the U.S. Census (2000), three counties had the largest populations of Tagalog. There were 195,671 speakers of Tagalog in Los Angeles County, 81,493 in San Diego County, and 51,419 in Santa Clara County.

Co-Habitant Filipino Languages in the U.S.A.

There are ten native languages in the Philippines with over one million speakers each, and these statistics rival those of the United States which has eight languages with one million speakers or more each (English included and viewing Tagalog and Filipino as shared populations) (Gonzalez, 1998, p. 489; Gordon, 2005; Modern Language Association, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The Modern Language Association, based on U.S. Census (2000) data, lists several Filipino languages in addition to Tagalog, which is the most populous Philippine language spoken in the United States. There were 75,121 speakers of Ilocano (listed as “Hocano” in MLA) in 33 states in the United States, primarily

in Hawaii (45,895) and then California (20,920). Visayan (listed as “Bisayan” in MLA) had 15,383 speakers recorded in 46 states, with California having the largest concentration of speakers (6,430). Cebuano (listed as “Sebuano” in MLA) had a population of 6,736 speakers distributed throughout 37 states, also primarily in California (2,564). There were 5,160 speakers of Pampangan, again primarily in California (3,840), but also in twelve other states. Pangasinan had 1,758 speakers primarily in the Pacific Rim states of Hawaii, Washington, and California, but also in Ohio. Bikol had a population of 195 speakers mainly in California, but also in Pennsylvania.

The statistical estimates for the Philippine languages’ populations of speakers would undoubtedly look different if a more exact description of each individual’s language proficiency levels were to be given in two or more languages. Data from interviews with Filipinos in California and Arizona reveal that Filipino Americans appear to have a higher probability of its population in the United States that is bilingual or multilingual, speaking English as well as one or more Filipino languages, and/or Spanish, especially when having lived and having been educated in the Philippines.

For most of the Filipino languages listed in the United States, there were large populations of each language in California, then states with major urban centers such as New York, Illinois, Florida, Texas, and the state of Washington. Unlike Tagalog, which had over 100 speakers in all fifty states, including Washington D.C., and Puerto Rico, other Filipino languages like Cebuano, Visaya, Pampangan, Pangasinan, and Bikol had small populations of speakers in

states unassociated with traditional or statistically popular immigrant destinations. For instance, there were 10 speakers of Cebuano in Oklahoma and 14 speakers of Pangasinan in Ohio. A variety of states have small populations of Philippine-language speakers, which may represent chain migration units i.e., associated networks of immigrants, or they could be unrelated groupings of language speakers coincidentally living in the same state.

California Language Policy

California is one of the most demographically diverse states in the United States. During the mid-eighties and into the 1990s, however, California's linguistic policy moved towards restricting instruction to English, eliminating bilingual education programs through the state. Shiffman (1996) stated that California was on the forefront in "attempting to legislate what languages can be used in education, on street signage, or in any way that involves the expenditure of public funding..." and that further the passage of English Only Proposition 63 in 1986 "raised the specter of officialization of English in other states" (p. 249).

As of 2008, thirty states in the United States have English as an official language; Oklahoma will be voting in November of 2010 on the issue. Only nine other states had English as the official language before California made it official in 1986 (U.S. English, 2008). In 1987, four states made English the *de jure* language, but then there was a relaxation on English-language officialization from 1988-1995. During the mid-1990s, more states had made English their *de jure* language, moving the current total to 30.

Institutionally, anti-bilingual, pro-English-only measures were passed in California in 1997 and in Arizona in 2000 with propositions 227 and 203 (respectively). Policies such as these create several outcomes beyond the superficial objective of speaking a common language: for one, culture and ideology are disseminated through language, which is akin to traditional assimilation strategies utilized by the federal government throughout the nation's history; second, the United States is fighting to maintain English as a ubiquitous language for many political and economic reasons, but in order for that to be so, it must be prolific.

“Foreign” Language Instruction

Initially, California Department of Education's expansive Data & Statistics resource was utilized in order to locate substantial populations of students of Philippine ancestry or students labeled as “Filipino/Tagalog” speakers. This led to the realization that some high schools and a few junior high/middle schools were offering more than the traditional Spanish, French, and German in their foreign (European) language departments. Since schools within cosmopolitan entities, such as in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Clara Counties have populations of ethnically and linguistically diverse students, it is interesting to observe that many high schools offer the less traditional, more contextually modern languages. However, elementary schools not only in California, but in general throughout the United States are upholding the

traditional notion of “grammar” school, which would refer to all-school English immersion (Wiley, 2007).

Elementary schools in aforementioned California counties appear to have some of the highest percentages of Filipino students, but most do not offer Filipino as a part of the curriculum. Students learning languages other than English within the public school system do so most commonly at the secondary level within a school’s foreign language department. In some cases, middle schools (a.k.a. junior highs) are offering instruction in languages other than English.

Many high schools maintain the title of “Foreign Language Department” and the California Department of Education (CDOE) lists all language classes (other than English) under “Foreign Language.” However, some specific California high schools (and some junior highs) list language classes under the department label “World Languages.” The former label seems traditional, carries nationalistic undertones, and semantically connotes alienation. The latter label seems more modern, reflects globalization and transnationalism, and carries a connotation of more of a united nations i.e., multiple languages for multiple people, reflected in the mix of nationalities within the school’s community.

Traditional foreign language courses, like Spanish, French, and German reflect the Eurocentric curriculum that has been an integral part of historical nation building of the United States. A more accurate term for secondary education foreign language departments is “European languages.” One of the salient points that Willinsky (1998) makes concerning language and education is

in reiterating how language is used to “build, divide, and govern a community.” He also calls to question, the “role of education in affirming nationalist and linguistic associations that restrict opportunity and teach a narrowing of the nation....” (p. 202). Re-labeling language courses as “World Languages” creates a more accurate concept which reflects inclusion of colonized languages, as opposed to languages of colonizers. The traditional label of a “foreign language” program or curriculum in the United States public schools is and has always been an allusive euphemistic label for European languages.

There are high schools that are offering global, community, or heritage languages such as Mandarin, Russian, Vietnamese, and Filipino. In including these courses as a part of the school’s curriculum, California high schools appear to be *avant-garde* in offering the less commonly taught languages (LCTL) like Mandarin, Japanese, Punjabi, and Filipino. These languages are not only being offered as heritage languages to students whose parents or ancestors speak or spoke those languages and continue to speak these languages within the communities surrounding the school, but the classes are open to the general student body.

The CDOE has curriculum codes for all courses. English has the most expansive range of numerical codes for language instruction, 2100-2133. Individually, languages such as Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Latin, Punjabi, Russian, and Vietnamese all have codes. Spanish is by far the most

commonly taught “foreign”⁴⁷ language within the California public school system. An outlier code, 2298, is a vague label reserved for LCTLs with seemingly-negligible populations of students taking the class and/or the language program is an inchoate state. In one school this might be Punjabi, and in another it might be Mandarin. Some schools list the specific state-wide code for languages, such as American Sign Language or Mandarin, while others maintain the 2298 designation. In the 2006-2007 school year, one particular high school in Alameda County utilized the more specific codes 2227, 2228, and 2229 for 1st, 2nd, and advanced-year Filipino classes. In the 2008-2009 school year, high schools in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Solano Counties reflected a distinct deviation from language code 2298 by utilizing the 2227-2229 numerical labels specifically for Filipino instruction.

Comparisons of Languages Offered to Ethnic Groups

Table 8.2 entitled “Comparison of Language Courses...2005-2006,” compares courses offered in Spanish, French, and Filipino, to the ethnic compositions of Whites, Hispanics, and Filipinos (in percentages) of the school, within several counties in California where Filipinos compose a sizeable minority. The table represents a small sample of high schools in California that have and do not have a Filipino/Tagalog course as a part of their curriculum, as compared to

⁴⁷ The label of “foreign” language for Spanish seems ironic since California has such a rich Colonial Spanish and Mexican history. The label reflects how perceptions change due to geopolitical shifts.

the more traditional language courses offered in foreign and world language departments.

Table 8.2
Comparison of Language Courses Offered in High Schools with Hispanic, White, and Filipino Students in California 2005-2006

County	High School	% Hispanic Students	Spanish Language Classes Offered	% White Students	French Language Classes Offered	% Filipino Students	Filipino Language Classes Offered
Alameda	#1	25.0 %	<i>Yes</i>	16.6%	<i>Yes</i>	20.7%	<i>Yes</i>
	#2	43.3%	<i>Yes</i>	10.9%	<i>Yes</i>	14.6%	<i>NO</i>
Contra Costa	#3	14.2%	<i>Yes</i>	11.4%	<i>Yes</i>	20.4%	<i>NO</i>
Los Angeles	#4	66.4%	<i>Yes</i>	9.8%	<i>Yes</i>	17.3%	<i>NO</i>
	#5	44.3%	<i>Yes</i>	3.4%	<i>Yes</i>	23.1%	<i>NO</i>
San Diego	#6	31.6%	<i>Yes</i>	4.7%	<i>Yes</i>	37.5%	<i>Yes</i>
	#7	15.7%	<i>Yes</i>	24.2%	<i>Yes</i>	30.0%	<i>Yes</i>
San Mateo	#8	44.7%	<i>Yes</i>	4.9%	<i>Yes</i>	35.1%	<i>NO</i>
	#9	22.5%	<i>Yes</i>	22.2%	<i>Yes</i>	36.4%	<i>NO</i>
	#10	43.7%	<i>Yes</i>	14.2%	<i>Yes</i>	20.1%	<i>NO</i>
Santa Clara	#11	16.5%	<i>Yes</i>	14.9%	<i>Yes</i>	19.9%	<i>NO</i>
Solano	#12	14.3%	<i>Yes</i>	6.4%	<i>Yes</i>	35.0%	<i>Yes</i>

(Source: California Department of Education, 2006)

Contra Costa, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties all had at least one high school with higher percentages of Filipino students than Hispanic or White percentages, yet did not have Filipino language classes offered, whereas as Spanish and French were consistently offered as a part of the curriculum. An interview revealed that if it weren't for the school's employment of a teacher skilled and certified in a specific LCTL, there would be no classes to offer.

Tables 8.3-8.6, entitled “Enrollment by Language 2008-2009,” which were developed using CDOE data, provide statistics on average class sizes for 1st and 2nd year students, advanced students, total number of students enrolled in each language course, as well as the number of schools offering 1st and 2nd year courses. Filipino has the largest average number of students in Alameda and Los Angeles Counties, primarily because there is only one school in each that is teaching Filipino. San Diego had the most schools teaching Filipino with 15 schools.

Table 8.3
Alameda County: Enrollment by Language 2008-2009

Language	1 st & 2 nd Years	Advanced	Total Course Enrollment	# of schools / 1 st & 2 nd Years
<i>Filipino</i>	38.9	37.0	385	1
Spanish	30.0	28.9	24,195	89
American Sign Language	25.2	-	1,258	8
French	25.9	24.4	5137	41
Japanese	28.4	28.5	625	6
Chinese	28.1	22.6	1,402	14

Table 8.4
Los Angeles County: Enrollment by Language 2008-2009

Language	1 st & 2 nd Years	Advanced	Total Course Enrollment	# of schools / 1 st & 2 nd Years
<i>Filipino</i>	38.5	-	77	1
Spanish	31.6	28.7	123,117	366
American Sign Language	31.6		3,004	23
French	30.5	22.8	30,699	187
Japanese	29.4	23.5	3,900	29
Chinese	25.2	25.3	5,221	47

Table 8.5
San Diego County: Enrollment by Language 2008-2009

Language	1 st & 2 nd Years	Advanced	Total Course Enrollment	# of schools / 1 st & 2 nd Years
Spanish	32.0	29.6	49,777	167
American Sign Language	31.1	-	2,087	16
French	31.0	23.9	7,743	59
<i>Filipino</i>	30.5	30.9	1,777	15
Japanese	28.9	23.3	1,379	12
Chinese	22.3	22.0	80	3

Table 8.6
Solano County: Enrollment by Language 2008-2009

Language	1 st & 2 nd Years	Advanced	Total Course Enrollment	# of schools / 1 st & 2 nd Years
Spanish	31.2	27.4	7,615	20
French	30.6	25.8	1,681	11
German	29.9	22.8	300	4
<i>Filipino</i>	28.8	30.0	466	3
Chinese	13.5	10.5	48	1

Case Study: Cosmopolitan High

The intersection of globalization and the academic institutionalization of language is not a new concept or practice in California. In San Francisco, for instance, so called “Cosmopolitan schools” were established in 1867, featuring instruction in German or French for 1 ½ hours a day in the elementary grades, rising to 50% of the time in either language in the upper grades. After 1900 this was extended to southern California, and Italian was added with a 1913 amendment (Kloss 1977 in Shiffman, 1996, p. 267). The term shall be employed as a pseudonym of one high school in California which represents an exemplar of a modern, progressive institution which facilitates the growth of students’ multilingual, and more specifically, global and community communicative

abilities. Cosmopolitan High is located in one of several counties in California that has a substantial population of students of Philippine background or ancestry and reflects an exemplar of what is occurring in California with regards to language. In addition to Filipino, Mandarin Chinese, Punjabi, and American Sign Language are taught. Tables 8.7 and 8.8 show the ethnic composition of Cosmopolitan City, as well as the median income for each ethnic or national group. They reveal that the Asian ethnic group represents the majority within the city, and as a group, they are making more money than Whites and Blacks, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000).

**Table 8.7
Cosmopolitan City Ethnic Composition**

Ethnic Groups	% of Population
Total:	66,861
White alone	29.8
Black or African American alone	6.77
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	0.3
Asian alone	44.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	0.95
Some other race alone	11.38
Two or more races	6.8

(U.S. Census Bureau, 2000-Summary File 3)

**Table 8.8:
Cosmopolitan City - Median Household Income**

Ethnic Group	Median income*	Population
Cosmo City	\$75,000	66,861
Chinese	\$88,000	6,156
Filipino	\$83,500	13,128
Japanese	\$71,300	487
Black or African American alone	\$75,100	4,516
White	\$69,000	19,937

*Rounded to the nearest hundred- (Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

Cosmopolitan High has a Filipino population of over 800 students, which is a little more than 20% of the school's population. Approximately 400 of students are labeled as Filipino/Tagalog speakers (California Department of Education, 2007).

One particular Filipino faculty member, Mr. Gurò (personal communication, February 7, 2007), has been teaching at Cosmopolitan High for approximately 15 years. He stated that the school had "11 Filipino language classes and four levels with each years ascending in level of proficiency." All classes are accredited by the University of California and the State Universities of California systems. He said this about the Filipino language classes: "It carries the same weight and value as taking French, Spanish, Italian or any of those White, European languages."

At the time of the interview, Mr. Gurò was teaching five classes of Filipino level three, and he was going to be teaching level four the next year. He stated that all of the classes were "full, brimming full." All of his classes had at least 37 students, and one had 41 students. The maximum the union would allow was 33 students per class.

He wrote his own curriculum for the classes at all levels because he said that most Philippine and Filipino reference books were too slanted toward the Philippine experience as opposed to the U.S.-Filipino experience. He had designed twelve or thirteen lessons for each year on all levels. He said, "The lessons are relevant to the lives of Filipino Americans and the history and contributions of Filipino Americans, not so much the Philippines."

The ethnic composition of the classes was about 80% of Filipino ancestry. Of those 80 %, none spoke fluently; some heard Filipino/Tagalog at home, some did not hear Filipino at all, and some heard it very rarely. Of the students who were not of Filipino ancestry, there were usually “one or two Whites, one or two Afghans, or two Vietnamese, one or two Indians, one or two Mexicans, and one or two African Americans.”

Leaders of Filipino Language Movement

Through networking, people were recommended who would be willing to be interviewed. One participant was a Tagalog teacher and another participant was an agent for legislation which legitimized Tagalog at the governmental level. They both had an invested interest in the maintenance of Filipino/Tagalog. These agents and stakeholders were observed on two occasions working as leaders and as informants to others in their own language communities.

Aktibista

Mrs. Aktibista is a teacher and has been teaching Tagalog for over 30 years. The first interview with her was conducted over the phone, lasted 30 minutes, and provided keen insight into the history behind the Filipino language movement in California and her role in it.

Several months later, the leadership that Mrs. Aktibista possessed and the respect that other Filipino language teachers and others invested in Tagalog had for her was observed at a gathering of the Council of Teachers of Filipino

Language and Culture (CTFLC). A participant-observer role was taken in approach of this meeting. The gathering was held to celebrate a recent award bestowed to Mrs. Aktibista as a language educator (with several tables filled with dishes of Filipino food all covered in tinfoil), but it was also held in order to discuss plans for floats and stands and booths after a Filipino parade in which CTFLC would be organizing and leading events. Other areas discussed were: (1) counties that needed Filipino classes e.g., Los Angeles, Orange County, and Sacramento; (2) and announcements were made about teachers that were needed and who to contact.

The gathering provided the opportunity to meet one other phone-interview teacher, as well as meet a participant from a questionnaire on Filipino language (Filipinos in California study) conducted two years earlier. It was also an opportunity to meet and talk to Ms. Pulitika, a community advocate and political liaison. One year later, Ms. Pulitika would give a presentation at the 1st International Conference on Filipino as a Global Language (University of Hawaii, Manoa, 2007)⁴⁸ on the passing of California Assembly Bill 420, which allowed for the California Subject Examinations for Teachers: Filipino. This is discussed later in this dissertation.

During the CTFLC, many people were observed vocalizing their support of Filipino, in the form of volunteering work and action, offering advice,

⁴⁸ In-person interviews coincided with presentations of research on Filipino Americans and language: the first was at the annual conference of the American Association of Applied Linguistics, 2007 (Filipino/Tagalog in California, Axel) and the second occurred at the 1st International Conference of Filipino as a Global Language, 2008, (Language and Institutional Legitimacy, Axel).

information, contacts, and other support to each other. Their words reflected the desires to work as a group and to sustain a linguistic community which shared a common culture. Much of this sense of community was reflected in the close nature of the relationships exhibited between each other e.g., it appeared that everyone knew each other and communicated well together.

The 1st Conference on Filipino as a Global Language provided a tremendous opportunity to listen to presentations on language instruction, strategies for increasing the number of teachers, and to hear the personal experiences with language related issues by Filipinos from the Philippines and throughout the United States, primarily California and Hawaii.

Interview with Aktibista

At the time of the interview (2007) Mrs. Aktibista was teaching Filipino at a high school in Southern California called Heritage High. Heritage High offers Filipino (language) 1 through 8, and each unit was the duration of a semester, but units 5 and 6, and also 7 and 8 were often combined. Units 7 and 8 could be taken as “regular” classes, or as honors classes, and the honors classes were recognized by the UC system and were transferable as college credits. The classes are generally full of students, except for the upper level classes 5-6 and 7-8. When asked how long classes in Filipino had been offered she stated, “Since 1989.” When prompted to speak about how the program got started, she stated that once No Child Left Behind was passed, teachers who had been teaching Filipino/Tagalog classes no longer could teach because most of them were not

what NCLB considered “highly qualified.” The teachers did not meet the requirements nor carried the credentials to teach the language, measured by a major or advanced degree in the language, and teachers would need to pass a state test in the language to qualify. Mrs. Aktibista stated that she was the only one in the state that was credentialed to teach Filipino/Tagalog. She said:

After NCLB there was a very strong movement in the Filipino community, with organizations and groups working to pass legislation to allow a test to be developed and given in Filipino so that teachers would be credentialed to teach Filipino.

Some of the organizations that were involved were the: Filipino Language Movement (FILM); Filipino American Teacher Association of San Diego; Filipino Language Movement of San Diego; Council for Teaching Filipino Language and Culture; and the Council of Philippine American Organizations of San Diego County, in addition to others.⁴⁹

Those involved in the movement sent petitions, had people write letters to congress people, and sent testimonials from students and parents speaking of the advantages of the language classes. Students and parents mentioned that “the classes helped to maintain and promote the culture, that the classes helped to bridge gaps in communication, and that the classes allowed for greater participation in a global economy.” Mrs. Aktibista stated that the California legislature was petitioned by the movement to force the California Department of

⁴⁹ Other supporters of the legislation include, the California Teachers Association, Council for Teaching Filipino Language and Culture, California Language Teachers Association, Foreign Language Council of San Diego, Filipino American Educators Association, Inc., and Los Angeles City Councilman Eric Garcetti (Horton Press Release, 2005).

Education, and more specifically, the California Teacher's Commission, to allow for the development of a test that would give teachers, who had been teaching the language, to become credentialed in the subject area. This would allow them to continue teaching if they were to pass, and the test just became available last year (2006). She said, "If there would be no qualified teachers, the classes would die."

When asked how teachers were able to continue teaching after NCLB was passed and before the CSET (California Subject Examinations for Teachers) was developed and teachers could take the test in Filipino in order to teach the language, Mrs. Aktibista stated that NCLB gave schools and districts "a few years" in order to certify teachers.

Mrs. Aktibista stated that California (District 78) Assemblywoman Shirley Horton's Assembly Bill 420 ensured that a credentialing alternative was adopted for Filipino language teachers and was approved by the Assembly Education Committee on April 6th, 2005 (Horton Press Release, 2005).

When guiding the subject from policy to the classes themselves, Mrs. Aktibista described the students and the curriculum. She stated that there are 65 Filipino classes being taught in San Diego at the junior high, high school, and college level, and the classes are labeled as "World Languages" as opposed to "foreign languages."⁵⁰ She said that students represented a range of proficiency levels, from those that did not speak any Filipino to those that "heard it at home but did not speak well," and there were those that spoke it well. She commented that the majority of students are of Philippine ancestry, but a small percentage,

⁵⁰ For a list of colleges and universities that offer Filipino/Tagalog, see Appendix A at the end of this paper.

perhaps 3%, was from other ethnic backgrounds. When asked to provide a final comment on the program, the class, or her work as a teacher and she stated:

I am excited because I see that there are teachers that are interested in taking the class at Pioneer International University...The University is offering Filipino credentialing and I am teaching the first group of teachers...This all started 20 years ago and it is finally coming to where it is now. We are growing and growing.

The California Subject Examinations for Teachers (CSET): Filipino was first administered on November 4, 2006 and all eighteen teachers who took the test passed. At the December 1, 2006 Commission meeting, a minimum passing score of 220 was adopted for each of the two CSET: Filipino subtests. This examination satisfies subject matter competency requirements for a Single Subject Credential in Filipino. One California State University professor stressed that the test was a *credentialing* and not a certification (Policy Discussion, 1st International Conference on Filipino as a Global Language, March 20, 2008).

8.9

California Subject Examinations for Teachers: Filipino		
Subtest (test code)	Domains	Minimum Passing Score
I (190)	General Linguistics Linguistics of the Target language Literary and Cultural Texts and Traditions Cultural Analysis and Comparisons	220
II (191)	Language and Communication: Listening Comprehension Reading Comprehension Written Expression Oral Expression	220

(Source: California Commission on Teacher Credentialing)

Profile of a Language Agent

During a presentation given at the 1st International Conference of Filipino as a Global Language, Ms. Pulitika, a community advocate and political liaison, described her experience in getting Assembly Bill 420 passed. Ms. Pulitika is the President of the Filipino American Educators Association (Filameda) of San Diego, California.

She labeled Filameda as the policy-driving organization to get AB420 through the legislature and acknowledged that they were not the language experts and thus implicitly stated that a variety of expertise was needed. She stated that it was crucial that there needed to be one voice when talking to the legislators and that voice was to be Filameda. Filameda told Ms. Pulitika that she needed to be the spokesperson for this movement, and she thought that she was not initially the right person to be the voice for the movement. She said that although she had a Bachelor's in Political Science and a Master's in Public Administration, she had been planning on going to law school; she also stated that she did not speak a Filipino language. It was at that point in her presentation that she shared a very lamentable story which revealed her intrinsic motivation for working for and supporting this movement. She stated that she did not speak a Filipino language although she grew up second generation in San Diego and further that it was very difficult for her because her mother speaks Ilocano, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and her father speaks Tagalog. When her parents came to the United States in the 1960s there was so much racism that they experienced when they came that when she and her three siblings were born, they said, "We want to protect you, and

we came to this country and we were treated differently because of our accent, and you are American born and we don't want you to go through that discrimination." She never had the opportunity to learn Tagalog and so she took Spanish in high school and college and became fluent in Spanish. She said she knew she was in trouble when her parents would speak to her in a Filipino language. She also elaborated that being unable to speak with her elders in a Filipino language made her miss the "powerful stories" and that she felt a void in cultural and familial connectivity because she is English dominant.

She said some of the veteran teachers approached her about being the spokesperson for the movement and said, "Who else could it be because you represent what we could lose if we don't get this CSET." She said that she felt like she was blessed by the elders because they gave her the opportunity to be an advocate and to act as an agent for change in the form of working to pass legislation that would allow teachers of Filipino to earn credentialing so that they could teach the classes.

She also elaborated that the some of the veteran teachers said that they did not want to talk to government officials and that they did not know what to say them. She commented that the teachers did not know how to move through the complex "navigational system of the legislature" and that her education, interest, and her work in local government, before she entered the field of teaching, prepared her for this role. She highlighted the desire in the community to get the bill passed and stated that along with the community-based organization, the

teachers were needed to put the bill through because in order to put a language bill through required experts with a linguistic background.

Ms. Pulitika stated that a collaborative was built which became the Filipino American Language Movement (FILM) which involved educational community organizations like Filamedia and the Council for the Teaching of Filipino Language and Culture (CTFLC). With such collaboration, certain basic elements needed to be defined such as what the role of the movement was to be, test development, and student-teacher retention. The objective of the collaborative was not simply to get AB420 passed, but to develop and maintain a plan for action after it was passed. She stated that it would be a useless test if there are no teachers to take it. It was at this point that she spoke of the university role and that of Pioneer University, which is a private university that now how has a Filipino credential. She elaborated that the university role would provide teacher training, professional development, textbooks, and curriculum.

Ms. Pulitika stated that her primary responsibility was to go to Sacramento and talk to legislators about the bill. She was also a communicator and a liaison whose task it was to maintain communication between all of the “actors” involved and to “keep them focused during the intense outcome of the bill.” It was a challenge for her to keep a statewide collaborative or a coalition together when there were many people who were full of passion and expertise. As a non-profit, she had to find ways to pay or such things as flights to Sacramento and to print hand outs and to pay other costs. One of her toughest challenges was “to try to induce balance and focus within the community of stakeholders when some were

divided on the idea that a republican had introduced the bill and not a democrat, but that in actuality the bill had bipartisan support.” Assembly Woman Shirley Horton was the author of AB420. She stated that the collaboration had developed a road map, something to be shared with other communities, so that so that children would have the opportunity to learn a heritage language.

Politically, Ms. Pulitika had stated that Horton’s office had initially “cooled” to the idea of the bill and taking on the fight to get it passed, but then Ms. Pulitika received a second phone call from Horton’s office and stated that they would accept a proposal. When asked what she thought elicited Horton’s change of mind, Ms. Pulitika stated that Horton may have been approached by a close Filipino friend and said that this was an issue that was important to the community and also stated that the Filipino community is large in Southern California, implying that Horton would be up for re-election. Ms. Pulitika stated implicitly that she would then show support for the candidate so that the relationship between Filameda and Horton’s office would be mutually beneficial, by a simple motioning of her hands in a give and take manner.

Why Is It Important for Filipino Children to Maintain or Learn the Mother and/or Father Tongue(s)?

In *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) expose the lives of second-generation immigrant children. The experiences of immigrants often precipitate archaic images of Ellis Island or contemporary illegal border crossing. However, Portes and Rumbaut provide a documentary-like insight into the enduring lives of those immigrants through their

children, and in doing so reveal the modes, effects, avenues and obstacles of acculturation in today's United States of America.

The 12-year study was based on a series of questionnaires, which aimed to understand such dynamics as those between English and the heritage language, the parent-child relationship, high self-esteem and depression, and academic aspirations and reality of achievement. The authors analyzed how these relationships are manifested in the minds and behaviors of the children. In determining whether or not these dynamics are aligned or misaligned depends on the mode of acculturation, and more explicitly through the authors' theoretical framework of consonant, dissonant, and selective acculturation. *Consonant acculturation* refers to joint assimilation of American culture by the parents and child, or adversely the joint rejection of the American culture. *Dissonant acculturation* relates to a rupture or a discordance of a system of values i.e., the parents maintain a value system of the home culture while the child or children adopt a value system of the host or new culture e.g., parents expect children to value work over school while children increasingly view education as a more valuable investment.

As well, parents may not learn English while the children learn English in school. Communication barriers may and often do arise, not simply between the parents and the child, but between the child and other family members and the heritage language community in general. Second generation children who are educated in English often are unable to communicate with home-country family members, such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. *Selective*

acculturation is characterized by equity in assimilation as well as the maintenance of parental authority and the culture of origin, resulting in the presumed ability to navigate through two cultures (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 52).

The study was conducted in two cities of initial immigrant contact i.e., San Diego and Miami. Questionnaires attempted to capture the experiences of the teenagers of parents from Cuba, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua and Trinidad, also from Cambodia, China, Laos, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Individual country-of-origin data is compared and contrasted throughout the book and data analysis tends to compare Latin Americans with Southeast Asians. The countries of origin and their emigrants and refugees portrayed in the study are representative of the majority of those entering to live in the United States today, but as the study is limited to two southern port-city entrances, it does not adequately represent the pan-national tessellation of immigration, but captures two exemplary pieces of it.

Levels of self-esteem and depressive affect were measured over the course of the study. Cubans had the highest percentage of high self-esteem, while Laotian Hmong had the lowest percentage of self-esteem. Cubans had the lowest percentage of depressive symptoms, while Chinese had the highest percentage of depressive symptoms. Overall, Latin Americans had the highest percentages of high self-esteem, and children of Southeast Asian refugees had the lowest mean scores of self-esteem (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 208).

Reasons for the disparity between Latin Americans' and Asians' psychological well-being are explained through the theoretical framework of

selective and dissonant acculturation respectively. Latin Americans had the highest level of family cohesion and the lowest level of parent-child conflict, whereas S.E. Asians had the lowest level of family cohesion and the highest level of parent-child conflict (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 198). Also, Latin Americans had a higher index of children's knowledge of a foreign language and a higher index of parents' knowledge of English, whereas Asian children had a lower index of foreign language knowledge and a lower index of parents' knowledge of English (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, pp. 128-129).

Other factors relating to disparate levels of self-esteem and depression can be explained in looking at informants' view on education. Latin Americans were less likely to report that the school environment was unsafe with lower incidences of racially and ethnically motivated fights, whereas S.E. Asians were much more likely to report it unsafe with higher incidences of racially and ethnically motivated fights (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 204). Parity was evident between Latin Americans' and Asians' aspirations and expectations of an advanced degree, although Laotian Hmong had the biggest disparity between those reporting aspirations for an advanced degree and expectations of an advanced degree (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 217).

Theoretically, Filipinos who fall into the category of selective acculturation are the most likely to do well in school and to be emotionally well-adjusted, barring the typical parent-child conflicts associated with adolescence. Linguistically speaking, Filipinos who are characterized as those representing consonant acculturation towards American culture, and joint rejection of the home

culture, may have a well-adjusted child, until perhaps the child is unable to communicate with family members who are not able to communicate in English. Those who can be characterized as representing consonant acculturation in terms of joint rejection of American culture may find social and economic challenges in the inability to communicate in an English-dominant society. Filipinos students falling under the category of dissonant acculturation not only may be socially and linguistically alienated from their parents, but also from other family members. Problems may manifest psychologically and academically, resulting perhaps in deviant behavior and an inability to become a productive member of society.

Notes on Language Policy, Planning, and Development

One of the classic historical examples of restrictive language policy is that mirrored by French royalty before the French Revolution (1789) when the French language became the official standard of the country. Those that could not communicate in the official or royal dialect most likely lost networking power within the aristocracy (Ager, 2001, p. 16). The writing of textbooks and dictionaries standardized the body of the language and this enabled the French, throughout the height of its African colonial period (1880-1960), to not only proliferate the language, but also disseminate social structure and ideologies. The language then began a phase or a level of linguistic evolution which falls under the centrifugal category, whereas a century before the language had undergone a change in status which could be characterized as centripetal in nature, or that which focuses on a center, or was characterized as being inward-developing.

Kloss (1967) defined language policy as being separated into two distinct categories, *status planning*, or the officialization of a language within the government and in education, and *corpus planning*, or the engineering of the language with textbooks and in literature development. Within the French context, the language first had to be elevated to an official status, and then corpus planning entailed the choice of structure, words, the writing of dictionaries and books, and the teaching of a standard to ensure intelligibility between writers of the language.

Although French has spread to where it is spoken in 56 countries and by approximately 114 million people who speak it as a first, second, and other language, it has different levels of status, either explicit or implicit where it is now spoken throughout the world. In France, it is official. In North, Central, and West Africa, it is either official such as it is in Cameroon and Gabon, or where it was a colonial language and is still spoken, like in Algeria and Morocco.

Origins and Directions of Legitimacy

Within the Filipino American language context, the status of Filipino was acknowledged by two groups: the Filipino American community and the State of California. The Filipino American collective community in California would state that the status level or descriptor of Filipino could be categorized as being one that is revered and one that needs to be maintained. This community wanted the State of California to also acknowledge this community's status for Filipino and to allow for the development of a test to ensure that teachers can be credentialed to teach Filipino. Nic Craith (2006) stated that this acknowledgment of status or

the legitimacy of a language is seen as operating or existing on two axes, the horizontal and the vertical. The horizontal axis is described as being self-affirmed and can be validated at a local, non-governmental level. The latter is conferred at an official level (p. 113). With the passage of AB420, that status was directly confirmed. The official status of Filipino now in California has opened up the ability for the teachers, professors, and even students to negotiate, design, and execute the planning of the corpus of the language e.g., development of textbooks and curriculums.

One of the linguistic concerns within the corpus planning of the course in Filipino is whether to teach Filipino, which incorporate Spanish and English loan words, or pure Tagalog. For Filipino speakers who incorporate loan words from other languages and who only know Filipino and not pure Tagalog, purist-driven corpus model may be interpreted as an elitist approach to the language, whereas the speaker may look more at the quotidian, pragmatic use of the language. Regardless, their debate would not be occurring at the institutional curricular levels in the United States if not for the efforts and accomplishments, and teamwork of the Filipino American community in raising the status of one of their key languages.

Filipino Curriculum in Print and on the Web

One of the most prolific writers of texts focusing on learning the Filipino language is Dr. Teresita V. Ramos. Her publishing career in academia began in the 1960s with publications focusing on the teaching and learning of English in

the Philippines. During the 1970s and 1980s, her book publications focused on the Tagalog language, authoring *Tagalog Dictionary* (1971), *The Case System of Tagalog Verbs* (1974), *Conversational Tagalog: A Functional-Situational Approach* (1985), and a number of other books and articles. Her books have been used in Filipino/Tagalog language classrooms for decades, and her work has been integral to the corpus, status, and pedagogical planning of Tagalog in the Philippines as well as in the United States.

For electronic language instruction, one group of Filipino-language stakeholders and educators developed an online Filipino language curriculum that can be accessed by students and teachers from anywhere with access to the Internet. The project itself is a Filipino-language curriculum, comprised of 15 content-based units, that is intended for one academic year of introductory Filipino. Each unit introduces a topic on culture that is relevant to the Filipino-American experience. Titles of the 15 units are: (1) Language; (2) Family; (3) Campus Life; (4) Social Life; (5) Festivals; (6) Geography; (7) Food; (8) Shopping; (9) Literature; (10) Travel; (11) Marriage; (12) Faith; (13) Pop Culture; (14) Current Events; and (15) Customs. The Web address is:

<http://www.language.berkeley.edu/ucfcp/index.php>.⁵¹

The placement of a language curriculum on the Internet illustrates how totalitarian-like policies written and passed into law for schools (K-12) does not have to completely impede others from learning language. By developing resources available for those interested in learning, maintaining, or enhancing a

⁵¹ For a list of books relating to the Philippines and Filipinos, visit Arkipelago: The Filipino Bookstore at (<http://www.arkipelagobooks.com/>).

heritage language, the subtractive nature of language policies may themselves atrophy, as opposed to the heritage language itself.

Filipino American Organizations

One of the reasons why the Filipino community in California was able to maintain Filipino as a course at the secondary level, as one informant stated is because, “California is known for having a lot of organizations. There is an organization for anything or any cause that you can think of.” There are a number of Filipino American organizations whose objectives are, amongst many, to help Filipinos maintain knowledge of their home culture, and their collective objectives are to help Filipinos succeed, whether it is in school, family, or business, and to connect Filipino Americans to each other.

For instance, the Filipino American Chamber of Commerce of Santa Clara, County, established in 1982, has a mission to promote and assist Filipino American businesses and those wanting to do business with the Philippines. The University of California at Los Angeles has a Pilipino Recruitment and Enrichment Program⁵² which provides Filipino American high school students with the resources for getting into college, serving as mentors to encourage them to continue their education, and promoting community involvement and cultural awareness. The National Filipino American Youth Association aims to preserve and promote Filipino national, historical, and cultural heritage and to provide a

⁵² Pilipino is still used in language description in the California Department of Education. Pilipino was the official language of the Philippines from 1935 to 1987 at which time it was changed by the Constitution to Filipino.

network for the Filipino American community throughout the United States. Also, the National Federation of Filipino American Association has many purposes for its existence, among them to “uplift the Filipino American community into the American mainstream of life by encouraging and developing the membership's sense of responsibility in performing their civic duties and by enhancing the responsible exercise and vigilant protection of their rights,” and to “preserve and strengthen the friendship between the Peoples of the Philippines and the United States.”

Conclusion

Although California initiated a state and institutional trend in 1986 by making English their official language, the State’s public educational system seems to be acknowledging and acting upon schools’ linguistically diverse student bodies by fostering multilingualism. California legislation, through AB420, has ensured that teachers of Filipino can legally teach with the development of the Single Subject Credential as a California Subject Examination for Teachers (CSET). Because of this, classes in Filipino can be offered within World Language Departments throughout the state. What the Filipino community has done to ensure that the Filipino language can be accessed institutionally has undoubtedly paved the way for the teaching of other community, heritage, and world languages.

The CDOE’s World Languages Departments appear to be facilitating multilingualism within some of its high school by offering LCTLs such as

Filipino, Punjabi, or Russian. For students of non-target-language ancestry, the target language would be considered a foreign and/or a community language. For students of target-language ancestry, the language would be considered a community and/or heritage language. Thus, these courses attract students from multiple backgrounds with multiple motivations for learning the language for use in many social, global situations. The classroom environment would also seem to facilitate intra- and inter-ethnic collaborative learning.

Filipino is not just a Philippine language, it is a U.S. language, and it is a global and a community language. The inclusion of languages other than the traditional “foreign” (European) languages at the high school level may have affects that surpass those linguistic in nature. Schools which offer less commonly taught languages in the United States, such as Filipino, Mandarin, and Punjabi, legitimize these languages, cultures, and the people who speak and live them on a more profound level than at the superficial, curricular level. For students who do not choose to take these classes, the simple fact that the classes are offered may pose as points of reference and examples of how globalization manifests with communities and schools. For students who take these classes, whether as heritage language learners or learners of a community language, the languages can be immediately applicable.

Chapter Nine: Filipinos Americans and Language in the Phoenix Valley, Arizona

Research Goals

A key goal for the Arizona Filipino project was to instigate dialogue and promote awareness about language in the Filipino community in the Phoenix Valley. This goal can be viewed from two perspectives. For one, an objective was not only to collect information from Filipinos on language and their own experiences with it, but it is also to elicit dialogue about language between each other within the community. It was important that the issues relating to language maintenance, access to language, and language rights, etcetera, were to be discussed. An attachment to this goal is the spreading of information in a centrifugal way. If this goal were to be met, information about the Filipino American community in the Phoenix Valley would spread to those not associated with the community and/or who know nothing about it.

A second overall encompassing goal was to act as an agent for change or cultural awareness and to promote Filipino at an institutional level. If there were to be the interest and the action from the community to teach and learn Filipino, non-Filipinos as well may find learning the language beneficial in acknowledging the state, national, and global prevalence and utility of Filipino.

The two primary goals listed above increase in the levels of challenge. The first goal is simply to acquire as much information as possible concerning Filipinos and to disseminate information. Goal number two is to instigate dialogue with Filipinos and between Filipinos on issue concerning language.

Questions and Methods

First, what is the nature of Tagalog in Arizona? Does it manifest; is it disseminated from generation to generation; are Filipinos maintaining Tagalog or other Filipino languages? Second, what are the agents and/or institutions of support and/or attrition, if there are any?

A mixed method approach was utilized in order to gather data for this chapter. First, demographic data was gathered from literary sources and databases. Field observations were made of Filipino-owned and Filipino-frequented restaurants. The face-to-face interviews provide this chapter with rich, personal descriptions of language, tying together the entire chapter. Seidman (2006) stated, “Everything said in an interview is a story” (p. 87).

For purposes of completing a multi-methods approach to a research topic or educational issues, the following strategies were chosen for mining data and triangulating sources of information: field observations, interviews, surveys, and a historical / contemporary document search.

Field research commenced in the city of Phoenix where one of several Filipino grocers and restaurants can be found, but inconspicuously. These businesses were owned, operated, and frequented by Filipino Americans; they also provided public access to contexts where Filipino Americans engaged each other in dialogue, where they could be observed doing so, and where Filipinos interacting with each other. Observations were made as a paying client i.e., a quid pro quo relationship had been established. It was presumed that by agreeing to participate in the research, participants had an intrinsic interest in this study in

order contribute to research and literature on their culture. Seidman (1991) discusses the issues of reciprocity in an interviewing relationship. He states that the fact that he as a research is there to listen as an interested individual, he gives back by sharing their stories, with respect, to the world. He also says that he gives participants “tokens” as a complement to a “Thank you” (p. 109). Participants’ contributions to many studies may not be truly realized; it may take years for research to be written, disseminated, digested academically or within a research community, applied and tested, and then cyclically retested and advanced before those innovations, serving all for the better, become common and accessible.

Visits began with chicken asado or adobo, sweet and sour tilapia, or pastries made with purple yam. Conversations and observations came during and after the purchases and/or while remaining on location to eat. Fifteen visits were made to one specific location, followed by eight visits to another particular Filipino establishment, five visits to a third location, and three visits to a fourth location. Each visit cost between \$5 and \$8 with one \$40 outlier, in addition to the gas purchased to travel the average of 50 miles roundtrip. The total dollar amount came out to only a few hundred dollars (U.S.) for field observations, interviews, and an introduction to Filipino gastronomy: Food was found to be not only physical pabulum, but also social i.e., the restaurants were contexts in which Filipino Americans could come together and interact. In addition to interviewing proprietors, arrangements were made with them in order network with frequent

clients who would be willing to be interviewed. As well, surveys were left at establishments for people to complete.

Interviews were also conducted outside of the field research sites with interviewees who were not associated with the establishments and were met by a variety of means e.g., colleagues, friends of friends, former students, and networking occurred through all of the aforementioned. Some of the professions of the interviewees included photographer, student, administrative assistant, logistics, electronics salesperson, store clerk, and chef. The questions used for the questionnaire at the eateries were utilized in order to initiate and carry the interview; extemporaneous questions were asked based off of the content of that which was being shared.

In order to contextualize Filipino languages in Arizona, in addition to understanding the individual Filipino and his/her language(s) in regards to family and the community of Filipino-language speakers, information was also extracted from the curriculums of school districts, community colleges, and universities, which were available online, in order to see if Filipino languages were being taught; the objectives were to understand how languages became courses offered and to learn about the variables or agents involved in institutionalizing those languages. In cases where clarification on data was needed, phone calls were made to schools' or districts' curriculum departments, main offices, and college and university departments involved with the learning and teaching of world languages.

Table 9.1
Filipinos in the United States

Entity	Filipino Ethnicity 2000	Filipino Ethnicity 2006
U.S. Total	1,850,314	2,328,097
California	918,678	1,100,767
Hawaii	170,635	182,767
Illinois	86,298	114,266
New Jersey	85,245	105,806
New York	81,681	107,418
Washington	65,373	80,896
Texas	58,340	95,436
Florida	54,310	74,826
Nevada	40,529	73,261
Virginia	47,609	64,677
Maryland	26,608	33,812
Michigan	17,377	23,718
Arizona	16,176	23,653

(American Community Survey, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

According to the 1910 U.S. Census, there were no Filipinos living in Arizona (Aromin, 2007, p. 13). Small groups of Filipinos began to migrate in the 1930s to work in agriculture⁵³. Many of these workers had likely migrated through Hawaii and/or California before coming to Arizona. As a result of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 which released quotas restricting numbers of immigrants coming into the country, more and more Filipinos left the Philippines

⁵³ The Hohokam (O’odham) built irrigation canals centuries ago in order to sustain agriculture in the Sonoran Desert , and modern farms rely on the same principal in order to operate thriving farms today (Phillips, 2007). Irrigation allows for the year-round cultivation of crops such as corn, cotton, potatoes, and oranges. For decades, farms have required the labor of migrant workers, primarily from Mexico and Central America, but also the Philippines.

and came to states like Hawaii, California, and primarily heavily populated states. Also, the social, economic, and political turmoil manifest in the Philippine government during the middle to late 20th century caused the need for a global diaspora of Filipinos to work and invest economically into the Philippines.

Table 9.2
Arizona Demographic and Housing Estimates

Ethnicity	Year <u>2000</u>	Year <u>2006</u>	% Increase
TOTAL POPULATION	5,130,632	6,166,318	20.19
White	3,873,611	4,741,310	22.4
Hispanic	1,295,617	1,803,377	39.2
Native American	255,879	277,732	8.5
Black / Afr. Am.	158,873	207,837	30.8
Asian	92,236	144,858	57.1
Chinese	21,221	32,461	53.0
Asian Indian	14,741	28,015	90.1
Vietnamese	12,931	26,308	103.5
<i>Filipino</i>	<i>16,176</i>	<i>23,653</i>	<i>46.2</i>
Korean	9,123	10,792	18.3

(Source: American Community Survey, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

As can be seen from the table above, the population of those of Filipino ethnicity grew by approximately seven thousand people or more between 2000 and 2006. It is possible that this increase is due both in part to birth rates of Filipinos who are or have been established in Arizona, as well as due to those of Filipino ethnicity who have moved from initial immigrant states (Hawaii and California) or have moved directly from the Philippines to Arizona. Although the Filipino population has grown by 46.2%, the increase is adumbrated by the

Vietnamese and Asian Indian populations, which have doubled in size from 2000 to 2006. Filipinos rank fourth in percentage of increase and fourth in size in population under the Asian ethnic category. Although Arizona ranks 13th in a list of states with populations of Filipinos, taking into consideration that the list includes all 50 states, Washington D.C., and Puerto Rico, the rank appears to become more statistically significant.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000) there were 11,883 Filipinos in the Phoenix–Mesa metropolitan area. The next largest concentration of Filipinos was in Tucson with a population of 2,478. Unlike the Filipinos that came to the Phoenix Valley over sixty years ago to work in agriculture, the demographic characteristics of those living there today are well distributed throughout a variety of occupations and differing levels of education, as having been observed through empirical research.

Filipino Languages in Arizona

The Philippines is a linguistically diverse country, with 10 languages with over one million speakers each (Gordon, 2009).⁵⁴ Filipino is the most prevalent of the Philippine languages spoken in the United States, and it is spoken in every state, including Washington D.C. and Puerto Rico. The Modern Language Association lists several other Filipino languages spoken in the United States, based on U.S. Census (2000) data. There were 75,121 speakers of Ilocano in the United States, primarily in Hawaii (135 in Arizona). Visayan, listed as “Bisayan”

⁵⁴ This figure includes English, as well as Filipino (25,000,000) which absorbs Tagalog (21,500,000).

in MLA, had 15,383 speakers and was recorded in 46 states of the United States (65 in Arizona). Cebuano, listed as “Sebuano” in MLA, had a population of 6,736 speakers distributed throughout 37 states, with California having the largest concentration speakers (125 in Arizona).

In Arizona, no speakers of the following languages are listed in the U.S. Census (2000): Kapampangan, listed as “Pampangan” in MLA, had 5,160 speakers, primarily in California. Pangasinan had 1,758 speakers in several U.S. states along the Pacific Rim. Bikol had a population of 195 speakers, and the majority of those speakers were in California (Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000; Modern Language Association). These statistical estimates for the languages’ populations of speakers would look undoubtedly different if a more exact description of each individual’s language proficiency levels were to be given in two or more languages. Evidence from empirical data suggests that Filipinos Americans have a higher percentage of its population in the United States that is bilingual or multilingual than the general American population. Table 9.3 identifies those states with the largest populations of Filipino speakers for 2000 and 2005.

Table 9.3
Population of Speakers of Filipino by State

Entity	Year <u>2000</u>	Entity	Year <u>2005</u>
U.S. Total	1,224,245	U.S. Total	1,374,515
1. CALIFORNIA	626,395	1. CALIFORNIA	668,073
2. New Jersey	66,855	2. New Jersey	80,996
3. New York	65,500	3. Illinois	77,512
4. Illinois	62,370	4. New York	72,174
5. Hawaii	60,965	5. Texas	56,752
6. Washington	41,675	6. Hawaii	55,657 (-)
7. Texas	39,980	7. Florida	49,475
8. Florida	38,445	8. Washington	49,348
9. Virginia	33,600	9. Nevada	45,459
10. Nevada	29,475	10. Virginia	32,819 (-)
11. Maryland	18,495	11. Maryland	21, 802
12. Arizona	10,055	12. Arizona	12,254

California has as many speakers of Filipino as all of the other states put together. In 2005, Filipino was ranked third in California in the number of speakers with 668,073, ahead of Chinese with 519,940 and behind English and Spanish with 18,808,208 speakers and 9,212,392 speakers respectively (Source: 2005 American Community Survey). Table 9.3 reveals that Arizona ranks 12th in states with populations of Filipino speakers, but is actually ranked 13th in states with populations of ethnic Filipinos just behind Michigan. Michigan numerically lost speakers of Tagalog by approximately 30 speakers between 2000 and 2005. Since Michigan's population of ethnic Filipinos grew from 17,377 to 23,718 and no other Philippine languages (other than English) are listed for Michigan in the U.S. Census (2000) or in Modern Language Association's data, generational

linguistic attrition is likely one culprit to the loss of Filipino speakers. Perhaps monolingual English-speaking ethnic Filipinos moved into the state, or Filipinos who actually speak a Philippine language listed “English” as the language of the home, although a Filipino language may be present.

Languages Spoken in Arizona

Table 9.4 provides the rankings, based on 2005 estimates, of each language’s population of speakers. Plus and minus signs are utilized to indicate an increase or a decrease in the population of the language.

Table 9.4
Languages Spoken in Arizona, 2005

Language	Population
1. English	3,889,217 (+)
2. Spanish	1,155,803 (+)
3. Navajo	82,605 (-)
4. German	24,574 (+)
5. French	18,935 (+)
6. Chinese	17,176 (+)
7. Other Native Am. Lang.	15, 748 (?)
8. Tagalog	12,254 (+)
9. Apache	10,403 (-)
10. Vietnamese	10,066 (+)
11. Korean	8, 909 (+)
12. Italian	7, 721 (-)
13. Arabic	6,948 (-)
14. Russian	6,843 (+)
15. Hindi	6,706 (+)

(Source: Modern Language Association, 2005)

Like the trend in the rankings of U.S. languages, the population of German and Italian speakers in Arizona decreased, and did so by several hundred

speakers. Unlike the national rankings, the population of French speakers in Arizona increased by approximately 3,000. The population of Hindi speakers more than doubled from 2000 to 2005, increasing in size by 4,137. Speakers of Navajo statistically lost the greatest number of speakers, decreasing in size by 7,345. All other languages increased by several hundred speakers. Reasons for the decrease in the populations of some of the languages may be due to generational language attrition.⁵⁵

Arizona's Academically Institutionalized Languages

Upon review of several school districts in the Phoenix Valley, including the cities of Mesa and Tempe, Filipino does not appear to be a part of any districts' curriculums i.e., no school in the elementary through secondary public school system offers Filipino-language instruction. Focusing on the seventh-grade through to the secondary level, Mesa's school district seems to be the most linguistically diverse of the three major metropolitan cities. At least one school in Mesa offers Mandarin, Japanese, and Russian in addition to Spanish and French (Source: Mesa Public Schools, 2007). Phoenix Union High School District offers Spanish, French, and Diné (Navajo) (Source: Phoenix Union High School District, 2007). Tempe Union also offers French and German, but Spanish is by far the dominant medium-of-instruction after English. In addition to offering multiple semesters of a variety of levels of Spanish, Tempe Union offers Honors

⁵⁵ The population of Arabic speakers also decreased in Arizona, perhaps due to the social and economic repercussions associated with events occurring on September 11, 2001.

Spanish, Practical Spanish, Spanish for Business Communication, Spanish Literature, AP Spanish, and Spanish for Native Speakers (Source: Tempe Union High School District, 2007). Having such a diverse listing of courses with Spanish as a medium of instruction sheds a different light on the state of bilingual education in Arizona in a post-Proposition 203 (English only) era in K-12 education.

Although schools within these districts may have students from many distinct ethnic groups speaking many different languages, it is obvious that some languages are favored more than others. A curriculum specialist at one district office stated that a new language is implemented when parents or community members petition the school to offer the new language. The explicit, official request must then be approved by the district's board in which materials and teacher availability is evaluated. If the proposal makes it through the lengthy and time-consuming process, the language can be taught. "It doesn't happen very often, but it does happen."

When interviewed, one retired school official stated that the reason why Mandarin Chinese has become institutionalized at the secondary level is not necessarily associated with the population of Chinese within each district, but the impetus to insert Chinese language instruction into a district's curriculum is due to China's economic dominance in the global economy. School boards are interested in meeting market demands as many are seated by parents whose children are students and who want a valuable, practical, and a useful education

for them; as well, boards are seated by business-minded professionals who see a major economic competitor to the United States in China.

At the collegiate level in Arizona, Filipino is just as absent as it is at the middle school and high school level. Arizona State University (ASU) is the most salient university located in the Phoenix Valley and offers a variety of European and Asian languages through the School of International Letters and Cultures (SILC). In order to access the learning of languages less commonly taught at ASU, such as Albanian, Armenian, Macedonian, Tatar, and Uzbek, students can do so at the Melikian Center-sponsored Critical Languages Institute. Filipino, however, is one language that is not offered anywhere on campus, although the population of Filipinos and likely Filipino speakers is greater than the whole of the previously mentioned language groups. The entire list of fifteen languages in table 9.4, except for Apache and Filipino, are offered at Arizona State University.

One SILC student worker stated that the language laboratory had “two audio tapes” in Filipino, but if an ASU student were to want to learn Filipino, “A tutor who is fluent in Filipino would be one of the only options for learning the language.”

Although the University of Arizona (U of A) is not located in the Phoenix Valley, it was necessary to make an in-state comparison of languages offered at the three states universities. U of A’s Critical Languages Program offered approximately 33 languages for the Fall 2008 semester. Its courses focus on “practice with spoken aspects utilizing tape-intensive preparations with biweekly reviews.” Courses, such as Cantonese, Hindi, Irish-Gaelic, Kazakh, Norwegian,

Swahili, Swedish, Tagalog, Turkish, and Vietnamese are offered and taught utilizing CD-ROMs and DVD-ROMs if registration is low. Criteria for the introduction of new languages are: (1) student, university, or community need; (2) availability of native language tutors; (3) proper audio-lingual instructional materials. “Sections vary in size from four to seven students” (University of Arizona 2006-2007 Course Catalog).

Northern Arizona University offers Mandarin, French, German, Japanese, Navajo, and Spanish, but does not offer any of the less commonly taught languages offered by Arizona State University or the University of Arizona (Northern Arizona University 2007-2008 Course Catalog).

Lamentably, none of the community colleges in the Phoenix Valley offer Filipino, but some offer courses in Arabic, Mandarin, French, Russian, and Spanish (Maricopa Community Colleges, 2008 Fall Schedule of Courses).

Considering that Filipinos ranked fourth in the Asian ethnic category, and eighth in ranking of Arizona languages, it was anticipated that if there were to be any Filipino classes taught in Phoenix or the surrounding suburbs e.g., Mesa, Tempe, Chandler, etc. There was a greater level of confidence in the university system to offer some type of educational opportunity in Filipino, varying in materials and methods, which at least one school does i.e., University of Arizona. However, if one were to want to take a course on Filipino in the Phoenix Valley, there are really no options for language acquisition within an academic institution.

In review of the language courses that are offered, both at the secondary level as well as the college and university level, the top five languages spoken in

Arizona are offered at both academic levels, and several languages, such as Russian and Japanese, which are not even in the top ten, are also offered.

Filipino Churches and Language

Several churches in the Phoenix Valley attended by Filipino Americans were contacted and asked whether Filipino languages (in addition to or in place of English) were used in sermons and/or taught. Two stated explicitly that English was the primary language used and that no other Filipino languages were taught. One church representative stated that one service and one Bible study class each week was conducted in Tagalog. Adults were those who primarily attended the studies and the services. One specific Filipino church in Phoenix has a website whose homepage contains a paragraph introducing the mission of the church, a calendar of events, names of committee directors, and various pictures of the congregation engaged in different activities. The caption above one picture of children sitting at a table and writing on notebook paper states “Tagalog Class.” At the bottom of the page is a link which states, “Click here to view the Pilipino Class poster.” This is a link to a webpage which contains information on the class which is conducted the last Saturday of every month for two hours. However, all phone numbers listed on the website were no longer in service. Several other websites for Filipino churches and/or Filipino organizations in Arizona also contained numbers that were no longer in service, websites that were under construction, or websites that were no longer accessible.

Theoretical Perspective

In review of how Tagalog was being supported institutionally in some World Languages Departments at the high school level in California, a juxtaposition of California and Arizona in regards to linguistic institutional support (educational, familial, etc.) became the specific type of focus and lens for this Arizona study. California Tagalog possesses what Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) refer to as the three factors important to language maintenance. These are demographic concentration, status, and institutional support. Filipino is being maintained because of: (1) California's large communities of Filipinos; (2) those communities' desire for Filipino to be taught and learned i.e., Filipino has a status of importance and; (3) Filipino has state support. Assembly Bill 420, which ensured that a credentialing alternative was adopted for Filipino language teachers, was approved by the Assembly Education Committee on April 6th, 2005 (Horton Press Release, 2005). When communities of Filipino Americans lack all of the aforementioned, or at least numbers one and three, such as in Arizona, what happens to Filipino language as a result? Are they maintained or does attrition occur? What are Filipino Americans' attitudes about language? What are the effects of English on the Filipino American community?

Since there was a small population of Filipino Americans in Arizona, in comparison to populations in California, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and Hawaii, and since Filipinos were not the largest, or even the second or third largest Asian group in Arizona, it was hypothesized that Filipinos rely not only on

the small community of Filipinos, but they would also rely on the methods of a transnational in order to connect to the Philippines and other Filipinos.

Within the Arizona Filipino population, there appear to be two types of Filipino transnationalism. One type is the geographic transnationalism, which refers to someone or some group that actually crosses borders with such frequency and relative ease that the borders, whether natural or demarcated, are mere symbols which are traversed with greater ease and frequency than others who move across borders or are impeded by them. This type of Filipino transnational may go back and forth from the Philippines to the United States, and work and live in each country for a substantial amount of time, perhaps months at a time or in accumulation throughout a year.

In Arizona, the most identifiable trade of this type of transnational Filipino works primarily in the hospitality industry. The Phoenix Valley has an average of 257 clear, sunny days, with winter day-time highs of 60 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit (Arizona Department of Agriculture, 2010). Phoenix and its individual suburbs offer year-round golf and other outdoor activities. In addition, there are numerous resorts in the Phoenix Valley which need tens of thousands of workers in order to staff the restaurants, hotels, and resorts during the high season (winter months). The Phoenix Valley attracts retirees from the U.S., Canada, and many countries in Europe and throughout the world. Vacationers also flock to Arizona because of its ideal winter weather and beautiful desert landscapes. In fiscal year 2006, fifteen million people visited the Phoenix Valley and spent \$11.8 billion (Greater Phoenix Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2008).

Interviews were conducted with non-Filipinos working in several restaurants, hotels, and resorts. Data revealed that Hispanic workers were the most apparent throughout the year, but workers from the Philippines and many eastern European countries come and work seasonally at many of the world-class resorts for three or four months, sharing a two-bedroom apartment with six to eight or more people, and then go back to their home countries until the next year, taking with them tens of thousands of dollars. During one particular interview, one Filipino business owner stated that he knew Filipinos who would work in the Valley, “or Las Vegas, and go back [to the Philippines] for few months ... so to support their family and business there [sic].” Attempts to coordinate an interview with one of these Filipino migrant workers failed. The Filipino business owner stated two of his migrant-Filipino friends were unable to be interviewed because they were occupied with work, primarily. When asked if the business owner would give a survey to his friends, he stated that they probably would not complete it.

The other type of Filipino transnational is a virtual transnational. Although this type of Filipino may not go back to the Philippines once a year or more, they do communicate with people in the Philippines, watch satellite television broadcast from the Philippines, send money and goods to the Philippines, and may even vote in elections overseas. With former-President Arroyo's signing of the Dual Citizenship Bill, Citizenship Retention and Re-acquisition Act of 2003 (Republic Act # 9225), Filipinos all over the world can re-acquire their Philippine citizenship and vote in Philippine elections abroad (Republic Act No. 9225,

2003). These Filipinos live in a re-creation of the Philippines, perhaps even including speaking a Filipino language in the home.

It is possible that the two groups of Filipinos in the Phoenix Valley, one geographically static, the other dynamic, influence each other linguistically. Filipinos that come to the Phoenix Valley to work and then return home, do so with several months of exposure to American English to take home to share with family, friends, or colleagues in the Philippines. As well, while those Filipinos are living in the Phoenix Valley, if they were to interact with the stationary or static Filipino population in the Valley, they bring fresh influences of those Filipino languages (other than English) that are spoken in modern-day Philippines. In other words, Filipinos in the U.S. as well as in the Philippines, benefit from a sort of linguistic, social, and cultural replenishment which this geographic transnational provides from living and working in two countries year after year.

What was found in visiting the Filipino eateries is that they seemed to be re-creations of the Philippines in terms of the uniqueness of products sold, the languages spoken, and the people that were employed there and the clients that frequented the establishments. Although the various establishments that were visited were not located in one holistic Filipino neighborhood, they composed a geographically fractal, urban ethnic enclave, reflective of a much larger scale, fractal diaspora of Filipinos around the world (chapter five).

The mom-and-pop type of small business establishments owned by Filipino Americans were also seen as being up against the big corporate owned ubiquitous establishments like McDonald's and Starbucks; this is analogous to

Filipino languages in the United States being adumbrated by the more populous languages, primarily English, and then Spanish, Chinese, German, or French, even though there are more speakers of Tagalog than German and French.

Filipinos in Arizona

The Luzon Bakery

The particular Filipino bakery is located in an L-shaped strip mall on a busy street corner in Phoenix. The floor and the walls are a bright white. The space is long and narrow and approximately 28 feet by 10 feet of the bakery are visible. There are four tables along the left wall, the type that are three and a half feet tall, circular, with high stools. To the right is the glass bakery case filled with a barrage of pastry creams and chocolates and breads in various shapes and colors.

Erickson (1986) would call systematic observation, in which the types of behavior of interest for observation were chosen according to their theoretical significance (p. 19). Initial interest focused on the observance of multiple Filipino languages being used and the re-creation of the collective Philippine culture. The time to catch the greatest number of interactions between clients and other clients, as well as between the shop owners and the clients was during the lunch hour.

Although The Luzon Bakery is labeled as a bakery, it has the characteristics of a restaurant or an eatery, where hot meals of meat and rice is also served in addition to pre-made products that could be bought and carried

away. The owners of The Luzon Bakery are Isabel and Pablo. Isabel is from the Philippines and her husband, Pablo, is a Hispanic from Los Angeles of Spanish descent. Both stated that English was the primary language of the bakery and no other languages were spoken. Pablo mentioned that a Mexican woman worked for them and spoke mainly Spanish. When the woman spoke in Spanish to Isabel, Isabel would answer in English, although she could answer in Spanish. She stated that she would do this because the woman “needed to practice her English”; Isabel had been an elementary school teacher in the Philippines. On one visit, the phone rang and Isabel answered, “Luzon Bakery.” She then switched to Spanish, and the conversation ended after less than thirty seconds. The caller was a supplier, who was an American, who liked to practice his Spanish with Pablo and Isabel when he came into the bakery.

During another visit, a middle-aged couple was in the establishment buying some baked goods. The woman appeared to be Filipina and the man, who remained silent the entire time that he was in the bakery, appeared to be Hispanic. Isabel and the Filipina woman interacted in English; Isabel was on one side of the class pastry case, and the woman on the other. The woman pointed at items and Isabel took those items out of the case and placed them in a white, medium-sized pastry box. The two seemed to be conversing in Filipino and would switch to English occasionally. When the couple left, Isabel stated that she knew the couple, and she stated that they came into the bakery every once in awhile. The woman was from the Philippines, the man was from Mexico, and they were married. When asked why she and the woman switched from what was thought to

be Filipino to English, Isabel stated that the woman spoke Cebuano and some Filipino, and when the woman did not know a term in Filipino, she would use Cebuano. Isabel understood Cebuano but was “not fluent” in the language, and so the conversation would momentarily move to the language that they both spoke and understood, which was English, but then would move back to Filipino.

One day around noon, the eatery was alive. It was full of people, and they were all Filipino. Some were standing and talking. Others were moving around on their feet. One man approached the counter to pick up a plate of dark brown meat, vegetables, and white rice that Isabel had called out was ready, “Adobo at lumpia!” A woman grabbed napkins from the front counter. Another person was eating and nodding to himself in agreement of the quality of food or in response to something said. As a group, they were visually and auditorally vivacious. Some were utilizing hand movements to accentuate verbal language. Several people at one table were laughing. Forks and knives were scrapping plates. It was noisy, cacophonous, and Filipino languages and English could be heard. “Salaamat po” (thank you) and “Paalam” (good bye) were said and waived by both the owners and clients, and sometimes there was a follow-up “Bye bye!”

An interview with a Filipino man, Thomas, and a Filipina woman, Maria, was conducted on that day. When asked what languages were being spoken in the bakery and why English was being mixed in the various dialogues which could be heard, Thomas said, “Everyone speaks a different language, such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, and Waray Waray.” He also said that Filipinos will speak in Filipino, or in a hybrid of Filipino and other dialect until one speaker will not

understand a word or phrase of the other, or be unable to communicate a thought. English was the default language and was used as sort of a bridge language to get back to Tagalog.

The Filipino hybrid language that Thomas mentioned, and which was observed on multiple occasions, appeared most often in the form of intrasentential code switching i.e., two or more languages were mixed within one sentence e.g., “Saán ako makákabilí ng *art*?” (Where can I buy art?). The word “art” is used in English as opposed to the Filipino word “sining.” According to Poplack (1981), this is considered a noun switch (p. 171).

Thomas gave two possible reasons for the code-switching. One possible reason may be that a person “cannot think of the word,” or displays a lack of immediate and accessible knowledge for a specific word, and in this case, it would be the word for “art” in Filipino. Another possible reason may be an economization of language. He also explained that some words were simply quicker to say in one language than in another. The example that was given contained the replacement of the multi-syllabic Filipino word “sining” with an English word that contains only one syllable, “art.” Another example provided by the informant was the replacement of the four-syllable word “kalusugan” with the one-syllable word “health.”

When questioned as to their thoughts on the role of English in the Philippines, the Thomas and Maria elaborated that English represented a vehicle for accessing a global economy, and was also used as bridge or common language amongst the Filipinos who frequented the eatery. They also stressed the

importance of learning the indigenous, native Filipino languages. Maria said, “They seemed to reflect a collective identity and group belonging, and without the ability to speak in one of the native Filipino languages is to be somewhat separated from family and the community.”

As a final note, Thomas stated that if he and Maria were to have children in the future, they would ensure that the children would be able to speak Filipino. He elaborated that if the immediate family were to go to the Philippines to visit family members, a child’s ability to speak Filipino could only benefit that child in at least two ways. The ability to speak Filipino would benefit the child socially, in being able to communicate with family. Also, he said that a communicative ability in Filipino could provide a greater level of safety to the child in being able to communicate in one of the national languages, “incase they are lost or even kidnapped.”

Since visiting The Luzon Bakery several years ago, it has expanded into the next door rental space, more than tripling their dining space. They have enough room for a weekly live band and a big screen television which broadcasts Direct TV’s Filipino package.

In reflection of the first visit to the establishment, Isabel made a statement that English was the language of the eatery, and no others. However, Filipino languages were observed being spoken by the owners as well as the patrons; Spanish was spoken on several occasions. The Luzon Bakery was anything but a monolingual establishment. It was a refuge from English, although English was

an integrated part of the linguistic ecology. English seemed to have a utilitarian status, but appeared peripherally.

Asian Café

The Asian Café is owned by a Filipino man named Ramon. The clientele of the Café is generally Filipino, but Whites and Blacks were observed eating there. The café is located in a strip mall at the corner of a busy Phoenix intersection, several miles from The Luzon Bakery. The establishment has glass windows overlooking the parking lot and the interior contains two dining areas. The counter where clients choose a variety of chicken, pork, beef, and noodle items displayed buffet style, without direct client access, is located immediately upon entrance into the eatery. The dining area next to the counter and cash register was occupied by the lunch crowd and has approximately seven tables. The other dining area has at least eight more tables and has a stage area where people sing karaoke on the weekends. The big screen television is in this auxiliary room, where stations broadcast via satellite from the Philippines in Filipino are watched via satellite.

Ramon was observed speaking both Filipino and English with clients, and Filipino to Filipino clients. One Filipina employee named Luisa was observed on multiple visits using three languages, each with different people. Since she was from the Philippines, she spoke Filipino and communicated with Ramon in this language. She had lived in Madrid where she worked in a Chinese restaurant for five years and because of her time living in Spain, she spoke a very distinct

Iberian Peninsular, Castilian-accented Spanish. Luisa spoke Spanish daily whenever she communicated with a female Mexican co-worker named Lupe who spoke no English and no Filipino. Luisa used American English with all clients initially as they walked in, unless she knew them and/or she learned that they spoke Filipino or Spanish.

Luisa is an exemplar of a trilingual. She switched between three languages apparently effortlessly and acted like a communications center, translating from Filipino or English into Spanish for not just one, but several monolingual Spanish-speaking employees. She communicated in English with English-dominant clients, and spoke Filipino with the owner, his mother, and clients that spoke Filipino. Her behavior challenges the one-dimensional concept of language that seems prevalent throughout the United States, and acts as a wonderful model for a future vision of a multilingual United States citizen.

Jeepney Hut

At a Filipino eatery called the Jeepney Hut, clientele is a mix of Filipino and other ethnic groups, and seemed to be the most ethnically diverse, having noticed European Americans, African Americans, and a variety of Asian Americans on several occasions at this establishment. The Hut, like the other two establishments, is located in a strip mall near the corner of a busy intersection. It also has somewhat of the same layout as the Café, where one area is the main dining room with approximately eight tables. There is also an auxiliary room where there are additional tables. The Hut also has a stage area, but one that is

raised at least a foot or more off of the ground. Visiting musicians from the Philippines have played in this room, according to Artemio, the owner. It is in this room that on one visit, Artemio offered an extensive interview. Like The Luzon Bakery and the Asian Café, the Jeepney Hut also has satellite television turned on throughout the day with channels being broadcast from the Philippines.

Artemio speaks Waray as his primary language, but also speaks Cebuano, Tagalog, and English.⁵⁶ Although his wife's parents speak Kapampangan, Artemio said, "My wife speaks Tagalog because she was born in the United States." Artemio then expounded that Tagalog was the language that he presumed the majority of Filipino Americans spoke in the United States who spoke a language other than English, and he was right. He stated that parents often speak multiple languages combined, and Tagalog is often a Filipino lingua franca. In the United States, English dominates Filipino American children's education, and English is often spoken to the children in the home in order to not only ensure that their children speak English well, but in some cases, the children speak English more proficiently than the parent and the parent can learn from the child. He then commented that the Philippines "spoke more languages," than the United States making reference to the Philippines being more conducive to the learning and speaking of several languages. He said that although English dominates many homes, schools, and anything related to business in the Philippines, there were more outlets to communicate in other languages in the Philippines as well. However, in the United States, Tagalog seemed to him to be the most common or

⁵⁶ The following several pages of text refers to "Tagalog" as opposed to "Filipino," as quoted by the informant.

universal Filipino language in the community of Filipino Americans, specifically in Arizona. Thus, growing up Filipino American in the United States, Artemio believed that Tagalog was a likely Philippine language to be disseminated.

During the interview, one of the female employees, Ida, came into the room and asked Artemio something in a Philippine language, and he answered in the same language. She left after several back and forth exchanges of dialogue. As soon as she left, Artemio stated that they spoke to each other in Tagalog, and further that Ida did not speak Waray. He also added that he did not speak Kapampangan, which Ida spoke, so they used the only Filipino language that they had in common, which was Tagalog. When asked why he thought that she chose Filipino over English, since they both spoke English, he said that they were both “more comfortable in Tagalog than in English.”

It was also theorized that since Ida had a work-related question or comment (things needed prepped for the next day), she subconsciously chose Tagalog in order to keep the content of their verbal exchange between her and Artemio.

It is also likely that Ida’s choice of language was heavily dependent upon the context Ida is accustomed to speaking Filipino to Artemio, at work, about work-related issues. The *contextualization cue*, then, would be the need for Ida and Artemio to engage in dialogue (Gumperz, 2003, p. 140). On several visits, Ida was observed speaking English to customers who entered and Tagalog with Artemio and his wife when she came into the restaurant. She was not observed, however, speaking any language other than English with customers. On multiple

occasions, Artemio was observed interacting with clients in English, Tagalog, and Waray Waray.

At the end of the interview Artemio stated that Filipinos were dispersed all over the Phoenix Valley. He stated that he knew of about 500 Filipinos that had just arrived to work in the resorts in the Valley. He said that the group comes into the Valley once a year and then move around the country to other areas in need of labor. Then, many will return to the Philippines in order to rejoin with family and take a year's earnings or more with them accumulated in the span of five or six months or less.

Although Artemio could be characterized as a multilingual individual, he said that his teenagers were not able to speak a language other than English, and this is the result of him and his wife speaking English to the children as they were growing up, because they were learning English in school, and that he and his wife did not want the children to have accents in English. He said that when his children were between seven and nine years of age, he and his wife would speak to the children only in Tagalog, specifically, on Sundays. He said this only lasted for a month or two because he said that the children would stop speaking altogether, so he and his wife went back to speaking only English to the children.

Mabuhay

Mabuhay is located inside of a strip mall like all of the others establishments that were visited, but it is quite smaller than the other three eateries. It is not located on a busy street corner, but on a busy street consisting of

four wide lines, two in each direction, with a speed limit of 45 miles an hour. The sign “Mabuhay” is not very visible from the road while traveling the speed limit. In addition, it is located inconspicuously somewhere in a w-shaped strip mall.

There were only four or five small tables in the eatery and there was no auxiliary room. Television was on every time that the eatery was visited, with no satellite television, so no Filipino-language television, like at the other three establishments. The owner stated that she and her husband have the satellite television Filipino package at home.

Martha is the co-owner of the restaurant, along with her husband, Teodoro. She is from Luzon and speaks Tagalog, some Cebuano, and speaks with an accented American English. Teodoro speaks Pangasinan and English.

On one visit, Martha was sitting at a table talking with another woman. Lillian was also from the Philippines and spoke Filipino and an almost unaccented American English. She is married to an American ex-serviceman. When asked if her seven-year-old son spoke Filipino, she said that he could not. She said that since he was born in the United States and has an American father that does not speak Filipino, English was the primary language of the home. She did, however, state that just a couple of days before this particular interview, she was talking to the owner of the Jeepney Hut in Tagalog and her son asked her to speak English because he wanted to know what was being said in the conversation, further because he heard his mother state his name.⁵⁷ Her son’s second request was to be

⁵⁷ This was one of many pieces of evidence that the community of Filipinos in the Valley were attracted to Filipino establishments because they were Philippine recreations.

taught Tagalog. Lillian stated that she makes it a point to teach her son something in Tagalog everyday.

During this particular interview, Martha was asked how she felt about that Mesa School District offering Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese, Spanish, and French, but not Tagalog or other Filipino languages. This question sparked a vehement diatribe from her: “If French and German and Chinese and Spanish [are] allowed to be taught, why not Filipino?!” She added, with animated tones and arms moving around, that in order to get the managerial certification for restaurants in Arizona that there is a subject translation for Korean, Spanish, and Chinese. She asked rhetorically, “How come there is no translation for Filipino?!”

One final topic that was discussed was that of non-Filipinos learning Filipino languages. Lillian said that she worked for a company in which there were at least two men who were American ex-military and who were both stationed in the Philippines. She said that one day she was in the break room and one of these men approached her and asked her if there was any coffee left, and asked this in Tagalog. She said that she was really surprised that he spoke fluent Tagalog, and she would have conversations with the man often in this language. Martha added to this story by stating that every once in awhile, non-Filipinos would come into the eatery and speak Tagalog. She said there were not very many and they did not come in often, but there had been several different men that had come in and had surprised her by speaking fluent Tagalog. She said that one American man came into the eatery once and spoke Filipino and Cebuano. She said that the man was Mormon and that he had learned how to speak Filipino by

completing mission work in the Philippines. She commented that her adult son called several local community colleges asking if there was a course on Tagalog and was disappointed to find that none of them offered the language. She commented said, “If the classes were taught, they need to teach pure Tagalog, and not Filipino.”

Pride in pure Tagalog may be one reason for the apparent rejection of the use of the language label “Filipino” within the Filipino-speaking community. The desire for Filipino to incorporate phonetic and lexical components of other Philippine languages, as well as English and Spanish, creates differences between traditional Tagalog and modern Filipino. As a caveat to the assurances associated with the modernity of a language, Sibayan (1991) states, “A language may be modern or modernized but not intellectualized. The Filipino used in entertainment...of the home and of everyday life is modernized but not adequate for education, especially for higher-education purposes (p.71). These statements call into question the corpus planning of a Filipino-language curriculum.

Language Training

Upon learning that a Mormon man had come into Mabuhay and had spoken Filipino and Cebuano, an interviewee was sought who had completed a mission in the Philippines. Jeremy spent two years in the Philippines and more specifically, Cebu. He said that he was there in the late 1990s, which at the time of the interview had been approximately ten years before. He said that on a scale of one to five, five being fluent and able to speak and write the language, he was a

three in Tagalog. He stated that he learned some basic Cebuano when he was sent to the Mission Training Center (MTC) in Provo, Utah. A phone call to the MTC confirmed that 52 languages were currently taught there, but the languages taught often depended on the availability of the teachers at the MTC who had previously been on a global mission who had learned and spoke that language.⁵⁸ Jeremy stated that before he left for the Philippines, he had three hours of language instruction a day for eight weeks, in addition to training on the work as a missionary as well. He said that he taught children lessons in Cebuano and that they would help him with his words and phrases. When asked if he communicated with any Filipinos in the Valley, he said that he did not. However, he said that he visited a Filipino bakery and used the Tagalog that he knew. It turned out to be the Luzon Bakery.⁵⁹ He said that it had been the only time that he had contact with a Filipino since living in the Philippines.

Client Surveys

In order to understand what languages clients spoke who frequented the eateries, a questionnaire was developed and left at two establishments (the other two did not agree to questionnaires being left). Questions asked what language or

⁵⁸ Reporting for the Mormon News, Rappleye (2009) commented that the international magazine of the Church of Latter Day Saints, Liahona, is translated into 51 languages and further quotes Senior Production Coordinator Jane Ann Peters: “Most languages [translated] end up being longer than English. The Filipino languages, like Cebuano and Tagalog, and some languages spoken in the Pacific Islands, including Tongan, take up the most space.”

⁵⁹ This was yet another piece of evidence that Filipino establishments were attractive, not only to Filipinos but to White Americans, because they were Philippine re-creations.

languages the participant spoke, when or where these languages were spoken, what language or languages were spoken in the home while growing up, what were the languages of their parents, which language or languages were spoken in their home now, and languages of a spouse or children (see appendix). Several clients were observed completing the survey in less than ten minutes.

Ten clients filled out a 14-question survey in two of the restaurants within a two- week time. Occupations of the survey participants included a mortgage broker, a realtor, and a boutique owner, amongst others. An overview of the surveys is as follows: Only one survey was completed by a monolingual English-speaking Filipino. Eight survey participants stated that they spoke “Tagalog” in addition to English and one stated Bicolano, Tagalog, and English. Four listed an ability to speak Spanish. One participant listed an ability to communicate with differing levels of proficiency in Tagalog, English, Italian, Spanish, and Japanese. Of the nine that stated that they spoke Tagalog, five stated that Tagalog was spoken in the house and three stated that English was spoken in the house. One stated that Bicolano was spoken in the home, mixed with English. Many said that Filipino languages were spoken primarily with family and when in the company with other speakers of a Philippine language.

Reflections on the Observations

All four of the establishments that were visited had similar linguistic environments. This environment was characterized as being multilingual and in which code-switching was observed, characterized by both intrasentential

intersentential switches. In any typical restaurant in the United States, no matter what type of food is prepared and served, English and Spanish are likely to be the dominant languages. In Filipino restaurants, Spanish is still prevalent, specifically noted in three of the four establishments visited, but Filipino is likely the most utilized and perhaps the most valued in terms of identity and culture. In all of the establishments, communication between employees and between employees and clients were observed to be in all three of the aforementioned languages.

Overall, since Filipino is not being taught in any of the schools in the Phoenix Valley at the secondary or college level, and even if there were to be, Filipinos Americans have created a social context in which Filipino, as well as other Filipino languages, can be utilized. Filipino eateries are linguistic refuges, places where employees can use Filipino in both work (speaking with each other) and social situations (clients speaking with employees and with each other). Above all, it was discovered that there was data to be collected at the four Filipino eateries because Filipinos were consistently present as owners and patrons and so the culinary locations were the most accessible for observing and for interviews.

The choosing of Filipino over English, common languages of both Artemio and Ida, as well as Maria and Ramon, reveals perhaps a diglossic reversal of prestige languages, as contrary to the nature of theoretical and practical diglossia (see Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967; Suleiman, 1985). In the general mainstream public within Arizona, English (although in many areas Spanish), would be the dominant as well as the prestige language, as an ability and high proficiency to speak English may mark one as being an *Anglophonic*

insider. However, within the Filipino eateries in general, employees and many clients utilized Filipino in many situations although English was also a common language amongst speakers. The use of Tagalog and other Filipino languages seemed to have more substance and weight than English in these contexts. Filipino may be chosen by these speakers because their language projects a more thorough and complete representation of their identity as a speaker. The use of Tagalog and other Filipino languages was also a membership to the esoteric community of Philippine ex-patriots in the Phoenix Valley.

Tuason et al. (2007) concluded that two of several important elements in the formation or maintenance of a Filipino identity was speaking Tagalog and eating Filipino food (p. 366). Jose Garcia Villa, a Philippine Commonwealth era writer who resided in New York City, was obsessed with food:

He performed his ethnicity by staunchly maintaining his Filipino citizenship and championing Filipino cuisine, which evoked his bilingual and bicultural heritage. Perhaps no topic could make Villa immediately revert to code switching, between Tagalog and English, or Taglish, more quickly than food. (Espiritu, 2005, pp. 99, 101)

Interviews

In addition to the interviews that were conducted while at the field research sites, interviews were conducted with several Filipino Americans who were not directly associated with the eateries. All of the interviews revealed not only generalizations about the Filipino American community, but also revealed the uniqueness of every interviewee. Not every interview yielded data, or rather, the presence of data. Two interviews were brief and yielded what thought to be, at first, little data, judging by the brevity of the conversation. Two interviews

in particular revealed a lack or an absence of experience and exposure to languages other than English while growing; both stated that they spoke no Filipino language and that their parents did not teach them. A preliminary interpretation focused on a lack of interviewing tactics used to elicit and extract information from each interviewee; another interpretation was due to a personality type of the two interviewees i.e., shy and not very talkative. Both Filipina American women stated that their parents spoke nothing but English in the house and that they knew only a greeting in Filipino.

The other eight interviews allowed access to a significant amount of information on language maintenance and attrition, and provided valuable insight into the collective Filipino American community.

Maintaining Filipino

Two interviewees in particular represent Filipinos who, like the owners of the Filipino eateries, are maintaining Filipino, at least within their own social world.

Benedict works as a sales representative in the electronics department in a large retail store. He is a 33-year-old male from the Philippines. He lived most of his life in the Philippines and went to a private school whose medium-of-instruction was English. He said that he calls family back home in the Philippines “several times a month” and sends money home via Western Union “every once in awhile.”

At the time of the interview, he had been in the United States for less than a year and had come straight from the Philippines to Arizona; he spoke in a virtually unaccented American English. He stated that he speaks mainly Filipino at home since his wife is also from the Philippines and speaks Filipino. He and his wife do not have any children, but if they were to ever have them, he would want them to learn Filipino and would speak to them in Filipino at home, “because that’s who you are.” By stating this, he was making a connection between the nationality and the language, and implies that speaking an indigenous Philippine language strengthens the linguistic component a Filipino’s identity that makes them Filipino.

Luis is also from Luzon, Philippines and stocks groceries at a grocery store. He is 54 years of age and came to the United States eight years before the time of the interview. Unlike Benedict, Luis speaks an American English that is heavily accented and he labors for word choice; he commits many grammatical errors in his speech and has a communicative, yet a low level of proficiency in English. He says that he has only been able to afford to return to the Philippines once, but he calls his parents and brother often and sends money when he can. He speaks Filipino as his primary language, and he speaks only Filipino in his home with his wife. He said that his adult children were raised in the United States and speak Filipino because he and his wife spoke it in the home when the children were growing up. He said that his adult children speak English and Filipino in the house to their children, but that he and his wife speak mostly Filipino to their

grandchildren. He says that the grandchildren “are learning Tagalog and can speak [it].”

Filipino is being maintained in the homes of Benedict and Luis simply because they are committed to speaking it in the home. In Luis’s case, he has passed on the language to his children and is assisting in the teaching of Filipino to his grandchildren.

English’s Assimilationist Power

Reynaldo is a chef from the island of Luzon and has lived in the Phoenix Valley since the early 1980s. His English is characterized as accented and he is very deliberate in his speech. Articles are sometimes omitted from his sentences and an occasional miscue in pluralization was noticed during the interview.

He is he married to a Hispanic woman from Texas who speaks what he calls “Tex-Mex.” He said that his children are adults, and more specifically in their early twenties. His wife does not speak any Tagalog and although Reynaldo speaks “some” Spanish since he studied the language when he was in high school in the Philippines, he does not speak it well. He did not speak Tagalog in the house and specifically with his children because he wife does not speak it and he said that he “spoke English with my children because the children did not want to learn Tagalog and English is what they were learning in school.” When his children when younger, he sent for his mother who was living in the Philippines to come and live with the family and told his mother to speak nothing but Tagalog. He said, “My mother ended up learning English and then spoke to my

son and my daughter [in English].” When asked whether his children lamented not learning Tagalog, he said that they have mentioned before that they would have liked to have learned.

Language Atrophy

Jason is 25 years old, was born in the Philippines, and came to the United States when he was five years old. His mom, a nurse, and his father, who works in business, lived in Africa and the Middle East in order to work before he was born. When he arrived in the United States, he did not know how to speak English, only Waray Waray, Cebuano, and Tagalog. He said, “Now, I only understand Waray Waray and Cebuano, and Tagalog. I can’t speak them though.” He elaborated that his parents used to speak to him primarily in Waray Waray, so he evaluated this language as being the one that he recognized the most. His parents continued to speak Waray Waray in his home while growing up in the United States, but then he stated, “They spoke less and less the older we got, until basically I was in high school and they didn’t speak it at all.” He has been to the Philippines twice. Communication between him and his relatives was difficult and in some instances impossible. He said that he is embarrassed to even try to speak his mother and father tongues because he has such a thick accent when he attempts to repeat words that family members have tried to teach him.

Jason is a classic example of individual language attrition. He began his life as an emergent polyglot, and the United States’ assimilationist mentality, characterized by a one-dimensional concept of language, turned him into a

linguistically limited, monolingual, English speaker. He said that he would take a course in Filipino so that he could communicate with relatives in the Philippines: He said he feels left out when his sister, who grew up with an aunt in the Philippines, speaks to his parents in Waray Waray and Tagalog.

Polipino

Mike was interviewed several times to the point where the interviewing became conversation and the roles of interviewer and interviewee, researcher and participant faded. Mike is a 34 years old photographer. Although he was born in Manila, Philippines, he is originally from Chicago, having grown up there and having attended high school and college in the city. He speaks a Midwestern United States dialect with an accent most notable linguistically by a vowel shift from the phonemic /a/ to /æ/, which is associated with Chicago and other states that border Lake Michigan. His mother is from the Philippines and his dad is a first generation Polish immigrant: He is phenotypically Filipino. When he revealed this, he called himself a “Polipino.”

Mike felt the closest cultural connection to Italian, because he grew up in Elmwood Park, Illinois, which is located within metropolitan Chicago and has a large Italian-American population. Many of his friends were Italian while growing up and he was exposed to the language through them and their family members. He also ate a lot of Italian food and was most familiar with its cuisine and cooked it most often. Although he considers himself an English-monolingual, he is familiar with some words and phrases in Italian. On his phone, he has

different rings for people in his directory. When his mother calls him, the ring music is *Oh Mama* by Louie Prima.

He felt alienated from the Polish language and culture, and does not speak Polish. His dad did not speak Polish to him, but he would speak it when he was around other Polish family members. He once stated that he would rather learn Filipino, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese before learning Polish. He said that he felt like he and his mom were outcasts on the Polish side of the family.

Concerning his relationship with the Filipino community in the United States, he said that he also felt alienated. He said that any Filipinos that he had met in Chicago, which were not many at all, were very cliquish and he elaborated, “They all stuck together.” He commented that their ability to speak Filipino was one characteristic that he felt bound them together. He said emphatically, “Filipinos have come up to me and started speaking Filipino and I’m like, I can’t respond.” He elaborated that he has felt condemnation from the person who instigated the conversation in Filipino because he is unable to speak the language.

Mike has had very little exposure to any Philippine languages. He said that his mother would yell at him in a Filipino language and was not sure what language she spoke, but that was the only time he remembers her speaking to him in a language other than English. He said his Filipina godmother lived around the corner from where he lived while growing up, and said that she would speak a Filipino language to her kids and English to him.

Ironically, Mike said that he felt the strongest connection to his Filipino family in the Philippines, and would send money to his grandmother and one of his aunts occasionally. He says that his mother calls relatives in the Philippines at least once a week and also sends money and goods once a month. He said that his mother has taken him to visit the Philippines twice and that he is only able to communicate verbally with cousins and aunts who speak English. Otherwise, he has had to rely on his mother to translate. He said that although he could not communicate in Filipino, he said:

I felt the most connected to them out of all of my relatives. Even though I couldn't communicate per se, my family in the Philippines made me feel the most welcome. We communicated in other ways. We smiled, laughed, ate. I don't know. They all communicated in a more, like friendly way. They were all warm people...I'd want to learn Filipino so that I can communicate with them. When my grandma passed away, the only thing that I could say to her was "Mahal kita," which means "I love you." Besides, I'd like to one day to open a restaurant and make Filipino food so I think I would need to know some of the language so that I can be "the real deal."

During the first interview, Mike was unsure of the name of the language that his mother spoke other than English. He thought that she spoke Tagalog and then guessed that she also spoke Cebuano. He thought that she spoke Tagalog because she had given him audio tapes five years before the time of the interview and she suggested that he listen to them. He spoke with his mother about the Philippines and language after the interview. He discovered that she is from Leyte and that she eventually moved to Manila with her parents and so she speaks Waray-Waray and Tagalog. He requested that she teach him words in phrases in both languages that she thought would be useful.

Months after the first interview, Mike shared that when he was growing up in Chicago, his Filipina “aunt,” would care for him with her son, who was older, and her daughter, who was younger. He said the memory came back and that he remembers speaking Tagalog when he was really young. He would call her son who was older than him *Kuya*, or big brother, and he would call her daughter, who was younger than him *Ahtay*, or little sister. His *tita*, or aunt, is “the one that told me to call her children that.” Another day, more than a year after we met for the first interview, Mike said that while scratching underneath his arm, he remembers his mom tickling his arm pits and saying, “Keely keely.” He also said that he has heard his mom on the phone talk to his aunt in the Philippines with a tone of disbelief, “Hindi?!” [No?!]

Mike pointed out a video of a Mormon missionary, who was in the Philippines from 2003-2005 and who is speaking what seems to be fluent Tagalog with his friends in “Daniel Speaking Tagalog.” The video is two or three minutes long and shows a blonde-headed, White man in his early 20s who is speaking Tagalog.

Filipino could be characterized as being in a state of dormancy in his mind, characterized by slight comprehension of spoken language, the ability to remember rudimentary vocabulary from childhood exposure to the language, and marked by a minimal ability, or an inability to communicate verbally in the language.

Antonio

Antonio is a 27-year-old Filipino American who was born and raised in Salt Lake City, Utah. His mother was born in Manila, raised there until she was a teenager, and then she and her family moved to Cebu. The reason for the move to Cebu was that her father owned a coconut plantation as well as a radio station. The plantation was later “swindled” from the family and Antonio does not know further details of the story. His father is a Chicano, having been born in the United States, and he is of Mexican descent. His parents met during a Mormon mission to the Philippines. His father returned to the United States and approximately a year later returned to the Philippines. Antonio commented about this with an apparent piece of cultural knowledge that, “Whenever a mission[ary] comes back [to the Philippines], someone’s getting married.” His father then returned to the United States and his mother followed months later.

Antonio stated that his father does not speak Spanish. He thinks that his father’s upbringing was linguistically similar to his own, which was to have a mother who spoke a heritage language and whose children did not; English was the primary language of the children. His grandmother spoke to his father and his aunts and uncles in Spanish, but his father and his siblings would respond in English. Antonio’s mother would speak Tagalog and Cebuano to him and his older brothers and sisters, but they would also respond in English. He provided an example of the Cebuano word, “kupa” which means “broken.” He imitated his mother saying the word and then he replied with a hypothetical response, “Oh, it’s broken,” as a reflective backchannel, in English. His mother could speak Tagalog

because of her living and schooling in Manila, and she learned Cebuano from living in Cebu, but also stated that a nanny taught her Cebuano while living in Cebu. She said that the family obtained a nanny because her mother had gone to the United States to work for two years. When asked if his mother had an opportunity to speak to others in Tagalog or Cebuano, he said that she did not have a lot of Filipino friends. He said:

My mom has a [Filipina] friend that lives in Oregon that she talks to and finds out things about the Philippines...When she talks to my grandma, she speaks to her in Tagalog, Cebuano, and English, all at once it seems! It's like one language to her.

When asked in what contexts or situations his mother would speak to him and his siblings, he stated that in no particular situations. She did not yell or become angry and speak Tagalog or Cebuano, nor did she use these languages as a secret medium of communication to keep specific information away from him and his siblings. She would speak to them in these two languages "everyday" and in many situations. He and his brothers and sisters refused to speak the language, but yet his mother has consistently tried to expose him and his siblings to the Filipino language(s) whenever she could. When asked about his mother's reactions to him and his brothers' and sisters' reluctance to learn the languages that his mother was speaking to them, he said she was not angry, but that she was disappointed.

She wanted to pass down the culture... the traditions that she had suppressed...because she wanted us to fit in. But, there weren't a lot of Filipinos in Utah. She learned English in school in the Philippines. When she came to the United States, she made it a point to learn English. Because she spoke English, my brothers and sisters and I spoke to her in English, even when she tried to speak Filipino to us.

Antonio and the Mormon Firesides

The Mormon Church has gatherings called *Firesides*. They are held twice a year after the General Conference, which is a church-wide, bi-annual meeting held by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the weekends containing the first Sundays in April and in October (General Conference, 2009). According to Antonio, the Firesides bring Filipinos in from all over the state as well as others. He said that he has not made any friends at any of the Firesides although he has attended many of them; he spends the time with his parents. He has been approached by adults older than he with the assumption that he understands Tagalog. On occasion, he has been able to understand and reply in Tagalog or Cebuano if he were to know a rudimentary answer to an equally rudimentary question, but he defaults to English most often. He said that he would feel embarrassed for not being able to communicate in the language utilized by other Filipinos when initially engaging him in conversation. He lamented and said that he felt like he was not able to provide a positive and knowledgeable reflection, via Tagalog, of his mother, her culture, and his culture.

At the bi-annual event, he observes Filipino children and others his age speaking Filipino languages and notices that parents would often speak in very broken English. He stated that many of the parents probably speak to the children in Filipino languages at home. In general, he has noticed that the older generation speaks to each other in Tagalog or other Filipino languages.

Antonio stated that he was able to speak Tagalog and Cebuano better than his older brother and sisters and attribute some of this ability to attending the Firesides, which his siblings did not. He said this about himself and his siblings:

We regret not learning the language when we were younger. Now, we want to learn about our culture and ancestry. Even with Grandma, she speaks English well, but we miss things in interpretation. There was a twitch, a turning on of our hearts.

However, he also stated that there has been nothing “proactive” that any of them have done in order to learn Tagalog and Cebuano. “It’s one of those great regrets in life that are never reconciled.”

Antonio said the topic of food, when conversing with Filipinos, provides him with what he feels like is insider cultural knowledge which is recognized by other Filipinos. Confident about his knowledge of Filipino cuisine, Antonio projects a comment onto a hypothetical Filipino with whom he is speaking, “This Filipino knows what he’s talking about.” Food connected him to a fellow Filipina American in Utah. He said that he had not known of any other Filipinos at his high school until he read a friend’s Facebook posting where she stated that she was eating adobo. He posted a question on her page asking how she knew of adobo and she replied that she was Filipina. He in return replied that he did not know that she was Filipina and proceeded to write about some of his favorite Filipino food, such as pancit and lumpia. He said they did not form a relationship other than that which had existed as high school classmates, but he said that he felt “comfortable” knowing that “someone out there was like me.”

Acculturation

The one main agent of either English monolingualism or Filipino-English bilingualism appeared to be the parental unit. A language or languages which were spoken in the home to and around the children were, on some levels of proficiency, inherited by the children. For some participants, this language was primarily or entirely English; for others it was a mother- and/or father-tongue from the Philippines. Some participants, like Jason, were those who understood some of the language when it was spoken, but who could not speak the language proficiently

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) analyze how relationships between the second-generation immigrant child and their parents are psychologically manifested. In determining whether or not the dynamics between parent, child, and cultures are aligned or maligned depends on the mode of acculturation, and more explicitly through the authors' theoretical framework of *consonant*, *dissonant*, and *selective acculturation*.

Consonant acculturation refers to joint assimilation of American culture by the parents and child, or adversely the joint rejection of the American culture. *Dissonant acculturation* refers to a rupture in family values and communication between parents and the child. Finally, *selective acculturation* is characterized by equal assimilation as well as the maintenance of parental authority and the culture of origin (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 52).

For several of the interviewees like Jason and Mike, the type of acculturation that they experienced while growing up was most likely

characterized by dissonant acculturation, in the sense that several participants were unable to speak a Filipino language i.e., their parents' language(s), and thus this revealed a feeling of some sort of social, cultural, and/or a linguistic disconnect with the heritage and community of Filipinos and Filipino Americans. Within this phenomenon lie certain traits of consonant acculturation in the sense that speaking English in the home by the parents reflected cultural agency of assimilation.

Culture is imbedded in everything humans do, and if the culture in which one bases his or her identity is suppressed, social and academic barriers often emerge manifest in lethargy, non-compliance, and/or deviance (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

Implications

At the time of the study in the Phoenix Valley of Arizona, Filipino was institutionalized in two main areas of the Filipino American community: the family and within businesses associated with Filipino proprietorship and clientele. Few participants, however, reported that a Filipino language was spoken in the home at the time of the study.

Filipino businesses, which are owned by Filipinos who promote and sell Filipino products, provide one of the most salient public contexts for recreating “being Filipino” through the use of language and food. Although menus and other environmental print were in English in the eateries, and English was prevalent in the linguistic repertoire of every Filipino American in the study, the most valued

code was undoubtedly Filipino; its use was not simply for communicative purposes, but it was a code shared by those with a common ancestral root, a common national history, a common culture: using Filipino language connected Filipino Americans.

Filipino Americans who are not provided with opportunities to learn Filipino are culturally and socially deprived: Filipino American children are often not able to communicate with close family members such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. The language is also a cultural marker which allows for the positive development of one's identity and permits one to possess an insider status, regardless of ethnicity.

Williams (2005) stated that democracy is constructed out of reason and progress, but that the weakening of the pillars of it raises questions about "how the discourse of democracy has emasculated minority language groups to ensure that the constructed normative order proclaims its superiority" (p. 234).

Conclusion

The use of Filipino languages in the United States, in particular Tagalog-based Filipino, creates communicative, cultural, and social connections between individual Filipino Americans and the Filipino American community, as well as community members with each other. The possession of familial roots in the Philippines is a cohesive element which binds Filipinos Americans in the United States: through consanguinity. The knowledge of and the ability to use a Filipino language, however, is an asset, a primary criterion for membership into a more

profound esoteric Filipino American community, composed of ex-patriot Filipinos. Those who could speak Filipino were able to fully participate in like-behaviors, characterized by members of the community, in social settings e.g., working, eating, and talking. Filipino Americans who could speak Filipino with other Filipino Americans were engaging in a mutual or synergetic recreation of “being Filipino,” ergo, those not able to speak Filipino were not able to participate in a community and cultural activity.

It would appear from data collected from Filipino American participants in the Phoenix Valley that the first location of institutionalization of language is within the family home. Generally speaking, a language spoken in the home and more specifically, the language or languages that are spoken to the children, and not simply around them, seem to disseminate the language from generation to generation. In homes of Filipino Americans, where a Filipino language is not institutionalized, English is most likely the default language. Little is being done in the Phoenix Valley to insulate future generations of Filipino Americans from English monolingualism.

As mentioned in chapter three under the heading of “A Note on Taglish,” notions of bilingualism are challenged in reference to Jason, Mike, and Antonio. Jason stated that he only understood his mother and father tongues but that he did not speak them. He contradicted himself by stating that he was embarrassed when he tried to speak them. Although he views himself as being primarily English monolingual, he possess linguistic traits of a partial or emergent polyglot. Mike initially stated that he spoke and knew none of his mother’s tongues; however, as

time passed and he thought about the subject and his memories were elicited, Mike could be considered a partial or an emergent bilingual. Antonio made allusions that he was primarily monolingual English, although he understood some of what his mother said in Tagalog and Cebuano and he would respond to her in English.

In reference to Jason, Mike, and Antonio, it appears that some 1st and 2nd generation Filipino Americans who were born in the Philippines and were raised in the United States underestimate their language abilities in their mother and/or father tongues. In turn, they may have parents who underestimate their language abilities (e.g., Antonio's father and the Spanish language). All three stated that they felt embarrassed trying to speak their mother and/or father tongues and/or felt embarrassed when approached by Filipino Americans who attempted to speak a non-English, Filipino language with them. Although Jason, Mike, and Antonio focused their language abilities from a perspective of "inabilities," for them, their actual language abilities (recall and comprehension of some spoken verbal language) based off of early childhood exposure acts as an incredibly solid foundation on which to facilitate increased fluency in a non-English, Filipino-language.

Chapter Ten Conclusions and Implication

Preface

This chapter reflects a final discussion of language in Filipino America. As there were multiple chapters composing this dissertation, there are a number of conclusions and implications.

Although they are no longer subjects of a U.S. Commonwealth, Filipino Americans are unique because they represent a people once colonized by the United States now living in the United States; they bring with them traditional, model-American, and global attributes. The United States and the Philippines have multiple things in common besides their people: their histories are based in a struggle for independence from another entity (with modern-day alliances with that previous colonizer); their societies reflect social and cultural miscegenation; both have English as a prominent medium of instruction in public schools and as a prominent language of their industry and workforce; and both have more than one million speakers of Tagalog.

United States' Linguistic Influence in the Philippines

The occupation of the Philippines by the United States during the 20th century is viewed as being a crucial turning point in the future academic, linguistic, social, and economic direction of the Philippines. One salient variable is the integration of the English language in education and society as a whole,

which can be seen as establishing an avenue for Filipino participation in a 21st century global economy and society.

English has rooted itself in the Philippines and has usurped any power that the most dominant, autochthonous language, Tagalog, may have ever had. The Marcos government (1965-1986) listed the English-language competence of the Philippine labor force, along with low labor costs, as special reasons for foreign companies to invest in the Philippines (Tollefson, 1991, p. 139). English is a marker and a vehicle to the global, economic community e.g., via *insourcing*. Not only does the *endonational*, English-speaking, workforce generate capital for the Philippines through the insourcing of various goods and services, but the *exonational* Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) generate revenue for the Philippines through remittances, as seen as in chapter five, “Transnationalism.” Philippine House of Representative Alipio Badelles said, “Anywhere in the world the Filipino worker is preferred over other nationalities because [he/she] can speak and understand English” (Sapnu, 2006).

Corporations influence public opinion and public policy. According to the Social Weather Stations (SWS), which is a public opinion polling body in the Philippines, English-language proficiency is deteriorating in the Philippines (Social Weather Stations, 2006). The items described in the SWS release were commissioned by the Promoting English Proficiency (PEP) Project, an initiative led by the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines and the Makati Business Club, with funding from Philip Morris Philippines Manufacturing, Inc. (PMPMI) (“Promoting English Project,” 2007). The fact that a global

communications company like Bigfoot Asia Pacific Foundation would give approximately 20,000 free accounts of its CleverCourse⁶⁰ product (an online library of English courses) to the Philippine Department of Education (“Bigfoot Donates,” 2007), reflects the commodity that is the collective, English-speaking, Filipino workforce. This also alludes to a subtle, covert example of how economic interests influence language education and national, linguistic direction. In this way, the Philippines operates as a money-saving, economic outpost for the United States and other English-requiring, outsource-needing corporations throughout the world.⁶¹ The global market dictates the needed skills of the workforce and most of these skills need to be developed, primarily through education.

Philippine House Bill #4701 (2006), which would have mandated the use of English as the medium of instruction in all subjects taught in the elementary and secondary levels, passed in the House and went on to the Senate where it became lost in legal reviews fueled by an opposition claiming violation of Constitutional Law, specifically Article 14 which establishes Filipino as an official language of communication and instruction (Hicap, 2006b).

With mandates within the Philippine educational system (e.g., Executive Order #210, 2003) to strengthen English communication skills, and with proponents and proposed legislation within the Philippine House of Representatives whose aims are to strengthen the use of the English language (e.g., H.B. #4701, 2006), the connection between academic policy, political

⁶⁰ Cleverlearn was founded in 1999 in Santa Monica, California, USA (Cleverlearn, 2007).

⁶¹ There are also implications that the English language equips Overseas Filipino Workers with a valuable linguistic tool.

legislation, and economic sustainability and progress surfaces. Articles VI and VII of the 1987 Constitution do not state explicitly which language shall be utilized as the “primary medium-of-instruction,” only that English and Filipino shall be used as official languages and languages of instruction: This opens constitutional law to interpretation and will undoubtedly leave policy makers room to establish English as the primary medium-of-instruction in the Philippine educational (K-12) system and reduce the number of classes which are taught in Tagalog and other Filipino languages . English is globally and economically *de jour* and thus has become academically and politically *de jure* in the Philippines.

In the future, the Philippines may move closer to the border of Braj Kachru’s (1988) outer and inner circle regions of English speakers, based on English’s continued importance, use, and institutional and political support in Philippine society. On one level, this linguistic reality allows non-Filipino-speaking, English-monolingual, Filipino Americans the ability to access information about the Philippines (via newspapers, books, Internet sources, etc.) in a language that they can understand; they can also anticipate English-language accommodation while traveling to the Philippines, especially on the island of Luzon and in Manila.

The overall effect that language use in the Philippines has on language use in Filipino America is apparent in chapter seven. Filipinos come to the United States with a useful assimilatory tool, one which allows for social and economic integration i.e., the English language. Only Hindi and Punjabi speakers have higher percentages of people in the 18-64 year-old age group speaking English

“very well” and the lower percentage of speakers speaking English “not at all.” Economically, immigrants from the Philippines and from India have the highest median incomes of any ethnic group in California, the state with the largest population of Filipino Americans (chapter 7, Table 7.37). Both groups bring English as an immigrant language, a language which has co-official status in the Philippines and India.

In looking at one cross section of Filipino Americans in California and looking at the variable of academic performance, Filipino American secondary (high school) students do well, not only in comparison to other immigrant groups, but also when compared with mainstream students. In the California Department of Education’s standardized test, the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), Filipino-American students perform better than average. They have higher than average scores in the California High School Exit Exam (CAHSEE) for Math and English Language Arts (ELA); they also have high percentages of students that graduate with University of California and California State University required courses by ethnicity. Filipino students also have lower than average dropout rates.

In the United States, English is not the number one variable which determines economic success, as judging by other established English-speaking ethnic groups (Whites and Blacks) who earn less than immigrants from the Philippines and from India. It may be, however, that several key variables in common could be significant in determining academic and economic success in the United States e.g., coming from a third-world country where English is an

official language, comparable populations, and similar cultural models of behavior and success.

Generalizing Language in Filipino America

The nature of language in Filipino America seems to be simultaneously diverse while one dimensional, both on a macro level and a micro level. Filipino languages seem to be used by some Filipino Americans, and not by others. An institution may support Filipino languages or it may not. In reference to the research participants of this dissertation, there were many first generation Filipino Americans who have been cleaved from Filipino languages, but not particularly from other Filipino Americans who speak Filipino languages. Those who were reared and educated in the Philippines were characterized as being diverse in their linguistic repertoires. Those who arrived in the United States from the Philippines as children or who were born in the United States were characterized as being English dominant with minimal abilities to communicate in another language. Linguistically speaking, Filipino Americans have a higher than average percentage of people between the ages of 5 to 65 years of age and above that speak English well, and a lower than average percentage of people (same range) not speaking English, amongst other prominent immigrant groups.

First generation Filipino Americans appear *not* to be learning Filipino languages, but this statement is a challenge to generalize. In addition to several participants in chapter seven, there were three particular individuals in chapter nine, Jason, Mike, and Antonio, who reflected Filipino Americans who could

exploit their immediate familial resources and revitalize and/or develop their own individual communicative abilities in a Filipino language. Most have not, however, taken action in learning their mother and/or father tongue(s), perhaps because of a lack of opportunities to learn (or have learned) in a structured environment i.e., a school. On Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (with a focus on the individual as opposed to the language community), several participants from chapters seven and ten would be placed individually at stage seven of eight, eight reflecting semi- or full-language loss, where the older generation speaks a Filipino language, but the younger generation does not. Schooling in Filipino languages would undoubtedly be the catalytic agent which activates the fading, residual, linguistic influences existent within the first several generations of Filipino American immigrants. Ultimately, parents and family play a crucial role in the dissemination of Filipino languages in the United States.

Arizona

At a macro level, Arizona could be placed at a seven or an eight on Fishman's G.I.D.S. There is no apparent support, institutional or legislative, for Filipino languages. There is one context in particular where Filipino languages are present in the community and the context is not exclusive to Filipino Americans. Establishments owned and operated by Filipino Americans, which are frequented by Filipino American clientele, serve as environments where languages other than English are used. Actually, there were multiple languages that were spoken by

owners, workers, and clientele in addition to English. These establishments created *linguistic diversity micro-hotspots*, after that defined by Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi, and Harmon (2003) in regards to biodiversity hotspots, or small geographic areas with “especially high concentrations of endemic species” (p. 55). The theory correlates biodiversity to linguistic diversity. The Philippines, according to this theory, would be a country and an amalgamation of islands which fits the profile of a biologically and linguistically diverse area of the world. Filipino restaurants re-created elements of the Philippines, gastronomically and linguistically speaking.

California

Although California initiated a state and institutional trend in 1986 by making English their official language, the State’s public educational system seems to be acknowledging and acting upon schools’ linguistically diverse student bodies by fostering multilingualism. California legislation, through AB420, has ensured that teachers of Filipino can legally teach with the development of the Single Subject Credential as a California Subject Examination for Teachers (CSET). This was brought about by a grassroots effort of Filipino-language stakeholders e.g., educators, parents, and a variety of Filipino American organizations. Because of this, classes in Filipino can be offered within World Language Departments throughout the state.

California high schools and their World Languages Departments not only allow for heritage language maintenance of Filipino, but classes are offered to the entire student body, which legitimizes Filipino at community and state levels. Following Nic Craith (2006), the legitimacy of Filipino in California exists on two axes, a horizontal and a vertical. The horizontal axis is self-affirmed and is validated at a local, non-governmental level, primarily by the Filipino American community. The latter is conferred at an official level, primarily by the State of California and the California Department of Education (p. 113).

What the Filipino community has done in ensuring that the Filipino language can be accessed institutionally has undoubtedly paved the way for the teaching of other community, heritage, and world languages. Certain multicultural and multilingual counties in California, such as San Diego and Los Angeles, have secondary schools which have incorporated contemporary immigrant languages, such as Filipino and Mandarin, into their World Languages Departments. The aforementioned data could be the most linguistically positive that this dissertation revealed. California's World Languages Departments at the secondary education level are positive role models for language laboratories of the future in offering community and global languages such as Filipino/Tagalog. In California, Tagalog would be placed between levels two and three of the G.I.D.S.

Community Language Profile

Several salient Filipino language-related characteristics emerged from the chapters: First, the English language is an extremely important language to

Filipino Americans, so much so that it is learned and spoken at the cost of autochthonous Filipino languages. The need and desire to assimilate into the collective American culture is a main motivator. Parents were found to usher their children towards English by not speaking a Filipino language to them. One reason appeared to be that that parents wanted their children to avoid linguistic discrimination such as they may have experienced based on an inability to speak English fluently and/or the inability to speak English without a foreign, semi-unintelligible accent. Also, parents used a Filipino language (not understood by the children) in order to keep certain conversations secret. Additional support of the English-monolingualization of first generation Filipino Americans came from American teachers, who manifest within the data revealing United States educational agency of assimilation through the overt influence on the learning of English at the cost of a heritage language. Despite this, the adult children of Filipino immigrants seem to have the desire to learn a Filipino language and/or regret not having learned one. The learning of a Filipino language was seen as crucial for being able to communicate with relatives or others in the Filipino-speaking community. Other motivations for doing so seemed to be symbolic, as well to be a fulfillment of an underdeveloped facet of identity.

Second, Filipino Americans have a heritage and a culture of multiple languages, either speaking several languages individually, or having multiple languages as a part of their familial history or current linguistic repertoire. Filipino Americans who are able to speak Filipino languages continue to speak them with other Filipino Americans in the United States. Although some of

California's high schools have incorporated world languages such as Filipino/Tagalog, other California institutions promote and enforce an English-only medium of communication although Filipino Americans *want* to speak their native tongues. For instance, a group of 52 nurses and medical staff filed a complaint accusing Delano Regional Medical Center (north of Bakersfield, California) of banning them from speaking Tagalog and other Filipino languages while letting other workers speak Spanish and Hindi. The complaint was filed in August of 2010 with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and is pending (Taxin, 2010).

Language Diversity

Multilingual homes, schools, businesses, and people presented throughout this dissertation were impressive in regards to the uniqueness of their structures and life-linguistic experiences; however, they were not as piquant as the translingual ability of the people who were linguistic manifestations of the aforementioned environments. Tung-Chiou (2010) states that translingualism focuses on the process and not the goal (p. 44). There were observations of Filipino Americans speaking multiple languages and code switching between them apparently effortlessly, such as Maria, Luisa, and Artemio in chapter nine. The linguistic repertoires of some of the California participants in chapter seven would also allude to the ability to code switch between multiple languages as well.

Wei (2005) views Mandarin-English code-switching through two lenses. The Rational Choice approach of code-switching postulates that bilingual speakers choose their languages within a conversations based on rights, obligations, attitudes, and identities. The Conversation Analysis approach to code-switching views bilingual speakers as being oriented to conversational structures aimed at achieving coherence in the interaction. Utterances and turns are regarded as pieces of evidence about a speaker's meaning (pp. 375 + 381). In chapter nine, several reasons for code-switching were discussed. Thomas stated that a switch from one language to another will occur when someone cannot think of a word or phrase in a specific language. Another reason given was that a word is easier to say (less number of syllables) in one language than another. Yet, another reason that emerged from the data was a contextualization cue. Certain languages were used with certain people in certain situations, and these contextualization cues could have been consciously as well as subconsciously acknowledged by the sender and/or the receiver of the message.

Code-switching, however, is based on the premise of a person or people using two or more languages. Instead of looking at code-switching in this fractal way, as if the languages were to be tessellated, code-switching could be viewed as simply using one code. It is not multiple codes used mutually exclusively, but it is one code used holistically; it is a code composed of different lexicons and grammatical systems in which a novel lexicon and grammatical system are formed. Jørgensen (2005) studied Turkish-Danish adolescents who, in addition to speaking Turkish and Danish, incorporated English, French, and German loan

words and utterances into group conversations. He argues that labeling speakers as “monolinguals,” “bilinguals,” etc., is pointless because the patterns of language use with reference to general norms and evaluations are the same for all language users (p. 401). This idea challenges traditional notions of language knowledge and language use.

Implications for Education and Global Participation

In a pluralistic nation, citizens represent and practice many different cultural traditions. The United States public educational system has historically acted primarily as an assimilating institution; however, the need to prepare citizens for a global, diverse workforce has increased drastically. As ethnically diverse populations of students increase, it is necessary that those in positions of leadership in education and politics understand the culturally and linguistically fractal nature of the pluralistic nation that composes society in the United States of America and adapt to it, in place of anticipating stereotypical, monocultural assimilation.

Dilworth (1992) explains that most teacher preparation programs are typically designed to prepare middle-class European American candidates to teach middle-class European American students in mainstream schools. Today’s schools are called on to serve a population of students that is more ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse, representing about one-third of the school population and ever increasing. United States’ teacher preparation programs are filled with monolingual students who will have the responsibility of teaching in

school communities serving students who are culturally, linguistically, ethnically, racially, and economically different from them (Ladson-Billings, 2005). It may be in the best interest of the United States' public educational system that teachers have knowledge of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and that teachers possess abilities to communicate in languages other than English; these are teachers who can cross cultural and linguistic borders and serve as role models for their students to do the same, inside of the classroom as well as outside of it. A teacher in a translingual classroom is capable of using scaffolding to support students in learning to achieve a goal or process (Tung-Chiou, 2010, p. 48).

Students of multiple, cultural backgrounds and speaking multiple tongues have been lying in wait of another language-diversity revival in the American educational system. Policies of credentialing and certification need to be written and established, and funding needs to be allocated to salaries and materials. The United States educational system and its stakeholders and agents, voters, and politicians need to contemplate whether producing a monolingual, English-language workforce can sustain the United States' participation in a global economy which is slowly becoming less-Western dominant, with emerging markets in China, India, and South America. Immigrant populations, like Filipino Americans, possess a linguistic resource which should be preserved and maintained, and academic and familial institutions should assume the responsibility of doing this.

The United States, which has become a hegemonic center of the English-speaking world, has been losing dominance in a global economy. As a result,

immigration may decrease and U.S. citizens may increasingly and collectively find a need to immigrate to other countries for work, countries where English may or not be a dominant or spoken language. U.S. language programs, then, will become a nationwide educational necessity and commodity.

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APPENDIX A
FILIPINO AMERICAN QUESTIONNAIRE I
DATA COLLECTED JANUARY – MARCH 2007

Thank you for participating in this study. In the final written report of this study, a pseudonym will be used in place of your name.

You may decline to answer any question.

Background Questions

1. What is your name?
2. In what year were you born?
3. In what country and city were you born?
4. In what country and city were your parents born?
5. What is your occupation?
6. What is your approximate annual income?
7. How would you describe the neighborhood and community where you grew up? Was it working-class or wealthy, ethnically diverse or primarily one ethnic group, etc?
8. What is or was your parents' occupations?
9. Do you have any brothers and sisters? If so, what are their ages and where were they born?
10. (a) Are you married or engaged in a domestic relationship with a significant other? If so, what is his/her nationality?
 - (b) What is her/his occupation?
11. (a) Do you have any children? If so, what are their ages and where were they born?
 - (b) What are their occupations?
12. Describe the history of you or your family coming to live in the United States? For instance, when did this move occur, where in the United States did the family member or family move, why did you or the family move to the United States?
13. In what country or countries do you and your family have citizenship? Was citizenship granted by birth or in some other way?

Schooling and Language Questions

14. In what country and in what city did you go to school 1st grade through 5th grade?
15. What was the language or what were the languages of instruction during this schooling and in what specific classes?
16. In what country and in what city did you go to school 6th grade through 12th grade?
17. What was the language or what were the languages of instruction during this schooling and in what specific classes?
18. From what school in what country did you graduate high school? If you are not a high school graduate, please write the last grade level completed and if possible, give a brief description of the reason for not continuing your secondary education.
19. What is your highest level of education? If applicable, please list the name(s) of the post-secondary academic institutions that you have attended and the major/minor areas of study?
20. If you were to have gone to a college or a university, in what language or languages were classes instructed?
21. (a) What is the highest level of education that your parents achieved? If possible, list degrees earned and name(s) of institutions.

(b) What is the highest level of education that your brothers and sisters achieved? If possible, list degrees earned and name(s) of institutions.
22. Have you taken any foreign languages, either in high school in your post-secondary institution? List how long (semesters, years, etc) as well as why these classes were chosen or forced upon you?
23. What do you know to be the role of and attitude towards Filipino languages in the United States?

Language Proficiency Questions: Use the following scale to answer the following questions: **5**= superior and fluent **4**= advanced with some technical strengths
3= conversational **2**= limited vocabulary to speak, may not comprehend well or may be able to comprehend but cannot speak well **1**= can understand a little (just a few words and phrases), and can speak a little

24. What languages do **you** speak?
25. Using the scale above, how well do you **speak** this or these languages?
26. Using the scale above, how well do you **write** this or these languages?
27. Using the scale above, how well do you **understand** this or these languages when others are speaking it or them?
28. What languages do **your parents** speak?
29. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your parents **speak** this or these languages?
30. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your parents **write** this or these languages?
31. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your parents **understand** this or these languages?
32. What languages does **your spouse or significant other** speak?
33. Using the scale above, how well do you think that he/she **speaks** this or these languages?
34. Using the scale above, how well do you think that he/she **writes** this or these languages?
35. Using the scale above, how well do you think that he/she **understands** this or these languages?
36. What languages do **your children** speak?
37. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your children **speak** this or these languages?
38. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your children **write** this or these languages?
39. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your children **understand** this or these languages?
40. What languages do **your brothers and sisters** speak?
41. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your brothers and sisters **speak** this or these languages?

42. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your brothers and sisters **write** this or these languages?

43. Using the scale above, how well do you think that your brothers and sisters **understand** this or these languages?

44. Feel free to talk about any other member or members of your family to elaborate on language ability and language diversity in your family, such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Family and Language Use

45. What language or languages were spoken in your home from the time that you were a child until you became a young adult (from birth until 18-20 years of age)? Please give details.

46. If more than one language was spoken in your home while growing up, describe when the different languages were used and who spoke them. For example, your mother spoke in one language and your dad in another language on a daily basis. Maybe one language was spoken while eating dinner and another was spoken when your parents were scolding you. Perhaps a language was only spoken during cultural observances or holidays? Please give details.

47. Did your parents or relatives ever say things about language to you or to others? For example, did they say that certain languages needed to be learned, or that you or others needed to use certain words or pronounce words in certain ways? Please reflect on your parents or relatives attitudes towards language or languages.

48. Did your parents ever communicate with each other in a language that you could not understand, mainly to keep the conversation private?

49. If you have children, do you and your partner/spouse speak in language that the children do not understand in order to keep the conversation secret?

50. What language or languages do you speak on a daily basis now and in what situations?

51. Do you read or have you read newspapers, books, or magazines produced in a language other than English, or in combination with English? Which language or languages? Please describe the type of reading as well as the subject (For instance, you may read a mystery novel in Tagalog or a health magazine in Ilocano and English.)

52. Do you have any preference to language when reading newspapers, books, or magazines?

Philippine Questions

53. What do you know to be the role of and attitude towards the English language in the Philippines? (Discuss, if, its status, when and where it is used, attitudes towards English, etc.)

54. Do you have family and friends that are living and working in the Philippines? If so, describe the level of frequency of contact with friends, relatives or business associates, and the methods employed in order to do so? For instance, you travel to the Philippines once every two years and see your sister, or you have never been to the Philippines but you talk via cell phones with relatives or a business associate.

55. Do you have family members living and working in countries other than the United States or the Philippines? If so, list the country and possibly city or region, please give details as to the relationship you have with this person, their reason for living and working in this country, etc.

56. Do you travel to the Philippines and if so, how often do you travel there? Describe reasons for visits or reasons for living there.

57. If you have traveled to the Philippines, what airline or shipping line did you take?

58. What language do you speak when you go there? With whom do you speak these languages?

59. Do you send packages of goods or money to relatives, friends, or businesses to the Philippines or to relatives in different countries? If so, please describe goods and/or approximate amounts of dollars.

60. Would you describe it as expensive, reasonable, or cheap to fly to the Philippines from the United States or send packages?

61. Do you watch television and movies made in the Philippines? List some programs and stations or movies that have you seen?

62. What languages were these in?

63. Do you have a language preference when watching movies and television in the Philippines or in the United States?

64. Do you read or have you read newspapers, books, or magazines produced in the Philippines, about the Philippines, or written by a Filipino/Filipino American? Which one or ones and how often do you read these periodicals?

65. In what language or languages were these readings?

66. Are there any stories that your parents, grandparents, or others told you about the colonization of the Spanish, the occupation of the Japanese, or American occupiers? If so, please elaborate.

67. Describe the ethnicity or the nationality of your closest friends while growing up, on up into high school.

68. Have you ever been discriminated against based on your culture or ethnicity? Please describe.

Technology

69. While in the United States, do you call relatives, friends, or business associates in the Philippines or in other countries, or vice versa? If so, how often do you call and who do you call?

70. Do you call using a cell phone or a land line to call or text message long distance? If it is a cell phone, what is your carrier, for example Cingular, T-Mobile, Sprint, etc.?

71. What type of phone plan do you have?

Language and Community

72. Do you believe that it is important to maintain a cultural or community language other than English? Why or why not?

72. Is there a language or are there languages that you would like to be able to speak but cannot? What is that language or languages? Why would you like to be able to communicate in this language?

73. What do you think about English only policy in the United States and the Philippines?

74. Are you involved in the Filipino community activities in the United States, in the Philippines, or in some other country? If so, please describe.

75. What do you believe to be the community's attitude toward language use?

76. What do you believe to be your friends' attitude toward language use?

77. Would you support a heritage or community language program that promoted an indigenous Filipino language? If so, how would you show support?

78. Of what religious affiliation are you and/or your family?

79. What do you know about the history of religion, or of various religions, in the Philippines?

80. Please feel free to comment on anything else you would like to mention about heritage language, your experiences and attitudes about any language or languages in particular.

APPENDIX B
FILIPINO AMERICAN QUESTIONNAIRE II
DATA COLLECTED JANUARY 2008

1. What language or languages do you speak? Rate each language on a scale from 1 (speak very little) to 5 (fluent).
2. If you speak more than one language, when do you speak these languages (for example, English at work, and Tagalog with friends and family, etc)?
3. What language or languages are spoken in the home you are living in now?
4. In what *country*, *city*, and *year* were you born?
5. In what city do you reside now?
6. What language or languages were spoken in your home while growing up?
7. In what country and city did you go to kindergarten through high school?
8. What languages were spoken and taught at school from kindergarten through high school (include foreign languages taken)?
9. What language or languages do your parents speak? Rate each language on a scale from 1 (speak very little) to 5 (fluent).
10. What languages do your children speak? Rate each language on a scale from 1 (speak very little) to 5 (fluent).
11. Is there a language or are there languages that you would like to be able to speak but cannot? If so, please list the language(s) and describe motivations behind wanting to learn this language.
12. Within the Filipino community in Arizona, what are the beliefs or attitudes about the speaking and learning of certain languages?
13. Do you believe that Filipino/ Tagalog should be offered as a course at the secondary or college level here in the Phoenix Valley? Please elaborate.
14. If you know of a program here in Arizona that promotes Filipino languages, please describe.

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE INSTITUTIONALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

DATA COLLECTED MAY - JUNE 2008

1. What languages are offered in this department or institution?
2. How are teachers recruited to teach specific languages? Is this process the same for all languages?
3. What is the most popular language, judging by enrollment and general interest?
4. What is the least popular language, judging by enrollment and general interest?
5. Have certain languages been offered in the past but are not offered now?
6. What are some possible reasons for the removal of this language from the curriculum?
7. What has been your experience with the implementation of new languages?
8. What are the characteristics of a language or reasons for offering certain languages and not others?
9. Have any languages ever been offered but have since been dropped from the curriculum?
10. Why are some languages offered within the curriculum and why are some languages dropped?
11. Is there a specific criterion that must be met in order to offer a language?
12. Have there been languages explicitly requested to be offered by students, faculty, or community members, if so what language or languages are those?
13. What languages are requested more than others?
14. What language or languages do you foresee being offered in the future in this department or institution?
15. If a group of students were to approach you or this office and ask for Filipino/Tagalog to be offered, what would you say to them?